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**United States Department of the Interior**National Park Service

# National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form

received
date entered

See instructions in *How to Complete National Register Forms*Type all entries—complete applicable sections

1. Nam	1 <b>e</b>	Sections		
historic Whit	e Haven			
and/or common	Grant-Dent House			
2. Loca				
street & number	9060 Whitehaven D	rive		not for publication
city, town Gra	ntwood Village	X vicinity of		
state Mis	souri co	de 29 county	St. Louis	<b>code</b> 189
3. Clas	sification			·
Category  district X building(s)  structure  site  object	Ownership public private both Public Acquisition in process being considered	Status occupied _X_ unoccupied work in progress Accessible yes: restricted yes: unrestricted _X_ no	Present Use agriculture commercial educational entertainment government industrial military	museum park X private residence religious scientific transportation other:
	er of Prope			
street & number		n, Inc., a Missouri nley Road	corporation	
city, town C1	ayton	vicinity of	state	Missouri 63105
5. Loca	ation of Leg	al Description	on	
courthouse, regi	stry of deeds, etc. Reco	rder of Deeds, St. Lo	ouis County Governm	ment Center
	7900 Forsyth Bould			
	ayton		state	Missouri 63105
		in Existing S		
	ic Buildings in St	. Louis	·	igible? <u>X</u> yes no
date 1970			federal state	te X county loca
depository for su	urvey records Publishe	ed: St. Louis County	y Department of Par	rks & Recreation
city, town Cla	yton		state	Missouri 63105

### 7. Description

Condition  X excellent deteriorated good ruins fair unexposed	Check one unaltered X altered	Check oneX_ original site moved date	***
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#### Describe the present and original (if known) physical appearance

White Haven is an estate of 9.65 acres located at 9060 Whitehaven Drive. It is in an unincorporated portion of St. Louis County but is bounded on two sides by the municipality of Grantwood Village. Buildings on the property include five buildings of historic interest: The main house, the former slave quarters, now a garage, a shed, a smokehouse, and a barn. There is also a caretaker's cottage dating from the twentieth century.

The main house was recorded by the Historic American Buildings Survey in 1940 (Survey No. Mo.-1150). It consists of a two-story rectangular section placed at an angle to the cardinal points, with the long axis running northeast-southwest. This section has a two-story porch across the southeast (nominal south) front. Against the southwest (nominal west) end is a one-story wing. A breezeway extends from the northwest (nominal north) side of the house to connect with the garage/slave quarters.

#### **EXTERIOR**

The two-story section of the house measures 36 feet by 30 feet, with a 6½-foot-wide two-story porch along the nominal south front. The nominal west wing measures 21 feet 2 inches by 28 feet 5 inches. One-story additions have been built along the nominal north side of the house in an irregular pattern, including a glazed breezeway extending the nominal east side of the house 29 feet north to the garage/slave quarters. All parts of the house are covered with white-painted clapboards, accented by black shutters and limestone chimneys. Foundations of the west wing are partially exposed concrete-covered rubble stone. The roofs are covered with black shingles.

#### Windows

With the exception of the breezeway, all the windows in the house are based on the pattern of the double-hung twelve-over-eight originals. The south front of the main block is symmetrical in five bays with centered doors on both levels. The east elevation has two windows on the ground floor flanking the central chimney. These windows were added in 1940. The west wing has one window roughly centered in the south front; at the west end there is one window to the right of the central chimney and another to the left, placed slightly lower on the wall. The north elevation, which has been most altered, retains a roughly symmetrical arrangement in five bays on the upper level. The second and fourth of the five windows were added in 1940. The original ground floor facade remains in part behind the irregular one-story extensions. Unlike the floor above, it has two windows left of the central bay, a blank fourth bay, and a door in the fifth bay. The window in the first bay was converted from a door in 1940, while the door in the fifth bay was originally a window. The north front of the west wing has three windows, the center of which replaces a door removed in 1940.

#### Doorways

The main door of the porch is set between three-pane side lights and is topped by a six-pane transom window. The door itself consists of one large panel surrounded

### 8. Significance

Period prehistoric 1400–1499 1500–1599 1600–1699 1700–1799X 1800–1899 1900–	Areas of Significance—C archeology-prehistoric agriculture architecture art commerce communications		Iandscape architecture Iaw Iiterature X military music philosophy X politics/government	religion cup science cup sculpture cup social/ humanitarian cup theater cup other (specify)
Specific dates	1808; 1843-1885	Builder/Architect Built	t by William Lindsay	Long

#### Statement of Significance (in one paragraph)

White Haven is nationally significant because of its long and close association with Ulysses S. Grant. John Y. Simon, the executive director of the Ulysses S. Grant Association describes its significance thus:

White Haven is the most important house within one hundred miles of St. Louis. There is no more important structure extant so intimately connected with the life of the general who won the Civil War and then served two terms in the White House. As a young officer, Grant courted his future wife in this house, and after his resignation from the U. S. Army in 1854 lived there for some time; in fact, he lived there much longer than he did in his Hardscrabble cabin. During the Civil War, he began to buy up portions of the Dent family estate that included White Haven as a site for his retirement. In addition to his desire to live as a gentleman farmer, he was also conscious of the sentimental attachments of the Dent home. In many respects, White Haven occupies the position in Grant's life that Arlington occupied in that of Robert E. Lee.1

Indeed in the late nineteenth century, White Haven was likened to Mount Vernon, Monticello and The Hermitage as a national shrine.<sup>2</sup> The fact that it has remained for so long in private hands and isolated from the public view has served to diminish its fame but not its significance, and its physical condition has been until recently excellent.

Bruce Catton and Allan Nevins in their prefaces to <u>The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant</u> cast oblique light on the significance of White Haven.<sup>3</sup> Nevins writes that Grant

gained his place in the American pantheon not by intellectual power, not by brillance, cleverness, or agile skill, and not by gifts of personality; he gained it by character . . . Even when his countrymen learned that his simplicity could be naïveté, that his directness could be clumsiness in political situations where finesse and tact were essential, and that reliance upon bad subordinates could be as harmful in government as in battle, their faith in his character remained.

That character, Catton asserts, was hammered into shape during the years before his great moment of opportunity. White Haven was central to those years; his heroism there, Nevins says, excelled that which he had exhibited as a young officer at Monterey. The events of the 1850's were, in another phrase, "a succession of downs that all led him upward." White Haven is in another sense a monument to what many have called the finest feature of Grant's life, his marriage to Julia Dent.

