

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations of eligibility for individual properties or districts. See instructions in *Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms* (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, styles, materials, and areas of significance, enter only the categories and subcategories listed in the instructions. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900a). Type all entries.

1. Name of Property

historic name Graham, Congressman James M., House
other names/site number _____

2. Location

street & number 413 South 7th Street not for publication
city, town Springfield, vicinity
state Illinois code IL county Sangamon code 167 zip code 62701

3. Classification

Ownership of Property	Category of Property	Number of Resources within Property	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> private	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> building(s)	Contributing	Noncontributing
<input type="checkbox"/> public-local	<input type="checkbox"/> district	<u>1</u>	_____ buildings
<input type="checkbox"/> public-State	<input type="checkbox"/> site	_____	_____ sites
<input type="checkbox"/> public-Federal	<input type="checkbox"/> structure	_____	_____ structures
	<input type="checkbox"/> object	<u>1</u>	_____ objects
			_____ Total

Name of related multiple property listing: N/A
Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register N/A

4. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. See continuation sheet.

[Signature] _____ Date 3-16-89
Signature of certifying official
Illinois Historic Preservation Agency
State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. See continuation sheet.

Signature of commenting or other official Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

5. National Park Service Certification

I, hereby, certify that this property is:

entered in the National Register.
 See continuation sheet.

determined eligible for the National Register. See continuation sheet.

determined not eligible for the National Register.

removed from the National Register.

other, (explain:) _____

Signature of the Keeper _____ Date of Action _____

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions (enter categories from instructions)

Residential/Single Dwelling

Current Functions (enter categories from instructions)

Work in progress

7. Description

Architectural Classification
(enter categories from instructions)

Late Victorian
Italianate

Materials (enter categories from instructions)

foundation Brick

walls Brick

roof Metal

other Wooden porch

Limestone sills

Describe present and historic physical appearance.

Description Summary

The Congressman James M. Graham House was built near downtown Springfield, Illinois in 1862. It was purchased by James M. Graham in 1896 and he continued to live there with his family until his death on October 23, 1945. Family members remained in the house until 1977. The 10 room dwelling is located at 713 South 7th Street in the central part of the city, just across from the Lincoln Home National Historic Site Visitor's Center (See Exhibit A). The two story, red brick Italianate style house has a truncated hip roof on the front part and a gable roof on the rear wing. The roof on the front section has deep bracketed eaves. The house has flat arched wood windows with limestone sills, and a frame veranda across its lower front in the Queen Anne style. The exterior of the house has changed very little over the years. The interior with its heavy carved, hand-grained woodwork and curving main staircase is also largely intact. The house is being entirely rehabbed at the present time for use as offices.

General Characteristics (See Exhibits B through H, and Photos 1, 2, 3, 4 & 6)

The irregular shaped front section of the house measures approximately 23' by 31'6", while the rear section is 13' by 17'. The two story, red brick house has an attic with a series of awning type windows, a partial basement, an irregular floor plan and a frame, one story porch with turned columns on the front. The porch has an asphalt covered pent roof with a gabled section over the front porch steps. The hip roof on the main part of the house and the gable roof on the rear section are covered with standing seam metal roofing. The foundation is brick and the flat arch-headed wood windows are mostly double-hung. A brick sidewalk, laid in a herringbond pattern, runs across the front of the lot, up to the front porch and around the south side of the house. There are no other buildings on the 40' by 163' lot. There is an asphalt covered parking lot to the north of the house and apartment and office buildings to the south.

SPECIFIC FEATURES

Windows (See Photos 4, 5, 6 & 7)

The main part of the front elevation has three irregularly spaced, flat arch headed double-hung 2/2 windows at the upper level and two long double hung 1/1 windows at the first level - to the north of the main entry. These two windows were originally 2/4. A long double-hung 1/1 window, with a 2/2 window above it can also be seen on the east elevation of the south bay. The long window also originally had a 2/4 configuration.

See continuation sheet

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Windows (cont.)

On the north elevation, there are four 2/2 windows at the first floor level and three 2/2 windows at the second level, along with two small fixed sash windows at the second and third levels of the rear stairwell. The rear section of the house contains two 6/6 double-hung windows on the north elevation. On the west elevation of the rear section, there is a 2/2 double-hung window at the lower level and two 6/6 windows at the second level. Two windows, one 2/2 up and one 1/1 down, can also be seen in the rear of the main portion of the house. On the south side of the rear section, there is a double-hung 2/2 at the second level over the kitchen door, and one 2/2 window at the first level to the left of the door. On the south side of the front section of the house, there are two double-hung 1/1 windows on the first level and two similar windows at the second level (the upper one 2/1 and the lower one 1/1). One second level window on the south was bricked in at one time to create a bedroom closet. There is also a small fixed sash window on the south side of the front section that lights the front stairwell. All of the main windows in the house have limestone sills. There are a series of awning type frieze windows at the attic level on three sides of the front section of the house. Beneath these windows is a decorative wood molding.

Entryways/Doors (See Exhibit C and Photos 8 & 9)

The main entry has a massive wood paneled door with a large center glass light and a flat arched glass light at the top. There is also a curved top, wood screen door. There is a carved wood moulding around the door opening. There are two wood paneled rear doors on the south side of the house, one off the former kitchen and the other one east of the kitchen door that opened into a hallway behind the library. The kitchen door at one time opened onto a rear porch. Both doors now open into a new small addition needed to provide space for a relocated half-bath to serve the lower level. (see Photo 24)

Porch (See Exhibit C and Photos 1, 8 & 10)

A one story frame porch extends across the front of the main part of the house. The roof is supported by four turned posts, and is pented with a gable section extending out over the front porch step area. The gable end has waffle weave decoration and the roof cornice features decorative cut wood trim. The porch railing has turned balusters. Wood hand rails and turned balusters to match those on the porch railing are being made for the wood steps. The porch is supported on brick piers.

Roof and Eaves (See Exhibit G and Photos 6, 7 & 12)

The front section of the house has a truncated hip roof, while the rear section has a gable roof. The front and rear sections are both covered with standing seam metal roofing. The roof on the front section has deep bracketed eaves with wood dentils along the top of the frieze. The paired wood brackets are decoratively carved.

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Chimneys (See Exhibit G and Photos 4 & 12)

There are four brick interior chimneys, two on the north side of the front section, one on the south side, and one small brick chimney on the west side of the rear section of the house. One of the chimneys on the north side is intact and one is being restored. The chimney on the south side (which is not visible from the street) will not be restored.

Interior Features (See Exhibits C, D, E, & F and Photos 13 through 24)

The first floor plan is irregular and contains four rooms (living, dining, library and kitchen) and a large entry hall with a curved stairway between the first and second floors. The ceiling heights on both the first and second floors are 11'8". The stairway newel post, hand rail and balusters are massively carved and hand grained, as is all of the woodwork on the first floor with the exception of the kitchen area; it has pressed metal walls and ceiling and a painted wood wainscoting. All interior doors have glass transoms. Between the living room and dining room are two large, paneled pocket doors. There is a large glass doored bookcase on the east wall of the library. There is another stairway (enclosed) off the rear hall in the back of the front section of the house that provides access to the second floor and attic levels, as well as to the basement. The original flooring in the house was pine. Narrow oak flooring was added later to the dining room, library and bedrooms.

