

*The Real
Calvin Coolidge*

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Phone: 802-672-3389 Fax: 802-672-3369
www.calvin-coolidge.org

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This issue is 18th in a series. Back issues (except for #1 and #9 which are out of print) are available for purchase year round through our offices. During the season (end of May to mid-October), copies are available at the Cilley Store at President Calvin Coolidge State Historic Site for \$2.95 each.

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ABOUT THIS ISSUE

The Liberty Memorial building in Kansas City was built as a national monument for the Great War. Kansas Citians, in 1918, wanted a memorial to honor the dead and celebrate the peace. They engaged a New York architect and he designed a 217 foot- tall shaft with four 40 foot tall "Guardian Spirits" on the tower topped with an eternal flame. President Calvin Coolidge then opened the 8.5 acre park and building complex in 1926 so its history is very important to CCMF and National Advisory Board member Jerry Wallace, now living in Kansas.

The Liberty Memorial building and tower in Kansas City was re-dedicated in 2002. Our Coolidge Foundation President, Mimi Baird, was invited to the occasion. She was seated on the main stage with Jerry Wallace. They heard from important dignitaries of the day such as General Richard Meyers, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

For this issue, we have included the story of Ms. Baird's trip to Kansas. Cassie Horner, CCMF volunteer and journalist, wrote the article first for the *Vermont Standard*, the Woodstock, Vermont weekly newspaper. We thank Ms. Horner for the rights to re-print it.

Jerry Wallace wrote this research paper to describe Calvin Coolidge's role in 1921, 1924, and 1926 at the Kansas City monument. The 1926 grand opening brought the largest crowd ever addressed by a U.S. President up to that time and there was radio hook up as well. Wallace's well-documented paper is a testament to Coolidge's leadership and the significance of his foreign policy as it relates to war and peace in his era.

Cyndy Bittinger
Editor, Executive Director

Kathy Wendling, Chair, Communications Committee
Mimi Baird
Bill Brooks
Charles Buell
Cassie Horner
Robert Kittner



Mimi Baird, Coolidge Foundation President, pointing to the name of Vice President Calvin Coolidge on the Liberty Memorial Monument in 2002.

Local Woman Represents Coolidge Foundation At WWI Ceremony By Cassie Horner

In 1919, the people of Kansas City, Missouri raised \$2.5 million—an enormous sum of money at that time—in just 10 days. The reason: to build a memorial honoring the soldiers who fought in World War I, many of whom passed through the heartland hub of Kansas City. Two years later, Vice President Calvin Coolidge spoke for five minutes to a crowd of 150,000 during the dedication of the site.

By 1926, the enormous Liberty Memorial and museum were completed on the plains, replete with a 217-foot tower and huge guardian Sphinxes. For that dedication ceremony, Coolidge, now President, spoke to the largest crowd a president had ever addressed up to that time—a multitude that spread one-quarter of a mile from the Memorial.

On Memorial Day in 2002, a newly renovated Liberty Memorial was rededicated in front of a crowd of about 30,000. Among the spectators, seated on the main stage behind the rows of military people from around the world, was Mimi Baird of Woodstock, representing Vermont and, along with fellow trustee and Coolidge scholar Jerry Wallace, the Calvin Coolidge Memorial Foundation located in Plymouth.

Baird said that the committee for the renovation of the Liberty Memorial (begun in 1994) contacted the Coolidge Foundation to ask if any of the family wanted to go. Although the family could not attend, “I saw it as a wonderful opportunity to represent Vermont and Calvin Coolidge and the Calvin Coolidge Memorial Foundation. So off I went,” Baird commented.

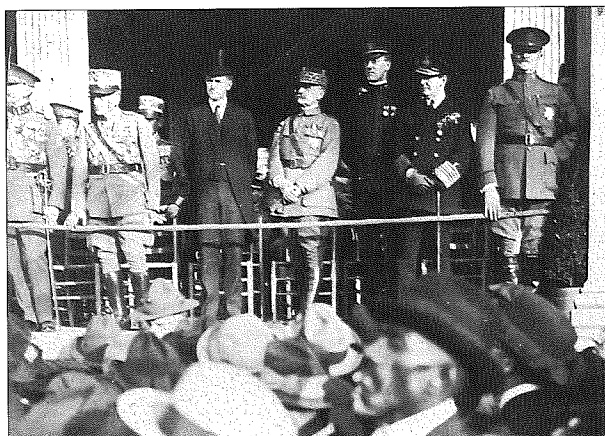
For Baird, the presence of Coolidge at the two events in Kansas City is significant for several reasons. Of prime importance was the fact that, in 1921, he was part of a group that included, for the only time together, the five allied commanders from Belgium, France, Italy, Great Britain and the US. Engraved on a wall of the Memorial is a list of their names, along with that of Coolidge. “That was a thrill,” Baird said of seeing Coolidge’s name in that roster. “Here we are out in the middle of nowhere for us New Englanders... There in the heartland.”

Another highlight of the Liberty Memorial for Coolidge buffs is the 40-minute speech he made in 1926. "This was a speech we didn't know existed until Jerry Wallace found it," Baird said. "It was a major speech." He discussed the World Court, a big political issue of the day. In a speech he made in 1921 to the Kansas City American Legion is a sentence that President John Kennedy reworked for his famed inaugural speech about "Ask not what your country can do for you." Baird recalled that, at the 2002 ceremony, "both General (Richard B.) Meyers and the Governor of Missouri (Bob Holden) evoked some of Coolidge's text in their opening remarks." Meyers is Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Baird said of the 2002 ceremony, "It was not only a rededication, but also the first Memorial Day since September 11 and was (a) military event. Not too many of us are used to a military atmosphere... You got a sense of a feeling for your country."

The ceremony concluded with flyovers by five aircraft, including a Red Baron Steerman Aircraft from the 1930's. "Seeing those planes flying over," Baird reflected, "there's a lot of noise, but there's dignity in them flying over."

Especially moving to her was General Meyers' response when the Red Baron, due to its slower speed, was about 15 minutes behind the other four planes. "General Meyers refused to leave the viewing stand until the last one went over."



The platform of the National Convention of the American Legion at Kansas City in 1921. General Jacquin of the Belgian army, General Armando Diaz of Italy, Vice President Calvin Coolidge, Admiral Sir David Benity, General Pershing of America, and Ferdinand Foch, Commander-in-chief of the armies of the Allies.

Jerry L. Wallace

Archivist, Historian, and Writer



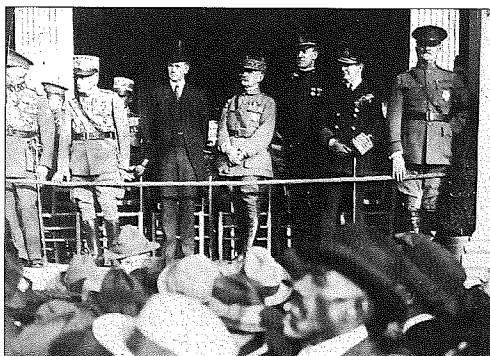
Jerry Wallace, born and raised in southwest Missouri's Ozark region, is a product of small town, rural America. He is a graduate of Southwest Missouri State University (A.B., 1965) and the University of Missouri (M.A., 1967); his principal fields of study were history and political philosophy. At the end of his schooling, he volunteered for the U.S. Peace Corps and was sent to Thailand to work in a malaria eradication program. Later, he served a stint in the U.S. Army in Viet-Nam, where, assigned to a U.S. unit assisting the Royal Thai Army Volunteer Force, he acted as a Thai interpreter.

From July 1970 through July 1999, Mr. Wallace worked as an archivist on the staff of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) in Washington, DC, except for a few years spent at the National Personnel Records Center in St. Louis, Missouri. During his NARA career, he engaged in a broad variety of archival activities, often involving both central office and field operations, and was given special assignments that took him from the White House complex to the stack areas of Federal records centers. His area of expertise was records appraisal and disposition. Perhaps, his most interesting experience was serving as historian-archivist of the Presidential Inaugural Committees for Richard Nixon (1973) and Ronald Reagan (1981 & 1985). This assignment led to his study of Presidential inaugural history, a subject not well documented. He has frequently appeared on television and radio and been quoted in the printed press in regards to inaugural matters.

In 1999, Mr. Wallace and his wife, Delia, left the Washington, DC, area for Oxford, Kansas, a community of 1,200. His interest in archival work continues, but his primary focus is now on historical research and writing. For three years, he assisted Southwestern College, a small liberal arts institution, in establishing a school archives and in documenting its interesting history. He also works with local historical societies and museums in developing their programs. A major project is building his library on Coolidge and the Twenties, another is assisting the Coolidge Foundation.

His interest in the Twenties dates from the seventh grade, and his special interest in Coolidge, from 1971. He has been a member of the Coolidge Foundation since 1972, serving as a trustee from 1998 to 2003.

His most recent publications include: "Harry Truman's 1948 Whistlestop Campaign Visit to Monett," in the *Monett (MO) Times* on the fiftieth anniversary of the visit, Sept. 29, 1998; "Armistice Day, November 11, 1919... Veterans Day, November 11, 1999: The 80th Anniversary" on the **Southwestern College** website; "The Fire That Refueled Us," the story of the fire that destroyed Southwestern College's principal building and almost the College itself, and "1962: The First Lady of the World [Eleanor Roosevelt] Visits SC," in **The Southwesterner: The Alumni Voice of Southwestern College**, Spring 2000 and Winter 2001, respectively; "Opening Day 1886" and "The Cemetery" in the **Southwestern College Collegian**, Oct. 4 and Nov. 1, 2000, respectively; "75th Anniversary of Calvin Coolidge's Inauguration: March 4, 1925," Mar. 2000, and "Thoughts on Calvin Coolidge: Living on in the Public Memory," July 2001, on the **Calvin Coolidge Foundation** webpage; and "Calvin Coolidge's Third Oath, Washington, March 4, 1925, The Seventy-fifth Anniversary," an in-depth look at Coolidge's formal inauguration and the myths surrounding it in **The Real Calvin Coolidge** No. 16, August 2001. It is worth noting that in the early 1970's, he prepared a National Archives Microfilm Publication, M867, featuring selected photographs of Calvin Coolidge and other figures of his Administration, drawn from the holdings of the National Archives.



The platform of the National Convention of the American Legion at Kansas City in 1921. General Jacquin of the Belgian army, General Armando Diaz of Italy, Vice President Calvin Coolidge, Admiral Sir David Benity, General Pershing of America, and Ferdinand Foch, Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the Allies.

CALVIN COOLIDGE AND THE LIBERTY MEMORIAL

"AN ALTAR HIGH ERECTED IN THE SKIES"

REMEMBERING THOSE WHO HAD SERVED IN THE GREAT WAR

By Jerry L. Wallace

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### The Great War: 1914-18

Kansas Citians would have had no need for a Liberty Memorial if, in June 1914, a young student, with Slav nationalist sympathies, had not shot and killed the heir to the imperial throne of Austria in the far off Bosnian town of Serajevo. In the ensuing crisis, diplomacy failed, and in August of that year, the world was plunged into the Great War. Four years of death and destruction followed.

The Great War came as a surprise, "like lightning out of a clear sky," it was said.<sup>1</sup> At the outset, the United States, determined not to be drawn into Europe's conflict, adopted an official policy of neutrality towards the Allied (England, France, and Russia) and Central (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Ottoman Empire) Powers. In their hearts, however, most Americans favored the Allied cause and this sentiment grew ever stronger as the brutal conflict continued. It was Germany's decision to revive unrestricted submarine warfare, along with its maneuvering to involve Mexico in a war with the United States, that at last provoked the nation to take up arms. Behind these factors, there was also the growing realization that without our intervention, German militarism might be triumphant. On April 6, 1917, at President Woodrow Wilson's call, the United States declared war on Germany. Americans rallied to the Allied cause with enthusiasm and energy, supporting the war effort with money, supplies, and men. We were maintaining our rights and asserting our ideals. Our goal was to hasten

the end of the War and then participate in fashioning a lasting peace in which democracy would flourish.

The American Expeditionary Force, popularly known as the A.E.F., under General John J. Pershing, began to arrive in France in late June 1917, there to return the assistance given our forefathers during the American Revolution. "Lafayette, we are here," it was proudly said.<sup>2</sup> American soldiers and sailors fought bravely and with success at Chateau Thierry, Belleau Wood, the second Battle of the Somme, Saint Mihiel, Meuse-Argonne, and other engagements on land and at sea, providing the needed push for the final victory. Allied pressure on the battlefield, coupled with a blockade of enemy ports, led to the collapse of the Central Powers. At daybreak, on November 11, 1918, the armistice was signed in the forest of Compiègne and, at 11:00 o'clock that morning, Paris time, the guns went silent along the Western Front: The War to End Wars had Ended....The War to Make the World Safe for Democracy was Won.

On that memorable day, Calvin Coolidge, who was then serving as Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts, was vacationing in Maine. Only six days before, the citizens of Massachusetts had chosen him to be their governor.<sup>3</sup> He was awakened in the middle of the night with the happy news of the signing and immediately returned to Boston to join in the celebration. Writing in his *Autobiography*, Mr. Coolidge would recall the emotions of that November day:

What the end of the four years of carnage meant those who remember it will never forget and those who do not can never be told. The universal joy, the enormous relief, found expression from all the people in a spontaneous outburst of thanksgiving.<sup>4</sup>

The Armistice found 4,000,000 American men under arms, more than one fourth of all men between the ages of 18 and 31. Of that number, 2,000,000 were overseas. Altogether, 4,734,991 men had served, most of them in the Army. Victory had come at a high price. The dead numbered 116,516: battle deaths being 53,402 and those from other causes, such as from the deadly outbreaks of Spanish influenza, 63,114. The wounded—men missing limbs, without sight, with bad lungs from gas, suffering from shell shock, and so on—numbered 204,002.<sup>5</sup> Calvin Coolidge

would later observe: "It is these things"—the dead and maimed, to which must be added wives without husbands, children without fathers, and parents without sons, "that bring to us more emphatically than anything else the bitterness, the suffering, and the devastation of armed conflict."<sup>6</sup> Thankfully, most of the men, having done their duty, came home whole, ready to resume their lives.<sup>7</sup> A grateful people would not forget their patriotism and sacrifice for the nation and mankind.

### The Monument

In the "Heart of America" lay Kansas City, Missouri, an all American community of 325,000, its residents of native stock, drawn from the small towns and farms of the region. She had freely sent her sons and daughters to serve in the Great War, 441 of whom would not return home.<sup>8</sup> Two days before the Armistice in November 1918, a proposal appeared in the KANSAS CITY JOURNAL calling for a memorial to its men, who had served and fallen. Her progressive and patriotic citizens—with "appreciative hearts for service well done"—seized on the idea as a way to express their gratitude and to honor their devotion and sacrifice.<sup>9</sup> To make the memorial a reality, the community organized itself, establishing the Liberty Memorial Association under the able leadership of R. A. Long, who was the source of the memorial proposal that had appeared in the JOURNAL, and Jesse C. Nichols, vice president.<sup>10</sup> Over a 10 day period, between October 27 and November 5, 1919, 83,000 individuals had subscribed \$2,000,000 towards its construction.<sup>11</sup> By the Fall of 1921, the proposed memorial was moving towards reality. An architect, Harold Van Buren Magonigle of New York City, had been chosen. His plans were approved for a structure featuring a tower, crowned by a bowl, containing an eternal flame ("The Flame of Inspiration"), set upon the wings of four guardian spirits, flanked by two low buildings. Finally, a building site had been selected on a hill facing the City's Union Station, itself a monumental building, dating from 1914 and possessing considerable architectural distinction.<sup>12</sup> The theme decided upon for the Memorial looked beyond War and Victory towards the memorialization of the Peace won by the War.<sup>13</sup>

### The 1921 American Legion Convention<sup>14</sup>

At this point, the American Legion came to town to hold its third annual

convention.<sup>15</sup> The Legionnaires were patriotic young veterans of the Great War, full of energy and determined to protect American institutions for which they had fought and to ensure that all veterans, but especially the disabled, were not forgotten. This three-day gathering, which attracted around 60,000 Legionnaires and ran from October 31 through November 2, 1921, was one of those rare and memorable occasions in our national life.

The convention brought together for the first and only time the principal military leaders of the Allied cause in the Great War. Before the veterans appeared: Ferdinand Foch, Marshal of France and Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies in the World War; Baron Alphonse Jacques, Hero of Liege and Dixmude, Commander of the Iron Division, and now Lieutenant General of the Belgian Army; Armando Vittorio Diaz, Savior of Italy at the River Plave, General of the Armies of Italy; David Earl Beatty, First Sea Lord and Chief of the Naval Staff of Great Britain; and John J. Pershing, a Son of Missouri, Commander-in-Chief of the American Expeditionary Force and now General of the Armies of the United States.<sup>16</sup> Their presence brought back a flood of memories and emotions. It was this, along with the Legionnaires' exceptional vitality and joy of camaraderie, which gave this gathering its unique and special distinction. The events of the convention, both inside and out, were a wonder to behold and something to be remembered by all present. Among the highlights of the convention—and there were several—was the site dedication ceremony for the Liberty Memorial.