9. Major Bibli	ographical	Referen	ices		
1. Anjou, Gustave. Th 2. Barber, James G. <u>U</u> Portrait Gallery, T 3. Barrett, Mary. "Ho	. S. Grant: The M 985. use With a Proud F	lan and The In	<u>nage</u> . Washing	ton, D.C.:	Nationa1
10. Geograph	ical Data				
Acreage of nominated property Quadrangle name <u>Webster</u> UTM References		_	Quadrang	jle scale <u>1</u> :	24000
A 115 371091410 Zone Easting	4 12 7 10 2 10 10 Northing	B 1 15 Zone	3 7 10 8 10 10 Easting	4 12 7 10 0 Northing	1210
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Verbal boundary description Section 16, Township 46 Railroad Right of Way; there Recorded in Plat List all states and counties	N, Range 6 E, bei and on the southea Book 106, page 56	ng bounded or ist by Forest of St. Louis	n the southwes Haven No. 4, County Record	t by Missou Section 1, s; and on t	ri Pacific as per plat
state Missouri	code 29		Louis	code	189
state	code	county	200.5	code	
11. Form Pre		·	<del> </del>		
name/title Esley Hamilton				1005	
organization St. Louis Co				1985 889-3357	
city or town Clayton	enoral Avenue		tate Missouri	63105	
	toric Prese				ation
The evaluated significance of th	is property within the sta	ate is:		<del> </del>	
national	state	local			
As the designated State Historic 665), I hereby nominate this pro according to the criteria and pro	perty for inclusion in the	National Register	and certify that it h		
State Historic Preservation Office	er signature				
itle			date		
For NPS use only I hereby certify that this p	roperty is included in the		X + b 5 i		et en
Keeper of the National Regi	ster				
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OMB No. 1024-0018 Expires 10-31-87

## **United States Department of the Interior**National Park Service

Jefferson City, Missouri 65102

# National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form



ontinua	tion sheet WHITE HAVEN Item number	Page 1
2.	Sites Inventory for the St. Louis Metropolitan Area	local
	East-West Gateway Coordinating Council	
	112 North Fourth Street	
	St. Louis, Missouri 63102	
3.	Historic American Buildings Survey	federal
	(Mo 1150)	
	Library of Congress	
	Washington, D.C.	
4.	Old St. Louis Homes	local
	1964 published: St. Louis: The Folkstone Press	
	published. Dr. Bouls. The folkstone fress	
5.	Missouri Historic Sites Catalogue	state
	1963 published: State Historical Society of Missouri	
	published: State Historical Society of Missouri corner, Hitt and Lowry Streets	
	Columbia, Missouri 65201	
6.	Advisory List to the National Register of Historic Places	federal
-	1969 (1970)	•
	United States Department of the Interior	
	National Park Service	
	Washington, D.C.	
7.	Volume I, Survey of Missouri's Comprehensive Statewide	state
	Preliminary Historic Preservation Plan 1971	
	State Historical Survey and Planning Office	
	now Department of Natural Resources	
	P. O. Box 176	
	Jefferson City, Missouri 65101	
8.	Missouri's Contribution to American Architecture	state
	1928	
	published: St. Louis	
9.	Missouri State Historic Survey	state
	1979	
	Department of Natural Resources P. O. Box 176	
	Information City Missouri 65102	

## National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form

WHITE HAVEN

Continuation sheet

Item number

7

Page  $^{1}$ 

by decorative moldings. The porch door above it and the center door on the north front, as well as most interior doors, are the familiar six-panel "cross and book" type. An entrance to the basement level of the west wing is located on the south corner of the west side and is approached by a short stairway covered with a lean-to glass door.

#### Chimneys

Chimneys are located at each end of the two-story section and at the west end of the west wing. They are made of limestone rubble with ashlar quoins. The two taller ones are set slightly back (to the north) of the roof ridge-line.

#### Roof

The roofs of the main house, west wing and breezeway are basic gable types. The north additions have shed roofs. The attic has six-over-six-light double-hung windows in the east and west ends and two dormers facing south. These dormers were added after 1913 roughly centered over the second and fourth bays of the facade. A third dormer centered in the north side of the roof was added after 1913 but removed in 1940.

#### Decorative details

Cornices, bargeboards, window and door frames, and other moldings are all of the simplest wooden type. The south porch has six squared columns on the ground level, each with applied battens in imitation of fluting. The upper level, by contrast, has seven plain posts, of which only the end ones align with the columns below. The upper level has a plain wooden balustrade with squared balusters, but the lower level seems never to have been balustraded.

#### INTERIOR

#### Basement

There are four rooms in the basement. One is to the east of the stairway, under the living room, which was excavated after 1940. Another is west of the stairway, directly under the dining room, and is used as a furnace and utility room. Under the west wing is a room used as a study. Adjoining the study to the north, under the first-floor dressing room, is another room excavated after 1940 and used as a bedroom with an adjoining bathroom.

The basement study served as the kitchen throughout most of the 19the century, as is suggested by the large open stone-faced fireplace near the center of the west wall. The food is said to have been taken outdoors through the door in the southwest corner of the room and thence to the present northwest dressing room of

# National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form

WHITE HAVEN

Continuation sheet

Item number

7



Page

the first floor, which served as a pantry and serving area. The walls of this portion of the basement remain the original stone rubble. The original bark-covered log beams which support the original first-floor planking in the furnace room and study are visible as part of the basement ceiling. All of the basement floors have been concreted. The fireplace has its original brick hearth. The ceiling height is consistent throughout, at a level of seven or eight feet. The floor is also of the same level throughout, with the exception of a one-step landing at the foot of the stairway.

#### First Floor

The two main entrances open into a hallway from both the north breezeway and the south porch. The hallway is 19 feet 6 inches long, as are the living room (Room 3 in the HABS plan) which adjoins it to the east and the dining room (Room 2) which adjoins it to the west. These three rooms are a part of the frame house which was constructed by William L. Long in 1808. The master bedroom (Room 1), which adjoins the dining room to the west, and the dressing room (Room 4), which adjoins the master bedroom to the north, are a part of the original log structure constructed by William L. Long in the period 1796 to 1800. The kitchen and breakfast room, which adjoin the dining room to the north, were constructed in 1940 and later.

The floors are copies of the original pine planks which were joined by the tongue and groove method. The original planks still remain under the present flooring. The floor of the master bedroom is 6 to 8 inches above the other floors.

The ceilings are constructed of plaster and lath and were replastered in the 1940's. They are the original eight and a half feet in height, except for the living room ceiling, which has been dropped about one foot to conceal plumbing. The molding around the ceilings is original in part. Living room, dining room and master bedroom have wainscotting thirty inches in height. Corner posts protrude a few inches into the rooms. Most of the Millwork around the windows and doors is original.

The fireplaces are centered on end walls. They were bricked up during the 1850s to accommodate Franklin stoves and were reopened by the Wenzlick family before 1916. All of the fireplaces contain the original hearths, and the mantels are either originals or copies of the originals. The three first-floor fireplaces contain black-painted metal hoods to reduce the size of their openings. The mantels are classically designed with simple pilasters and friezes.

The staircase is located at the northwest corner of the hall. It faces north, away from the main entrance, and starts with a square landing step that may be approached either from the hallway or through a door from the dining room. The stairs are steep (9-inch risers vs. 8-inch treads) and preserve their original treads. The north doorway is located between the stairway and the wall of the

## National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form

WHITE HAVEN

Continuation sheet

Item number 7



Page 3

living room. Under the main staircase is another descending to the basement. It was inserted after 1940 in a former closet space, utilizing the original closet door (facing the south front door). Until the installation of this stair, the only access to the basement was by way of the outside door in the west wing.