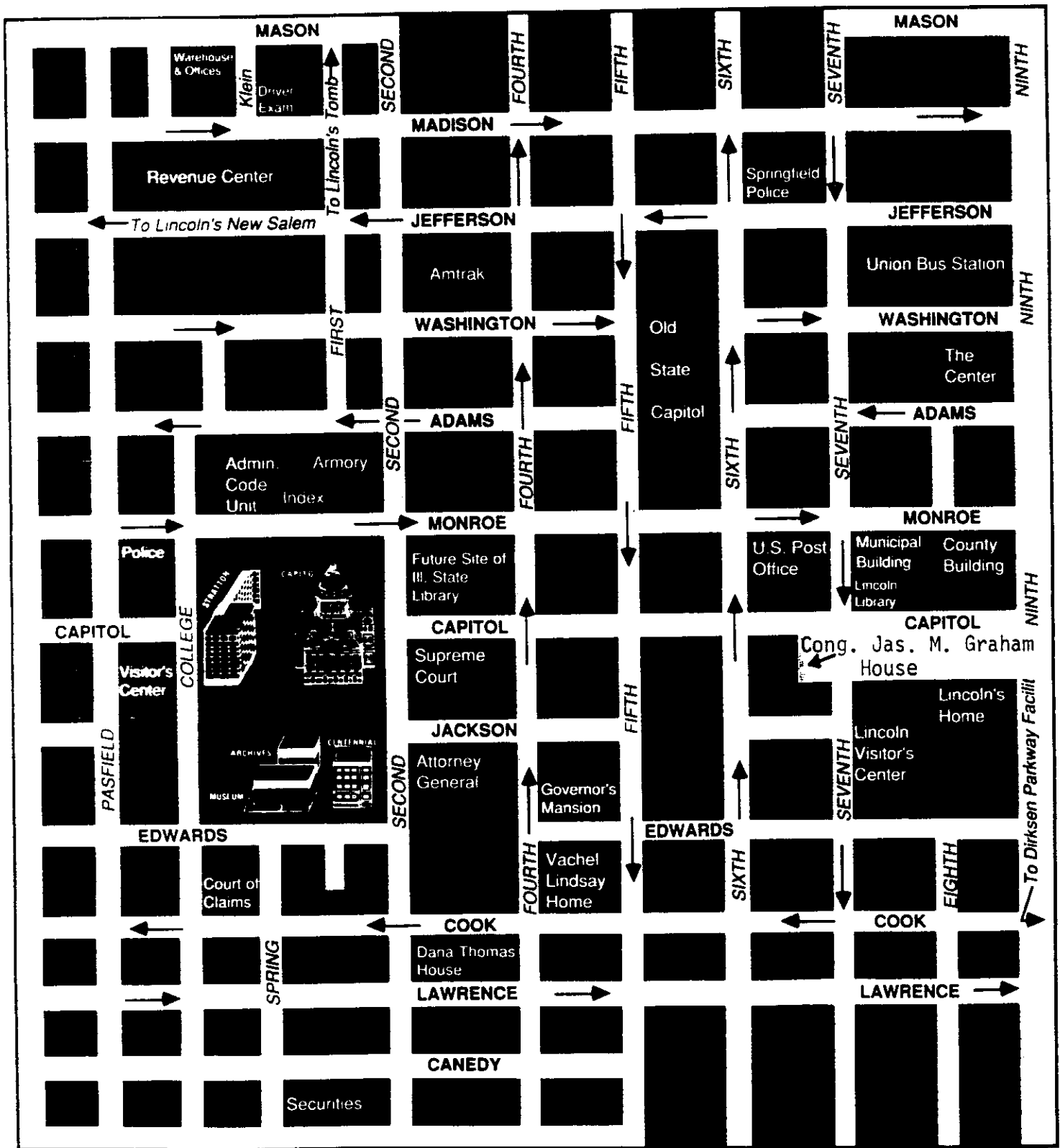
Other decorative features in the first floor rooms include plaster center medallions in the living room, dining room, library and entrance foyer; the rooms also have plaster mouldings surrounding the medallions, as well as heavy plaster cove mouldings (ca. 1862). Each of the three main first floor rooms have a fireplace. The living room and library fireplaces have columned oak mantels, decorative cast metal fire boxes with tile surrounds and hearths. (ca. 1890) The dining room mantel is white marble with a curved opening and appears to date to the period when the house was constructed. There is a large plaster niche in the south stairwall, which was also probably installed in 1862.

The second floor plan is similar to the one on the first floor with four bedrooms and an L-shaped hallway in the front section, and a maid's room and original bath in the rear section. The small bedroom on the southeast corner of the house was used by Congressman Graham as a study. The two bedrooms on the north side have interconnecting closets. There is also a small closet in the south bedroom that was added at a later date. This bedroom was used by Mr. & Mrs. Graham. The heavily carved woodwork is painted white. There are three fireplaces on the second floor, one each in the three large bedrooms. All have carved wood mantels similar in design, which appear to have been installed when the house was originally built.

There is a partial basement under the house which is partitioned with brick walls into three rooms (boiler room, laundry and storage). There is a crawl space, divided into two sections, under the front part of the house. The foundation walls are brick and the basement floor is concrete. All flat-arched headed basement windows have been bricked in. The exterior of the foundation wall has been parged in a number of locations. The attic area is floored. Thin wood partitions divide the attic area into three large spaces. Several wood posts help support the roof. (P-23)

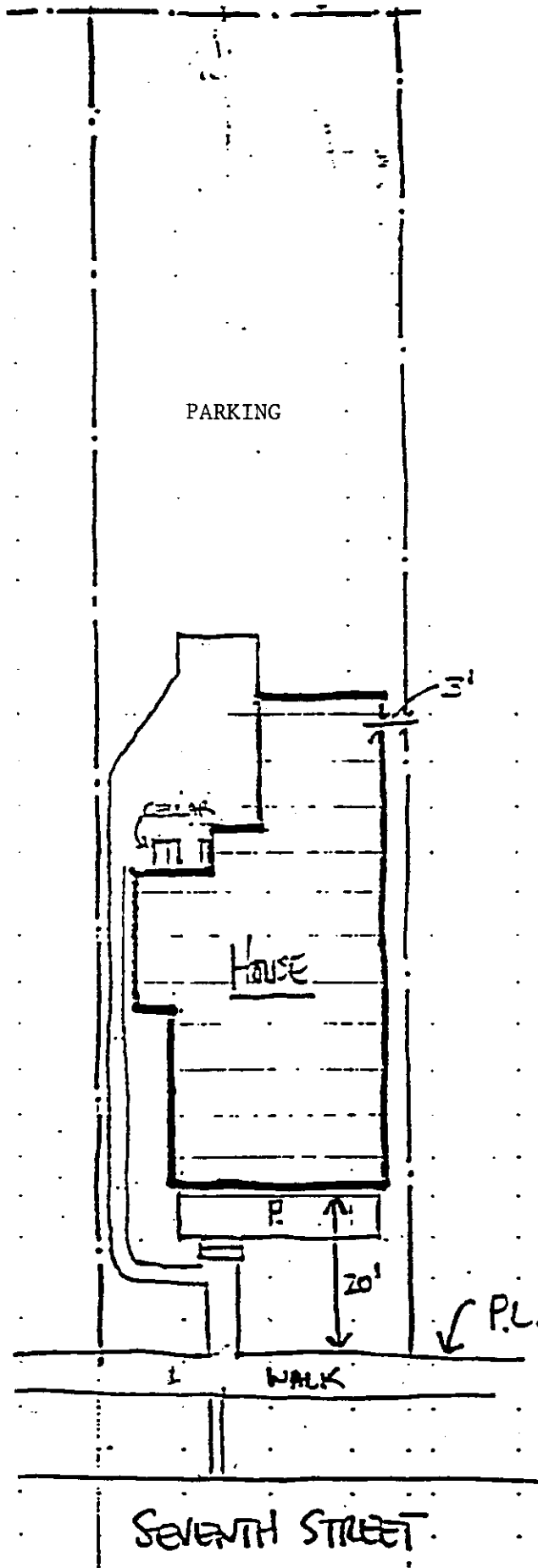
Capitol Complex

Central City of Springfield



CONGRESSMAN JAMES M. GRAHAM HOUSE

EXHIBIT B



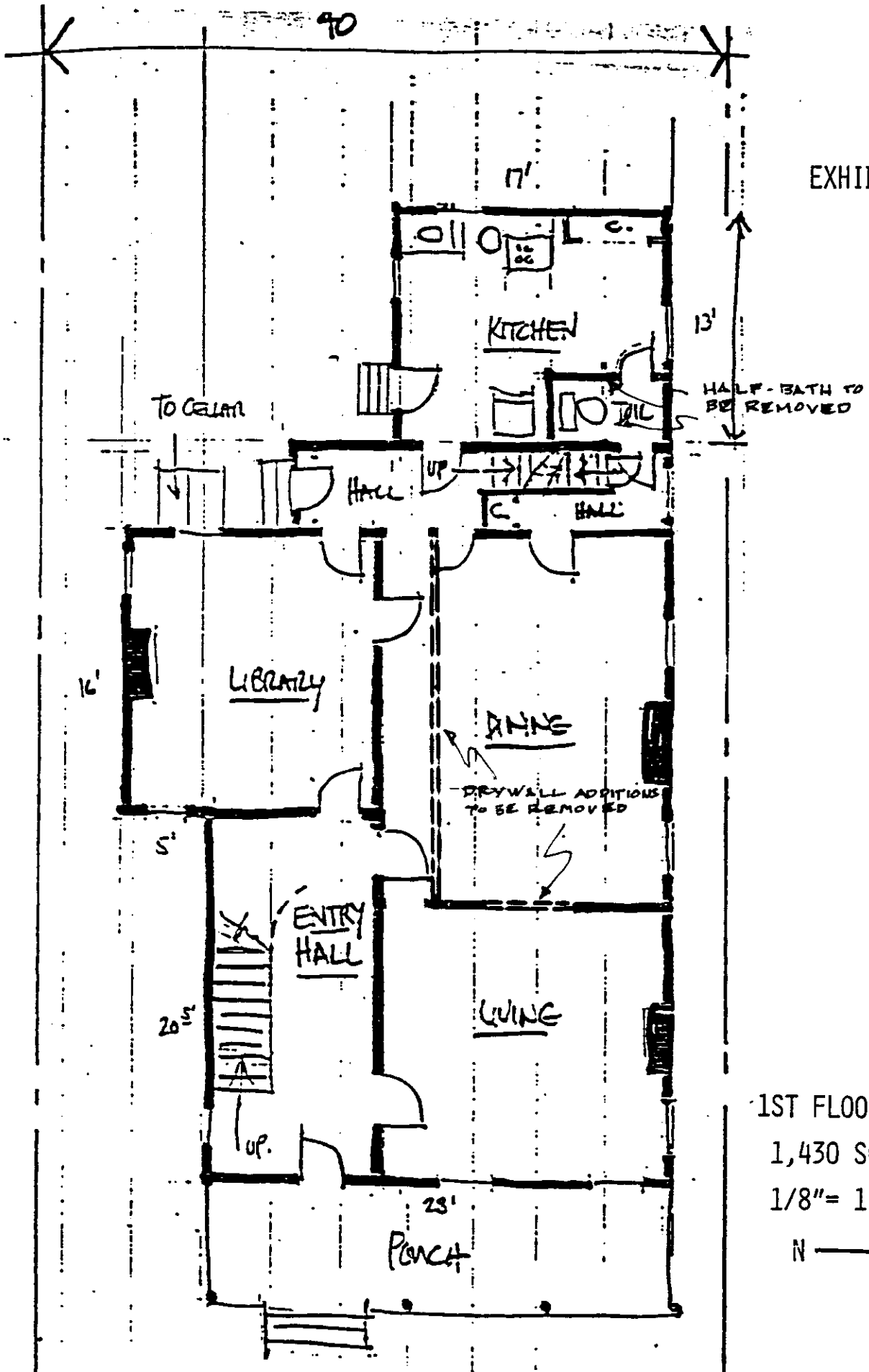
SITE PLAN

1" = 20'