That Fall, Calvin Coolidge had been Vice President of the United States for almost eight months. He had come to Kansas City to represent President Warren G. Harding at the Legion convention and the Liberty Memorial site dedication. The Vice President had departed Washington on Saturday morning, October 29, 1921, at 11:45; accompanying him was his close friend and political supporter, Frank W. Stearns.<sup>17</sup> They arrived on the Santa Fe at Kansas City's Union Station on Sunday evening, at 9:55. Up to almost the last minute, according to the STAR, there was uncertainty as to whether the Vice-President could attend, due to, it was said, official business.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, at the time, the Senate had before it important legislation, which might have required his presence. It could also have involved, at least initially, a threatened national railway strike, called for the day of his arrival, October 30. Fortunately for all, the strike had been narrowly

averted three days before.<sup>19</sup> Union Station was beautifully decorated with flags and bunting, the work of young Harry S. Truman of the Decoration Committee.<sup>20</sup> For visitors, there was a model of the proposed Liberty Memorial, which, five years later, as President of the United States, Mr. Coolidge would formally dedicate.

The Vice President received a warm greeting from the welcoming committee.<sup>21</sup> His host was Walter S. Dickey, a Kansas City businessman, active in Republican politics, who opened his home at 5100 Rockhill Road to the Vice President and other Harding Administration officials.<sup>22</sup> The following morning, he held a breakfast in honor of the Vice President. Guests included important Republican officeholders and party officials from Missouri and neighboring States, including, at the head of the list, Governors Arthur M. Hyde of Missouri and S. R. McKelvie of Nebraska. Frank W. Stearns was there too. The group was photographed afterwards. Mr. Coolidge sometimes objected to travel, but in going around the country, he met important men of affairs, whose acquaintance, when called to the Presidency, would be of great value to him.<sup>23</sup> While in Kansas City, for instance, he became acquainted with Irwin Kirkwood, the publisher of the influential KANSAS CITY STAR. It was Mr. Kirkwood who, in 1926, lent President Coolidge his White Pines Camp, close to Saranac Lake in the Adirondacks in New York State, for use as the Summer White House.<sup>24</sup>

New to national politics, Mr. Coolidge was not yet a recognized public figure. To compensate for this, the STAR ran for its readers both a drawing of him, with a smiling face, and a short biographical sketch. On one occasion, however, there was a slip-up: the STAR gave Mr. Coolidge a nonexistent middle initial, referring to him as "Calvin *F.* Coolidge."<sup>25</sup> Nonetheless, as Vice President of the United States, Calvin Coolidge would be the highest-ranking national official present and would be accorded the respect and honors due his position.<sup>26</sup> Of course, the eyes of the Legionnaires and the public were fixed on the five great Allied military leaders. The Vice President and the other civilian guests accommodated themselves to this situation, playing their official parts in an unobtrusive fashion. As the President's representative, the Vice-President was the first principal speaker at the Legion convention on Monday morning, October 31.<sup>27</sup>

John G. Emery, National Commander, called the convention to order. After the preliminaries, which included Mme. Ernestine Schumann-Heink singing the "Star-Spangled Banner," Vice President Coolidge made his appearance. He received a warm reception. Here it is best to let a STAR reporter, who himself is not lacking in enthusiasm, described the scene.

### **A Big Coolidge Reception**

"My, I wouldn't miss this for anything," declared Calvin F. [sic] Coolidge, vice-president of the United States, when he recovered from the breath-taking reception accorded him when he was conducted into the hall. A blare of trumpets had announced the vice-president's entry.

Accompanied by an escort and Walter S. Dickey [his host] and Charles W. Barlett [head of the welcoming committee], he moved down the long hall from the south entrance. Delegates stood on their chairs during the 2-minute vocal demonstration.

The Vermont delegation—Vermont is the vice-president's native state—wouldn't quit at the end of two minutes. After the remainder of the noise subsided Vermont gave a demonstration of its own.

After Mr. Coolidge finished speaking he left the platform and entered a box with Mr. Dickey. But the cheering and applause following the vice-president's speaking continued. Mr. Emery's gong was rung several times before it produced silence.<sup>28</sup>

The Vice President's message, while addressing Administration concerns and achievements, appears to reflect largely his own thinking.<sup>29</sup> The views and ideas expressed therein would find expression on future occasions and would echo again in his speech at the Memorial dedication in 1926. As one would expect, scattered throughout his remarks was praise for the veterans and their sacrifice: "You saved America and doing it saved the world." He also had good words for the Legion, seeing it as a

unique organization for maintaining "a true national spirit" and as representing "a new national consciousness."<sup>30</sup> He also dwelt favorably on its efforts for veterans and support of patriotic ideals. Some good, he felt, had come out of the War. He was particularly impressed and gratified by how the War effort had united the country. "The flame of patriotism swept over the whole land," he said, "consuming away the dross of all past differences, and fusing the entire people into one common national unit." It was their "inspiring example," he observed, that had destroyed "the two greatest obstacles to our full national life...—sectionalism and class consciousness." He stressed the need now to maintain that unity, for without unity of purpose there could be no permanent progress at home or abroad. The Vice President's address, however, had a more serious and timely purpose than conveying expressions of thanks and praise. His task was to urge—in a most subtle way—the Legionnaires to reconsider their position on the Adjusted Compensation Bill, better known as the Soldier's Bonus Bill.

Discussion of a bonus for returning soldiers started not long after the War ended. The idea behind it was simply this: While the veteran had worn the uniform, earning a dollar a day, civilians at home were advancing in their jobs and profiting from high wartime wages, and some businessmen, "profiteers" they were called, were accumulating fortunes. The bonus was to compensate the veteran in a small way for his financial loss. The bonus had not been a major issue in the 1920 election. The Republican Party platform had been silent on it. However, with the active backing of the American Legion and others, public support for the bonus grew quickly. Soon politicians of both parties were coming out in its favor. States also moved to pass bonus legislation.<sup>31</sup>

In early July 1921, to the dismay of the new Harding Administration, the Senate voted to take up the bonus issue. The country was then suffering from a severe financial slump. The passage of the bonus bill would impose a new multibillion-dollar burden for which no funds were available. Most importantly, it would disrupt the Administration's efforts—just getting underway—to bring the government's finances into balance, cut taxes, and lower the tremendous debt left by the War. These measures were essential, it was thought in these pre-Keynesian days, for the return of prosperity. The situation was so serious that President Harding felt

compelled to intervene. On July 12, 1921, in a message to Congress, which, to emphasize its importance, he chose to deliver in person, President Harding made clear his opposition to the bonus bill. He would do all he could for the disabled veterans—but the financial well being of the nation came before any general peacetime compensation for all veterans. On July 15, the Senate, heeding the President's warning, voted to send the bonus bill back to committee, killing it for the time being.<sup>32</sup>

The bonus issue, however, was too popular and strongly backed to go away. As Vice President Coolidge spoke to the Legionnaires, in Washington, Senator James A. Reed of Missouri was attempting to revive the issue by attaching the bonus bill to another important piece of legislation.<sup>33</sup> His effort had little chance of success and eventually did fail. His real purpose, as a partisan Democrat, was to embarrass the Administration and Congressional Republicans as the Legionnaires met in Senator Reed's hometown of Kansas City.<sup>34</sup>

In his address, Vice President Coolidge never referred specifically to the bonus bill; rather, he attacked the idea indirectly. First, he emphasized President Harding's concern for veterans, especially the wounded and disabled and their families. The President was their friend, committed to their well being, and would do for them all he could. To this point, Mr. Coolidge said:

No man not in the service has a deeper appreciation of what that service meant, of the sacrifice made by the veterans, of the obligations incurred by the country; and no man will go farther to minister to the true welfare of those who have been in the service, and their dependents, than the President of the United States.<sup>35</sup>

No words that the Vice President uttered that day rang more true than did these. Second, he then enumerated what the government was doing for the veterans—concrete actions and achievements—giving also the dollar totals involved. The list could not but impress his listeners. The Vice President then went into his principal theme:

...[Y]our glory lies in what you have given, and may give, to your country, not in what your country has or may give to you.<sup>36</sup>

No amount of money could adequately compensate veterans for their service: what they had rendered was priceless. The concept of "law of service" was discussed at length.

If men in civil life, in these days of peace, would put their thought and effort into the success of the people of the whole country, as in military life you put your thought and effort, in time of war, into the success of the whole army, the victories of peace would follow as surely as did the victories of war.<sup>37</sup>

The Vice President called on the ex-soldier to look beyond his group and his own personal interest towards the concerns and needs of the country as a whole: a "national outlook" was needed.<sup>38</sup> Turning specific, he cautioned that with the country in a severe economic slump, the times demanded economy in government and asked their help in bringing it about. Indirectly, he was pressing them to rise above narrow self-interest. He asked them to unite with their fellow Americans, as they had done during the war, for benefit of all. He reminded them, "There is no path to permanent prosperity and success which narrowly excludes any section," or, he could have continued, which narrowly bestows privilege or favors on select groups.<sup>39</sup> Only by uniting as people, could America find prosperity at home and help a troubled world find peace.

How many veterans understood Mr. Coolidge's indirect message that October day is hard to say. It is sufficient to note that according to the STAR, he received a warm greeting and was applauded warmly at its end. Later, the convention put aside a resolution critical of President Harding for stopping the bonus bill, while also making it clear that they would continue to fight for it: without a dissenting vote, delegates voted their endorsement of a resolution supporting the compensation measure.<sup>40</sup> While unhappy over the bonus issue, the Legionnaires appeared to have been satisfied with President Harding's overall support for them, which, they sensed, came from his heart, and his Administration's actions on their behalf.<sup>41</sup>

It is worth noting that Vice President Coolidge's stand on the bonus issue differed from that of President Harding's. Mr. Harding did not oppose a bonus *per se*; rather, according to historian Robert Murray,

he “expressed great sympathy with the principle and devoutly wished it could be passed.” His opposition to it rested on the grounds that the country could not afford it; he feared, he said, a “disaster to the Nation’s finances” without proper funding.<sup>42</sup> Mr. Coolidge, on the other hand, said that a bonus for military service was a bad idea in itself, turning what had been their selfless sacrifice for the nation into selfish individualism at the expense of their fellow citizens. Where Mr. Harding most likely would have signed the bonus bill, if sufficient funds were at hand to pay for it, Mr. Coolidge would not do so on principle.<sup>43</sup>

### **The 1921 Liberty Memorial Site Dedication**<sup>44</sup>

The next day, November 1, Vice President Coolidge again attended the Legion convention, which began a little after 8:00 a.m. For many this second session—in which General Pershing, former Commander of the A.E.F., and Marshal Foch, former Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces, appeared and spoke—was the highlight of the gathering.<sup>45</sup> The appearance of their former leaders brought forth a tremendous outpouring of emotion among the ex-soldiers. There were explosions of cheers—blasts of music—wild waving of flags—parading of men up and down the aisles—that would not cease. It was a grand moment that no one present would ever forget. At 10:30, the convention adjourned. The Vice President was then taken to Memorial Hill, where he would represent the national government at the dedication of the site upon which the Liberty Memorial would rise.

With a vast, cheering crowd of more than 100,000, and planes circling overhead, J. C. Nichols, Vice President of the Liberty Memorial Association, escorted to the speakers’ rostrum Vice President Coolidge and Governor Arthur M. Hyde of Missouri. R. A. Long, President of the Association, introduced the Governor, who made a brief talk—noting especially that the Memorial belonged to the American people and was dedicated to all who had given their lives for the nation. The Governor then introduced the Vice President of the United States.

Mr. Coolidge, a STAR reporter noted, “spoke in a clear voice that carried far out into the crowd. Coming as a representative of the national government, the crowd listened attentively.” There were no amplifiers, so Mr.

Coolidge, like all the speakers, had to rely on voice power.<sup>46</sup> Given the size of the crowd, only a small number could hear his words distinctly. This is one reason that the ceremony focused so strongly on visual display, rather than the spoken word. As a spectator, you might not hear a word spoken from the rostrum, but you could see and enjoy the grand spectacle of this colorful ceremony. The STAR carried this report of the Vice President’s remarks:

We are gathered here this morning to perform one of the duties that is the result of the war.

We summoned forth the youth of our land, to make their sacrifices in behalf of the cause of human liberty. How well they responded is known now to all the earth. They brought back with them an everlasting victory for the cause of righteousness. It requires of the American citizen and the American nation, publicly and privately, forever to pay the homage of respect and reverence that is their due.

We are dedicating today a light on the land of America to the memory of those who have preserved it. We are dedicating it in the name of liberty, in the name of righteousness, in the name of all American institutions—that the example which your sacrifices have set may be an inspiration to those who shall come after, that life around the fireside may be sweeter, and that our national existence may be upon a higher plane.

We dedicate it to the use of our country, to its manhood, to those who have fought and bled in its defense of liberty and humanity—and we dedicate it in the deep consciousness that “unless the Lord buildeth a house, they labor in vain to build it.”<sup>47</sup>

Mr. Coolidge’s remarks were well received. They were brief, appropriate, and within the five-minute limit that had been imposed.

John G. Emery, National Commander of the American Legion, followed the Vice President at the rostrum and after him, the Allied leaders: General Jacques of Belgium, General Diaz of Italy, Admiral Beatty of

Great Britain, Marshal Foch, and General Pershing, each of whom spoke briefly. As part of the proceedings, former Captain Harry S. Truman presented flags to the Allied commanders. R. A. Long, President of the Liberty Memorial Association, then lit the "Flame of Inspiration" on the altar. As he did so, young women—described in the press as "vestal virgins in snowy robes"—laid wreathes and released four homing doves, symbols of peace, to speed to Washington.<sup>48</sup> The doves carried a brief message and olive branch to President Harding.<sup>49</sup> With cannons firing a salute, up the flagstaff rose the "Stars-and-Stripes." "During the program," Long would later observe, "the silence was such that it seemed as if a voice from the heavens had spoken. 'Be still and know that I am God.' The spirit of appreciation and worship seemed everywhere present."<sup>50</sup>

The ceremony was over. A STAR reporter described the crowd: "It was a happy throng. Everyone had a smile. Throughout the kaleidoscopic mass of humanity, there ran a spirit of harmony that typified all that is meant in the Liberty Memorial."<sup>51</sup> The Vice President also sensed this feeling of harmony and unity. His participation was not yet finished. Another major event was to follow.

### **The Legion Parade**<sup>52</sup>

After some delay, at around 2:45 p.m., a great parade, comprised of 85 bands and 25,000 marchers, began to wind its way through the downtown area.<sup>53</sup> The crowd of spectators was huge. There were 200 policemen on hand to maintain order. Vice President Coolidge held a prominent spot on the reviewing stand, described as "a Grecian Doric temple with a little modernism," located at 18<sup>th</sup> & Grand Avenue. Around him were the Allied leaders—on one side Jacques, Diaz, on the other, Foch, Beatty, and Pershing—who, of course, were the cynosure of all eyes.<sup>54</sup> Also present were several State Governors, including James Hartness of Vermont (Mr. Coolidge's home State), whose legislature that year had made Armistice Day a legal holiday, and John G. Emery, National Commander of the American Legion. Before them passed awardees of the Medal of Honor, wounded men from neighboring hospitals, and then the men of the Legion in alphabetical order by State departments. The parade was impressive and a fine conclusion to the site dedication ceremony.

As the legionnaires, their faces showing "the effect of three strenuously wild, happy days," packed their grips and said their good-byes, Vice President Coolidge, his mission completed, returned to Washington.<sup>55</sup> He had made many new acquaintances, which would prove helpful to him in the years to come, and familiarized himself with a growing, prosperous city in the nation's Heartland. Back in Washington, on Armistice Day 1921, which Congress had just made a national holiday, he joined President Harding at Arlington National Cemetery in remembering those American boys who had died for liberty and freedom. The ceremony concluded with the burial of the Unknown Soldier, the Vice President joining with the President in repeating the Lord's Prayer as the Unknown was laid to rest.<sup>56</sup> As President, Calvin Coolidge would work conscientiously to ensure that such a sacrifice would never again be required of young Americans.

### **The 1924 Cornerstone Laying Ceremony**

On Sunday afternoon, November 9, 1924, before a crowd of 25,000, the cornerstone for Liberty Memorial was laid. Unlike the 1921 ceremony, this occasion was a local one, smaller and more subdued in nature. As in 1921, there were planes flying overhead, bands playing, military units marching, and Boy Scouts assisting in the program. R. A. Long, President of the Liberty Memorial Association, again presided. General Harry A. Smith, Commandant of Fort Leavenworth gave the principal address. Afterwards, messages were read from the major participants in the 1921 ceremony: Vice President Coolidge, Marshal Foch, Gen. Pershing, Admiral Earl Beatty, Gen. Jacques, and Gen. Diaz.<sup>57</sup> Mr. Coolidge was no longer Vice President, but now President of the United States, having assumed that office upon the death of President Harding in early August 1923. Only five days before this ceremony, in the general election, his fellow citizens had elected him President in his own right.<sup>58</sup> President Coolidge's message read as follows:

My dear Mr. Long:-

Entertaining as I do most agreeable recollections at the occasion now nearly three years ago, when I had the privilege of participating with your association in dedicating the site of the

Liberty memorial, I am pleased to learn you are to lay the cornerstone of the great memorial.