The living room is said to have been a guest room at one time and is traditionally believed to be the room in which Ulysses S. Grant proposed to Julia Dent. The dining room was probably the parlor before acquiring its present use in the late 19th century. The door leading to the stairway entrance in the northeast corner of the room has an old lock and latch moved there from the south front door.

The master bedroom served as the dining room when the kitchen was located directly below it. The adjoining dressing room, as previously mentioned, was a pantry and serving area.

#### Second floor

The stairway leads into a hallway on the second floor directly above the first floor hallway. A door at its south end leads to the south porch. East and west doors are aligned with one another and lead into the bedrooms.

The west bedroom (HABS Room 1) is the same size as the dining room below it. A closet at the southeast corner protrudes into the hallway. The fireplace at the center of the west wall is smaller than those on the first floor and lacks a hood. Its mantel is composed of moldings similar to those used in the downstairs fireplaces but without the pilasters. The hearth is original.

The east side of the second floor is divided into two rooms; a bedroom (Room 2) 15 feet 4-1/2 inches deep by 13 feet 5 inches wide; and a narrower room to the north (Room 3), which is now a bathroom. Room 3 was in existence in 1940 in a slightly different configuration but may not go back to the origins of the house; the closet opening into Room 2 was installed sometime after 1900. The floor of the east bedroom was sagging 4 to 5 inches by 1940; this problem was resolved by placing new flooring over the old. The east fireplace matches the one in the west bedroom.

#### Attic

Another steep and narrow stairway leads to the attic. This stairway also contains the original treads, and leads to a door opening into the attic from the north side. The attic spans the area over the 1808 frame portion of the house and still contains the original tongue and groove flooring. The rafter beams are joined in mortise and tenon fashion and are joined together by the original carved wooden pegs. The outside sheeting is also still the original. Battens have been added to support the roofing. The attic is presently used as a storage area.

# National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form

Continuation sheet

WHITE HAVEN Item number

7



**Page** 

#### ALTERATIONS

Major alterations have been referred to above, most of which took place in 1940 at the time of the HABS survey and immediately afterward. At that time the owner acquired an elaborate machine shop to reproduce needed wooden parts, both replacements and additions. Sheet 3 of the HABS drawings records a typical interior door and window, including profiles of door and window frames, door panels, chair rails and baseboards. These patterns appear to have been followed as faithfully as possible; the alterations herein noted have been identified primarily through documentary photos rather than physical evidence. The HABS sheet notes that the front door "is of typical Greek Revival design and of recent date." Also in 1940 indoor plumbing was introduced. The present breezeway replaced a small frame structure said to have been built about 1818 by Theodore Hunt as an office. HABS photos were made of this structure as it was dismantled. Subsequent alterations include excavation of the basement space under the living room and expansion of the kitchen and breakfast room about four feet northward.

#### SITE

White Haven is in a heavily wooded suburban residential neighborhood. Its historical access to Gravois Creek and Grant Road has been interrupted since the 1870's by the infrequently used Carondelet and Kirkwood Branch of the Missouri Pacific Railroad, but an easily traversable crossing remains. Three trees on the thickly wooded site are said to have been gifts to ex-President and Mrs. Grant on their round-the-world tour of 1877-1879: The ginko northeast of the house from Japan and two lindens south of the house from Germany. One of the lindens succumbed during the winter of 1984-85.

Of the five outbuildings on the property, one, the caretaker's cottage, was originally built as a two-story structure after 1913 and was remodeled as one story following a fire in the late 1930's. It is white clapboard with black shutters and detailing similar to the main house.

At right angles to the north side of the main house and now connected to it by the breezeway, is a one-story stone structure measuring about 38 feet by 14 feet. Photos from the 1920's and 1940 show it as stone on the northeast side and vertical barn siding on the southwest and at the gables. Older descriptions, however, describe it as all stone, with large fireplaces. In 1928, the front wall was falling down, and shortly thereafter, the structure was roughly repaired for use as a shed. After 1940, the structure was again modified for use as a garage, substituting garage doors where the wall had fallen and rebuilding the end fireplaces. Extending northeast and at right angles to the garage (parallel to the main house) is a frame, gable-roofed workshop. It is entered up several steps from the level of the garage and is three bays long (about 42 feet in all) and two bays wide. It dates from the remodeling. North of the house and across the drive sit

## National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form

WHITE HAVEN

Continuation sheet

item number

7

Page 5

two barn-red painted wooden structures on the edge of a steep incline. The eastern one is a simple rectangular gable-roofed, board-and-batten shed measuring about 14 feet by 15 feet. The other has a stone lower level built into the side of the hill. The wooden end of its gable roof accommodates a door at the level of the drive. A small square wooden cupola stands in the center of the roof edge and indicates the building's apparent function as a smokehouse. The interior space measures about thirteen feet by twenty feet.

The largest outbuilding is a large (55'x100') red barn at the low end of the property nearest the railroad tracks. It was originally located a few hundred yards southeast of its present site, at what is now the cul-de-sac of Fernald Drive, and was moved in the 1960's. At that time, it was given a new concrete foundation and floor and was recovered with wooden strips over plywood sheeting to simulate its original board and batten construction. It was built in the early 1870's by Ulysses Grant's employees as a stable for his thoroughbred horses. Although the stalls have been removed, the interior is still largely original, with the exception of an apartment built into one corner. The barn is constructed in wide bays, about 16 feet square, of oak posts and beams mortised and pinned with oak pegs, a building technique similar to that found in the attic of the main house.

#### CONDITION AND PRESENT STATUS

The longtime owner of White Haven, Delbert Wenzlick, died in 1979 shortly before his property was listed in the National Register of Historic Places. Since that time the house has remained vacant and has not been maintained in its previously excellent state of repair. Title to the property has been vested in a family corporation entitled U.S. Grant's White Haven, Inc., and efforts have been made to sell the property either as a private residence (a prospect made unlikely by the high asking price) or as the site of more intensive development. The rezoning required for condominiums has been resisted by the county government so far, but other subdivision of the property under existing zoning is still possible. The threats to the continued existence of White Haven presented both by the deterioration of the historic buildings and by proposals for redevelopment have moved a group of interested citizens to form a general not-for-profit corporation called Save Grant's White Haven, Inc. This group has received wide support in its current efforts to secure the long-term preservation of this historic property.

#### **FOOTNOTES**

1. Evidence of changes made in 1940 is found in the photos and drawings of the Historic American Buildings Survey. Other historic photos were generously provided by Delbert Wenzlick and family and are on file in the St. Louis County Department of Parks and Recreation.

# National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form

WHITE HAVEN

Continuation sheet



Page 6

2. St. Louis Globe-Democrat, "Scenes of Grant's Courtship," December 3, 1916; Lloyd Lewis, Captain Sam Grant (Boston: Little, Brown, 1950) p. 340.

item number

- 3. Globe-Democrat, "Scenes"; Ishbel Ross, The General's Wife (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1959), p. 9.
- 4. According to the Wenzlick family. Lending credence to this story is the fact that the Grants planted trees in Ueno Park in Tokyo, where a monument commemorates the event.
- 5. Globe-Democrat, "Scenes"; St. Louis Globe-Democrat Magazine, November 4, 1928.
- 6. Globe-Democrat, "Scenes"; St. Louis Globe-Democrat, "Where Grant Courted Julia Dent," August 13, 1899.
- 7. St. Louis Post-Dispatch, "A House Worth Saving," (editorial) January 6, 1985.