N →

CONGRESSMAN JAMES M. GRAHAM HOUSE

EXHIBIT C



1ST FLOOR PLAN

1,430 SQ. FT.

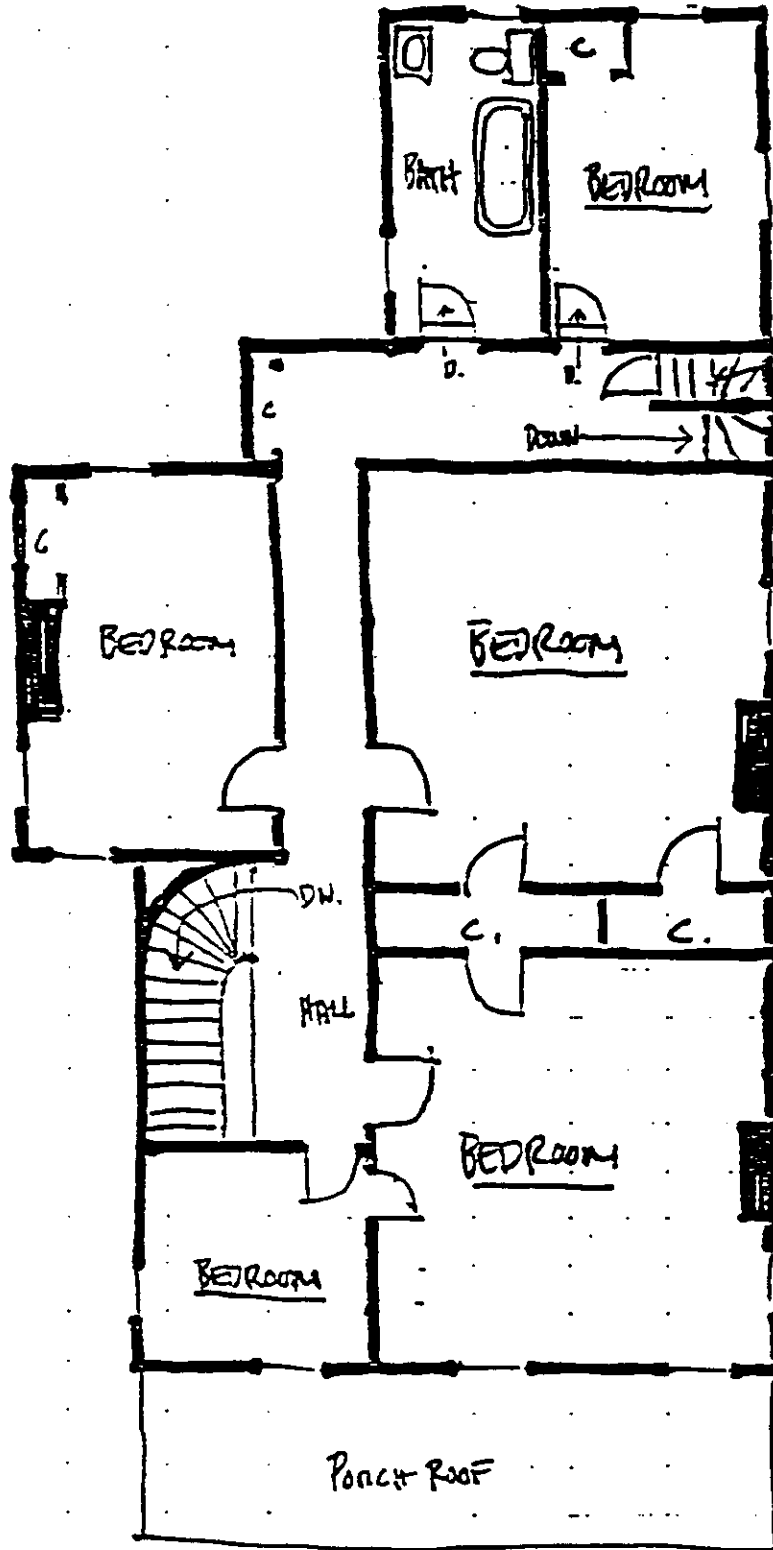
1/8" = 1'-0"

N →

CONGRESSMAN JAMES M. GRAHAM HOUSE

← LOT LINES
40' →

EXHIBIT D



ATTIC STAIR UP.

2ND FLOOR PLAN
1,385 SQ. FT.
1/8" = 1'-0"