You are doing a truly patriotic work in erecting one more among the many monuments to patriotism that are being set up throughout our country.

Shrines to which patriotism may bring its tributes in years to come will serve as reminders of the services so unsparingly given in our times of pressing national need, and as inspiration to the manhood and the womanhood of all the tomorrows to maintain unsullied the ideals which we hope to pass on to them.

Very truly yours,

CALVIN COOLIDGE.<sup>59</sup>

The President's message, along with those from the Allied leaders, was sealed in a copper box and placed in the Memorial's cornerstone to be opened in 100 years (November 2024). Following the playing of Taps, with Liberty Memorial officials and its architect looking on, the cornerstone was put in place.

Construction work at the memorial site commenced on July 5, 1923. Construction problems, funding issues, and internal disagreements--all conspiring to hinder and delay work--were encountered from the first. When the cornerstone was put in place, the tower was still a bleak cement shaft, awaiting its limestone covering and the four guardian spirits at its top. The museum building was only beginning to take form and landscaping of the area had yet to get underway. Progress was slow. At the time of the formal dedication, while the Tower and buildings were complete in most details, work on other components of the memorial complex remained to be done. It would be another 9 years before they were finished and the monument finally declared completed in November 1935.<sup>60</sup>

### **The 1926 Liberty Memorial Dedication**<sup>61</sup>

In the Fall of 1926, President Calvin Coolidge, accompanied by Mrs.

Coolidge, returned to Kansas City, where he delivered an Armistice Day address and dedicated the Liberty Memorial.<sup>62</sup> This trip was his first to Kansas City since the Memorial site dedication in 1921, in which he participated as Vice President, and his farthest venture West since his visit to Omaha the year before to address the American Legion convention.<sup>63</sup> The official party was composed of the Secretary of War, Dwight F. Davis, who was also to speak; Everett Sanders, Secretary to the President; two military aides, Col. A. S. Cheney, U.S.A., and Capt. Wilson Brown, U.S.N.; Maj. James Coupal, U.S.A., White House physician; and a Secret Service detail, headed by Richard Jervis.<sup>64</sup> The Presidential train was made up of six red cars of the Pennsylvania Railroad pulled by an engine with a new, shiny coat of black paint. His car was the latest product of the Pullman shops, a combination sleeping and observation car, equipped with baths and a phonograph. The train departed Washington Union Station on Tuesday evening, November 9, at 11:00. The trip was to take about 32 hours.

During the trip, the President and Mrs. Coolidge spent much of their time in the observation car, seeing firsthand the prosperity of the industrial sections of Pennsylvania and Ohio. Cities along the way had invited the President to stop, but he had declined all formal receptions and requests to speak. He and Mrs. Coolidge, however, would make themselves available to the people. Big crowds turned out at every station where his train stopped, beginning early in the morning at Pittsburgh, where he and Mrs. Coolidge went out on the rear platform of their car to be greeted by workmen and railroad employees. At Indianapolis, the crowd greeted him, with some indicating their wish that he again be a Presidential nominee in 1928. Nor was Mrs. Coolidge forgotten: two hundred members of her sorority, Pi Beta Phi, from Butler College, gathered about the train platform, sang songs, and cheered her. She joined in the fun, while the President looked happily on. There was no doubt of the President's popularity, nor that of the First Lady.<sup>65</sup>

The President must have welcomed these cheering crowds and their show of support, for 1926 had not been a good year for the President. On the personal side, in March, he had lost his 81-year-old father, Col. John C. Coolidge.<sup>66</sup> As for politics, in late July, the LITERARY DIGEST had published an article entitled, "Is Coolidge Slipping?," speculating on

the "possible slackening of [his] hold on popular confidence."<sup>67</sup> The days leading up to the trip had been trying ones for the President. On November 2, the Republican party suffered losses in the midterm election: 10 seats in the House, 6, in the Senate, but this was to be expected, since no Administration since the Civil War had gained seats in these off-year contests. The Party retained control of both Houses of Congress, but, making the President's political life more difficult, that control would now be dependent upon insurgent members of his own party.<sup>68</sup> Equally troubling was the failure of William M. Butler, a close friend and political adviser, to hold the Massachusetts Senate seat to which he had been appointed. Butler had acted as the President's spokesman in the Senate, as well as served as head of the Republican National Committee. The President himself, who rarely intervened in local elections, had called for Butler's election and, to emphasize his support for him, had returned to Northampton, his hometown, to vote. The press had taken Butler's defeat as a rejection of Coolidge.<sup>69</sup>

Perhaps, Mr. Coolidge was cheered somewhat by a visit to the White House two nights before his departure for Kansas City of some of his Plymouth Notch, Vermont neighbors, including his 81 year old uncle, John Wilder. In addition, on that day, he and Mrs. Coolidge entertained their good friend, Frank W. Stearns, who was celebrating his 70th birthday. The day of his departure, the President had a luncheon meeting with seven important Senators in which the discussion focused on his proposal for a tax cut, which had been announced a few days before.<sup>70</sup>

President Coolidge arrived at Kansas City's Union Station at 8:30 a.m., Thursday, November 11, 1926. His visit had come about through an invitation from the Liberty Memorial Association to dedicate the Memorial. As the monument honored all those who had fought and died in the Great War, it was befitting that he, as Commander-in-Chief, speak for the nation at its dedication. On October 18, 1926, the President had telegraphed the Association his acceptance.<sup>71</sup> Immediately, the Secretary to the President, Everett Sanders, began to work out the details of the President's visit with representatives of the Association—primarily, John T. Harding, chairman of the Dedication Committee—via letters and long distance telephone.<sup>72</sup> The President's had specific requirements; among them, no formal speaking other than at the dedication, no airplanes fly-

ing overhead while he spoke, no separation of the President and Mrs. Coolidge. The Secret Service was involved in working out the fine points for each event. The final schedule of Presidential activities was tightly drawn, almost down to the minute.<sup>73</sup>

At his destination, the President found a westward-looking city that ranked among the fastest growing metropolises in the Southwest. Basking in the full glow of the Coolidge Prosperity, it was blessed among cities, as was the United States blessed among the nations of the earth. Only days before the Department of Commerce had announced that Kansas City payrolls in 1925 were 14% greater than in 1923. Big payrolls meant not only that labor was well employed but also that Kansas City's industries were "prospering in a marvelous way." Under the Harding-Coolidge Administration, many Kansas City concerns had more than doubled their output.<sup>74</sup> Its citizens could be proud of their past accomplishments and look forward with confidence to a promising future. Indeed, just a few weeks before, Otto H. Kahn, the great New York financier, had visited Kansas City in his search for the metropolis that he believed would someday be America's great art and cultural center.<sup>75</sup> At the time of the dedication, the one issue of pressing concern to Kansas City—which undoubtedly was mentioned to the President during his stay—was that of inland waterways development.<sup>76</sup>

The reception committee greeting the President was composed of John T. Harding, the Chairman of the Reception Committee; Mayor and Mrs. Albert I. Beach; Mrs. Mortimer Platt, Chairman of the Liberty Memorial Women's Committee; and Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Long, President of the Liberty Memorial Association. Mr. Harding "bowed genially" to the President "in a most hearty western fashion." The men were all dressed in glittering silk hats and formal morning dress; the women in dark fur coats. Mrs. Coolidge, with her simple and gracious manner and warm smile beaming out from under her broad-brimmed sea-green velvet hat, made a fine impression on all present.<sup>77</sup> The receiving line, it was said, "lost its formality the moment Mrs. Coolidge received and returned the felicitations of the day." In the station lobby, there was a welcoming crowd and "huge flags...hung in galaxies over the doors and archways." Outside, in the sunny, crisp air, a larger crowd awaited the Presidential party. It was there that Mr. Coolidge got his first view of the completed

Memorial. From Memorial hill came the booming of a 21-gun cannon salute, fired by Battery F of the 128<sup>th</sup> Field Artillery of the Missouri National Guard.<sup>78</sup> While above, airplanes circled the crowd. That day the editor of the STAR, Irwin Kirkwood, had greeted the President warmly with these kind and perspective words:

It is no perfunctory welcome that Kansas City gives to President Coolidge today. It welcomes him with the honor due to the President of the United States. It welcomes him with the admiration due to a man who has developed into a distinguished administrator and leading exponent of American ideals....He comes now as President with a record of achievement. If this nation has avoided the pitfalls that have trapped so many other countries....an important part of that credit must go to the level headed practical idealist in the White House. He has steered the activities of the government back from war extravagance to a peace basis. He has recognized the needs of the West....He has insisted on high standards of government service. He has made America a great and helpful force in international relations. It is this President and national leader who is the appropriate spokesman for nation as well as city in dedicating the memorial to the men who gave themselves to their country in the war.<sup>79</sup>

The President was driven in a low, green, open car through the city to the Muehlebach Hotel.<sup>80</sup> Following were 10 other cars, all with tops down. Of special note, in this City of Southern sympathies, was President Coolidge's military escort: an all Black, crack cavalry unit from nearby Fort Leavenworth.<sup>81</sup> They led at a half-trot—"tlot-tlot-tlot-tlot upon the frosted paving blocks"—with the Presidential car following behind. (Later in the day, the troopers would appear again at the south end of the Memorial mall.) To the crowds gathered along flag-lined streets, the President lifted his silk hat, bowing and smiling. Mrs. Coolidge, too, as a STAR reporter put it, "was liberal with her smiles and signs of appreciation." After breakfast and a rest for an hour at the hotel, the President and Mrs. Coolidge were driven to the Memorial site, again through cheering crowds.<sup>82</sup> Mrs. Coolidge wore a corsage of her favorite roses and lilies-of-the-valley.

The Liberty Memorial awaiting the Presidential party was a beautiful and impressive architectural success. The fine points of its architecture might have been described to the President and Mrs. Coolidge as follows: "The Memorial is built on a plateau facing Union Station. The central feature of the monument is a tower or shaft rising 217 feet high; it is 36 feet in diameter at the base and 28 feet at the top, which is 383 feet above the Union Station plaza. An elevator runs to the top of the shaft, which is shaped as an urn and flanked by four guardian spirits. The 'flame of inspiration' will be kindled in the urn during the dedication and thereafter burn perpetually, a cloud by day and a pillar of flame by night. The illusion of flame and cloud is created by using steam and electric light, reflected through specially tinted lenses. On either side of the tower are two buildings, the Memory Hall, an auditorium for patriotic gatherings, and a Museum for war artifacts." Mr. Coolidge might then have inquired about its symbolism. To this, the President might have received a response similar to that given by R. A. Long, the President of the Liberty Memorial Association, to a STAR reporter: "The Memorial is not a war Memorial, but a peace Memorial to all who served in any way in the World War."

"As I view it," Long explained, "it is first of all an expression of appreciation to those who died in the World War, to those who came back, to those who gave in any way.

"Next, it is a lesson for peace. To be such, however, it must be expressed largely in the symbols of war, tempered with the spirit of virtues which brood in men's hearts in their happiest, soberest moments.

"The shaft, it has been said, commemorates particularly those who died. The buildings, with their interesting pictorial war maps, their war relics, are useful and commemorative to the living. Together, the Memorial is the best which came out of the World War for Kansas City, made permanent in stone."<sup>83</sup>

Mr. Coolidge would probably have preferred the similar but more succinct statement of Arthur M. Hyde, former governor of Missouri: "It typifies to me the voice of the great Southwest sending its message of peace and good will to the world and with it a message of devotion to its

patriots that their efforts were not in vain.”<sup>84</sup>

At the monument, the President’s car passed through a line of flags of the States of the Union and the Allied nations; above them all flew “The Star-and-Stripes.” “As the President and his companions drove through this lane...he saw a sight, the like of which was never seen by any of his predecessors.”<sup>85</sup> One wonders if Mr. Coolidge’s mind did not go back to another similar occasion many years before, which he later recorded in his *Autobiography*:

During the summer vacation [August 1891] my father and I went to the dedication of the Bennington Battle Monument. It was a most elaborate ceremony with much oratory followed by a dinner and more speaking, with many bands of music and a long military parade. The public officials of Vermont and many from New York were there. I heard President [Benjamin] Harrison, who was the first President I had ever seen, make an address. As I looked on him and realized that he personally represented the glory and dignity of the United States I wondered how it felt to bear so much responsibility and little thought I should ever know.<sup>86</sup>

Among the individuals on the platform awaiting the President were Governors from three States, Sam A. Baker of Missouri, Ben S. Paulen of Kansas, and Harry S. Johnson of Oklahoma, along with a gathering of military officers and civil and political officials, religious dignitaries, and heads of educational institutions.<sup>87</sup> The President’s box, including the speakers’ platform, was located at the south base of the Tower. The platform, which was the same buff gray tone as the Tower, was 30 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 35 feet high; it held 75 persons. In seats to the right and left of the President’s box, located on the monument proper, were members of the Gold Star League, wounded soldiers brought in from hospitals, and members of various organizations, including large numbers of high school cadets and Boy Scouts. In front of the platform, beyond the band and chorus, were gathered 500 maids of honor, each dressed in a white uniform, from the 14 city high schools.<sup>88</sup> A color guard stood at the foot of the President’s box. The 75-piece band of the 110<sup>th</sup> Engineers, which would provide music for the occasion, greeted the President with

“Hail to the Chief.”<sup>89</sup>

After the President had taken his seat, having received “a tremendous welcome” from the great crowd of 150,000, the proceedings opened to the sound of trumpets.<sup>90</sup> The President was without an overcoat, braving the cold southeast wind bareheaded. Mrs. Catherine Brew, a Gold Star mother, sent her wool blanket to him.<sup>91</sup> Father J. N. V. McKay delivered the invocation, closing with the “Our Father,” in which the crowd joined in unison. There followed a memorial ode, “Heroes of Our Homeland,” sung by a chorus of 600 voices, accompanied by a 50-piece band.<sup>92</sup> Mayor Beach introduced R. A. Long—“When we think of this memorial, there always is one man’s name that stands out above all others, the man who fostered this memorial from anticipation to realization”—who told the story of the building of the Memorial.<sup>93</sup> Then, after noting that he himself was a Democrat and so spoke with no political views, Long declared in introducing the President that “no man could have met better the diverse problems before the country than had President Coolidge.” Dr. James B. Swinney said the dedication prayer. “The prayer was full of meaning to all,” wrote a STAR reporter. “The silence of a church hung over the crowd.” Then, as the clock struck 11:00, the bells of the City tolled eleven times in memory of the signing of the armistice on November 11, 1918. The President rose and removed his hat, as did all present. It was a moment for silence—“each thinks his own thoughts”—not alone in Kansas City but throughout the nation.

As the bells ceased their peal, as the guns had gone silent on that day eight years before, President Coolidge, began his dedicatory speech: “A carefully phrased, but spirited exposition of America’s present position in world affairs.” He spoke for forty minutes, covering a variety of issues, to an attentive audience. There was occasional applause but, as a reporter noted, it seemed almost out of place. This assemblage, it was speculated, was the greatest ever faced by a President. People had come from all over the Southwest. The throng stretched for a quarter of a mile in all directions from the base of the Memorial where the President stood on a platform.<sup>94</sup> Amplifiers carried his words to the furthest edges of the crowd, while a radio hook-up took them to all parts of the nation.<sup>95</sup> Beyond his immediate listeners, his words were directed to the statesmen of the Old World, across the sea.

In his Armistice Day address, the President complimented the City on its fine spirit and generous effort to build the monument.<sup>96</sup> "...The magnitude of this memorial," he noted, "and the broad base of popular support on which it rests, can scarcely fail to excite national wonder and admiration." He then paid tribute to those, the living and the dead, who had served in the Great War.<sup>97</sup> He also spoke of the need to remember their sacrifice and to care for the disabled veterans and their families. "Under no other flag," he said, "are those who have served their country held in such high appreciation." He praised the unity of the American people, with their common purpose and common cause. "This is all one country," he said. "It all belongs to us. It is all our America." As for future policies, he reaffirmed his Administration's commitment to achieving permanent international peace, but that there also would be no neglect of national defense.<sup>98</sup> "...We realize thoroughly," he said, "that no one will protect us unless we protect ourselves." Our military establishment, while modest, was of a high quality and committed to modern methods and technology. The great strength of the nation rested not only on its implements of war, but on its people, its agriculture and industrial resources, and its wealth. He would avoid competition in armaments, which he saw as a principal cause of conflict. Efforts were underway to further reduce competition in naval armaments.<sup>99</sup> Speaking especially to those who resented the war profiteers of the Great War era, Mr. Coolidge proposed that if war should come again, the government should conscript all citizens and their wealth; that way, sacrifice would be required of all and no war profits would be permitted.<sup>100</sup> American financial resources were increasingly available to the nations of the world, adding stability and support to the world economy. He believed reports of Europeans disliking the United States—"Uncle Shylock," we were called—were exaggerated, but, he noted, the United States was a creditor nation and more prosperous than others. "Those who need credit," he observed, "ought not to complain, but rather rejoice that there is a bank able to serve their needs." He emphasized that the Administration was dealing with the war debt issues with moderation.