## National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form

WHITE HAVEN

Continuation sheet

Item number

8

Page

1

Grant's introduction to White Haven came through his West Point roommate Frederick Tracy Dent. After graduation both men were first stationed at Jefferson Barracks, overlooking the Mississippi south of St. Louis, where Grant reported September 30, 1843. White Haven, the Dent country estate, was less than five miles away, and as Grant later recalled he soon found his way there.

As I found the family congenial my visits became frequent. There were at home, besides the young men, two daughters, one a school miss of fifteen, the other a girl of eight or nine. There was still an older daughter of seventeen, who had been spending several years at boarding-school in St. Louis, but who, though through school, had not yet returned home. She was spending the winter in the city with connections, the family of Colonel John O'Fallon, well known in St. Louis. In February she returned to her country home. After that I do not know but my visits became more frequent; they certainly did become more enjoyable.

White Haven had been acquired in 1820 by Frederick Dent, the father of this family Grant described. Born in Cumberland, Maryland, in 1787, he had settled in 1814 at Pittsburgh, where he had married Ellen Bray Wrenshall. They came to St. Louis in 1818, where they had a townhouse at the southwest corner of Fourth and Cerre, a two-story semidetached structure in the Greek Revival style. Dent, called Colonel by courtesy although he had no military experience, had acquired such wealth as he had as a merchant, but he preferred to think of himself as a planter. He named his farm White Haven after a plantation in Maryland, one of several acquired by his great-grandfather before 1704. He ran White Haven in the Southern way with slave labor, even though the system was not profitable in Missouri, where it was in competition with free hired labor. Colonel Dent "loved to sit on the front porch in a rocking chair, smoking a long pipe and quoting the St. Louis Republican on politics." By contrast Ellen Wrenshall Dent "hated the country and this place especially," her daughter recalled.

The daughter who kept Grant returning to White Haven was of course Julia Dent, whose attitude toward the farm was much more like her father's. During her lifetime, William McFeely comments, she "turned White Haven in her imagination into a kind of Tara." Her "intensely romantic vision of the past" included memories of fishing, hunting ("It was no unusual sight to see from two to five wild deer bounding across the fields near our house"), horseback riding, excursions with her slaves ("We always had a dusky train of from eight to ten little colored girls of all hues") and the athletic exploits of her brothers which she observed from the front piazza. Described Both she and Grant fondly recalled their spring together in 1844, when, he wrote, "we would often take walks, or go on horseback to visit the neighbors, until I became quite well acquainted in that vicinity." Early in May he obtained a 20-day leave to visit his parents in Ohio, but before leaving he

### **National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form**

WHITE HAVEN

Continuation sheet

Item number

8

Page

sat on the piazza with Julia and asked her to wear his class ring. Later regretting her decision, she rode to Jefferson Barracks to find Grant already gone. 12 While in Ohio, he learned that his regiment had been moved to Louisiana, where he would have to follow at the end of his leave. "I now discovered that I was exceedingly anxious to get back to Jefferson Barracks, and I understood the reason without explanation from anyone," he wrote. 13 On his return May 22, he obtained another brief leave.

> I immediately procured a horse and started for the country, taking no baggage with me, of course. There is an insignificant creek -- the Gravois -- between Jefferson Barracks and the place to which I was going, and at that day there was not a bridge over it from its source to its mouth. There is not water enough in the creek at ordinary stages to run a coffee mill and at low water there is none running whatever. On this occasion it had been raining heavily, and, when the creek was reached, I found the banks full to overflowing, and the current rapid. I looked at it a moment to consider what to do. One of my superstitions had always been when I started to go any where, or to do anything, not to turn back, or stop until the thing intended was accomplished. I have frequently started to go to places where I had never been and to which I did not know the way, depending upon making inquiries on the road, and if I got past the place without knowing it, instead of turning back, I would go on until a road was found turning in the right direction, take that, and come in by the other side. So I struck into the stream, and in an instant the horse was swimming and I being carried down by the current. I headed the horse towards the other bank and soon reached it, wet through and without other clothes on that side of the stream. I went on, however, to my destination and borrowed a dry suit from my -- future -- brother-in-law. We were not of the same size, but the clothes answered every purpose until I got more of my own.

> Before I returned I mustered up courage to make known, in the most awkward manner imaginable, the discovery I had made on learning that the 4th infantry had been ordered away from Jefferson Barracks. The young lady afterwards admitted that she too, although until then she had never looked upon me other than as a visitor whose company was agreeable to her, had experienced a depression of spirits she could not account for when the regiment left. Before separating it was definitely understood that at a convenient time we would join our fortunes, and not let the removal of a regiment trouble us.

## National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form

WHITE HAVEN

Continuation sheet

Item number

8

Page

3

William McFeely remarks that these recollections "reveal not only his ardor for Julia but a fundamental philosophy that goes far in explaining the Grant of Vicksburg and Petersburg and of Appomattox and the gaining of the presidency." 14

Act three of the engagement drama was also set on the front porch of White Haven; time: April, 1845. War with Mexico seeming imminent, Grant had returned to St. Louis on leave. He rode up to White Haven just as the whole family was on the piazza seeing Col. Dent off to Washington on business. Grant had already sent him a letter requesting Julia's hand, but the old gentleman had refused to answer. Now, Julia recalled, "Father, being in a hurry to get off, consented." 15

After this brief visit, Grant did not see Julia again for three years, but he wrote regularly about his experiences in the Mexican War, frequently closing, "give my love to all at White Haven." He returned in 1848, and the wedding took place at the Dent townhouse on August 22. James Barber has likened their relationship to that of "a man and his shadow on a sunny day. The two were virtually inseparable, and in perfect accord, although at times one would lead while the other followed. The limelight always shone on Ulysses, but Julia acted as an unwavering source of inspiration and stability that he turned to as a measure of his own actions." 16

Julia went along to Detroit and to Sacketts Harbor, New York, in the years immediately following the marriage. She returned to White Haven in 1850 for the birth of their son Frederick Dent Grant. Unable to go to the West Coast when Grant was stationed there in 1852, she went to his family in Bethel, Ohio, where their second son, Ulysses, Jr., (nicknamed Buck for the Buckeye State) was born. Later in the year she was back at White Haven, where she remained for two years while her husband was at Fort Vancouver and Fort Humboldt. At length, the pain of separation became too great, and Grant resigned from the army. William McFeely writes that

during the remaining peacetime years they were seldom separated, day or night, and during the war Julia joined Ulysses at his command headquarters on every possible occasion, spending more time with her husband than the wives of other generals did with theirs. While president, Grant rarely went on a political trip without his wife. And after he left the White House they did virtually everything together. Only exceptionally did the general leave her for holiday excursions with old friends. They needed each other, and if either needed the other more, it was Ulysses who needed Julia. Theirs was not a ledgerbook relationship of debits and credits owed by one and collected by the other. To a remarkable degree these two limited people became one. 17

Grant seems to have intended to settle near his father, but as usual that icy businessman struck no bargains. Julia's father, by contrast, was eager to have the

### **National Register of Historic Places** Inventory—Nomination Form

Continuation sheet

WHITE HAVEN Item number

Page

Grants near him, so to White Haven they returned.