N →

CONGRESSMAN JAMES M. GRAHAM HOUSE

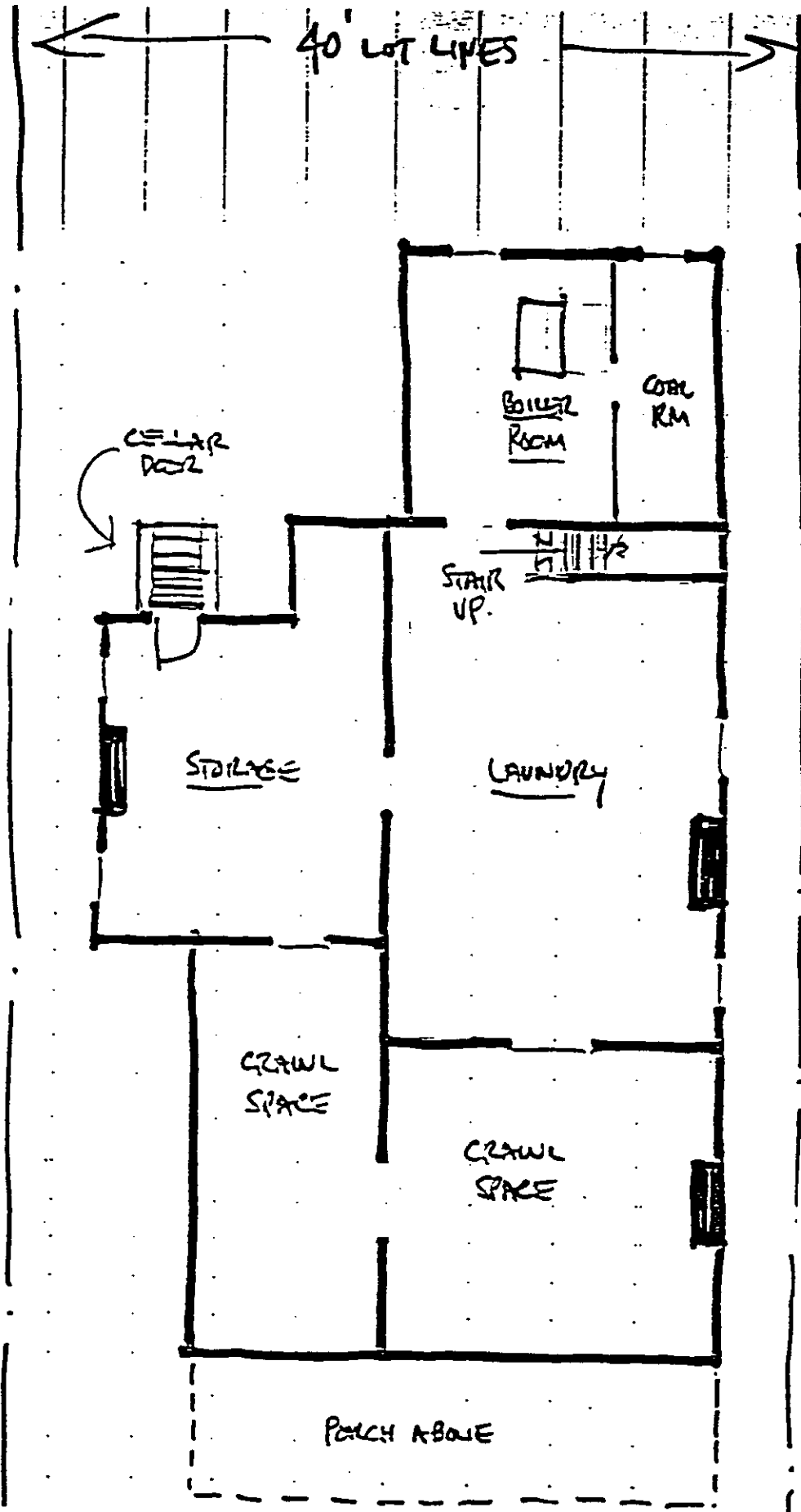


EXHIBIT E

BASEMENT PLAN

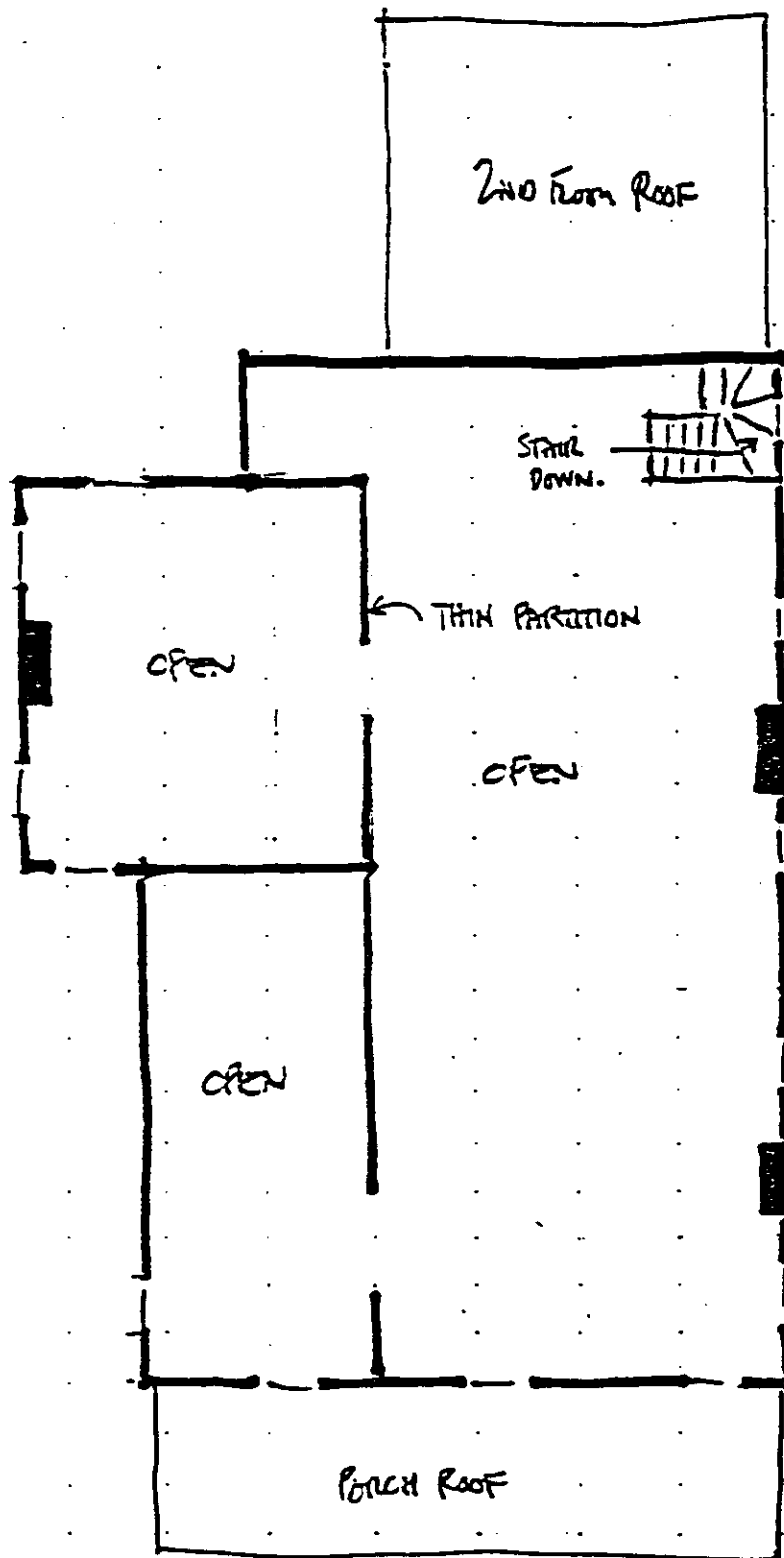
880 SQ. FT.

1/8" = 1'0"

N →

CONGRESSMAN JAMES M. GRAHAM HOUSE

EXHIBIT F



ATTIC PLAN
1/8"=1'0"
1,165 SQ.FT.

N →

CONGRESSMAN JAMES M. GRAHAM HOUSE

EXHIBIT G

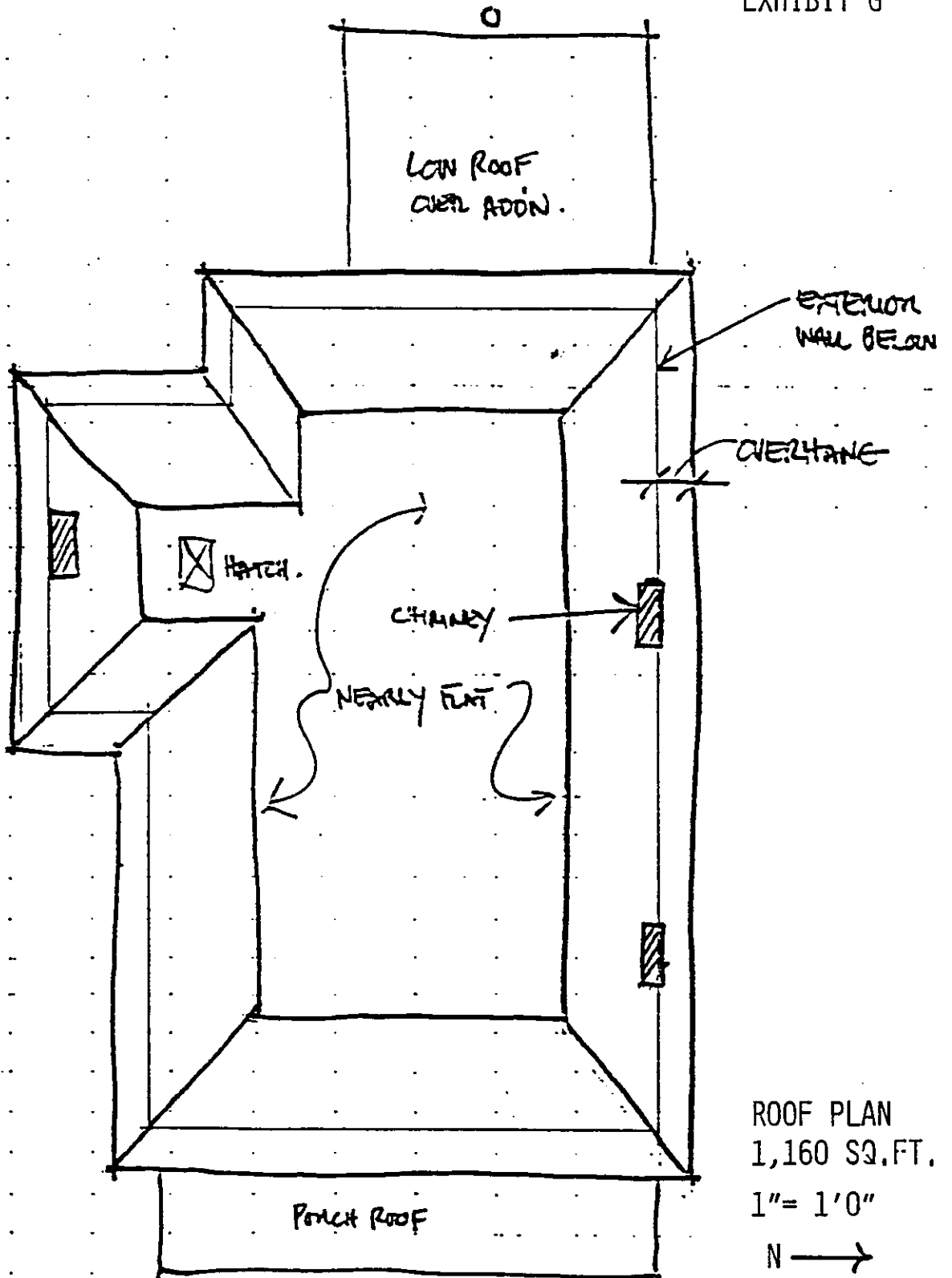
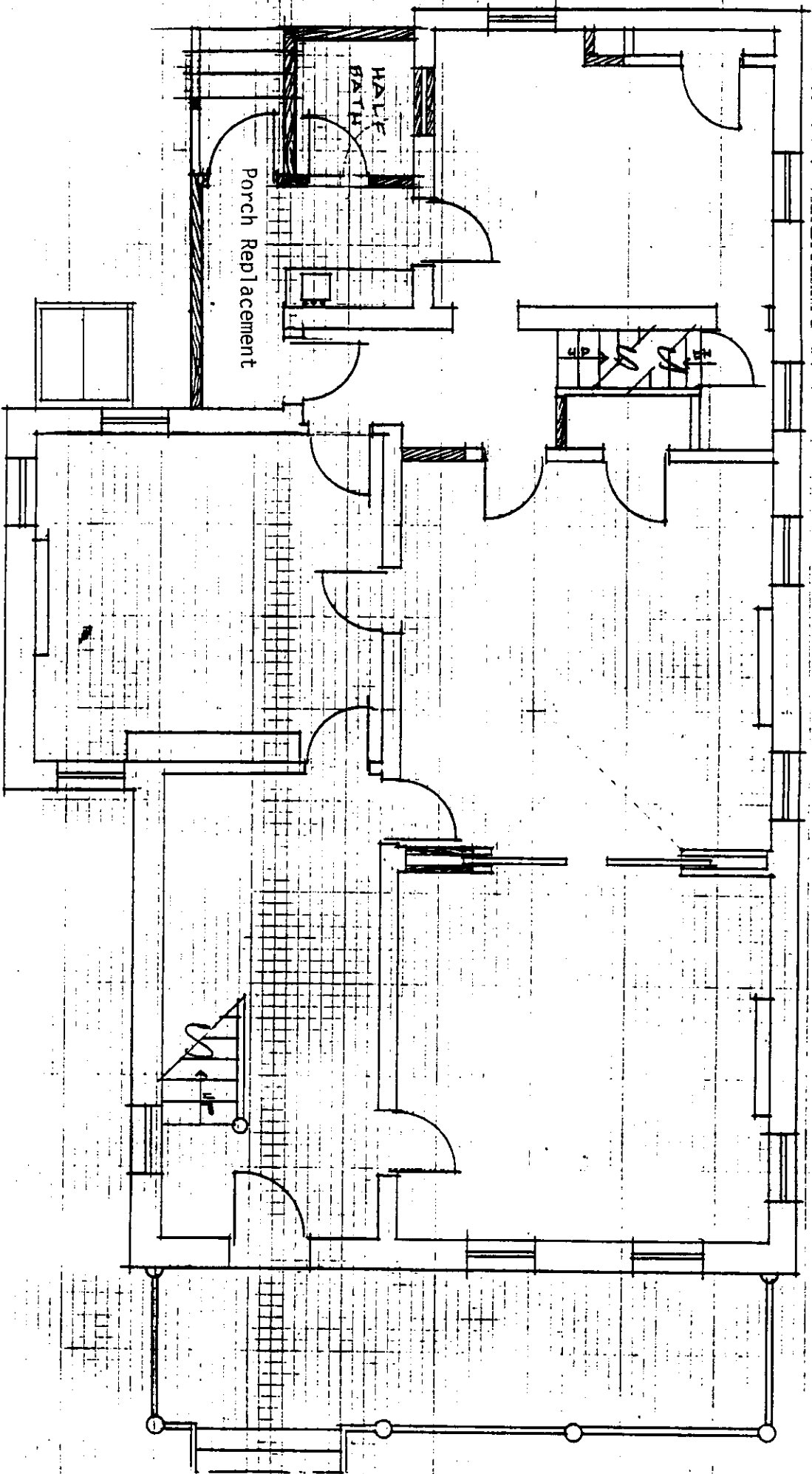