If Mr. Coolidge had finished at this point, his remarks would have received no more than polite notice in the next day's press. Instead,

the President went on to announce to the country and the world that the United States would not be joining the Permanent Court of International Justice, the judicial organ of the League of Nations, better known as the World Court, which his predecessor, Warren Harding, had first proposed in 1922 and he had steadily supported since coming into office.<sup>101</sup> This disappointment had come about because the U.S. Senate had attached to the World Court protocols (treaty), which had been submitted to it for ratification, certain conditions on our participation, in the form of five reservations. These reservations were designed to ensure our separation from the League and our equal status with other Court members. The United States expected the nations comprising the World Court, each of whom had to agree to the reservations, to accept them as submitted, without modification. Unfortunately, for compelling reasons, they could not do so. On this subject, the President's words were blunt and clear:

While the nations involved can not yet be said to have made a final determination, and from most of them no answer has been received, many of them have indicated that they are unwilling to concur in the conditions adopted by the resolution of the Senate. While no final decision can be made by our government until final answers are received, the situation has been sufficiently developed so that I feel warranted in saying that I do not intend to ask the Senate to modify its position. I do not believe the Senate would take favorable action on any such proposal, and unless the requirements of the Senate resolution are met by the other interested nations I can see no prospect of this country adhering to the Court.

This was news and made headlines around the world.<sup>102</sup> Why did Mr. Coolidge choose to announce the Court failure at this time? Probably because it offered him the best opportunity to do so before the Congress convened in early December, then about three weeks off. Also, what more appropriate location for doing so than Kansas City, the home of Senator James A. Reed, who, as a member of the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee, was probably the Court's most violent and persistent critic.

The failure of the World Court initiative was no doubt a disappointment to Mr. Coolidge, as it was to many Americans of both parties who had

supported it and to European nations anxious for our participation.<sup>103</sup> In November 1926, circumstances dictated that the question of Court membership be put aside, with the hope that it might eventually be renewed. The difficulties with the reservations, while limited principally to one section of one reservation, involved complex procedural and technical questions that could not be easily or quickly resolved. Most importantly, Senators, especially those on the Foreign Relations Committee, were in no mood to consider revising their position; indeed, there was a danger that they might move to rescind their previous approval.<sup>104</sup> Two years later, following the Presidential election of 1928, President Coolidge and his Secretary of State did successfully revive the World Court initiative. Through negotiations, completed a few days after Herbert Hoover's inauguration on March 4, 1929, the difficulties with the reservations were satisfactorily resolved.<sup>105</sup> Ratification of the revised protocols seemed assured, especially in light of the signing of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which it complemented, and the appointment of Charles Evans Hughes to a judgeship on the World Court. Regrettably, President Hoover delayed in formally submitting the revised protocols to the Senate, and by the time he did so, the Senate was preoccupied with the Depression and a deteriorating international situation and did not act on them. It was not until January 1935, during the Roosevelt Administration, that the question of joining the Court finally came before the Senate for a vote. This time a solidly Democratic Senate failed by seven votes to provide the two-thirds votes needed for ratification of the revised protocols.<sup>106</sup> This failure marked the end of the United States' effort to join the World Court, first begun 13 years before by President Harding.

A "great burst of applause," reported the STAR, came from the audience as President Coolidge concluded his remarks. Howard P. Savage, National Commander of the American Legion, and Dwight F. Davis, the Secretary of War and a Missourian, followed Mr. Coolidge with brief addresses.<sup>107</sup> Then over a hundred thousand voices joined in singing "The Star-Spangled Banner." Rabbi Harry H. Mayer delivered the benediction, with Taps resounding as he pronounced a solemn "Amen." The ceremony concluded as the "Pillar of Cloud by Day" shot up from the top of the Memorial tower.

The President left by the north approach, reversing the order of his arrival.

Again, the crowds acclaimed him. He bowed repeatedly, removing his hat. "Evidence of deep emotion," some remarked, "was in his face and bearing."

### Luncheon and Motorcar Tour of Kansas City, Kansas

Following the ceremony, President and Mrs. Coolidge were the guests at a luncheon at the Hotel President. Awaiting the Presidential party was a large crowd making the hotel lobby nearly impassable. Before going to the luncheon, the Coolidges were taken to the Presidential suite. Over the fireplace, Mr. Coolidge found a familiar face--his own, in the form of a large cooper etching. He admired it, and the etching was later presented to him (but, since the hotel was in receivership, only after a Federal Judge had authorized it).<sup>108</sup> Two maids and two valets were present to attend them. The hotel management surprised Mrs. Coolidge by supplying her with her favorite perfume and face powder.

The luncheon took place on the Congress Roof. There had been a great competition for the 600 invitations, 450 for in town guests and 150 for out of town. They went individually to prominent men (360) and women (240); many were disappointed, including the husbands or wives of the recipients, who were not included. President Coolidge, whose table was at the south end of the room, sat in an armchair with Mrs. R. A. Long to his right and Mr. Long to his left. Mrs. Coolidge was seated next to Mr. Long, and she, it was reported, "seemed to be having a very good time, laughing more than occasionally and often with great heartiness." Among the guests were Mr. H. Van Buren Magonigle, the architect of the Liberty Memorial, and his wife.

As previously indicated to the sponsors, the President did not speak formally (although he may possibly have spoken informally a few words of greeting and thanks). The meal, which cost \$5.00 (around \$50.00 in today's dollars), was chicken, prepared by Chef Adrian Delvaux, who had also prepared meals for Presidents Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson. In the relaxed mood prevailing, some guests, but not the President, ate their chicken with their fingers. Among the edibles on the table were small bowls of red, white, and blue mints. About the middle of the meal, guests began rising and going from table to table to greet friends. This caused the Secret Service agents some discomfort. A reporter observed, "They

the Fame was to be eternal. "At 9:35 o'clock," the STAR reported, "the cloud appeared again for all time."<sup>118</sup> Calvin Coolidge, if he learned of the incident, would undoubtedly have been amused.

In August of the following year, while on vacation in the Black Hills of South Dakota, Mr. Coolidge issued his famous "I do not choose to run again for President in nineteen twenty-eight" announcement. While he failed to secure World Court membership in 1926, Mr. Coolidge and his Secretary of State, Frank B. Kellogg did keep the Court initiative alive and moved forward with it when situation appeared favorable. On the positive side, they were successful in obtaining Senate ratification of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which sought to outlaw war and was hailed as a great achievement at the time.<sup>119</sup> On Mr. Coolidge's watch, the country remained prosperous and strong and his popularity, unlike that for most Presidents, increased as his Presidency moved towards its conclusion. If he had chosen to run again, he would have been easily re-elected. As Will Rogers observed, he gave the people the kind of government they wanted. Instead, Mr. Coolidge chose to retire in March 1929 to his home of many years in Northampton, Massachusetts, having turned the Presidency over to Herbert Hoover. "It's a pretty good idea," he said, "to get out when they still want you."<sup>120</sup> He died there of a heart attack on January 5, 1933. He was 60 years of age.

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## SOURCES

This paper focuses on Calvin Coolidge's two visits to Kansas City, Missouri: one, to participate in the 1921 dedication of the Liberty Memorial site, as well as attend the concurrent American Legion Convention; and the other, to dedicate the completed monument complex. The paper is based primarily on newspaper accounts taken from the KANSAS CITY STAR, as well as, to a lesser degree, the NEW YORK TIMES. The STAR's coverage of these historical events runs over several days and tells their story in a most thorough and detailed fashion. These accounts were supplemented with articles from the periodicals of the day, particularly THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS and CURRENT HISTORY. Use was also made of the standard scholarly publications on Calvin Coolidge and his times, with special attention paid to Coolidge's autobiography and public addresses. As for the Liberty Memorial itself, there are two essential sources of information--both excellent--on the history of its construction and development: Sarajane Sandusky Aber's "An Architectural History of the Liberty Memorial in Kansas City Missouri, 1918-1935" (M.A. Thesis, University of Missouri - Kansas City, 1988); and Derek Donovan's LEST THE AGES FORGET: KANSAS CITY'S LIBERTY MEMORIAL (Kansas City: Kansas City STAR Books, 2001). They were both most helpful to me.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Arthur S. Link, *WOODROW WILSON AND THE PROGRESSIVE ERA, 1910-1917* (New York: Harper & Row, 1954), p. 145.

<sup>2</sup>To honor the Frenchman, in 1919, the year following the end of the Great War, the Lafayette National Park was established in Maine on Mount Desert Island; it was the first national park East of the Mississippi River. In the latter part of the Coolidge Administration, the Park was renamed Acadia. See "History of Acadia," AcadiaNet, Inc. website: <http://www.acadia.net/anp/w95026ap.html>

<sup>3</sup>As Lieutenant Governor under Governor Samuel W. McCall, Mr. Coolidge had spent the War years working and speaking on behalf of the military effort. In early January 1919, he would be inaugurated Governor. He would serve two terms, ending in January 1921. In September 1919, there occurred the famous Boston Police Strike, which brought him national fame and led to his nomination for Vice President on the Republican ticket in June 1920. That November the ticket of Warren G. Harding--Calvin Coolidge prevailed overwhelmingly over that of James M. Cox--Franklin D. Roosevelt.

<sup>4</sup>Calvin Coolidge, *THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF CALVIN COOLIDGE* (New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corp., 1929), p. 124.

<sup>5</sup>Personnel and casualty statistics for the Great War vary from source to source. These figures are from the Statistical Services Center, Office of the Secretary of Defense.

<sup>6</sup>Calvin Coolidge, "Armistice Day Address: Dedicating Liberty Memorial in Kansas City, Missouri, on November 11, 1926," Calvin Coolidge Memorial Foundation Website: <http://www.calvincoolidge.org/pages/history/speeches/aspres/261111.htm>.

<sup>7</sup>Not all, unfortunately, could do so. One of the first public functions to take place at the Liberty Memorial was a memorial service, held on the north side of the monument on Friday afternoon, November 5, 1926, six days before its formal dedication. The service was for Ex-Sergeant John J. Boyle, who had died at the age of 30, from the complications of gassing and wounds received in France. He had fought in six major engagements, receiving citations for bravery. Mr. Boyle was discharged in July 1919 and married shortly thereafter. His lungs, however, steadily deteriorated until his death. At his request, Mr. Boyle was buried, wearing his uniform and decorations, at Arlington National Cemetery. He left a widow and two sisters and a brother. See "A Funeral At Memorial," *KANSAS CITY STAR* (hereafter *STAR*), Nov. 4, 1926.

<sup>8</sup>The 441 number comes from the "We Are the Dead" bronze plaques that hang in the Liberty Memorial's Memory Hall. They record the 440 men and 1 woman from Kansas City, who died in the Great War. A list of the names on the Honor Roll is found in Derek Donovan's *LEST THE AGES FORGET: KANSAS CITY'S LIBERTY MEMORIAL* (Kansas City: *KANSAS CITY STAR BOOKS*, 2001) on pages 96-97. The four large

plaques were unveiled on the evening of Nov. 9, 1926. H. Van Buren Magonigle spoke, with J. J. Swofford of the Gold Star League and J. T. Harding of the Liberty Memorial Association presiding. See "Tablet Unveiling Tomorrow," *STAR*, Nov. 8, 1926....Women served only in non-combat roles, usually as nurses, sometimes as telephone operators. They were not considered members of the Armed Services and were thus ineligible for veteran benefits; however, Congress, acting many years later, did make such benefits available to them.

<sup>9</sup>*KANSAS CITY JOURNAL*, Nov. 9, 1918.

<sup>10</sup>Robert A. Long, a Democrat, was chairman of the board of the Long-Bell Lumber Company, operating 12 large manufacturing plants and 115 retail yards. He was also president of R. A. Long Properties, owning the R. A. Long Building, the first steel skeleton office building in Kansas City, and a director of the Commerce Trust Company. Mr. Long can only be described as an outstanding citizen, deeply interested in the well being of his community. His good works were many. He was the originator of Liberty Memorial idea, a fact that remained secret until revealed by the *KANSAS CITY TIMES* on Nov. 8, 1924. As President of the Liberty Memorial Association, he would oversee the Memorial's planning and construction. In this, he was ably assisted by Jesse C. Nichols, an exceptional man, who, like Long, was a Democrat, a prominent businessman of many interests, and a public-minded citizen. He was responsible for the first planned shopping center, known as Country Club Plaza, in the United States. On May 19, 1926, President Coolidge honored Nichols with an appointment to the new National Capital Park and Planning Commission for Washington, D.C.; see "President Names Commission," *NEW YORK TIMES* (hereafter *TIMES*), May 20, 1926; *THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS*, LXXIII (July 1926), 25; and Sally Kress Tompkins, *A QUEST FOR GRANDEUR* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), p. 36....These two biographical sketches along with others found in this paper are based primarily on material drawn from *WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA*.

<sup>11</sup>Donovan, *LEST THE AGES FORGET*, p. 23. This volume contains a thorough account of the initial fund-raising effort.

<sup>12</sup>Mr. Magonigle's selection had been unanimous. He was a well-known architect, who had previously designed the McKinley Memorial at Canton, Ohio. He claimed the concept for the memorial tower had come to him in a flash of inspiration. It would be, he said, "...an inspirational object for all time in the city's skyline." Most were pleased with his design, but, of course, there were critics, who complained that the tower suggest "a glorified smokestack," "silo," or "salt shaker." Sinclair Lewis, who lived in Kansas City for a time in the mid 1920s (he was doing research for his novel *ELMER GANTY*), suggested that plumbing its tall shaft with steam would be the same as putting a galloping leg under the equestrian statues of Washington; he also told the city fathers that the memorial was a "perfect type of teutonic architecture" that "would look well in Munich." A monument of similar design was built around the same time at Douaumont in France; it was to serve as airplane beacon at night. In 1926, the *STAR* would describe the monument as "interior America's first attempt at big-scale commemoration"; see "Big Change For Coolidge,"

STAR, Oct. 19, 1926. In his 1926 dedication address, Mr. Coolidge praised it as "one of the most elaborate and impressive memorials that adorn our country."...For the full story on the architectural competition, Magonigle's selection, his design, and related matters, see Sarajane Sandusky Aber, "An Architectural History of the Liberty Memorial in Kansas City Missouri, 1918-1935" (M.A. Thesis, University of Missouri - Kansas City, 1988); and Chapter 3 of Donovan, *LEST THE AGES FORGET*. Other useful sources include Henry J. Haskell, "A Notable Memorial," *THE WORLD'S WORK* (Sept. 1921), 488-490; J. E. McPherson, "Kansas City's Liberty Memorial," *ARTS & DECORATIONS*, Parts I and II (June and July 1921), pp. 98-99, and p. 161, 184; Ernest Knauff, "War Memorials," *THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS*, LXIII (June 1921), pp. 645-651; and "The Memorial Satisfies: R. A. Long Is Not Disturbed By Criticism of Structure" and "Great French War Memorial Resembles Ours In Form and Symbolism," *STAR*, Nov. 4, 1921.

<sup>13</sup>"Memorial Speaks To All" and "A Memorial to Liberty and Peace," *STAR*, Oct. 28 and Nov. 11, 1926; and "Kansas City Memorializes," *LITERARY DIGEST*, XC (Sept. 11, 1926)....In March 1919, the Post Office Department issued a commemorative 3-cent "Victory" stamp, featuring Liberty surrounded by the flags of the victorious Allies. In the years that followed, however, the emphasis was on peace and remembering those who had not returned from over there, rather than on the heroics of war or victory. In 1921, the government issued a silver dollar to commemorate "Peace." The Commission of Fine Arts had invited nine sculptors to submit designs for a dollar coin to commemorate the end of the Great War. President Warren G. Harding selected Anthony de Francisci's design, but not before suggesting that a dimple be removed from Miss Liberty's chin. On the face of the coin was the profile of Liberty (modeled on the sculptor's wife)—young, attractive, and vital; on the reverse, a magnificent American Eagle, with wings folded and at rest, olive branch in its claws, and perched on a rocky peak, labeled "Peace." The Eagle looks eastward towards the rising sun of a New Era. While intended to be a commemorative coin, having only a limited striking, it proved so popular that it replaced the Morgan dollar as the regular silver dollar issue, and it remained so, until the Roosevelt Administration halted its production in 1935. Another philatelic reminder of the World War—this time of the honored death at rest—appeared in the mid 1920s; it was a 50-cent, lilac, regular issue featuring the Arlington National Amphitheater. Its issuance, too, was ended in the late 1930s. Finally, a 17-cent, black, regular postage stamp was issued on December 28, 1925, in honor of Woodrow Wilson, our wartime President. The issuance of this stamp involved political squabbling between Republicans and Democrats; see "Memorial Stamp," *TIMES*, September 30, 1925, and <http://www.1847usa.com/identify/YearSets/1925Regular.htm> for details.