"I was now to commence, at the age of thirty-two, a new struggle for our support," Grant wrote in his memoirs. $^{18}$  Having expatiated on his courtship, he summarized the years after 1854 in a paragraph:

> My wife had a farm near St. Louis, to which we went, but I had no means to stock it. A house had to be built also. I worked very hard, never losing a day because of bad weather, and accomplished the object in a moderate way. If nothing else could be done I would load a cord of wood on a wagon and take it to the city for sale. I managed to keep along very well until 1858, when I was attacked by fever and ague. I had suffered very severely and for a long time from this disease, while a boy in Ohio. It lasted now over a year, and while it did not keep me in the house, it did interfere greatly with the amount of work I was able to perform. In the fall of 1858 I sold out my stock, crops and farming utensils at auction, and gave up farming.

Others have called these years ones of "privation, menial pursuits, ignominy, limited prospects, and despondence."19 An indication of Grant's condition in this period is afforded by an incident recounted years later by a granddaughter of Frederick Dent's relation John O'Fallon:

> General Grant was refused entrance at Col. O'Fallon's door by the colored butler, and Grandpa hearing the commotion went out and put his arm around Grant and brought him into dinner. looked so shabby that the servant told him to go around to the back.20

On the other hand Grant and Julia seem not to have viewed those years as unfavorably as external circumstances might suggest. Julia wrote, "Ulysses was really very successful at farming . . . and I was a splendid farmer's wife."21 Minerva Grimsley Blow, the daughter of one of Grant's earliest political supporters and wife of Congressman Henry T. Blow, recorded a meeting with Grant in the White House. "Do you recollect when I used to supply your husband with wood and pile it myself, and measure it, too, and go to his office for my pay?" he asked. "Oh, yes General, your face was familiar in those days." "Mrs. Blow, those were happy days; for I was doing the best I could to support my family."22

During their first year at White Haven, the Grants lived at the main house. In the summer of 1855, however, they moved about a mile southwest to a second house on the Dent property, called Wish-ton-wish (Indian for whipoorwill), which Julia remembered as "a beautiful English villa." It had been built by Julia's brother

## National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form

WHITE HAVEN

Continuation sheet

Item number 8

8

Page

5

Lewis (or Louis) who had left it for California. Ellen Wrenshall Grant, called Nellie, was born there on July 4. In the meantime Grant was working to clear the acres (some say 60, some 100) that Frederick Dent had set aside for Julia at the north end of the farm, over a mile away. It was this clearing that produced most of the cordwood Grant sold in the city and that was for many St. Louisans their most vivid memory of the prewar Grant. Horace Porter, in his memoir Campaigning with Grant, recounted a joke on the subject:

In discussing General Grant's popularity, [Benjamin F.] Butler remarked: "Grant first touched the popular chord when he gained his signal victory at Donelson." "No," said [Senator] Nesmith [of Oregon], who always went round with a huge joke concealed somewhere about his person; "I think he first touched the popular cord when he hauled wood from his farm and sold it at full measure in St. Louis. 23

At Col. Dent's insistence, Julia claimed, Grant planned a log house. After much laborious preparation, it was finally erected in the late summer of 1856, and the Grants moved in during September, "before it was finished," Julia asserted. They named the place Hardscrabble. After Ellen Dent died on January 14, 1857, they moved back to White Haven to help the Colonel. The crops that year, the only good year of farming Grant had, included wheat, potatoes, oats, corn, sweet potatoes, melons and cabbages. Prices were hurt though, by the Panic of 1857, which affected the whole economy. By the end of the year Grant had to pawn his gold hunting watch and chain. 26

Jesse Root Grant was born February 6, 1858, at Hardscrabble he always claimed, but on March 21, Grant was writing to his sister, "You are aware I believe, that I have rented out my place and have taken Mr. Dents." Col. Dent had moved back to town. In addition to Grant's own illness, 1858 was plagued by a severe freeze that occurred on June 5, by Fred Grant contracting typhoid, and by illness among the slaves. 28

By October Grant had resolved to give up farming, and after a fruitless appeal to his father, he went into business with Harry Boggs, a cousin of Julia's. The firm of Grant & Boggs, which opened January 1, 1859, dealt in real estate and in rent and debt collection, difficult and distasteful work for a person of Grant's temperament. He boarded with Boggs until the spring, walking every weekend to White Haven, where Julia remained with the children. In April they joined him in a small house he rented at Seventh and Lynch in the Soulard neighborhood. That August, in a complicated transaction, they exchanged Hardscrabble's farm with Joseph W. White for a house and two lots at 1008 Barton Street. This agreement proved to be disastrous financially. White did not make payments on his mortgage, which caused the Grants to lose their house, and they were unable to eject him until 1867.<sup>29</sup> The firm was not prospering, and Grant was also disappointed by his failure to obtain the post of County Engineer, which would have paid him

### **National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form**

Continuation sheet

WHITE HAVEN Item number

**Page** 

\$1,500. The two Democratic members of the County Court voted for him, but the three Free Soilers did not, associating him with his father-in-law's "rebel" politics. 30 Within another year Grant had given up on St. Louis and moved to Galena, Illinois, where his brothers had a leather business.

The outbreak of the war brought Grant back to Missouri. He wrote Julia from Wish-ton-wish on May 10, 1861, and although events in the next years took him farther south and then east, Julia was able to visit on several occasions. 31 White Haven, which Grant may have intended to put behind him when he left for Galena, was repeatedly called to mind. General Porter recalled an evening in 1864 when Grant confided his hopes for life after the war: "I am looking forward longingly to the time when we can end this war, and I can settle down on my St. Louis farm and raise horses. I love to train young colts, and I will invite you all to visit me and take a hand in the amusement. When old age comes on, and I get too feeble to move about, I expect to derive my chief pleasure from sitting in a big arm-chair in the center of a ring, -- a sort of training-course, -- holding a colt's leading line in my hand, and watching him run around the ring."32