EXHIBIT H

CONGRESSMAN JAMES M. GRAHAM HOUSE
(Showing Porch Replacement)



FIRST FLOOR PLAN

Scale 1/4" = 1' - 0"



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8. Statement of Significance

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:

nationally statewide locally

Applicable National Register Criteria A B C D

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions) A B C D E F G

Areas of Significance (enter categories from instructions)

Period of Significance

Significant Dates

Politics/Government

1909-1915

N/A

Cultural Affiliation

N/A

Significant Person

James M. Graham, Congressman

Architect/Builder

Unknown

State significance of property, and justify criteria, criteria considerations, and areas and periods of significance noted above.

SUMMARY

The James M. Graham House is significant in the area of Politics/Government. It meets National Register criterion B - "Associated with the lives of persons significant in our past." It is significant due to its association with Congressman James M. Graham (D), a political leader from Illinois, who served in the United States House of Representatives from 1909-1915. He was a highly respected member of Congress, who while serving in the Administrations of Presidents Taft and Wilson, chaired, or was directly involved with, several key investigations, including one of the very first impeachments of a federal judge. Perhaps his most significant role was his service as a minority member of a Congressional committee that was charged with investigating the Department of the Interior due to a ferment over its administration of public resources. The investigation was known as the Ballinger-Pinchot Controversy of 1909-1910. While the majority committee report that was issued vindicated Interior Secretary Ballinger, Graham filed a 33,000 word minority report which he presented in a speech on the floor of the House. He concluded that valuable public resources had been turned over to private interests by Ballinger without authority. Graham's speech was widely acclaimed and Collier's and others published editorials in support of Graham's views, as well as those of many Progressives of the day. The public clamor over this issue led to several resignations and reforms within the Department of the Interior. This issue, along with Theodore Roosevelt's growing concerns over Taft's conservative policies, caused a rift between President Taft and his predecessor, the eventual creation of the Bull Moose Party, and Roosevelt's presidential candidacy in 1912 that divided the Republican Party and insured the election of a Democrat, Woodrow Wilson.

Congressman Graham also chaired several inquiries into the practices of the U.S. Indian Bureau and was one of the principal political leaders of his time in seeking to better the lives of the American Indians. In 1911-12, he chaired an investigation of a massive land fraud scandal at the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota, that resulted in a recommendation that the Indian Bureau be either drastically overhauled or abolished. His committee also conducted a second investigation into charges filed against Indian Commissioner, Robert Valentine, that concluded with a call for his dismissal from office. In gratitude for his efforts on their behalf, one Indian tribe made Graham a chief and gave him a name which meant "Chief Stand-Up-Straight".

See continuation sheet

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The property being nominated herein was Congressman Graham's residence from 1897 to 1945, and was his home during his service in the U.S. Congress.

HISTORIC CONTEXTS

The themes on which the historic contexts for the property being nominated are based are as follows:

- I. The national political climate in the early years of the 20th century (the "Progressive" era) that led to a major public resource controversy relating to the Department of the Interior, and its subsequent impact on national politics.
- II. The federal government's policy toward its Indian wards in the late 19th and early 20th century and the efforts made to improve the administration of the Indian Bureau and the overall condition of Indians.

I. THE PROGRESSIVE ERA, NATIONAL CONSERVATION ISSUES AND THEIR IMPACT ON NATIONAL POLITICS

The Progressive Era is Born

During the era between the end of the depression of the 1890s and the close of World War I, the United States passed through a period of social change and political ferment resulting from the pressures of urban growth, industrialization and ethnic tension. This period has become known as the Progressive Era due to the efforts of reform minded individuals and groups who attempted to deal with the issues of the day. Problems that faced the nation included: the absorption of masses of immigrants who lived in poverty in large cities; the bridging of the gap between the new rich and the poor factory workers; and the modernization of outdated political forms so that the nation and its cities might be governed honestly and efficiently. Another major problem at the time was the emergence of large business trusts and holding companies that had begun to dominate many fields of business. By 1900, the capital of 185 large business conglomerates represented one-third of the financial wealth held by the country's industries.(1)

Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Legacy

Under the leadership of new generation figures such as Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, the nation ushered in a series of reform efforts that, collectively, formed the basis for public policy debate for the next 50 years. At first, however, Roosevelt was not ready to push for drastic changes even though he sympathized with the reform mood of many people. He owed his political success to the Republican Party, which was dominated

(1) Fon W. Boardman, Jr., America and the Progressive Era 1900-1917, New York, Henry Z. Walsh, Inc., 1970.

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by business interests, although he was not necessarily their sole agent. In the 1890s, the party had pushed for government to promote economic growth that could benefit a broad coalition of farmers, urban laborers and businessmen. Also, the return of prosperity under President McKinley gave the Republicans a reputation for effective government and a dispersion of economic benefits through such measures as the protective tariff.(2)

Roosevelt's biggest domestic problems were the growing concentration of industrial and financial power and the degree to which the Federal government should control or regulate it. In foreign affairs, he assumed the role of head of a powerful country interested in the wars of Europe and Asia. But perhaps his major interests were the fields of conservation and natural resources. It was Theodore Roosevelt who first brought conservation to the top of the nation's agenda and who succeeded in executing a comprehensive natural resource policy.(3) He was responsible for making Gifford Pinchot the first American professional forester. And during his two terms as President, he added millions of acres to government reserves and created five national parks.

Gifford Pinchot was a typical progressive conservationist, a scientifically oriented man who wanted "to bring rationality and a national perspective to resource exploitation. To such men, a scientific use of America's resources required an immediate control over access to and disposition of these resources, a control that could only be exercised by men such as themselves."(4)

While Roosevelt made progress in bringing some order and rationality to certain sectors of the economy, as well as in establishing major conservation programs, he never was able to deal with the unfinished business he mentioned in his last Annual Message of 1908: abolition of child labor, shorter working hours, workmen's compensation, a progressive inheritance tax, an inland waterways commission, and old age insurance. But his accomplishments were significant and his youth, style and ideas resulted in new vistas and the attraction of young and talented people into public service.(5)

The Deterioration of the Relationship Between Roosevelt and Taft

Roosevelt decided not to run for a third term in 1908 and endorsed William H. Taft for President. He said that he and Taft had very similar beliefs and thought that Taft would support his reform ideas and be an able administrator. And Taft said that he fully agreed with Roosevelt's policies.(6)

Unfortunately for the GOP, the apparent friendship between Roosevelt and Taft was based

(2) Lewis L. Gould, Editor, The Progressive Era, Syracuse University Press, 1974.