<sup>14</sup>The following section is based on newspaper accounts taken primarily from the *STAR*, as well as the *TIMES*, for the period of late October and early November, 1921. These were particularly useful sources: *STAR*: Daily Agenda of Legion Events, Oct. 30; "Business Begins," Oct. 31; "Roar A Welcome," Nov. 1; and "A Rap At Harding," Nov. 2; and *TIMES*: "Legion Greet Diaz, Jacques And Coolidge," Oct. 31; "Legion Greet Foch With Wild Acclaim For Its Convention," Nov. 1; and "Legion Pays Homage To Allied Leaders...Coolidge Gives Message," Nov. 1.

<sup>15</sup>The American Legion was a national organization of veterans of the Great War, founded in Paris in March 1919 and incorporated by an Act of Congress, September 16, 1919. Its first national convention took place in Minneapolis in November 1919. Among its purposes was one also shared by the Liberty Memorial: "to preserve memories and incidents of our association in the Great War." Membership was open to all ex-soldiers and ex-sailors, who served with U.S. forces, and U.S. citizens who served with the Allies, except those dishonorably discharged and those who refused to submit to unqualified military discipline. See *THE AMERICANA ANNUAL: AN ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CURRENT EVENTS: 1927* (New York: Americana Corp., 1927), pp. 37-38.

<sup>16</sup>Gen. Pershing's aide-de-camp at Kansas City in the Fall of 1921 was a future military leader and statesman: Major George C. Marshall. See *STAR*, Oct. 29 and Nov. 3, 1921... Sidelight stories: General Pershing's two sisters were with him in Kansas City, having come down from Iowa to join him. One had a child with her, who became restless during one of the events. The General, according to a newspaper account, ordered "his aide" to entertain the child. While the aide's name is not given, one wonders if it was not Marshall, the future five-star General (Army Chief of Staff, 1939-45) and Truman's Secretary of State (1947-49) and Secretary of Defense (1950-51), who took care of Pershing's young relative. See "Guests View Ceremonies," *STAR*, Nov. 1, 1926...Major Marshall helped Lawrence M. Hanley, a Kansas City photographer, take perhaps the most memorable and historic photograph of the site dedication. This photo shows all five of the Allied commanders, who had been brought together for the first time at this event, standing together before a railing. The composition is perfect. Hanley, who knew Marshall, arranged for Marshall to give him a sign just before the five commanders were to appear. This enabled Hanley to position himself so that he was ready to shoot away when the dignitaries appeared on the scene. See Donovan's *LEST THE AGES FORGET*, p. 124.

<sup>17</sup>While the foreign military guests to the Legion Convention were provided US Secret Service protection, the Vice President traveled alone, other than for Mr. Stearns. The Vice President did not receive regular Secret Service protection until 1951. See website, The White House: US Secret Service in History: <http://clinton4.nara.gov/WH/kids/inside/html/spring98-2.html>.

<sup>18</sup>"Coolidge Is On His Way," *STAR*, Oct. 29, 1921. Coolidge "said nothing should stand in the way of his attending the convention, and it did not. He made it possible to go, simply by going."...Because of doubts about his presence, Mr. Coolidge's name frequently does not appear on official programs that had to be printed in advance, for instance, for the site dedication ceremony.

<sup>19</sup>"Welcome To The No-Strike News," *STAR*, Oct. 28, 1921.

<sup>20</sup>Harry S. Truman had served in the Great War and in this regard, he will always be remembered as Captain Truman of Battery D. In 1921, he was actively involved in the Legion Convention, serving on the Decorations Committee, sometimes as its acting chairman. During the convention, the men of Battery D were in charge of transportation for wounded soldiers. Several of Mr. Truman's biographers mention his participation in this

Legion convention; for details, see David McCullough, *TRUMAN* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992), p. 150; Robert H. Ferrell, *HARRY S. TRUMAN* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1994), pp. 83-84; Alonzo L. Hamby, *MAN OF THE PEOPLE* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 88-89. Hamby stated that Truman's work on the Decorations Committee "solidified his standing in the local American Legion post, involved him with numerous influentials in a significant community effort, and enhanced his reputation as a can-do person." It is worth noting that as political officeholders were ineligible for elective Legion office, Truman never progressed beyond vice-commander of his local Legion post....The STAR printed articles on Truman's activities; for instance, "Stolen Posters Being Sold," Oct. 28, 1921, and "Thanks For Kansas City, Kas.," Nov. 4, 1921.

<sup>21</sup>"Legion Greets Diaz, Jacques And Coolidge," *TIMES*, Oct. 31, 1921.

<sup>22</sup>Walter S. Dickey was president of the W. S. Dickey Clay Products Company and Missouri River Navigation Company, as well as owner of the *KANSAS CITY JOURNAL* and *KANSAS CITY POST*. It was in his *JOURNAL* in early November 1918 that R. A. Long's call for a war memorial had first appeared. In 1919, he and his wife had contributed \$40,000 to the initial funding effort for the monument. Dickey had been chairman of the Republican State Committee in 1908 and the unsuccessful Republican nominee for the U.S. Senate in 1916. During the War, he had served as vice chairman of the Inland Water Transportation Committee of the Council of National Defense. In the early 1920s, he was a member of the Executive Committee of the Republican Publicity Association of Washington, D.C....For a sketch of the Dickey home, see "Where The Distinguished Visitors Will Live..." *STAR*, Oct. 30, 1921.

<sup>23</sup>Coolidge said: "It was my intention when I became Vice-President to remain in Washington, avoid speaking and attend to the work of my office. But the pressure to speak is constant and intolerable. However, I resisted most of it....During these two years I spoke some and lectured some. This took me about the country in travels that reached from Maine to California, from the Twin Cities to Charleston. I was getting acquainted. Aside from speeches, I did little writing, but I read a great deal and listened much. While I little realized it at the time it was for me a period of most important preparation. It enabled me to be ready in August 1923." See *AUTOBIOGRAPHY*, pp. 164-65.

<sup>24</sup>In those days before air-conditioning, the President and his family, along with most of official Washington, left the city, once Congress adjourned in June, for a cooler climes, and usually did not return until September.

<sup>25</sup>The drawing of the Vice President appears in the Oct. 27, 1921, *STAR*, a short biographical sketch in the Nov. 1 issue, under "Who's Who Among Our Distinguished Legion Visitors"...For an example of the use of the middle initial "F," see "Business Begins," *STAR*, Oct. 31, 1921. Coolidge's given name was "John Calvin Coolidge." Shortly after graduating from Amherst College, he dropped the "John" becoming "Calvin Coolidge."

<sup>26</sup>"Coolidge Is On His Way," *STAR*, Oct. 29, 1921....In his *TRUMAN*, p. 150, David

McCullough stated that Coolidge "looked and acted so effacingly vice-presidential that he had trouble gaining admittance to several gatherings." I find this puzzling. The American Legion, being very rank conscious, would have ensured that the Vice President of the United States, who was there representing the President of the United States, was treated in a dignified manner and accorded all respect and honor due his position. Indeed, newspaper accounts indicated that this was done. This is not to say that Mr. Coolidge might not have been recognized on occasion; it could easily have happened, given his lack of public familiarity and the chaos surrounding events. Coolidge, however, would have understood and have made nothing of it: vanity was not one of his failings. Of course, he understood his position in relationship to the famous Allied military leaders; simply put, folks were coming to see them, not him.

<sup>27</sup>See "Business Begins," *STAR*, Oct. 31, 1921, and "Legion Pays Homage To Allied Leaders," *TIMES*, Nov. 1, 1921, for excellent accounts of the opening of the Convention and Mr. Coolidge's address to the Legionnaires. Those interested in Marshal Foch's arrival and welcome in Kansas City should see "Crowds Hail Foch Speeding To West To Legion Meeting" and "Legion Greets Foch With Wild Acclaim For Its Convention," *TIMES*, Oct. 31 and Nov. 1, 1921.

<sup>28</sup>"Business Begins," *STAR*, Oct. 31, 1921.

<sup>29</sup>The full text of Vice President Coolidge's address, entitled "The Title of American," is found in Calvin Coolidge's *THE PRICE OF FREEDOM* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924), pp. 85-116. The quotes that follow immediately are drawn therefrom.

<sup>30</sup>Mr. Coolidge always thought highly of the American Legion as a patriotic and unifying force. His warm feelings for the organization would remain with him all his life. He attended and spoke to Legion gatherings on numerous occasions over the years, including speaking as President at its National Convention in Omaha on October 6, 1925, and was generous in his praise of its work. His relationship with the Legion is very interesting in that he forthrightly opposed and vetoed one of its major legislative initiatives: the Soldier's Bonus. Yet, while doing, he successfully retained the organization's respect and support. The following is taken from his "Calvin Coolidge Says" column of October 4, 1930. He is writing about the upcoming national convention of the Legion in Boston, which he would attend.

[The Legion] is distinctly a patriotic organization. The support of American institutions is the chief object of its members. Because of them order and liberty are more secure. They are firm advocates of peace, which they seek to promote through adequate preparation for national defense and the just and temperate conduct of a self-respecting people toward all the rest of the world.

Because the Legion has come into a position of great power and influence it has great responsibilities. It can set the standard for this generation in public thought and public duty. It can assume a leadership in peace scarcely less important than the service it performed in war. A grateful country looks to the

Legion with increasing confidence. (See Edward Connery Lathem, CALVIN COOLIDGE SAYS [Plymouth, VT: Calvin Coolidge Memorial Foundation, 1972], Oct. 4, 1930.)

<sup>31</sup>Most States enacted legislation providing aid to their returning veterans. MASSACHUSETTS, where Coolidge had served as Governor, paid a flat bonus of \$100.00 (equal to about \$1,000 in today's dollars) to veterans who were residents of the State for six months or more. On their behalf, the State also adopted a civil service preference law; exempted them from taxation; provided aid in finding employment; and granted relief to needy veterans. Compared to other States, this was a most generous aid program. In his AUTOBIOGRAPHY, p. 125-6, Mr. Coolidge wrote that "...stressed the necessity of...assisting in every possible way the reestablishing of the returning veterans....About \$20,000,000 was paid them out of the state treasury." VERMONT, Coolidge's home State, provided a bonus of \$10.00 (\$100.00 today) for each month while in service, but not to exceed one year, or \$120.00 (\$1,200.00). The State's generosity applied only to enlisted men, not commissioned officers. In MISSOURI, a bill, authorizing the payment of \$10 per month to each veteran who resided in the State one year or more before enlistment, was passed by a referendum vote on August 2, 1921, and that Fall, as the Legionnaires met in Kansas City, the State Assembly proceeded to vote the implementing legislation. The State also provided for civil service preference and provided aid in seeking employment. In November 1922, KANSAS voted to pay its veterans a bonus of a \$1.00 a day for each day in service. It also granted them civil service preference.

<sup>32</sup>Robert K. Murray, THE HARDING ERA: WARREN G. HARDING AND HIS ADMINISTRATION (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1969), pp. 186-188.

<sup>33</sup>James Alexander Reed is almost forgotten today. Jim Reed, as he was popularly known, was born in Ohio on November 9, 1861, but grew up and was educated in Iowa. For a profession, he chose the law for which he was particularly well suited: He had a commanding appearance, spoke well, loved to debate, and was fierce on the attack. Above all, he favored the role of the underdog. He always welcomed the opportunity to stand apart. After his admittance to the bar in 1885, he soon developed a successful practice in Cedar Rapids. Politics--with its issues, debates, and battles for the people against evil--attracted him from an early age. In his politics, he thought for himself, always marching to his own drummer. While his family was Republican, he declared himself a Democrat. By 18 years of age, he was chairman of his county's Democratic committee. Reed's life changed dramatically in 1887 when he moved to Missouri. This took place shortly after his marriage to Lura Mansfield Omsted, who had been divorced by her husband after he had learned of an affair she was having with Reed. The unhappy circumstances underlying their marriage would haunt the couple throughout their life together.

In Kansas City, Reed rose to become a successful and prosperous attorney. In time, Reed entered politics, joining hands with "Big Jim" Pendergast. Throughout his long political career, he would maintain his ties with the Pendergast machine. His first post was as Counselor of Kansas City (1897-98). He was then chosen prosecuting attorney of Jackson County (1898-1900), winning, as he was always proud to point out, 285 convictions out

of 287 cases brought to trial. He went on to win election as mayor of Kansas City on a reform platform, serving two two-year terms (1900-04). He took on the powerful, privately owned street railways and the electric and telephone companies. He ended their abuses of the public and city government. His successes were hard won and made him enemies, but they gained him the respect and support of a grateful people. Reed opposed building parks and boulevards, considering them unneeded luxuries. He removed August R. Meyer, the "Father of the Park System," from the park board. Tom Pendergast served as his Superintendent of Streets.

In 1904, Reed attempted to enter State politics, but failed in his bid for the Democratic nomination for governor. In 1911, however, Reed went to the United States Senate, being the last Missouri Senator chosen by the State legislature. He was thereafter re-elected twice in 1916 and 1922 by popular vote. Not seeking renomination, he retired from the Senate on March 4, 1929, having served a total of 18 years. In the Senate, the cigar-smoking, tobacco-spitting Reed was a much-feared opponent, and justly so. He considered himself an "independent legislator," whose credo was individual liberty. Once he became fixed on issue, he hit at it unceasingly and did whatever was necessary to bring it down. In debate, his attacks could be mean spirited and personal in tone. Throughout the Coolidge Administration, "Fighting Jim" Reed often led the Democratic opposition to it. Truly, he was a thorn in its side. He was a man made for opposition. One can say he thrived on it. He never met a President--the party label made no difference--that he did not oppose. "He who demands that Congress shall obey the President stands for despotism," he said. This won him the title of "fearless critic of Presidents." Mr. Coolidge, it seems to me, suffered less from his verbal blasts than did his two predecessors, Wilson and Harding, and two successors, Hoover and Roosevelt. In the 1920's, Reed was one of the staunchest opponents of Prohibition, concentrating on showing the public its ineffectiveness and negative results. He had a passionate dislike for Herbert Hoover, Coolidge's Secretary of Commerce, going back to the Hoover's day as Food Administrator during the Great War. He attacked him without mercy whenever possible. He also liked to make life miserable for Andrew Mellon, Coolidge's Secretary of the Treasury. Even the child labor amendment was not spared his wrath. Reed delivered Mr. Coolidge one of his most embarrassing Senatorial defeats in March 1925, when he led the attack that resulted in the rejection of Charles Beecher Warren, Mr. Coolidge's nominee for Attorney General. This was the first rejection of a Cabinet nominee since the days of Grant.

For this paper, Reed is important because of the leading role he played in blocking the United States' joining of the World Court. By no means was he alone in the Senate in his opposition to the Court--but in that body, there was no other more prominent, vigorous, violent, and consistent opponent of the Court than the Senior Senator from Missouri. His attacks upon the World Court dated from the 1919 debates on the League of Nations, of which the Court was its legal arm, and continued without letup until he left the Senate in 1928. During much of that time, he was a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. After he left the Senate, he continued his opposition to the Court until its ultimate defeat. While his name is not mentioned frequently in my text, the reader should keep in mind that this Kansas Citian played a principal role in the opposition to the Court throughout the Coolidge years. When in his 1926 Armistice Day speech at the dedication

of the Liberty Memorial, President Coolidge announced the failure of the United States to enter the Court, it was most appropriate that he did so in Kansas City, the home of Fighting Jim Reed. It should be noted that Senator Reed does not appear to have been involved with the Liberty Memorial project. At least, I found no reference to him in this connection. His first wife, Lura Olmsted Reed, however, was on the platform at the 1926 dedication ceremony. She, by the way, seems to have been as cantankerous as Reed himself.

During his career, Reed was a delegate to several Democratic conventions. At Baltimore, in 1912, he had the honor of placing House Speaker Champ Clark, a fellow Missourian, in nomination against Woodrow Wilson. Reed himself was a serious contender for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1928 but garnered few delegates; his name was mentioned in connection with the nomination in both 1924 and 1932. After leaving the Senate, Reed resumed his practice of law. He never lost his interest in politics, becoming in later years a staunch opponent of the New Deal. After his wife's death in 1932, he married Nell Donnelly, the creator of the "Nelly Don" dress, whom he had helped rescue from kidnappers. Reed lived on until September 8, 1944. One of the few sources of information on Senator Reed is a biography, *JIM REED: "SENATORIAL IMMORTAL"* (Webster Grove, MO: International Mark Twain Society, 1948), by Lee Meriwether, who was personally acquainted with his subject.

<sup>34</sup>"To Force Vote On Bonus" and "Open Fight Over Bonus," *STAR*, Oct. 28 and 31, 1921.

<sup>35</sup>Coolidge, *PRICE OF FREEDOM*, pp. 88-89.

<sup>36</sup>*IBID.*, p. 89. Warren G. Harding in his inaugural address had expressed this same thought: "Our most dangerous tendency is to expect too much of government, and at the same time do for it too little." John F. Kennedy would later put it more memorably, "...Ask not what your country can do for you--ask what you can do for your country." This thought even had an earlier expression by Grover Cleveland in his second inaugural: "...[W]hile the people should patriotically and cheerfully support their Government its functions do not include the support of the people." See *INAUGURAL ADDRESSES OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES* (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1989).