In light of the many considerations that conspired to divert Grant from White Haven after the war, he came remarkably close to realizing this casually outlined goal. While other people were purchasing and equipping residences for him in Philadelphia, Galena, and Washington, D. C., he was using his own money to reassemble the White Haven estate, which had been distributed to the Dent children earlier in the decade by Frederick Dent. 33 In 1867 Grant recovered his Hardscrabble property, and by the following year he had acquired over 600 acres, a figure which was to rise to slightly over 1,000 by 1873, when Col. Dent died as a guest in the White House. 34 Every Saturday reported in 1871, "It is supposed to be the President's intention to retire to his farm when relieved of the cares of state."35 Surviving letters from Grant to his resident managers, first William Elrod (the husband of one of his cousins) and after 1873 Nat Carlin, were published in 1947 by LeRoy H. Fischer.  $^{36}$  They demonstrate the intense personal interest Grant took in his new property, what William McFeely calls "the ardor of an absent squire eager to return."37 Grant envisioned the farm primarily as a place for raising cattle and horses, but he also planted oats, clover, hay and timothy for feed, and wheat when he was offered some experimental seed by the Department of Agriculture. He planted grapes until 1870, when he learned that the Concord variety he had concentrated on was not in favor for wine. The orchards near White Haven and Hardscrabble were kept up, and once Grant wrote for apple butter. He also mentioned hams. He took pains to improve his stock, particularly as this would enhance his potential profit. In cattle he favored Alderney and Dutch Belted breeds, and in horses American trotters. His knowledge of bloodlines apparently grew from 1868, when he wrote to Elrod: "Have all three of my mares put to a blooded horse. What one I leave entirely to your own judgment." By 1874 he was writing long explanations to Carlin about the ancestry and qualities of his stock, which included Young Hambletonian, "a superb chestnut stud," grandson of the famous

# National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form

Continuation sheet

WHITE HAVEN

item number

8



Page

ge 7

trotter Hambletonian from Goshen, New York. "No affairs of men and nations commanded so thoroughly the attention of President Grant," McFeely writes. 38

After his experience with White at Hardscrabble, Grant wanted no tenants and removed the one who had succeeded Col. Dent at White Haven. He also tore down all the old slave cabins. Elrod moved to White Haven from Wish-ton-wish, which burned down in 1873.<sup>39</sup> At one point Grant considered making a large addition to the main house for the hired hands. One new barn was erected in 1868, and another was spoken of in 1870; by 1888 the farm was said to have "a system of fine stables and barns."<sup>40</sup> The barn still standing on the grounds is probably one of these.

The St. Louis fairs held every October focused attention on farming, and White Haven was represented in many of the judging events. At the 1871 fair Grant's entries won four premiums. Grant visited St. Louis at least once a year, but for all his interest and enthusiasm, he was never able to make the farm pay. Finances were particularly strained in 1874 when he reported, "I have already paid out this year some \$12,000 on the farm and have not got the means to go further. When I go out in the spring, I may make arrangements to put the place on a good footing." But the St. Louis visit of April, 1875, was "largely consumed by the social comings and goings of a president." By July Grant was writing to his agent John Fenton Long (son of the original builder of White Haven) that he planned to sell the place either privately or at auction. In October Long discharged Carlin and sold the remaining stock and equipment.

Speculation has focused on Grant's reasons for this decision, which marked the end of his dream of a fine country seat with splendid horses. Certainly for a man without great personal wealth, the financial losses he sustained were cause enough for him to pull back. Political considerations may also have played a part. From the time of his own disappointment as an officer-seeker in St. Louis in 1859, Grant's regard for Missouri politics had been unflattering, although not inaccurate. He had seen the disorder of the Civil War years and the corruption of Reconstruction, when he said some Missouri counties were as bad as any portion of Georgia. 43 Grant's political aspirations had not diminished after two terms as president, and Missouri was not an ideal base for a Republican, certainly not in the way Illinois was, in particular not for Grant, since Carl Schurz, one of his most vocal opponents within the party, was there. Beyond the more general concerns of money and politics was the very specific taint of the Whiskey Ring, which had been centered in St. Louis, and from which investigations and indictments were discrediting many of the men whom Grant had most trusted. Of the ten old friends who had met him on his autumn visit in 1874, four were in prison within a year. 44 His own secretary Orville Babcock, who had accompanied him to St. Louis in April, 1875, was subsequently indicted and tried there. Doubts had been raised about Grant's brother Orvil, Julia's brother Lewis Dent, and even about their son Fred; questions were being asked about the president himself. LeRoy Fischer speculated that White Haven had become too closely associated in Grant's

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OMB No. 1024-0018 Expires 10-31-87

### **United States Department of the Interior**National Park Service

# National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form

Continuation sheet

WHITE HAVEN

Item number

8

Page

mind with deceitful and dishonest friends ever to be a place of peaceful retirement; Grant's discomfort may have gone deeper than that.

After the disappointing turn of events in 1875, Grant seems no longer to have considered White Haven as a potential residence. To Elihu Washburne he wrote from Paris in 1878, "I have enjoyed it all very much, but often feel homesick to get back. If I should go back now, however, I would have no home to go to." The next spring from Singapore he reiterated the sentiment: "I am both homesick and dread going home. I have no home but must establish one after I get back. I do not know where."45 On Christmas Day, 1879, he wrote to John Fenton Long, "If there seems to be a chance [next spring] to lease my farm in lots of from five to twenty acres -- to suit tenants -- for a period of about ten years, for Market Garden purposes, I will lease it out and hold the property for the benefit of my children. Otherwise, I shall sell as soon as I can realize anything like its value." following November, after his failure to obtain renomination for a third term as president, Grant told Long, "My mind is made up to sell all my Missouri property as soon as I can get a fair price." A year later he was still hoping for a sale, and by April of 1882, he was willing to sell cheap and give purchasers time. 40 Nevertheless, the property remained in his possession in 1884 when it became enmeshed in Grant's business dealings.

In the fall of 1881 Grant had found a new home, another house purchased for him by well-wishers, in New York City. There his son Ulysses S., Jr., called Buck, had formed a Wall Street brokerage with Ferdinand Ward. In 1883 the General was taken into the firm. Ward and a fourth partner, James D. Fish, were illegally pledging the same securities to more than one loan. On May 4, 1884, when financial disaster loomed, Ward appealed to Grant, and Grant, that same Sunday afternoon, obtained a personal loan of \$150,000 from William Henry Vanderbilt. Two days later the firm collapsed, and the money was never recovered. Ward fled the country and Fish went to jail. Grant insisted on repaying his debt, even though Vanderbilt offered a number of alternatives. Grant ultimately turned over all of his and his wife's real property (with the exception of the New York house), as well as a great deal of memorabilia. White Haven, with 646 acres, was among the largest assets in the transaction, valued at sixty thousand dollars. "When I signed this last deed," Julia recalled, "it well-nigh broke my heart." 48 The deed, made out to Vanderbilt's agent William J. Van Arsdale, is dated April 15, 1885.49 Grant died on July 23.