(3) Boardman, p. 11.

(4) Otis L. Graham, Jr., The Great Campaigns, Reform and War in America, 1900-1928, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1971, p. 39.

(5) Ibid., p. 72

(6) Gould, op. cit., p. 72

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on unsound footings and the two men had never fully explored their views on such matters as the powers of the presidency, the types of reforms needed and how they should be pursued. While Taft sympathized with some of Roosevelt's goals, he planned to be less of an activist and more concerned with orderly legal procedures.(7)

Taft's relations with Roosevelt's constituency, the progressives, rapidly worsened and became openly hostile within one year after he assumed office. Progressives criticized him for not supporting an income tax and lower tariff rates, and disagreed with him over many of his policies. Also, a number of other minor incidents began to cloud the relations between Taft and Roosevelt, including misunderstandings about the appointments to the cabinet.

The Ballinger-Pinchot Controversy

The matter that finally brought the rift between Taft and Roosevelt into the open was the Ballinger-Pinchot Affair. During a lengthy and complex bureaucratic struggle over conservation issues in late 1909 and early 1910, Taft's Secretary of the Interior, Richard A. Ballinger, was accused of favoring anti-conservation interests and with misconduct in office relating to coal lands in Alaska. Roosevelt's close friend and ally, Chief Forester, Gifford Pinchot, believed the allegations and helped to publicize the controversy in the press. And in January, 1910 he wrote an open letter to Senator Dooliver in which he attacked both Ballinger and President Taft.(8) The argument between Ballinger and Pinchot made national headlines for months, and resulted in "a clash between progressives and conservatives, between anti-Roosevelt people and the ex-president's friends, between conservationists and anti-conservationists."(9)

Taft sided with his Secretary of the Interior against Pinchot. A joint congressional committee was appointed to look into the charges against Ballinger in 1910. One of the members of the committee was James M. Graham (D), Illinois, who eventually filed a minority report that also receive support in the press. The majority of the committee, along with the President, exonerated Ballinger from all charges of fraud and corruption.(10) There were legitimate public policy issues on both sides but these paled in light of the political impact of the controversy.

The Impact of the Ballinger-Pinchot Affair on Taft-Roosevelt Relations

Due to the fact that the controversy related to the programs that were most valued by Roosevelt, Taft began to examine his concerns about Roosevelt's high handed management style. Conversely, the Pinchot-Ballinger controversy and Pinchot's dismissal, along with increasing amounts of information about Taft's other weaknesses, bolstered Roosevelt's opinion that Taft had served him well as a subordinate but had many failings as a leader.

(7) Gould, p. 73

(8) Lewis L. Gould, Reform and Regulation: American Politics 1900-1916, John Wiley and Sons, 1978, p. 98.

(9) George E. Mowry, The Era of Theodore Roosevelt 1900-1912, Harper & Row, New York and Evanston, 1952, p. 250.

(10) Ibid.

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Roosevelt had a difficult time over the following months in determining the role he was to play in helping restore unity to the Republicans and heal the split that he believed Taft had caused. In November, 1910 the GOP lost control of the House of Representatives for the first time since 1894. By early 1912, Roosevelt had decided to accept a nomination and he came out of the primaries with more popular votes and delegates than either Taft or Senator Robert LaFollette(WI). Roosevelt had 278 delegates with 540 needed for nomination.

However, Taft solidified his position at the Republican convention in the summer of 1912 and Taft was nominated on the first ballot with 561 votes to Roosevelt's 107. (LaFollette received 41). Following Taft's nomination, Roosevelt advised his supporters to convene and nominate for president a progressive on a Progressive platform. The splintering of the Republican party by Roosevelt resulted in the election of a Democrat, Woodrow Wilson.

The loss of Roosevelt by the GOP was unfortunate to the party. Even with his faults, he represented the best part of the GOP's future. He spoke for an inclusive party, receptive to new groups of voters, young men with creative ideas, and a measured program of innovation. Roosevelt understood that the problems of an industrial society could not be ignored or resolved through a reliance on older precepts of social harmony or an indiscriminate promotion of economic expansion. In the absence of Roosevelt and the progressives who accompanied him or defected to the Democrats, the GOP stagnated. It allowed the opposition to become the party of the cities, of labor, and of blacks and newer ethnic groups. By 1932, it had no answer to the political genius of another Roosevelt. In 1912, the Republicans decided that they could live without Theodore Roosevelt and what he stood for. The next half century revealed the political dimensions of that error. (11)

II FEDERAL POLICIES OF THE INDIAN BUREAU AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE NATION'S INDIAN WARDS -
1850-1932

The Indians in the U.S.

When Europeans arrived in the new world, most of the area that is now North America was used by Indians. Today, Indians occupy only a very small portion of their original holdings. Most Indian lands were obtained by treaties negotiated with tribes who relinquished land in one area for land in another location, many times with financial compensation as an inducement.

Between 1778 and 1871, the United States government negotiated formal treaties with Indian tribes in a manner similar to its treaties with foreign governments. The federal government viewed tribes as dependent nations, and it considered treaties similarly to other U.S. statutes. Wendell H. Oswalt, professor of Anthropology at the University of California says, "...it must be noted that they (treaties) seldom were negotiated in any

(11) Gould, p. 82

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meaningful sense of the term. Representatives of a particular tribe or tribes were assembled and a treaty was offered for their approval. The signers seldom had any realistic opportunity to modify their terms....In addition the interpreters often could not or did not spell out the implications of what the Indians were losing and what they gained."(12)

The Bureau of Indian Affairs in the War Department was created in 1824. Congress established its basic organizational structure in 1834 and its only significant change was made in 1849 when the bureau was transferred to the new Home Department. In 1869, a Board of Indian Commissioners was created. It was comprised of 10 respected individuals who were appointed by the President and served without pay. The role of the board was to provide oversight of Indian funds and to advise the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It served in this capacity until 1933 when it was abolished.

As the various treaties established reservations, Indians lost their status of equality and U.S. government agents controlled the lives of Indians within their borders. Wilcomb E. Washburn, Director of the Office of American Studies at the Smithsonian Institution, states that "Whatever else the reservation system may represent it does mark an acceptance of the Indians' rights to live and to retain land and resources for their support..." The power of white administrators on Indian reservations grew until a white agent appointed by the federal government became the central authority figure in place of the Indian chief, formerly looked to by the tribe for leadership.(13)

During the latter part of the 19th century, the prevailing attitude of those in charge of Indian Affairs was to promote the eventual assimilation of Indians into white society. Various policies were tried to bring this about. Indians were required to get short haircuts; Indian dances and feasts were prohibited, and the wearing of white man's clothes instead of traditional Indian dress was encouraged. During the last part of the 19th century, most all white Americans approved of the concept of assimilation to be attained through the break up of reservations, the dismantling of tribal governments, and the individual allotment of lands. Few, if any, advocated that separate and distinct tribal culture be maintained.(14)

Probably the action that caused the most damage to the Indians was the General Allotment (Dawes) Act of 1887, which provided that Indian reservations be surveyed, divided into tracts and put into individual ownership by allotment of tracts to tribal members. The disastrous impact of this policy was noted by Commissioner of Indian Affairs, T. J. Morgan, in his annual report for 1891. Since the non-agricultural plains tribes were not trained in farming techniques or provided with the credit needed to farm the allotments, the Indians, when authorized, soon sold their parcels to whites with little consideration

(12) Wendell H. Oswalt, This Land Was Theirs: A Study of the North American Indian, John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1973.

(13) William E. Washburn, The Indian In America, Harper & Row, New York, 1975, p.209.

(14) Ibid., p. 236.

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and "squandered what little they received."(15) During the period from 1887 to 1933, the Indians lost 90,000,000 acres to whites through the direct and indirect effects of land allotment.

In the late 1880s, the Indian Affairs Commissioner, T.J. Morgan, said that allotment "necessarily looks toward the entire destruction of the tribal relation; the Indians are to be individualized and dealt with one by one and not in masse..." 'The American Indian', in Morgan's phrase, was "to become the 'Indian American'."(16)

Fortunately, the Allotment Act was not imposed on the tribes living in the Southwest desert areas and those tribes have been able to retain their culture along with their land.

In addition to legislation such as the Allotment Act, political patronage and corruption in the Indian Bureau added to the problems of the Indians. But around the turn of the century and after, progressive reformers made attempts to improve the administration of the Bureau through civil service and fiscal controls. However, this appeared to do little to improve the plight of the Indians overall because of prevailing attitudes, as well as long standing government policies.

