

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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**NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM**

SEE INSTRUCTIONS IN *HOW TO COMPLETE NATIONAL REGISTER FORMS*
TYPE ALL ENTRIES -- COMPLETE APPLICABLE SECTIONS

1 NAME

HISTORIC William Edgar Borah Apartment, Number 21, Windsor Lodge

AND/OR COMMON
William Edgar Borah Apartment, Number 21, Chancellery Cooperative

2 LOCATION

STREET & NUMBER
2139-2141 Wyoming Avenue, NW.

CITY, TOWN Washington VICINITY OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

STATE District of Columbia CODE 11 COUNTY District of Columbia CODE 001

3 CLASSIFICATION

CATEGORY	OWNERSHIP	STATUS	PRESENT USE
<input type="checkbox"/> DISTRICT	<input type="checkbox"/> PUBLIC	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> OCCUPIED	<input type="checkbox"/> AGRICULTURE <input type="checkbox"/> MUSEUM
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> BUILDING(S)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> PRIVATE	<input type="checkbox"/> UNOCCUPIED	<input type="checkbox"/> COMMERCIAL <input type="checkbox"/> PARK
<input type="checkbox"/> STRUCTURE	<input type="checkbox"/> BOTH	<input type="checkbox"/> WORK IN PROGRESS	<input type="checkbox"/> EDUCATIONAL <input type="checkbox"/> PRIVATE RESIDENCE
<input type="checkbox"/> SITE	PUBLIC ACQUISITION	ACCESSIBLE	<input type="checkbox"/> ENTERTAINMENT <input type="checkbox"/> RELIGIOUS
<input type="checkbox"/> OBJECT	<input type="checkbox"/> IN PROCESS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> YES: RESTRICTED	<input type="checkbox"/> GOVERNMENT <input type="checkbox"/> SCIENTIFIC
	<input type="checkbox"/> BEING CONSIDERED	<input type="checkbox"/> YES: UNRESTRICTED	<input type="checkbox"/> INDUSTRIAL <input type="checkbox"/> TRANSPORTATION
		<input type="checkbox"/> NO	<input type="checkbox"/> MILITARY <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> OTHER: apartment

4 OWNER OF PROPERTY

NAME
Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Zab Ludoff, owners, Apartment Number 21

STREET & NUMBER
2139 Wyoming Avenue, NW.

CITY, TOWN Washington VICINITY OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
STATE

5 LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION

COURTHOUSE, REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC. Recorder of Deeds

STREET & NUMBER
515 D Street, NW.

CITY, TOWN Washington STATE
District of Columbia

6 REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS

TITLE
None

DATE
_FEDERAL _STATE _COUNTY _LOCAL

DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS

CITY, TOWN STATE

7 DESCRIPTION

CONDITION

EXCELLENT
 GOOD
 FAIR

DETERIORATED
 RUINS
 UNEXPOSED

CHECK ONE

UNALTERED
 ALTERED

CHECK ONE

ORIGINAL SITE
 MOVED DATE _____

DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (IF KNOWN) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

From 1913 until about 1929 William E. Borah resided in apartment number 21 in the east section of this 16-unit structure, which is divided by a firewall to meet contemporary regulations permitting no more than 8 units per building. Erected not long before Borah moved in, the structure has been a cooperative apartment since 1971-72, and soon it may become a condominium. Originally called Windsor Lodge, it is known today as the Chancellery Cooperative, a name derived from its fine setting amidst embassies, chancelleries, and similar apartment houses. Borah's large apartment, number 21 in the east (2139) section, extends the length of the east side of the second floor. It is one of the two known extant Borah residences, both of which are located in Washington about one block from each other.

The two sections of Chancellery Cooperative are similar to but different from each other. They meet in a one-bay-deep indentation in the front facade, which makes a U-shaped front wall. Each building contains four stories, but the east section stands slightly higher. Each follows a different but irregular plan and has a high brick foundation. Cream-painted red bricks laid in stretcher bond make up the walls, and black-painted sills and trim outline the mostly one-over-one sash windows. Each section has a distinct window placement and wall decoration, though. A stoop serves the west front door, while a one-story portico shelters the east front entrance. A low hipped roof with wide cornice overhang in front tops each section. Cream-painted, red brick chimneys--about seven on the east and three on the west section--pierce the roofs.