<sup>37</sup>Coolidge, *PRICE OF FREEDOM*, pp. 92-92....The Oct. 29, 1921, issue of the *STAR* contains a short piece entitled "'Service, Not Self,' During Convention," calling on the Kansas Citians to put aside their comfort and interest for their Legion guests; this included staying away from crowded theatres and restaurants.

<sup>38</sup>*IBID.*, p. 93.

<sup>39</sup>*IBID.*, p. 92.... In reading this statement, one is reminded of Black Americans who at the time were excluded through segregation from fully participating in American life. So it was with interest that I found that on October 26, 1921, only five days before the Vice President's speech, President Harding, speaking to a mixed audience in Birmingham,

Alabama, had boldly called for equality for Black Americans in political and economic life. This was a brave statement for a politician to make in the Heart of Dixie in 1921 and at the very moment when the Ku Klux Klan was in the midst of a powerful revival. For his words, President Harding was roundly denounced in the Southland. See Murray, *THE HARDING ERA*, pp. 399-400.

<sup>40</sup>"A Rap At Harding," *STAR*, Nov. 2, 1921.

<sup>41</sup>Another official visitor to the American Legion Convention was Col. Charles R. Forbes, Director of the new Veterans' Bureau. He stayed, along with the Vice President and other officials, at the Dickey home. While at the convention, he was among the speakers at the W. T. Fitzsimons Post military dinner dance at the Hillcrest Country Club. See "Dinner Dance Tomorrow Night," *STAR*, Oct. 30, 1921. At the time, Forbes, who had served with distinction during the War, being awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, seemed energetic and efficient in his duties, building new hospitals and operating new services for veterans. Later, in 1923, it was revealed that he had stolen or squandered millions of dollars.

<sup>42</sup>Murray, *THE HARDING ERA*, p. 187.

<sup>43</sup>The Soldier's Bonus story does not end here. In September 1923, the Congress finally passed the Soldier's Bonus Bill. President Harding vetoed it, and only by four votes was his veto upheld in the Senate. The following month at the American Legion's national convention in New Orleans, the delegates denounced the President for his veto and demanded the recall of those Congressmen who had voted to uphold his veto. In May 1924, Congress again passed the Soldier's Bonus Bill by large majorities in both houses. Calvin Coolidge, who by then was President, vetoed it. This time, however, the Presidential veto was quickly overridden. This veto could have cost Mr. Coolidge the veterans' vote in that November's Presidential election, then five and a half months away—but it did not do so. One possible reason is that the veterans now had what they wanted and the government moved immediately to implement the bill. (See "Soldiers' Bonus Act And How It Works," *THE WORLD ALMANAC AND BOOK OF FACTS FOR 1925* [New York: NEW YORK WORLD, 1925], pp. 182-183, for the careful preparations made for its implementation.) Another consideration is that many veterans, while desirous of the bonus money, recognized the merits of his position, which was idealistic and in no way mean spirited. Finally, Calvin Coolidge had demonstrated his mettle, his courage under fire, standing firm like a rock for his beliefs; this was something that any good soldier could admire. The Bonus issue would take on a new life in 1930's, with both Presidents Herbert Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt having to face the issue. Hoover's handling of the so-called Bonus Army in the Summer of 1932 destroyed whatever chance he had for re-election. The battle over the bonus did not end until 1936, when the Congress passed, over President Roosevelt's veto, a bill that provided for the immediate cash payment of the bonus. The veterans of the Great War were again victorious.

<sup>44</sup>The second day of activities, which were highlighted by the appearance of General Pershing and Marshal Foch at the Convention, and later the Site Dedication ceremony and

parade, are thoroughly reported in "Roar A Welcome," "Swarmed Early At The Site," and "Flame Alight!," STAR, Nov. 1, 1921; and in "Foch Leads Parade, Extols Our Armies," TIMES, Nov. 2, 1921.

<sup>45</sup>For those interested, the full text of Marshal Foch's address to the Legionnaires is found in THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY (Dec. 1921), 413-414.

<sup>46</sup>Amplifiers were coming into use at the time. In March 1921, they had been used at President Harding's inauguration and in a few days, would be used again at the Armistice ceremonies at Arlington National Cemetery. The new technology had yet to reach Kansas City. By the time of the 1926 dedication, however, not only were amplifiers in use at the site, but the proceedings were carried throughout the nation by radio as well. What a remarkable and far-reaching change five years had brought to communications.

<sup>47</sup>"Flame Alight!," STAR, Nov. 1, 1921.

<sup>48</sup>The STAR of Nov. 1 described them thus: "The Vestal Virgins looked like some ancient French painting of 'The Young Girls' First Communion.' They stood so sincerely straight, and looked primly pure, in their white robes. There was not a trace of rouge-cheeked movie-struck high school girl about them."

<sup>49</sup>"Doves To Tell Harding," STAR, Oct. 27, 1921.

<sup>50</sup>"A Memorial to Liberty and Peace," STAR, Nov. 11, 1926.

<sup>51</sup>"Flame Alight!," STAR, Nov. 1, 1921.

<sup>52</sup>For coverage of the parade, see "Legion Parade" and other articles in the STAR, Nov. 1 and 2, 1921; and "Foch Leads Parade, Extols Our Armies," TIMES, Nov. 2, 1921.

<sup>53</sup>One of those marching was 85-year old Lt. W. N. Williams, a veteran of the Civil War, who, after the United States entered the Great War, insisted so hard on serving that he was accepted into the Army Medical Corps. See "A Veteran of the World War at 85," STAR, Nov. 1, 1921 (a sketch of Williams is included).

<sup>54</sup>They each wore their service uniforms, rather than full military regalia, out of compliment to the Legion. See "Foch Leads Parade, Extols Our Armies," TIMES, Nov. 2, 1921.

<sup>55</sup>"The Throng Fades Away," STAR, Nov. 3, 1921.

<sup>56</sup>See the TIMES for Nov. 10, 11, and 12, 1921, for several fine articles on the burial of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington National Cemetery.

<sup>57</sup>Aber, "An Architectural History of the Liberty Memorial in Kansas City Missouri, 1918-1935", p.38.

<sup>58</sup>In a field of three major candidates, Mr. Coolidge's victory had been decisive: Coolidge-Republican: 15,725,016; Davis-Democrat: 8,386,503; and La Follette-Progressive: 4,822,856. Mr. Coolidge had carried Missouri with 49.6% of the vote. In neighboring States, his percentages varied: Kansas he won with 61.5%; Iowa, 55%; and Nebraska, 47.2%; but Oklahoma he lost to Davis with 42.8% of the vote.

<sup>59</sup>"Messages Put in Cornerstone," KANSAS CITY JOURNAL, Nov. 10, 1924.

<sup>60</sup>See Aber's "An Architectural History of the Liberty Memorial in Kansas City Missouri, 1918-1935" for a thorough description of the varied difficulties surrounding the building of the Memorial....The last major project was the installation of the busts of the five Allied leaders--Beatty, Foch, Pershing, Diaz, and Jacques--in their niches in the Dedication Wall, which is located on the northeast corner of the Memorial site. This took place in November 1935, almost exactly 14 years after the site dedication. See Donovan's LEST THE AGES FORGET for a well-illustrated account of both the Memorial's construction and its development and renovations over time.

<sup>61</sup>Except when otherwise noted, the descriptions that follows of the 1926 dedication ceremony and other events and activities, including the luncheon, visit to Kansas City, Kansas, and departure, are taken from the pages of the STAR and the TIMES. The latter was the primary source of information on the Coolidges trip out to Kansas City and their return to the Capital, as well as of the Congressional and world reaction to the President's speech. The following were particularly useful articles: STAR: "It's A Chicken Dinner," Nov. 8; "Those At Coolidge's Side," Nov. 10; "A Throng At The Arrival," Nov. 11; "First Lady Smiles On All," Nov. 11; "Throng of 150,000," Nov. 11; "As Nation's Voice," Nov. 11; "Happy Crowd Dines," Nov. 11; "Into Kansas City, Kas.," Nov. 11; and "Queen Here Tonight," Nov. 11; and TIMES: "Coolidge Leaves Capital for Kansas City To Make Armistice Day Speech to Veterans," Nov. 10; "Crowds Line Route Of Coolidge Train," Nov. 11; "World Court Entry Only On Our Terms, Coolidge Says In Kansas City Speech; Withdrawal Seen Here And Abroad," Nov. 12; "Queen Lays Wreath At War Memorial," Nov. 12; and "World Court Reply By Europe Expected," Nov. 13. In certain instances, where I felt it appropriate, I have provided specific citations to these and other news accounts.

<sup>62</sup>The Unknown Soldier resting at Arlington National Cemetery was not forgotten by his Commander-in-Chief on this Armistice Day. The President sent his military aide, Capt. Leven C. Allen, to lay a wreath from him and Mrs. Coolidge at the Unknown's tomb. The American Legion of the District of Columbia held there a ceremony at which Senator David A. Reed, Republican of Pennsylvania, a former battalion commander, was the principal speaker (he was a cousin of Senate James A. Reed but did not share the latter's views)....Other events in the Capital City: There was a military parade, starting at 10:00 a.m., in downtown Washington, which at the stroke of 11:00 halted and remained "at rest" for one minute; afterwards, chaplains offered prayers. In the late afternoon, a memorial service was held at the tomb of Woodrow Wilson (he had died on February 3, 1924) in Bethlehem Chapel of the National Cathedral. Elsewhere, a minute of silence was

observed at 11:00 a.m. at all Army posts and Naval stations and in Federal offices. See "Nation Pauses In Memory," STAR, Nov. 11, 1926; and "Capital Will Honor Nation's War Dead" and "Armistice Day Program Includes Services at Tombs of Wilson and Unknown Soldier," TIMES, Nov. 11, 1926.... Over the Capitol dome that day flew, under the "Stars and Stripes," the service flag of the American War Mothers. Mrs. H. H. McCluer of Kansas City, president of the American War Mothers, had obtained permission for this from Speaker Nicholas Longworth and Vice President Charles G. Dawes. See "Service Flag On Capital," STAR, Nov. 7, 1926.... The Federal Council of Churches requested Christians to offer two minutes of silence "to honor the dead and to emphasize the duty of the living to promote the spirit to peace, understanding, justice and good-will between nations." See "Armistice Day Program Includes Services at Tombs of Wilson and Unknown Soldier," TIMES, Nov. 11, 1926.

<sup>63</sup>Mr. Coolidge had been further West than Kansas City, having visited San Francisco in August 1922, where he spoke to a convention of the American Bar Association. His first glimpse of the West had come in the Spring of 1909 when he traveled on business to the then Arizona Territory.

<sup>64</sup>Another member of the detail was J. M. Haley. The Liberty Memorial Association was also concerned with security and safety matters. Lt. Col. Charles Edwards and Maj. R. B. Boyle, a military intelligence officer in the U.S. Army Reserves, oversaw a large security force. Members were identified by colored arm bands: red, for 10 individuals having access to all events, public and private; white, for about 100 men involved in crowd control; and blue to identify 60 civilian officials. See "The Plans For Protection," STAR, Nov. 9, 1926.... From the accounts of the President Coolidge's visit, it is remarkable to us today how freely and openly he moved about. The Secret Service was there and did all they could, given the circumstances, to provide protection. The President, however, was very much a public figure, and on occasion such as this in Kansas City, he was expected to make himself seen and available to the people. Otherwise, there would be negative comment. One has the impression that President Coolidge's security was not much greater than that provided the martyred McKinley on that fateful day in 1901 at the Pan American Exposition when he greeted the anarchist Czolgosz. In those days, our Presidents had to be men of courage.

<sup>65</sup>"Crowds Line Route of Coolidge Train," TIMES, Nov. 11, 1926.

<sup>66</sup>When his father grew ill, the President asked him to come to Washington, but Col. Coolidge refused to leave his home. The demands of the public business kept the President in Washington. He sought to maintain contact with situation by telephone and even radio. As his father's condition worsened, the President sped to be with him. Coming into Plymouth Notch by sleigh, the President saw that a path had been cleared in the newly fallen snow from the Coolidge homestead to the nearby Church. He was too late. Death had already come for Col. Coolidge. Recalling this incident, Mr. Coolidge would later write, "It costs a great deal to be President." See AUTOBIOGRAPHY, p. 192. It might be noted that Col. Coolidge had become a popular figure with the public and the press. He enjoyed particularly meeting the many visitors who came to the Notch to see

the President's home and birthplace. He was a fine old gentleman, representing the best of New England.

<sup>67</sup>"Is Coolidge Slipping?," LITERARY DIGEST, XC (July 24, 1926).

<sup>68</sup>The TIMES for November 10, 1926, which Mr. Coolidge probably read on his westward trip, contained on its front page an article entitled "SENATE INSURGENTS PLAN A FILIBUSTER.... Five Men in La Follette Group Are Expected to Try to Force Extra Session Next Year.... Plot Aimed at Coolidge."

<sup>69</sup>The STAR's headline read: "A Backset to Coolidge: The 'Another Term' Movement Suffers a Severe Blow." Mr. Coolidge himself, putting the best light on the election, claim it a victory. See "Coolidge Believes Election A Victory," TIMES, Nov. 6, 1926.

<sup>70</sup>"Half of His Native Village Make a Call on the President," TIMES, Nov. 9, 1926; and "Talk Taxes With Coolidge," and "Coolidge Offers A Tax Cut," STAR, Nov. 9 and 10, 1926 .... The day before Mr. Coolidge's arrival, the STAR ran a favorable cartoon, lauding one of the President's top priorities, tax reduction. The Ding cartoon is entitled, "Who Said They Didn't Believe in Santa Claus?." It shows a smiling President Coolidge flying over a community in Santa's sleigh—labeled "25,000,000 US Treasury Surplus"—throwing out coins and bills that are falling on happy citizens below; a note states "Rebate On Last Years' Income Tax." See STAR, Nov. 10, 1926.... Federal workers in the Kansas City area were doing their part in the President's battle "against waste and extravagance." In mid October 1926, the Kansas City Federal Business Association had established a monthly magazine, "Heart Beats"—the local U.S. Marshal was editor—which featured "incidents showing how denial, thrift and frugality reduced government expenses in the 'little thing'." The President would have been pleased. See "A Paper For Federal Men," STAR, Oct. 19, 1926.

<sup>71</sup>"Afternoon For Coolidge," STAR, Oct. 19, 1926.

<sup>72</sup>Everett Sanders was an Indiana lawyer and politician. He had served four terms in the House of Representatives. Declining renomination in 1924, he became Director of the Speakers' Bureau of the Republican National Committee during the campaign. Afterwards, President Coolidge, seeking a replacement for C. Bascom Slemple, chose him to be Secretary to the President. Sanders served in this position from March 4, 1925, to the end of the Coolidge Presidency.

<sup>73</sup>"Coolidge Here One Day," STAR, Oct. 21, 1926.... For the President's itinerary, see the front page of the STAR for November 10, 1926.

<sup>74</sup>For example, the Sheffield Steel Corporation's sales in tons had grown from 21,000 in 1921 to 110,000 in 1926; sales had increased from \$1,500,000 to \$7,000,000; employment had grown from 450 to 1,200; and wages from \$500,000 to \$2,000,000. Other local firms experiencing rapid growth were Irving-Pitt Manufacturing Company, Donnelly Garment Company, Manhattan Oil Company, and the Cook Paint Company. See promotional ad

appearing in the STAR, Oct. 31, 1926.

<sup>75</sup>"Kahn Visions West's Goal," STAR, Oct. 26, 1926.

<sup>76</sup>An editorial, "Ellis As River Manager In Washington," on the importance of river improvements had appeared in the STAR on October 16, 1926. Editor Kirkwood urged "a big forward movement, with the President's approval, toward completing the inland waterways system."...On October 25, President Coolidge's Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover arrived in Kansas City to participate in a local Waterways Conference, sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce. Twenty-five Kansas Citians would hear Hoover speak on his plan for a great national waterways system (which they would no doubt remember in 1928 when he would seek the Presidency). See "Discuss Reception of Hoover" and "The Secretary of Commerce in Kansas City Today..." STAR, Oct. 16 and 25, 1926. His visit came around the time that his Department issued financial statistics so favorable to the city. While in Kansas City, Hoover met some of the same important individuals that Mr. Coolidge had met in 1921: Kirkwood, Nichols, Dickey, Beach. See "Hoover Resumes His Trip," STAR, Oct. 26, 1926. In late November 1926, Hoover was again back in Missouri for a Big River Conference at St. Louis.

<sup>77</sup>"First Lady Smiles On All," STAR, Nov. 11, 1926....The STAR reporter provides an excellent account.

THE FIRST LADY: "The winsome smile of the first lady of the land was one of the high lights of the arrival of the presidential party. The President stepped from the train with formal and dignified mien to meet the welcoming committee, presented to him by his aide. But it was the smiling and beautiful woman, alert of countenance and ready to receive the hearty greeting of an admiring populace with genuine sincerity, who won all hearts."