#### Later History

In 1888, Vanderbilt's new agent Chauncy M. Depew sold White Haven to Luther H. Conn, a former Confederate captain under Morgan's command. A native of Kentucky, Conn had come in 1867 to St. Louis where he had made a fortune in mining and real estate. "Like all Southerners," the newspaper commented, "he appreciates the sentimental and the romantic, as well as possessing the Kentucky weakness for fine

# National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form

Continuation sheet

WHITE HAVEN

R\_\_\_\_

Page

9

horses."<sup>50</sup> He renamed the place "Grantwood" and used it much as Grant had hoped to do himself. A few years later, Conn's biographer reported that "The possession of the early homestead of the great soldier is something in which he naturally takes great pride, and the American people, inclined to make of it a shrine like Mount Vernon, Monticello, or The Hermitage, are to be congratulated upon its having fallen into the hands of one so appreciative of its historic associations."<sup>51</sup> Julia and other members of the family visited there in 1894 and found that "the old Dent mansion and other valuable landmarks have been carefully preserved in their original state, a fact which is highly appreciated by Mrs. Grant."<sup>52</sup>

In 1903 the same year that Frederick Dent Grant visited White Haven, Conn sold the southwestern 217 acres of the estate to Adolphus Busch, the brewer. Busch established a palatial residence there, which he called "Grant's Farm." A few years later he acquired the Hardscrabble log house, which had been moved to Forest Park, and re-erected it on his own property, about a mile and a half south of its original location. This move, along with the name changes, contributed to popular confusion as to the historic identity of the two properties. 54

In 1905 Conn sold the fifteen acres surrounding his country house to a development company, which planned to build an amusement park there, capitalizing on the associations of the place and its location immediately adjacent to the station of the Carondelet and Kirkwood Branch of the Missouri Pacific Railroad. White Haven was saved from this fate by Albert Wenzlick, another St. Louis realtor, who purchased the property in 1913 along with 105 adjacent acres. Like Conn before him, Wenzlick used the main house during the summer and entertained visiting antiquarians there. He also continued the process of subdivision which resulted in the eventual reduction of the property to its present 9.65 acres. Albert Wenzlick died in 1937, and in 1940 his son Delbert decided to make White Haven his permanent home. He had the house and adjacent buildings recorded by the Historic American Buildings Survey and then proceeded to make the repairs and alterations described by Section 7 above. Delbert Wenzlick died January 12, 1979. 56

#### Earlier History

White Haven is unusual among presidential properties in having had a distinguished history prior to its association with the president. This history has been described at some length in the original nomination of White Haven to the National Register of Historic Places in 1979 but may be summarized here.

The present southwest wing of the house is in the French vertical log fashion, which suggests that it may have been built before the main house was erected in 1808, possibly even before the land was first granted by the Spanish colonial administration in 1796.<sup>57</sup> The wing ranks as one of the oldest known buildings in the St. Louis Metropolitan area, and the main house is one of the most

## National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form

Continuation sheet

WHITE HAVE

Item number

8

Page 10

distinguished examples of pioneer architecture in the state. The first grantee was Hugh Graham, who exchanged this tract with James Mackay by 1799. Mackay (1759-1821 or 1823) was a Scotsman who served as deputy to the Spanish commandant under the name Jacques Mackay. 58 He married a daughter of Captain John Long of Virginia, who had recently settled in another part of the present St. Louis County. 59 The Longs moved to this neighborhood in 1807, and the following year John's son William Lindsay Long (1789-1849) married Elizabeth Sappington, the daughter of another local pioneer (three contemporary Sappington houses are listed in the National Register). William Lindsay Long had acquired this tract from his brother-in-law a short time previously, and he probably built the main house for his new bride. The Longs lived at White Haven for ten years, during which time several of their children were born, including John Fenton Long (1816-1888), the trusted friend of Grant. 60 Early in 1818 William Lindsay Long sold White Haven and moved a few miles southwest to the Meramec River, where he founded the town of Fenton, Missouri. About 1820 he moved back to the Gravois Creek area and built another house which is also listed in the National Register.

The buyers of White Haven were Theodore Hunt (1778 or 1780-1832) and his wife, the former Ann Lucas (1796-1879). He was a former naval captain and agent of the Astor Fur Company. She was the only daughter of Jean Baptiste Charles Lucas, who had come to St. Louis in 1805 as one of the three Commissioners for the Louisiana Territory and Judge for the Territory, appointed by Thomas Jefferson. The land he acquired included the heart of what later became the central business district as well as an enormous tract known as Normandy northwest of the city. Charles Lucas, the second of the five Lucas sons, was shot to death in September of 1817 in his notorious duel with Thomas Hart Benton, and Ann Lucas Hunt retired to White Haven "for fear she might chance to encounter Col. Benton in some of her walks." They remained two years. In her later years Ann Lucas became a philanthropist on a grand scale, donating nearly a million dollars to religious and humanitarian organizations. Of all the Lucas and Hunt family houses in St. Louis City and County, White Haven is the only known nineteenth-century survivor.

#### FOOTNOTES

- 1. Letter from John Y. Simon to Jim Charleton, National Park Service, June 11, 1985.
- 2. William Hyde and Howard L. Conard, eds.; Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis (New York, Louisville & St. Louis: Southern History Co., 1894), p. 466.
- 3. Ulysses S. Grant, The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant (Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University, 1967), Vol. I, esp. pp. xvii, xix, xx.
- 4. James G. Barber, U. S. Grant: The Man and the Image (Washington, D. C.:

# National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

WHITE HAVEN Item number

8

Page

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National Portrait Gallery, 1985), p. 30.

- 5. Ulysses S. Grant, Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant (New York: Charles L. Webster & Co., 1885), p. 46.
- 6. The Dent townhouse was recorded by the Historic American Buildings Survey (Mo.-31-2) but has since been demolished.
- 7. Gustave Anjou, The Grant-Dent Family (no publisher, no date [circa 1906], upaged.
- 8. Lloyd Lewis, Captain Sam Grant (Boston: Little, Brown, 1950), pp. 105, 121.
  According to Lewis, Dent had eighteen slaves, including 6 men, 5 women, and 7 children, as opposed to number of up to 80 sometimes cited.
- 9. Lewis, p. 103; Julia Dent Grant, The Personal Memoirs of Julia Dent Grant (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1975), p. 43.
- 10. William S. McFeely, <u>Grant</u> (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1981), pp. 20-23; Julia Grant, pp. 35-36, 45.
- 11. U. S. Grant, Personal Memoirs, pp. 46-47.
- 12. Julia Grant, p. 49; McFeely, p. 24.
- 13. U. S. Grant, Personal Memoirs, pp. 49-50.
- 14. McFeely, pp. 24-25.
- 15. Quoted by Lewis, p. 122, apparently from Emma Dent Casey, "When Grant Went a Courtin'," typewritten MS, Missouri Historical Society. Julia Grant, p. 51, says that the subject of the engagement was not actually broached until Grant saw Col. Dent off in St. Louis.
- 16. Barber, p. 62.
- 17. McFeely, p. 59.
- 18. U. S. Grant, Personal Memoirs, p. 46.
- 19. Robert G. Ferris, ed., <u>The Presidents</u> (Washington, D. C.: United States Department of the Interior, 1976), p. 172.
- 20. Letter from Harriette L. Ely to Antoinette Harney Beauregard, April 13, 1929, O'Fallon Collection, Missouri Historical Society Col. John O'Fallon

# National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

WHITE HAVEN Item number

Page

12

(1791-1865) was the nephew of explorer William Clark and one of the most prominent St. Louisans of his day. His wife, the former Caroline Schuts, was a Maryland cousin of Col. Dent.