Francis Luepp, Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1905 to 1909, was primarily influenced by the middle class perspective that led reformers to "conclude erroneously that civil service appointments...would end graft and inefficiency and totally solve the Indian problem. This and other progressive reforms, however, did little to resolve the most important question of retaining the Indians' land base and providing security for mineral, lumber and water rights."(17)

While Leupp exhibited a tolerance for Indian religion and traditional arts and crafts, his basic views differed little from the ultra-assimilationists. "Like them, he believed that eventually the allotment of land, education, citizenship, and intermingling of the races would end the 'Indian Problem'"(18)

Luepp's successor, Robert Valentine (1909-12), also favored the model "of expertise, economy, and efficiency in directing the Office of Indian Affairs...He was also an assimilationist who found the aims of the Dawes Allotment Act of 1887 compatible with his progressive outlook."(19)

In the summer of 1911, Valentine's optimism as a progressive reformer languished, along with his health. In 1912, he was confronted with "a massive land fraud scandal at the

(15) Washburn, p. 235

(16) Ibid., p. 242

(17) Robert M. Kwasnicka and Herman J. Viola, The Commissioners of Indian Affairs 1824-1977, University of Nebraska Press, 1979, p. 231.

(18) Ibid., p. 231

(19) Ibid., p. 233

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White Earth Reservation in Minnesota -- a reservation of rich pine and prairie land belonging to the Ojibwa Indians. Three years earlier, Warren K. Moorehead of the Board of Indian Commissioners had visited White Earth and reported to Commissioner Valentine that perjury, fraud, and forced signings had been used to transfer the allotted reservation land to lumber companies and white settlers. Valentine requested a Justice Department investigation. A year after disclosure to the commissioner, Moorhead became disgruntled with the slowness of the proceedings to restore the Indian lands and decided to publicize his story. The Indian Rights Association gave him able assistance. Meanwhile, Congressman James M. Graham of Illinois started his own investigation of the White Earth frauds; his congressional committee hearings lasted from July 1911 to March 1912 with both Francis E. Leupp and Commissioner Valentine testifying. The Graham committee recommended that the Indian Bureau be either drastically overhauled or abolished....."(20)

Even before this investigation, a climate for change of opinion was dawning, influenced by a number of individuals, including President Theodore Roosevelt. The government was running its Indian schooling to break up the Pueblos, but Roosevelt visited the Hopi peoples and extolled their way of life "as precious as anything existing in the United States." Natalie Curtis, Mary Austin, Ernest Thompson Seton, and a score of others of distinction spoke out.(21) The surviving arts and crafts were discovered by museums and schools. However, little, if any of these activities appeared to affect the administration of the Indian Bureau during the Progressive era, and it was generally not until the New Deal era, with the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934, that federal government policies concerning Indian affairs were drastically changed. Policies and programs of the General Allotment Act conditioned Indians to be ashamed that they were Indians. This was all changed by the Indian Reorganization Act. This Act, which freed the Indians and moved the federal administration toward a diversity of programs and methods, has proved to be also a conserving and stabilizing measure.(22)

CONGRESSMAN JAMES M. GRAHAM AND HIS ROLE IN THE BALLINGER-PINCHOT CONTROVERSY

James M. Graham, who served as a congressman from Illinois for three terms (1909-1915), had a significant role in the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy, which was a major factor in the split between Theodore Roosevelt and President Taft, and the subsequent formation of the Bull Moose Party.

Graham was born in County Monaghan, Ireland on April 14, 1852, the youngest of nine children born to Jugh and Sarah McMahan Graham. He died October 23, 1945 at Springfield, Illinois in the house being nominated, at the age of 92 years. When he was 16 years old, he came to the United States and for the next 18 years lived in Champaign

(20) Kwasnicka and Viola, p. 239

(21) John Collier, The Indians of the Americas, W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. New York, 1947.

(22) *Ibid.*, p. 283

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and Macon Counties. After attending Normal School in Valparaiso, Indiana, he began teaching in Champaign County, Illinois where he taught for seven years, and where he married Catherine Wallace in 1876. During his teaching days he began to study law under William Day, who later became second auditor of the treasury under President Grover Cleveland. He finished his legal studies under Circuit Judge James A. Creighton of Sangamon County.

In 1884, while living in Niantic, Illinois, he was elected to the House of Representatives in the 34th Illinois General Assembly. In 1885, during the session, he was admitted to the Bar, and at the close of the session, he moved his residence to Springfield where he began an active practice of law. He rose rapidly in his profession and served as State's Attorney of Sangamon County from 1892-96. He afterward entered the law firm of Palmer, Shutt and Graham, the senior partner being former Illinois Governor John M. Palmer. The second member of the firm, who lived in a residence that is now a part of the Lincoln National Historic Site, was later the United States district attorney for the southern district of Illinois.

In 1908, Graham was elected to the United States Congress where he served three terms (1909-1915). Due to his abilities, his associates in Congress conferred upon him the honor of investigating and formulating the reports with respect to several nationally important matters which arose during his membership in that body, including the condition of the Indian wards of the United States, and the impeachment of a politically entrenched federal judge (one of the first such impeachments), which resulted in his resignation without trial.

One of Graham's most significant roles while in Congress was his participation on a committee which investigated alleged improprieties in the Department of the Interior and its administration of the country's public resources. The investigation, as noted earlier, generated a nationwide storm of interest and became the burning issue of the day. It was known as the Ballinger-Pinchot Controversy (see statement of context).

The joint Committee of Congress to Investigate the Interior Department and the Bureau of Forestry consisted of six senators and six representatives - seven regular Republicans, four Democrats, and one insurgent Republican. Measured by the standing of its members among their colleagues, it was a distinguished body.(23). It included Sen. Knute Nelson (R), MN, chairman; Sen. Frank P. Flint (R), CA; Sen. Elihy Root (R), NY; Sen. Thomas H. Payne (D), KY; FL; Duncan O. Fletcher (D), FL; Rep. Samuel W. McCall (R), MA; Rep. Marlin E. Olmstead (R), PA; Rep. Edwin Denby (R) MI (Denby as Secretary of the Navy under President Harding, turned the Navy's oil reserves in California over to Secretary Fall of the Interior Department, which opened the door to the Teapot Dome Scandal); Rep. Ollie M. James (D), KY; Rep. James M. Graham (D), IL; and Judge E. H. Madison (Insurgent Republican), KN.

(23) Gifford Pinchot, Breaking New Ground, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1947, p. 465.

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In his book, Breaking New Ground, Gifford Pinchot wrote:

"Representative James M. Graham of Illinois, was conscientious, able and fearless, and generally respected. His determination to get at the truth, whoever might be hit, was his most conspicuous characteristic. All in all he was, I think, the best member of the committee."(24)

The hearings covered four full months, from January 26 to May 28, 1910. The committee heard testimony on forty-six days, and arguments on two additional days. In all, 33 witnesses were heard. The records of the hearings filled nearly 5,000 closely printed octavo pages.(25)

There were three sets of findings, each of them voluminous. The Republican majority report, in words at least, exonerated Secretary Ballinger completely. The Republican insurgent, Judge E. H. Madison of Kansas filed a minority report, which he alone signed, and which gave a good statement of the case, according to Pinchot.(26) Graham presented a 33,000 word report for the minority presenting an able, judicial and complete analysis of the evidence taken, with the conclusion that valuable public resources had been turned over to private interests without jurisdiction and without authority. Congressman Graham supported this report with a speech on the floor of the House, which received high praise in an editorial in Collier's weekly, among others.(27)

Following the investigation, Interior Secretary Ballinger resigned and there began a closer supervision of the conservation of national rights in public resources. Of equal, or even more momentous, significance was the impact of the controversy and investigative results on the national political scene.

As noted in the contextual discussion, the episode left a residue of bitterness between the conservative Republicans led by Taft and the progressives loyal to Theodore Roosevelt, and was one of the primary causal factors leading to Roosevelt's break with Taft and the eventual splintering of the Republican party with Roosevelt's candidacy for the presidency in 1912 on the Bull Moose party ticket, the resultant election of a Democrat, Woodrow Wilson, and the decline in the accomplishments and influence of the Republican party for many years.

During this era, as well as during the years 1897-1945, Graham maintained his residence in Springfield at 413 South 7th Street. At the time he was in Congress, his law office was located in the 100 block of South 5th Street in Springfield above the Tivoli Theater.

(24) Gifford Pinchot, p. 467.

(25) Ibid., p. 490.

(26) Ibid., p. 467.

(27) Illinois State Journal, "James M. Graham, Dean of County Bar, Former Congressman Dies," October 24, 1945.

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While the building in which his law office was located is no longer in existence, his residence is still intact, little changed from the time he lived there during the period of significance relating to this nomination - 1909-15.

CONGRESSMAN GRAHAM'S WORK ON INDIAN CONCERNS

During his years in Congress, Rep. Graham's leadership skills thrust him into a role in which he became a champion of the Indian wards of the United States. He chaired several investigations into the Indian Bureau and the plight of the Indians on the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota. His efforts helped lay the groundwork for eventual improvements in the nation's policies with respect to Indians and the administration of the Indian Bureau.