HER ATTIRE: "As she stepped from the platform the crowd saw a tall woman in a broad-brimmed sea-green velvet hat and a long black sealskin coat which was wrapped closely about her slender figure....Mrs. Coolidge's luxuriant, long, brown hair, in perfect marcel, could be seen beneath the big green hat with a mink bow on the left side. The hat was faced with bronze silk. Bronze reptile skin shoes and matching hose and bronze gloves were in evidence. Every woman with an eye to pretty accessories noted the jade button earrings which the first lady of the land wore." Under her coat, Mrs. Coolidge wore "a modish gown of sea green velvet in coat effect over green georgette of the same shade. Mink fur banded the dress from neck to skirt hem, revealing a pleated slip of green georgette. Full sleeves of green georgette were confined by cavalier cuffs of bronze brocade of the softest possible leather effect. This glorified leather [met] the belt at a little below the normal waistline. The costume was completed by rather light bronze leather shoes and hose, creating a perfect blending of beige tones, green shades and the rich brown of the mink trim. Mrs. Coolidge does not wear the extremely short skirt. Hers is the conservative length of perhaps eleven inches from the floor, short enough to be smart, long enough to

clothe her with dignity. Into a cream and gold bag she tucked the little necessities of the day; a green and tan chiffon handkerchief and pale green one of linen, a compact and a gold pencil."

<sup>78</sup>The unit of 17-men was from Sedalia; "Buck" Sparks, a 13-year old, who served as the battery's mascot, accompanied them. To ensure that all went well, a regular Army officer was assigned to the battery as an "instructor." (This was a wise precaution. Once, when President William McKinley arrived for a visit, an inexperienced young artillery officer, in charge of the battery for the Presidential salute, placed the guns too close to the railroad tracks and the concussion from the blast blew out windows in the train and caused Mrs. McKinley to faint.) Two French 75s were used to fire the salute. The signal to commence firing was given by wig-wag (a system for sending messages by waving flags in accordance with a code) as the President stepped from his train. Firing was spaced at five-second intervals. Brass blanks, consisting of one and one-half pounds of powder behind two wads, were used. Mr. Coolidge would have been pleased to know that the brass shell casings could be reloaded and used again. (As President, he encouraged the substitution of the playing of the National anthem for the firing of formal salutes.) The battery had begun its work early that morning, awakening the City to a 21-gun Flag salute at 6:25 a.m. During the day, it fired other salutes as appropriate, including one for Queen Marie, who arrived that evening. See "The Presidential Salute," STAR, Nov. 11, 1926.

<sup>79</sup>"The President," STAR, Nov. 11, 1926.

<sup>80</sup>Almost every car dealer in Kansas City had offered "the best and most special car he could command" for the President's use. The dealers drew straws to determine whose car got the honor. Different makes of cars were used in different drives made by the President. See "It's a 'Chicken Dinner,'" STAR, Nov. 8, 1926

<sup>81</sup>The STAR report, dated Thursday, October 28, 1926, read: "Thirty-six 'crack' negro cavalymen from Ft. Leavenworth will be an escort for the President." In a later article, dated November 9, it is mentioned that they were from "Detachment No. 2, negro, army service schools," composed of one hundred enlisted men under the command of a Major Swift. "The detachment," it is stated, "is one of the best drilled horse units in the service. For several days the member of the command have been going over their mounts, equipment and uniforms to have them in the best possible condition when they meet their commander-in-chief."...The exact role played by the President in selecting this escort is unknown. We do know, however, that the Secretary to the President, Everett Sanders, was involved in planning every detail of his visit, including the use of cavalymen, which he specified had to ride well out in front of the Presidential car so as to avoid confusion. We also know that President Coolidge would have wanted their presence. His recognition of this crack Black unit--making them his official escort, putting them at the head of the line--appears to have been one of his silent ways of addressing prejudice. The following year, in June 1927, at the welcoming ceremony in Washington for Charles A. Lindbergh--perhaps the most notable public event of his Presidency--Mr. Coolidge was again escorted by a Black cavalry unit.

How Kansas City reacted to the participation of these Black soldiers is unclear. The City was Southern in its sentiments. On the other hand, Blacks had been sought out by the Liberty Memorial Association and had participated in the Liberty Memorial project. It is must be noted, however, that on Saturday, November 6, 1926, eight days after the participation of Black troops was announced, the Ku Klux Klan marched down Leavenworth's main street, nearby to where the Black troops were based. 10,000 Klansmen had been expected, only 600 appeared; five bands were to march, only one lone drummer showed up. In Missouri, the Klan had reached its high tide in 1924; that was the year they helped to give Harry Truman his only electoral defeat....On a separate note, on this Armistice Day at Arlington National Ceremony a statue to Col. Charles D. Young was unveiled by the Walker Post (Black) of the American Legion. Col. Young had died in 1922, while serving as military attaché at Monrovia, Liberia. In the pre-War Army, he was the highest-ranking Black and in 1916, had commanded a cavalry squadron in the expedition against Poncho Villa. See "Armistice Day Program Includes Services at Tombs of Wilson and Unknown Soldier," and "Capital Will Honor Nation's War Dead," *TIMES*, Nov. 11, 1926.

<sup>82</sup>It is interesting to note that in signing the Muehlebach's hotel register, both the President and First Lady gave their residence as "Northampton, Mass.," rather than Washington, D.C.; the former, of course, was there legal, voting residence....Politics had not taken a vacation for the day. Among the President's first visitors at the hotel was Senator Arthur Capper, who "conferred with the President...on the political situation in Kansas," to which "the President expressed satisfaction with the conditions there."...While at the Muehlebach, Mr. Coolidge had a would-be greeter at his third floor suite. Mrs. Laura Thompson had shaken hands with every President from Theodore Roosevelt to Warren Harding. She, being a Republican, bet her husband, a Democrat, a new dress that she could shake hands with President Coolidge. At the hotel, J. M. Haley, of the Secret Service, was sent to interview her. After hearing her story, Agent Haley replied, "I'm sorry, lady, but you have put this matter on a sporting basis and you lose." It was said that "Mrs. Thompson took her defeat good naturedly and retired from further efforts as visions of a new dress slipped away." See "New Dress In A Handshake," *STAR*, Nov. 11, 1926....At the hotel, Mrs. Coolidge met briefly with Mrs. Clyde Porter, who represented a local alumni chapter of Pi Beta Phi, the First Lady's sorority. Mrs. Porter presented her with five yards of a cream color, wool fabric that had been hand-woven by a 16-year old mountain girl, Edna McCarter, at the Pi Beta Phi settlement school at Gatlingburg, Tennessee. Mrs. Coolidge was an active patron of this school. See the *STAR*, Nov. 10, 1926, for a photo of Miss McCarter at the loom; the presentation ceremony is described in "First Lady Smiles on All," *STAR*, Nov. 11, 1926....Many floral offerings also arrived at the Presidential suite. Among them, for the First Lady, were a corsage of pale roses and orchids from the Women's Committee of the Liberty Memorial Association and a huge bouquet of American roses, which had been grown in R. A. Long's greenhouse, from the Missouri Federation of Women's Club.

<sup>83</sup>"Memorial Speaks To All," *STAR*, Oct. 28, 1926.

<sup>84</sup>"Memorial Aim Is Reached," *STAR*, Nov. 12, 1926.

<sup>85</sup>"World Court Entry Only On Our Terms, Coolidge Says in Kansas City Speech..." *TIMES*, Nov. 12, 1926.

<sup>86</sup>Coolidge, *AUTOBIOGRAPHY*, p. 49.

<sup>87</sup>The highest-ranking military officer present was Maj. Gen. Harry A. Smith, who was the Assistant Chief of Staff of the Army. Other officers present were Brig. Gen. Edward L. King, Commandant of the General Service Schools, Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas; Brig. Gen. E. E. Booth, Commandant at Ft. Riley, Kansas; Brig. Gen. Charles Krauthoff, Retired, Washington, D.C.; Brig. Gen. F. M. Rumbold, Adjutant General of Missouri; and Brig. Gen. Malvern Hill Barnum, Boston.... Dignitaries: These included the Commanders of the American Legion in Missouri and Kansas; Senator Arthur Capper of Kansas; the wife of Senator James A. Reed of Missouri; William Allen White, editor; Joshua W. Alexander, former Secretary of Commerce under Woodrow Wilson; and W. S. Dickey, Mr. Coolidge's host in 1921....Educators: They were the Chancellor of the University of Kansas, E. H. Lindley; President of the University of Missouri, Stratton D. Brooks; and President of the University of Oklahoma, Will B. Bizzell.

<sup>88</sup>See "Maids of Honor Chosen," *STAR*, Nov. 5, 1926, for a listing of the maids; also, for the experience of one maid on that cold day, see Donovan's *LEST THE AGES FORGET*, p. 83.

<sup>89</sup>As an interesting side note, the President's military aide, Col. S. A. Cheney had commanded the 110<sup>th</sup> Engineers for a considerable period during the World War. See "President's Aide 'At Home,'" *STAR*, Nov. 11, 1926.

<sup>90</sup>In the first row of Presidential box were (west to east) Everett Sanders, Secretary to the President; Howard P. Savage, National Commander of the American Legion; Dwight F. Davis, Secretary of War; the President; R. A. Long, President of the Liberty Memorial Association; Mrs. Coolidge; Mrs. Long. Two Secret Service men stood immediately behind the President, with others located elsewhere on the platform. Two other rows held various other dignitaries. See "Those At Coolidge's Side," *STAR*, Nov. 10, 1926.

The Secret Service made the estimate of 150,000. The agents figured that more than 75,000 individuals were in front of the Memorial and speakers' stand. There were at least that many more banked along the aisles of soldiers between which the President and party marched back to their cars. See "Secret Service Men Estimate Crowd at 150,000," and "Throng of 150,000: The Southwest's 'Largest Crowd' Hears the President...A Solid Mass of Humanity," *STAR*, Nov. 11, 1926. Another figure of 175,000 was also cited; see "World Court Entry Only On Our Terms, Coolidge Says..." *TIMES*, Nov. 12, 1926, and *THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS*, LXXIV (Dec. 1926), 584....For the purpose of comparison, the crowd at the Capital for Herbert Hoover's inauguration on a rainy day in March 1929 was about 100,000. Interestingly, its size was larger than that for the site dedication in 1921, when the American Legion convention provided thousands of attendees and the presence of the five principal Allied leaders of the Great War helped draw a

large audience. Encouraging a large turn out in 1926 was the event's historical importance and the presence of the President of the United States, along with, later in the day, the visit of the Queen of Rumania. Another important contributing factor was the closing of practically every store and business in Kansas City. The dedication ceremony was really the only show in town. The newspapers, of course, had been publicizing and building up the events for days. Even the Shubert theatre cooperated by running for several weeks King Vidor's "The Big Parade"—perhaps the best of the Great War pictures, with some of the most realistic battle scenes ever filmed—starring John Gilbert with Renee Adoree; the audience was always full and filled with many repeats. Fifty disabled veterans attended the movie as the guests of the Shubert's management and the company showing the picture. Mayor Albert I. Beach had issued this proclamation:

Whereas, the eleventh day of November of each year has been fittingly set aside as a legal holiday in commemoration of Armistice day, which eight years ago brought forth the news of the successful conclusion of the great World War; and

Whereas, with the great honor of the presence of the President of the United States on the occasion of the dedication of the magnificent Liberty memorial to the memory of those from Kansas City who made the supreme sacrifice in this war, Armistice day of 1926 bears promise of being one of the most eventual dates in the entire history of Kansas City;

Now, therefore, in order that this day may be properly observed, it is earnestly recommended that the people of Kansas City turn aside from their everyday affairs and that insofar as practicable all business and industry be suspended on his memorable occasion. (See "Mayor Issues Proclamation," STAR, Nov. 7, 1926.)

All concerned could certainly be pleased with the turnout.

The American Legion Bugle and Drum Corps of Wyandotte Post No. 83, Kansas City, Kansas, may have provided this opening salute. To distinguish themselves from other military bodies, the 10-piece group wore colorful French military uniforms.

<sup>91</sup>The next morning, on board the train home, Mr. Coolidge awoke to find himself in possession of a beautiful Indian blanket. He was troubled for he did not know whether it was a loan or gift. It proved to be a gift from an Osage Indian from Oklahoma, "who made his way to the speakers' platform..., using his feathered war bonnet, in the absence of a ticket, as his credential." See "On Board President Coolidge's Special Train," TIMES, Nov. 13, 1926.

<sup>92</sup>Mrs. Albert I. Beach, wife of the Mayor, wrote the ode; Carl Busch, who also directed the mammoth chorus, composed the music.

<sup>93</sup>The full text of Mr. Long's speech is found under the title of "A Memorial to Liberty and

Peace" in the STAR, Nov. 11, 1926.

<sup>94</sup>Harry S. Truman was not in this crowd. That evening, he wrote Bess from the Hotel Stamey in Hutchinson, Kansas, a letter in which he recalled the events of eight years before, when his unit in France had fired its last shot of the War. Truman then said, "I am ashamed now that I didn't stay at home and fight the job hunters and take you to see the Queen"; see Robert H. Ferrell, editor, DEAR BESS (New York: W. W. Norton, 1983), p. 325. The Queen referred to is Queen Marie of Rumania who arrived in Kansas City in the late afternoon after the Coolidges had departed; there was also an impressive welcome and ceremony for her. Given Truman's strong feeling about Republicans, whom he blamed (incorrectly) for the failure of his haberdashery business in 1922, it might have been too much for him to see the crowd cheering Calvin Coolidge. I suspect, however, that Truman, a good politician, respected Coolidge's political skill and he seemed to have modeled his retirement on that of Coolidge's. Truman himself should have been in a good mood, for on November 3, 1926, he had been elected Presiding Judge of Jackson County with a majority of over 16,000 votes. Like Mr. Coolidge, he ran on a record of "sensible economy." See political ad in the STAR, Nov. 1, 1926...It worth noting that Fate would yet bring Truman and Coolidge together. In April 1928, Truman journeyed to Washington to report to the national conference of the Daughters of the American Revolution on his work as president of the National Old Trails Association. He shared the platform that day with President Coolidge and three of his Cabinet members. See DEAR BESS, p. 334.

<sup>95</sup>Locally, the broadcast was carried over WDAF, the voice of the STAR, which had been licensed in May 1922. The coverage began at 10:15 a.m. Here is a reporter's account:

The STAR's announcer, standing in a telephone booth at the Memorial in none too comfortable a position, began a vivid description of the Memorial, its surroundings and interesting details concerning the throng as it gathered. The applause of the mass at the Memorial in response to parts of the President's address came with clearness equal to that of a theater's auditorium. The chorus of five hundred and the band of fifty pieces was transmitted...with a volume that hardly could be surpassed by actually being present...In the STAR's studio—and no doubt in thousands of homes—listeners-in stood erect as the huge chorus sang "The Star Spangled Banner." (See "A Vast Radio Audience, Too," STAR, Nov. 11, 1926.)

Following the dedication ceremony, WDAF entertained its listeners with a football game between Universities of Kansas and Oklahoma at Lawrence, Kansas. That evening coverage continued with the arrival of Queen Marie of Rumania. See "The President and Queen Marie on WDAF Tomorrow," STAR, Nov. 10, 1926.

<sup>96</sup>The full text of President Coolidge's address, entitled, "Armistice Day Address: Dedicating Liberty Memorial in Kansas City, Missouri, on November 11, 1926," is found on the Calvin Coolidge Memorial Foundation Website: <http://www.calvincoolidge.org/pages/history/speeches/aspres/261111.htm>. The quotes from the address that follow are found therein. The speech may also be found in printed form in CURRENT HISTORY,

(Dec. 1926), 432-434; and in the *TIMES*, Nov. 12, 1926. An article by the *STAR*'s Washington correspondent, entitled "As Nation's Voice," which appears in a late edition of the paper on Nov. 11, covers the President's speech (the full text is also included in this edition of the paper); others informative articles appearing in the same issue are "Throng of 150,000...All Eyes On Mr. Coolidge" and "Pomp In The People." The following day the *TIMES* ran several informative pieces on the dedication and the President's speech, including "World Court Entry Only On Our Terms, Coolidge Says In Kansas City Speech; Withdrawal Seen Here And Abroad."

Mr. Coolidge had this to say about his Presidential speechmaking: "My speeches would average a little over three thousand words. In the course of a year the entire number reaches about twenty, which probably represents an output of at least seventy-five thousand words....This kind of work is very exacting. It requires the most laborious and extended research and study and the most careful and painstaking thought. Each word has to be weighed in the realization that it is a presidential utterance which will be dissected at home and abroad to discover its outward meaning and any possible hidden implications. Before it is finished it is thoroughly examined by one or two of my staff, and oftentimes by a member of the Cabinet. It is not difficult for me to deliver an address. The difficulty lies in its preparation. This is an important part of the work of a President which he can not escape. It is inherent in the office." See *AUTOBIOGRAPHY*, p. 220. In preparing his addresses and formal state papers, an individual known as a "literary aide" assisted Mr. Coolidge, but the President did the actual composing; see "Coolidge Was Eloquent Without Welliver," *TIMES*, Feb. 18, 1987.