The walls of the east (2139) section, in which Borah resided, are broken by a rounded water table and a raised brick course at fourth-floor level. Most of the front-facing windows have flat arches, but those at fourth-story level have semicircular arches. On the second floor, where Borah's apartment stands, flat-arched, front-facing windows--except for a triple window over the entrance porch--appear in bricked-up semicircular arches and have small wrought-iron balconies. The triple window has a cornice and no balcony. On the east side, the two frontmost bays' windows resemble those in the front facade, and the one west-facing bay in the building has similar windows. All remaining east side windows have flat or segmental arches. On the front facade, a row of brick corbels supports the bracketed roof cornice.

On the west (2141) section, a three-story hexagonal bay distinguishes the west end of the front facade, while panels decorate some of the other front windows. A smooth band course breaks the front wall just above the building's second floor. Wrought-iron balconies decorate front-facing first-floor windows, and a large balcony tops the ornate, flat hood over the west front door. Red

(continued)

8 SIGNIFICANCE

PERIOD	AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE -- CHECK AND JUSTIFY BELOW				
<input type="checkbox"/> PREHISTORIC	<input type="checkbox"/> ARCHEOLOGY-PREHISTORIC	<input type="checkbox"/> COMMUNITY PLANNING	<input type="checkbox"/> LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE	<input type="checkbox"/> RELIGION	
<input type="checkbox"/> 1400-1499	<input type="checkbox"/> ARCHEOLOGY-HISTORIC	<input type="checkbox"/> CONSERVATION	<input type="checkbox"/> LAW	<input type="checkbox"/> SCIENCE	
<input type="checkbox"/> 1500-1599	<input type="checkbox"/> AGRICULTURE	<input type="checkbox"/> ECONOMICS	<input type="checkbox"/> LITERATURE	<input type="checkbox"/> SCULPTURE	
<input type="checkbox"/> 1600-1699	<input type="checkbox"/> ARCHITECTURE	<input type="checkbox"/> EDUCATION	<input type="checkbox"/> MILITARY	<input type="checkbox"/> SOCIAL/HUMANITARIAN	
<input type="checkbox"/> 1700-1799	<input type="checkbox"/> ART	<input type="checkbox"/> ENGINEERING	<input type="checkbox"/> MUSIC	<input type="checkbox"/> THEATER	
<input type="checkbox"/> 1800-1899	<input type="checkbox"/> COMMERCE	<input type="checkbox"/> EXPLORATION/SETTLEMENT	<input type="checkbox"/> PHILOSOPHY	<input type="checkbox"/> TRANSPORTATION	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1900-	<input type="checkbox"/> COMMUNICATIONS	<input type="checkbox"/> INDUSTRY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> POLITICS/GOVERNMENT	<input type="checkbox"/> OTHER (SPECIFY)	
		<input type="checkbox"/> INVENTION			

SPECIFIC DATES 1913-ca. 1929

BUILDER/ARCHITECT Unknown

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

For more than three decades, from 1907 to 1940, U. S. Senator William Edgar Borah exerted an outstanding influence upon both the Nation's foreign and its domestic policies. During the 1920's, Borah, according to historian William E. Leuchtenburg, was "the most powerful force in foreign affairs" in the United States.¹ As leader of the small band of Senate irreconcilables who had turned the tide of public opinion and defeated Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations, Borah commanded such respect in Republican circles that he almost single-handedly dictated the broad outlines of American foreign policy during the administrations of Presidents Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. Isolationist only in the sense that he wished the United States to act independently in foreign affairs, Borah became a spokesman for world peace measures that did not require political or military sanctions for their maintenance. His 1920 disarmament resolution paved the way for the Washington Naval Conference of 1921 and the resulting agreement by the United States, Great Britain, France, Japan, and Italy to reduce the size of their navies. By 1923 Borah had become the leading proponent of the outlawry of war idea, and he played an important role in shaping the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, which renounced war as an instrument of national policy and was ultimately signed by 64 nations. Later, as World War II approached, he was a leading advocate of neutrality legislation.

In the domestic arena Borah's record was equally impressive. As one of the leading Republican progressives, he was responsible for enactment of the bills creating the Department of Labor, the Children's Bureau, and the Industrial Commission and requiring the 8-hour day for companies holding Government contracts. An ardent advocate of the direct election of U. S. Senators, Borah in 1911 presented the report for the proposed 17th amendment to the Constitution and, according to biographer Marian C. McKenna, pushed it with "resolution, courage, ingenuity, and skill against an entrenched opposition until he

(continued)

¹ William E. Leuchtenburg, "William Edgar Borah," Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. XI, Supplement 2 (New York, 1958), 51.