From June 5 to July 8, 1911, Graham chaired the General Indian Investigation Hearings during which Ex-Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Francis E. Luepp and others were interrogated intensively by Congressman Graham concerning such issues as the allotment of Indian lands and others.

House Resolution No. 103 of the Sixty-second Congress gave a House committee general authority to investigate matters present and past involving expenditures in the Interior Department, including an investigation into the sorry plight of the Indians on the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota. A subcommittee was formed, chaired by James M. Graham, which traveled to Minneapolis to hold hearings which began on January 23, 1912. Hearings were also held in Detroit, Minnesota from February 5-21, 1912.(28) Attendance was large and evoked great interest. The subcommittee members also visited the Indians in their homes. Chairman Graham said, at the conclusion of the hearings:

"The showing these hearings made is well calculated to excite sorrow and commiseration for the Indians, and to excite a strong feeling of distrust for a considerable part of the Government Service, and a belief that unless some thorough, honest and comprehensive movement is speedily inaugurated, it will soon be too late to save the wards of the Government and their vast interests (\$1 billion worth at the time) from the grasping greed of traders and the incompetence and inefficiency of the Indian Bureau.....The Commissioner of Indian Affairs is practically the trustee for this vast amount of property and administers it as he sees fit. He gives no bond and the only way his acts can be reviewed is by an appeal to the Secretary of the Interior.....nothing like it or nearly like it can be found anywhere else. If a remedy is to be found for it, Congress must find it."(29)

(28) Rep. James M. Graham, Report in the Matter of the Investigation of the White Earth Reservation, U. S. Government Printing Office, p. IV.

(29) Ibid., p. XXII.

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On April 9, 1912, with Congressman Graham as chairman, the Committee on Expenditures in the Interior Department began an investigation of the administration of the Indian Bureau under the then Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mr. Robert G. Valentine. The report of the committee found that:

"for the protection of the public interest and the interest of the Indians, Robert G. Valentine should be promptly removed from the position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Among some of the committee's findings were that Mr. Valentine:

- (1) Flagrantly violated civil service law and expended public funds improperly;
- (2) Introduced intoxicating liquor into Indian country;
- (3) Promoted an official charged with drunkenous and other scandalous misconduct;
- (4) Illegally, improperly and extravagantly expended money appropriated for Indian services; and
- (5) Administered the Indian Service inefficiently and in a disorganized manner."(30)

Graham's report on the investigation of Valentine and calling for his dismissal was released in January, 1913, four months after Valentine's resignation due to the pressures exerted on him by the investigation.

While nothing much directly came of Graham's efforts (other than Valentine's resignation) with respect to major changes in the Indian Bureau, they were, at least, one of the actions that helped to usher in a new period in the administration of Indian affairs. Policies were initiated allowing Indians greater freedom relative to the control of their property.(31) In 1919, an Act granting citizenship to certain Indians was passed. (32) An Act of 1921 authorized the leasing of restricted allotments by an allottee or his heirs, subject only to the approval of the local superintendent. This provision made it possible to relieve the Washington office of much detail in certain respects. An Act of 1926 authorized competent Indians of the Crow Reservation to lease their own allotments and those of their minor children for farming and grazing purposes without supervision. And in 1927, a law was enacted granting Indians the beneficial use of all resources within the boundaries of an Executive Order reservation. Also, during these years, earnest effort was made to promote the advancement of Indians along educational

(30) Rep. James M. Graham, Report in the Matter of the Investigation of the Indian Bureau, January 4, 1913.

(31) J. P. Kinney, A Continent Lost - A Civilization Won, Indian Land Tenure in America, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937, p. 295.

(32) Curtis E. Jackson and Morris J. Galli, A History of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and its Activities Among Indians, R & E Research Associates, Inc., San Francisco, CA, 1977.

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and economic lines.(33)

The years following Graham's investigations until 1932 were, in many ways, the formative period for a significant new Indian policy in the New Deal era, during which congressional understanding of Indian affairs and interest in new methods increased.(34)

Congressman Graham's daughter, Sister Agnes Clare (now 92) recalls the times when she visited her father's congressional office while living in Washington, D.C. with her family. In an interview on November 5, 1988, she recalled that there were often several Indians waiting in her father's outer office to see the Congressman. She said that they were often attired in their native dress, including feathered headresses. She said that they felt that her father was their champion and was trying to help improve their lot. In gratitude, they would sometimes give Graham Indian artifacts and mocassins. Graham, in addition to his visit to the reservation in Minnesota, also visited the Indians in South Dakota, where he found that they had "been taken advantage of by pretty shoddy people." In gratitude for his efforts on behalf of the Indians, one tribe made him a chief and gave him a name which meant "Chief Stand-Up-Straight." (35) Sister Agnes Clare also recalled that as a remembrance of his efforts on behalf of the Indians, he always kept a bust of an Indian in the niche near the top of the stairs in his home in Springfield.

While there may have been others in Congress who disagreed with such policies as allotment and tried to advance the cause of Indians (e.g., Senator Henry M. Teller of Colorado, who "characterized an earlier proposed version of the General Allotment Act as 'a bill to despoil the Indians of their lands and to make them vagabonds on the face of the earth'.") (36), from all evidence, Congressman Graham made it one of his special concerns to work for their betterment, and he spent a great deal of time working in this area.

(33) J. P. Kinney, pp. 297-298

(34) John Leiper Freeman, Jr., "The New Deal for Indians: A Study in Bureau Committee Relations in American Government", Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1952.

(35) Based on an interview with Graham's daughter, Sister Agnes Clare, Nov. 8, 1988.

(36) Wilcomb E. Washburn, p. 245.

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7. Graham, James M., Report in the Matter of the Investigation of the Indian Bureau, Presented by Mr. Graham from the Committee on Expenditures in the Interior Department, January 4, 1913, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
8. Graham, James M., Report in the Matter of the Investigation of the White Earth Reservation (situated in the State of Minnesota), Volumes I and II, presented by Mr. Graham, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1913.
9. Illinois State Journal, "James M. Graham, Dean of County Bar, Former Congressman, Dies at 93," October 24, 1945.
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16. Portrait and Biographical Album of Sangamon County, Chicago, Chapman Bros., 1891, pp. 487-488.
17. Washburn, William A., The Indian In America, Harper & Row, New York, 1975.

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1. Interview with Congressman Graham's grandson (Hugh Graham, Jr.) and great-grandson (Hugh Graham III), October 25, 1988.
2. Interview with Congressman Graham's great nephew, James M. Graham, November 1, 1988.
3. Interview with Congressman Graham's daughter, Sister Agnes Clair, November 8, 1988.

9. Major Bibliographical References

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3. Fitzpatrick, J. R., James M. Graham, author's manuscript located in the Sangamon Valley Collection, Lincoln Library, Springfield, IL.
4. Freeman, John Leiper, Jr., "The New Deal for Indians: A Study in Bureau-Committee Relations in American Government", Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1952.
5. Gould, Lewis L., Reform and Regulation: American Politics 1900-1916, John Wiley and Sons, 1978.
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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

Primary location of additional data:

- State historic preservation office
- Other State agency
- Federal agency
- Local government
- University
- Other

Specify repository:

Sangamon Valley Collection, Lincoln Library, Springfield, IL; Graham & Graham Attorneys, 1201 S. 8th, Springfield, IL

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of property 0.15 Acres

UTM References

A 16 273390 4408460
 Zone Easting Northing

C

B
 Zone Easting Northing

D

See continuation sheet

Verbal Boundary Description

The nominated property occupies the North 16.61 feet of Lot 12 and the South 23.33 feet of Lot 13 in the East Iles Addition to the City of Springfield. The lot measures approximately 40' x 163'

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Boundary Justification

The boundary includes the city lots that have historically been associated with the property.

See continuation sheet

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Charles Kirchner
 organization Charles Kirchner & Associates date January 16, 1989
 street & number 522 East Monroe telephone (217) 789-1330
 city or town Springfield, state Illinois zip code 62701

COLORADO

Douglas County

Ruth Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church
19670 E. Mainstreet
Parker 5/01/89 89000332

CONNECTICUT

Hartford County

Woodruff, Capt. Samuel, House
23 Old State Rd.
Southington 5/05/89 89000014

FLORIDA

Alachua County

Evinston Community Store and Post Office
Co. Rd. 225 N of jct. with Co. Rd. SE. 10
Evinston 5/05/89 89000321

ILLINOIS

Rock Island County

Potter House
1906 7th Ave.
Rock Island 5/05/89 89000364

Sangamon County

Graham, Cong. James M., House
413 S. 7th St.
Springfield 5/01/89 89000342
Power Farmstead
Co. Rd. 9.5 North, 0.5 mi. E of Cantrall
Cantrall vicinity 5/01/89 89000341

KENTUCKY

Madison County

Dozier--Guess House
Madison County MRA
KY 388, Red House Rd.
Richmond vicinity 5/01/89 88003343

LOUISIANA

Avoyelles Parish

St. Mary's Assumption Church
Front St.
Cottonport 5/01/89 89000330

Calcasieu Parish

McNeese State University Auditorium
Ryan St. S of Sale St.
Lake Charles 5/05/89 89000381