President Coolidge was undoubtedly impressed by Kansas Citians' successful efforts to construct this Memorial, an undertaking of great complexity, requiring leadership—provided by men like R. A. Long and J. C. Nichols—and commitment to overcome many obstacles. For him, it was an excellent example of the individual and community initiative that he favored. The call for the Liberty Memorial had come from the people, who had then organized themselves, with the encouragement and support of the local government, to finance it and to oversee its construction. The construction of the monument was a tremendous achievement on the part of Kansas Citians and it stood as a tribute to them and their civic leaders. During his Presidency, Mr. Coolidge frequently complained that Americans were turning away from such local initiative and looking instead to the national government to meet their needs. (For instance, see President Coolidge's address, "States Rights and National Unity," at the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, May 15, 1926, which is reproduced in his *FOUNDATIONS OF THE REPUBLIC*, pp. 401-412.) He much regretted this loss of independence and saw it in it a threat to our liberty.

<sup>97</sup>Mr. Coolidge mentioned specifically the contribution of Kansas City and the surrounding region to 35<sup>th</sup> and 89<sup>th</sup> Divisions, as well as the Rainbow Division. See "As Nation's Voice," *STAR*, Nov. 11, 1926.

<sup>98</sup>In his *AUTOBIOGRAPHY*, p. 86, Mr. Coolidge stated that his interest "in military preparation" dated back to the Spanish-American War, when, as a Northampton city council-

man, he sought to get an armory built for the returning soldiers, an effort that eventually proved successful. It was an interest, moreover, that he "never relinquished."

<sup>99</sup>In 1927, President Coolidge was largely responsible for the calling of the second naval limitation conference in Geneva. The conference was unsuccessful, but the United States did attempt to broaden the principle of limitation.

<sup>100</sup>The *STAR* focus on his words, noting:

"Of special interest to the many legionnaires in the vast audience was the finality of his declaration for conscription of wealth and all resources of the nation, in every form, as well as its manpower, in the event of another war." (See "As Nation's Voice," *STAR*, Nov. 11, 1926.)

To these the President's words, Senator James A. Reed, Democrat of Missouri, reacted strongly:

The most astonishing statement which ever fell from the lips of an American President....Such a proposal would spell national paralysis and national defeat. (See "General Conscription 'Monstrous,' Says Reed," *TIMES*, November 14, 1926.)

He accused the President of accepting the pacifist idea that the Great War was deliberately brought on by capitalists who desired to enrich themselves out of the struggle. There is no indication that Mr. Coolidge accepted any such idea as this, yet a proposal for the conscription of citizens and their wealth coming from Calvin Coolidge strikes us as odd. Certainly, such an idea was not what his supporters on Wall Street expected to hear from him. Nonetheless, Mr. Coolidge clearly thought it a wise and necessary idea, as did his predecessor, Warren Harding, who had voiced like sentiments shortly before his death in a speech at Denver in 1923: "...[I]f ever there is another war," he said forcefully, "and I have anything to say about it, we are going to do more...than merely draft the boys; we are going to draft every dollar and every resource and every activity for the national defense." See *SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES OF WARREN G. HARDING PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES* (Washington, DC: 1923), p.95. Indeed, Mr. Coolidge's words that day in Kansas City fell on a receptive audience. It must be remembered that most average Americans believed--often from first hand experience--that certain individuals and businesses had profited excessively during the Great War, while the majority had sacrificed and even died for the cause. The burdens of war had not been shared equally. This was wrong, they felt; no one should be permitted to profit from war; all should do their part. (In preparing this paper, I came across a cartoon, dating from 1920, showing a row of open-topped, chauffeur-driven limousines driving down a road through an area lined with crosses and with widows and orphans by the side. In the cars are jolly, well-attired men and women. The men are smoking cigars and wear top hats. The lead car bears on its front grill the label "PROFITEERS." At first, I assumed this cartoon was from a radical, leftist publication of the day, say the *NEW MASSES*, but no, it was from that great middle class publication: *THE SATURDAY EVENING POST*.) As an

ex-President, Mr. Coolidge would return again to the topic of "equalizing the burdens of war" in his "Calvin Coolidge Says" column of March 7, 1931, which may be found in Edward Connery Lathem, *CALVIN COOLIDGE SAYS* (Plymouth, VT: Calvin Coolidge Memorial Foundation, 1972). . . . It is interesting to note that during the 1920s, Bernard M. Baruch and President Coolidge in occasional meetings would discuss the complex issues relating to industrial mobilization. At the President's request, Baruch also prepared a memorandum on this subject for his consideration. Clearly, mobilization was a question of concern to the President and certainly, Baruch, who had practically run the nation's economy during the Great War, was the right person with whom to discuss it. Baruch would later recall these discussions during World War II, when, as a close economic adviser to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, he would urge on the President the conscripting of labor in wartime, which both Presidents Harding and Coolidge had supported. He may also have remembered President Coolidge's wise observation that the great strength of the nation rested not only on its implements of war—but on its people, its agriculture and industrial resources, and its wealth. See Bernard M. Baruch, *BARUCH: THE PUBLIC YEARS* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), p. 190 and 326.

<sup>101</sup>What was the "World Court"? The Court was established pursuant to Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The protocol establishing it, based on the work of a Committee of International Jurists, was adopted by the League's Assembly in 1920 and ratified by the requisite number of states in 1921. Two Americans played prominent roles in its establishment: Elihu Root, who assisted in drafting the plan for the Court, and John Bassett Moore, who served as one of its founding Judges. In the Summer of 1922, the Court held its first annual session. By the time of its dissolution on April 19, 1946—when the newly created International Court of Justice, an institution of the United Nations, assumed its functions—the Court had 59 member states. Sitting at The Hague, the Court was empowered to render judgments in disputes between states that were voluntarily submitted to it (as the years passed, several states agreed to compulsory submission) and to give advisory opinions in any matters referred to it by the League's Council or Assembly. Its functions were judicial in nature, rather than, as in the case of the older Hague Tribunal, purely arbitral and diplomatic, and focused on building a body of international law. In the course of its existence, the Court rendered 32 judgments and 27 advisory opinions. The Court originally had 11 judges and 4 deputy judges, but in 1931, its composition was changed to 15 regular judges. The League's Council and the Assembly elected judges for a 9-year term concurrently. Judges were selected from a list of nominees regardless of nationality, except that not more than one citizen of a country might sit on the bench at any one time. To assure impartiality, judges were paid salaries and were forbidden to engage in governmental service or in any legal activity except their judicial work. See M. O. Hudson, *THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE, 1920-1942* (rev. ed. 1943; reprinted 1972); and D. F. Fleming, *THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD COURT* (1945; reprinted 1968).

<sup>102</sup>Abroad, so it was reported, a statement by Gen. John J. Pershing, indicating that America had won the War, received almost as much attention as the President's speech. Pershing had supposedly said this in an Armistice Day speech in Chicago. Marshal Foch when told of Pershing's statement said he could not believe that he made it, and then went on to

observe that if half a million American troops had been in France in 1917 the war would have ended sooner. See "'Not Like Pershing,' Says Foch," *STAR*, Nov. 12, 1926.

<sup>103</sup>Coolidge's position on the World Court was spelled out in Judson C. Welliver, "The Permanent Court of International Justice," *THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS*, LXXI (Jan. 1925), pp. 52-56. Welliver served as a "literary aide" (speech writer) to both Presidents Coolidge and Harding from March 4, 1921, until November 1, 1925. . . . Applying the rule of law to international affairs naturally appealed to Calvin Coolidge the lawyer.

<sup>104</sup>Speaking of the President's address, Senator Thomas J. Walsh, Democrat of Montana, who had helped to write the reservations and was a leader in the Senate fight for ratification, said "the President's speech accurately expresses the attitude of the senate." Agreeing with him was Senator Claude A. Swanson, Democrat of Virginia, who was also closely involved with the drafting of the reservations. See "Mixed Feelings In Senate," *STAR*, Nov. 12, 1926.

<sup>105</sup>"New Deal Likely On World Court" and "Root Reveals Text Of Court Entry Plan," *TIMES*, Mar. 3 and 7, 1929.; and *THE AMERICANA ANNUAL: AN ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CURRENT EVENTS: 1930* (New York: Americana Corp., 1930), p. 822.

<sup>106</sup>In the face of strong political opposition, President Roosevelt, while giving ratification verbal support, failed to give it the strong political backing it required for passage: an example of words, not deeds. Roosevelt, it should be noted, had previously disavowed the League of Nations during the 1932 campaign under pressure from William Randolph Hearst. If the League were no longer an issue, perhaps he felt that the Court was no longer an issue, too, or, at least, not worth a difficult and costly political fight. Opposition to Court membership was led by Senator Huey Long, Democrat of Louisiana; Father Charles Coughlin, the "Radio Priest" of the Shrine of the Little Flower, Detroit, Michigan; and the powerful Hearst newspaper chain. Even Will Rogers spoke out against it. Together, they succeeded in generating a significant public outcry against the Court; Senators were bombarded with letters and telegrams urging its defeat. See Charles A. Beard's *AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE MAKING: 1932-1940* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946), pp. 163-165; and Samuel Lubell, *THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN POLITICS* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1956), pp. 149-150.

<sup>107</sup>The American Legion's participation in the 1926 dedication ceremony was minimal. This resulted from an unfortunate controversy growing out of the naming of one of the two side buildings of the Memorial. At first, it was proposed to name the building housing an auditorium for patriotic gatherings the "American Legion Building." Objections were later raised to this because it singled out for special recognition one particular group of veterans. This would give offense, some felt, as the Memorial was intended to honor all veterans and their organizations. In this regard, it should be remembered that the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States—with about 1,200 posts and a membership of 100,000 in 1926—was headquartered in Kansas City, Kansas. In early 1925, the Memorial Association decided to name the building "Memory Hall," the designation it

bears today. Unfortunately, efforts to reconcile the Legion failed, and they remained disappointed and upset at the time of the dedication.

Secretary Davis asked rhetorically if there was a danger of militarism in American. "No, and may it never be," he answered. "There will be only sane protection, as the father should protect his home and family." See "World Court Entry Only On Our Terms, Coolidge Says In Kansas City Speech..." *TIMES*, Nov. 12, 1926.

<sup>108</sup>"Etching Of Himself A Gift To Coolidge," *TIMES*, Nov. 13, 1926.

<sup>109</sup>A full and interesting account of the luncheon is found in "Happy Crowd Dines: The President and Mrs. Coolidge the Center of a Chatty Luncheon," *STAR*, Nov. 11, 1926; see also "It's A 'Chicken Dinner'," *STAR*, Nov. 8, 1926.

<sup>110</sup>J. M. Haley of the Secret Service, working with city officials, had prepared the route. It is interesting to note that the streets were cleared of traffic for the President just as would be done today.

<sup>111</sup>"Gay For Chief Executive" and "Into Kansas City, Kas.," *STAR*, Nov. 10 and 11, 1926.

<sup>112</sup>"The Welcome to Coolidge," *STAR*, Nov. 12, 1926.

<sup>113</sup>"Memorial Aim Is Reached," *STAR*, Nov. 12, 1926.

<sup>114</sup>The announcement that Kansas City had been selected as the convention site was made on December 7, 1927, a little over a year after the President's visit. See *THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS*, LXXVII (Jan. 1928), 23. Kansas City was an appropriate site, for the Convention nominated Herbert Clark Hoover, who, along with his wife, Lou Henry, would become the first President and First Lady born West of the Mississippi. His Vice President was Charles Curtis of Kansas. Mayor Albert I. Beach had played an important role in bringing the convention to Kansas City and participated as a delegate.

<sup>115</sup>"On Board The Presidential Train, Sedalia, Mo.," *TIMES*, Nov. 12, 1926.

<sup>116</sup>Queen Marie, along with her son and daughter, arrived on their special train at 6:30 p.m. She spent six hours in the City, during which she participated in a wreath laying ceremony at the Liberty Memorial (fortunately, it was discovered prior to her arrival that the Rumanian flag was missing from the 22 flags of the Allied nations), which was broadcast over WDAF; attended an Armistice Day concert at the American Royal Pavilion; and finally partook of a private buffet supper and reception at the home of Mrs. Jacob L. Loose. The royal party departed the City for their next stop at 12:30 a.m. See "Problems At The Memorial," "Queen's Six Hours Full" and "Queen Here Tonight," *STAR*, Oct. 21, and Nov. 10 and 11, 1926, respectively; "Queen Lays Wreath At War Memorial," *TIMES*, Nov. 12, 1926; and Donovan's *LEST THE AGES FORGET*, p. 82....Three weeks before, on October 21, 1926, after laying a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, Queen

Marie had called on President and Mrs. Coolidge at the White House. President Coolidge was not an admirer of the Queen and her publicity-seeking ways. I am certain that he had no intentions whatsoever of meeting her again in Kansas City. For details of his unhappy encounter with Queen Marie, see Ishbel Ross' *GRACE COOLIDGE AND HER ERA* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1962), pp. 194-200.

<sup>117</sup>"President Back in Capital," *TIMES*, Nov. 13, 1926....Earlier in the day, while the train was in Pittsburgh, the President was told of the death of the ex-Speaker of the House, Joseph G. Cannon, better known as "Uncle Joe." The President telegraphed his sympathy to Helen Cannon, the Speaker's daughter. "The nation has lost," Mr. Coolidge wrote, "one of its most able, interesting and beloved public men of the last generation." See "Coolidge Sends Condolence," *TIMES*, Nov. 13, 1926...The old order of statesmen, with its heart in the XIXth Century, was passing away. Death had come for Wilson and Lodge in 1924, while Bryan and La Follette had both answered his call in the Summer of 1925. Only a few weeks before Cannon's departure, Eugene V. Debs had crossed over, too. In the wings, a new order of politicians was posed awaiting its cue to enter upon the stage.

<sup>118</sup>"Forever" Wasn't Very Long," *STAR*, Nov. 12, 1926; and "'Everlasting' Pillar of Cloud Lapses at Kansas City Shaft," *TIMES*, Nov. 13, 1926.

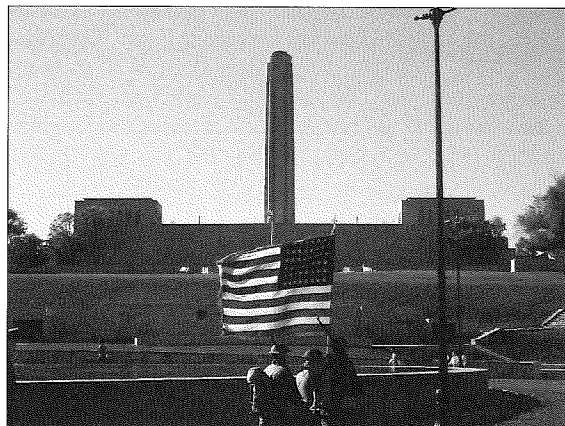
<sup>119</sup>In August 1928, 15 nations signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact (or Pact of Paris), agreeing to renounce war as a means of settling disputes. This was the most thoroughgoing commitment to peace ever made by the great powers. The United States ratified the treaty in January 1929. Eventually, 62 nations adhered to it. Approval of the Pact encouraged the revival of efforts to secure United States membership in the World Court. For his part in negotiating it, Frank B. Kellogg was awarded the 1929 Noble Peace Prize. The Pact did not achieve its purpose of outlawing war. It was a casualty of the Great Depression, which brought with it worldwide social and governmental instability and a breakdown in international order. Along with the League of Nations and its World Court, the Pact eventually went into the dustbin of history. It did have, however, one last function to serve: Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson would cite the Pact as a legal basis for the Nuremberg War Crimes trials.

It should be said here that in the case of both the World Court and the Kellogg-Briand Pact, the public at large lost its perspective and exaggerated their importance, seeing them as guaranteeing lasting peace, while, at best, they could only encourage and facilitate it. The public in its enthusiasm for the Court and Pact forgot that the underlying causes of war were to be found in the unresolved political problems of the day. These problems were many, they were both old and new, and they were often complex and sometimes seemingly insoluble. Throughout the prosperous 1920s, while substantial progress was achieved on some fronts--one can always cite the Locarno Pact of 1925--many critical problems simmered away. Interestingly, Charles Evan Hughes, in his October 30, 1922, speech at Boston, in which he, as Secretary of State, made the Harding Administration's first call for our joining the World Court, warned of this very danger:

"The important point," Hughes said, "is that in viewing European conditions

you should have a true perspective and should not, in default of adequate remedies, put an exaggerated estimate upon what is good in itself but at this time is far from being curative....The Fundamental and pressing problems of Europe are political problems." (See Raymond Leslie Buell, "The World Tribunal In Action," *THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY* [Nov. 1922], 418.)

<sup>120</sup>Robert Sobel, *COOLIDGE: AN AMERICAN ENIGMA* (Washington: Regnery, 1998), p. 373.



*Photos Courtesy of Liberty Memorial  
Museum, Kansas City, Kansas*