9 MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

Ashby, LeRoy, The Spearless Leader: Senator Borah and the Progressive Movement in the 1920's (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1972)

Graham, Otis L., Jr., An Encore for Reform: The Old Progressives and the New Deal (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967). (continued)

10 GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

ACREAGE OF NOMINATED PROPERTY less than 1 acre

UTM REFERENCES

A	1, 8	3, 22, 3, 40	43, 0, 94, 0, 0	B			
	ZONE	EASTING	NORTHING		ZONE	EASTING	NORTHING
C				D			

VERBAL BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION

The boundary of the nominated property coincides with the boundary of the legal tract known as 2139 and 2141 Wyoming Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C.

LIST ALL STATES AND COUNTIES FOR PROPERTIES OVERLAPPING STATE OR COUNTY BOUNDARIES

STATE	CODE	COUNTY	CODE
STATE	CODE	COUNTY	CODE

11 FORM PREPARED BY

NAME/TITLE Cathy A. Alexander and Ralph Christian, Assistant Editors; George R. Adams, Managing Editor

ORGANIZATION	DATE
<u>American Association for State and Local History</u>	<u>January 1976</u>
STREET & NUMBER	TELEPHONE
<u>1400 Eighth Avenue South</u>	<u>(615) 242-5583</u>
CITY OR TOWN	STATE
<u>Nashville</u>	<u>Tennessee 37203</u>

12 STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICER CERTIFICATION

THE EVALUATED SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS PROPERTY WITHIN THE STATE IS:

NATIONAL ___ STATE ___ LOCAL ___

As the designated State Historic Preservation Officer for the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665), I hereby nominate this property for inclusion in the National Register and certify that it has been evaluated according to the criteria and procedures set forth by the National Park Service.

STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICER SIGNATURE

TITLE DATE

FOR NPS USE ONLY	
I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT THIS PROPERTY IS INCLUDED IN THE NATIONAL REGISTER	
	DATE
DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF ARCHEOLOGY AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION	
ATTEST:	DATE
KEEPER OF THE NATIONAL REGISTER	

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CONTINUATION SHEET Borah Apartment ITEM NUMBER 7 PAGE one

brick steps descend from both the west and the east entrances to a central terrace, from which a single flight of red brick steps gains the sidewalk. An approximately 1-foot-high brick wall rims the front lawn along the sidewalk.

The one-story, one-bay portico of the east section has two rectangular, cream-painted brick Roman Doric columns and two similar, massive pilasters. Full entablatures surmount the capitals and support wide, segmentally arched, paneled openings with keystones on the west, front, and east sides. Pairs of colonettes decorate two interior sides of each column and one side of each pilaster. A low hipped roof with a wide cornice overhang tops the portico, and a painted-arch recess shelters the rectangular front double door. Between this glass outer door and the paneled inner one is a tiled lobby with steps leading up to the first-floor center hall. On each of the four floors, two apartments flank a center hall. Between each floor runs a carpeted, three-run, open-well main stairway, now supplemented by a small elevator. The elevator shaft as well as the elevator may not be original. A skylight-topped shaft creates a narrow central courtyard in the middle of the building, and drawing light from the court, a stained-glass window overlooks the middle run of each main staircase. Within the courtyard, the back stairs lead to the roof. An interesting structural feature of the building is the absence of concrete between floors, while walls are about 16 inches thick.

On each floor, the center hall has a high plaster ceiling, wooden baseboards, and a carpeted floor. At the top of the first main stairway, the doors of apartment numbers 21 and 22 face each other across the second-floor hall. The Borah Apartment door, on the east, has two panels, a closed-off transom, a fluted surround, and a cornice, and opens into the side of a continuous, front-to-rear hallway. Directly across this interior corridor stands the dining room and at the south end of the corridor, at the front of the building, lies a large living room. Ceilings measure about 11 or 12 feet high, and the dining room ceiling has white-painted beams. A fireplace with marble surround and wooden shelf graces the east wall of the living room. North of the dining room stands the kitchen area, which has undergone modern alteration. Opposite the kitchen, across the interior hall, stands a service door, which leads to the central light shaft and back stairs. In addition to the kitchen, rooms off the back hall--which is divided from the front hall by a six-panel

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CONTINUATION SHEET Borah Apartment ITEM NUMBER 7 PAGE TWO

door--include on the east side the former maid's room, the maid's bathroom, and two bedrooms and on the west side a large bathroom, a hall alcove, and a bedroom. An enclosed wooden porch crosses the rear of the long, narrow apartment. Some new interior doorways, a closed-off archway between the rearmost bedrooms, and replastered walls constitute the principal alterations. No original lighting or furniture remains. The narrow pine board flooring and the baseboards throughout the apartment appear original, through, and some window-panes date from Borah's residence.

Continuation Sheet Borah Apartment Item Number 9 Page one

Leuchtenburg, William E., "William Edgar Borah," Dictionary of American Biography, Volume XI, Supplement 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), 49-53.