- 21. Julia Grant, p. 77.
- 22. Hon. J. T. Headley, The Life and Travels of General Grant (Philadelphia: Hubbard Bros., 1879), p. 43.
- 23. General Horace Porter, Campaigning with Grant (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1961), p. 358.
- 24. Julia Grant, p. 79. John Y. Simon, "Grant at Hardscrabble," Missouri Historical Society. Bulletin, Vol. XXXV, No. 4 (July 1979), pp. 191-201, details this association.
- 25. U. S. Grant, <u>Papers</u>, Vol. I, pp. 338-339; earlier printed in <u>Letters of Ulysses S. Grant to his Father and his Youngest Sister 1857-78, edited by Jesse Grant Cramer (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), pp. 3-4.</u>
- 26. U. S. Grant, Papers, p. 339.
- 27. Jesse R. Grant, In the Days of My Father General Grant (New York: Harper & Bros., 1925), p. 9; letter from U. S. Grant, Jr., to Albert Wenzlick, October 8, 1926; U. S. Grant, Papers, pp. 340-341.
- 28. Lewis, p. 355.
- 29. This transaction is summarized by Simon, <u>Bulletin</u>, p. 200. A detailed history and photos of the Barton Street property were collected by Dr. William G. Swekosky and are deposited with the School Sisters of Notre Dame, 320 East Ripa, St. Louis. The Lynch house has been demolished and the Barton house drastically altered and enlarged.
- 30. Dr. William Taussig, "Personal Recollections of General Grant," <u>Missouri</u> Historical Society Publications, Vol. 2 (1903), p. 6.
- 31. U. S. Grant, Papers, Vol. II, p. 26.
- 32. Porter, p. 167.
- 33. The houses in Philadelphia and on I Street in Washington have been demolished. The house at Galena is a National Historic Landmark. A title abstract of the land owned by Grant was prepared by Joseph A. Weissenberg of Lawyers Title Company of Missouri for Delbert Wenzlick, April 28, 1971.

## National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

WHITE HAVEN

Item number

Page

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- 34. In 1868 Frederick Dent's whole White Haven Farm was described as encompassing 862.07 acres (City Recorder of Deeds Book 365, page 402). A few pieces of this were not recovered by Grant, however, and Grant also bought additional tracts that had not belonged to Dent. Included in the 1,000 acres were 200 arpents in the Carondelet Commons, closer to Jefferson Barracks.
- 35. Ralph Keeler and A. R. Waud "St. Louis, A visit to the wine-cellars and President Grant's farm," Every Saturday, Vol. III (Nov. 25, 1871).
- 36. LeRoy H. Fischer, "Grant's Letters to His Missouri Farm Tenants," Agricultural History, Vol. 2 (1947), pp. 26-42. Some of these letters were printed earlier by Walter Barlow Stevens, Grant in St. Louis (St. Louis: The Franklin Club, 1916).
- 37. McFeely, p. 398.
- 38. Ibid, p. 399.
- 39. Simon, <u>Bulletin</u>, p. 198. The house was not rebuilt, contrary to Fischer's statement, p. 28.
- 40. "Grant's Farm Sold," June 22, 1888, clipping from unidentified newspaper, Ulysses S. Grant Papers, Missouri Historical Society.
- 41. McFeely, p. 399.
- 42. Letter from Ulysses S. Grant to John Fenton Long, July 13, 1875, John F. Long Papers, Missouri Historical Society.
- 43. Ulysses S. Grant, General Grant's Letters To a Friend (New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1897), p. 72.
- 44. Stevens, pp. 109-110.
- 45. U. S. Grant, Letters To a Friend, pp. 85, 91.
- 46. Letters from U. S. Grant to John Fenton Long, Dec. 25, 1879; Nov. 12, 1880; Dec. 16, 1881. John F. Long Papers, Missouri Historical Society.
- 47. McFeely, p. 488. The house at 3 East Sixty-Sixth Street has been demolished.
- 48. Julia Grant, p. 161; see also Richard Goldhurst, The Agony and the Triumph Ulysses S. Grant (New York: Reader's Digest Press, 1975), pp. 3, 22-24.
- 49 St. Louis County Recorder of Deeds, Book 30, page 1.

# National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

WHITE HAVE

Item number

<u>8</u>

Page 14

- 50. "Grant's Farm Sold."
- 51. Hyde and Conard, p. 466.
- 52. Watchman; "Mrs. General Grant in St. Louis," May 18, 1894 (clipping in collection of Missouri Historical Society).
- 53. St. Louis Globe-Democrat, "Scenes of Grant's Courtship," December 3, 1916.
- 54. Simon, Bulletin; James Louis Post, ed., Reminiscences by Personal Friends of General U. S. Grant and the History of Grant's Log Cabin (St. Louis: C. F. Blanke, no date [1904]). Hardscrabble is one of only two houses built by presidents doing the physical labor themselves, along with Millard Fillmore's in East Aurora, New York. Its peripatetic history and its even more frequent reconstruction, most recently in 1978, have rendered its significance marginal from the point of view of historic integrity.
- 55. Neva Adams Wasson, The Crestwood Story (Crestwood Area American Bicentennial Commission, no date [1976]), p. 11.
- 56. St. Louis Globe-Democrat, "Delbert S. Wenzlick rites held," January 16, 1979.
- 57. Typical examples of this method of construction are the Church of the Holy Family in Cahokia, Illinois, and the Louis Bolduc House in Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, both National Historic Landmarks.
- 58. Thomas Scharf, History of St. Louis City and County, (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts and Co., 1883), p. 1880; Louis Houck, A History of Missouri, Vol. II (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley, 1908), p. 70.
- 59. Scharf, Vol. I, p. 579.
- 60. The United States Biographical Dictionary, Missouri Volume (New York: United States Biographical Publishing Company, 1978), pp. 98-99.
- 61. Frederick L. Billon, Annals of St. Louis, Vol. II (St. Louis: the author, 1888), p. 260; Missouri Historical Society. Bulletin; Vol. IV, no. 4 (July 1948), pp. 272-273.
- 62. Scharf, p. 1024; Houck, Vol. III, p. 41; Billon, Vol. II, pp. 213-215; Hyde and Conard, pp. 1315-1317.
- 63. Scharf, p. 341; see also pp. 1849-1853; Houck, Vol. III, pp. 77-79; Billon, Vol. II, pp. 215-216.

OMB No. 1024-0018 Expires 10-31-87

## **United States Department of the Interior** National Park Service

# National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

WHITE HAVEN

Item number

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Page

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64. Hyde and Conard, p. 1319; Scharf, p. 1413; St. Louis Globe-Democrat, "The Lucases-Hunts," September 5, 1934.

### **National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form**



item number



1 **Page** 

- Continuation sheet
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Continuation sheet

### **United States Department of the Interior National Park Service**

## National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form



WHILE HAVEN

Item number 9



Page 2

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## National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form

WHITE HAVEN

Continuation sheet

Item number 10

10



Page 1

by Forest Haven No. 3, as per plat thereof recorded in Plat Book 95, page 30 of the St. Louis County Recorder's Office; containing a total of approximately 10 acres.