McKenna, Marian C., Borah (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961).

Maddox, Robert James, William E. Borah and American Foreign Policy (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969).

Stone, Ralph, The Irreconcilables: The Fight Against the League of Nations (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1973).

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CONTINUATION SHEET Borah Apartment TEM NUMBER 8 PAGE one

achieved success."² In the 1920's Borah led a small but vocal bloc of progressive Republican Senators, who loudly criticized their party's tax, tariff, and farm policies. Because of factionalism among themselves and the prevailing conservatism of the era, this group had little success, but Borah, says historian LeRoy Ashby, still proved an invaluable publicity agent for progressive ideas because his stature made him "able to gain headlines for liberalism when few others could."³ During the 1930's Borah opposed some New Deal policies, like the National Recovery Act and the court packing scheme, because he feared "collective power, economic or political."⁴ He supported most of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's domestic programs, though, and rendered invaluable assistance in their passage.

From 1913 until about 1929, Borah resided in apartment number 21 on the second floor of 2139 Wyoming Avenue, NW., the eastern section of this 16-unit structure that is divided into two 8-unit buildings by a central firewall. The cream-painted, red brick structure with black-painted window trim is one of two known extant Borah residences, both of which are situated in Washington. In his native Idaho there is only a reconstructed boyhood cabin, and it is not situated on its original site.

Biography

William Edgar Borah was born June 29, 1865, near Fairfield, Ill., to William and Eliza W. Borah. He spent his boyhood on the family farm, where he worked hard and attended small rural schools. Because of his talent for public speaking and desire for education, his father allowed him to enroll in Cumberland Presbyterian Academy then forced

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2 Marian C. McKenna, Borah (Ann Arbor, 1961), 110.

3 LeRoy Ashby, The Spearless Leader: Senator Borah and the Progressive Movement in the 1920's (Urbana, 1972), 17.

4 Otis L. Graham, Jr., An Encore for Reform: The Old Progressives and the New Deal (New York, 1967), 182.

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CONTINUATION SHEET Borah Apartment ITEM NUMBER 8 PAGE TWO

him to withdraw after 1 year, when it became clear that William intended to become an attorney instead of a minister as the elder Borah expected. Shortly afterwards, William ran away and joined a traveling Shakespearean troupe, playing the role of Mark Anthony. His father tracked him down, however, and forced him to return home.

In 1883 William accepted an invitation from his sister and brother-in-law to live with them in Lyons, Kans., and attend the local high school. After a year of study, Borah taught school at Wabash for a year, then in 1885 he entered the University of Kansas as a sub-freshman. He failed to finish the year because of financial difficulties but returned as a regular freshman that fall. An excellent student, he set an extremely demanding pace of work and study for himself, and before the end of the second semester, he dropped out because of poor health. While recuperating, Borah began to read law in the office of Ansel M. Lansley, his brother-in-law, and in 1887 was admitted to the bar.

Despite a partnership with Lansley and an appointment as Lyons city attorney, Borah did not do well financially. In 1890 he left Kansas and moved to Boise, Idaho. Within a few years he became one of that State's leading criminal lawyers and gradually expanded his practice into the corporate field to include Idaho's mining and lumber interests. His 1897 conviction of "Diamondfield Jack" Davis, a cattle company gunman, for the murder of two shearers made Borah, who had been appointed special prosecuting attorney, famous throughout the State. According to biographer William E. Leuchtenburg, this case was "one of the milestones in the attempt to bring order out of the bloody range wars of the West."⁵

By the time of his great court case, Borah had been active in Idaho politics a number of years. In 1892 he served as chairman of the Republican State Central Committee. Later he worked as a part-time secretary to Gov. William J. McConnell, fell in love with the Governor's daughter Mary, and married her in 1895. A strong advocate of the free coinage of silver, Borah supported William Jennings Bryan

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5 Leuchtenburg, "Borah" Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. XI, Supplement 2, 50.

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for the Presidency in 1896. That same year, he made his first try for elective office as the Silver Republican candidate for Idaho's congressional seat. Although he lost, he made a respectable showing and ran ahead of the regular Republican candidate. After 1896 Borah headed a progressive faction in the Idaho Republican Party, and by 1902 his group had wrested control from the old guard. As a candidate for the U.S. Senate in 1903, Borah seemed assured of election but was defeated in a last-minute change in votes among legislators. Some of Borah's friends charged that his opponent bought the election, but an incompetent campaign manager may have been his greatest downfall. In any case, in 1907 Borah won the next U.S. Senate seat to come up for grabs in Idaho and held it the rest of his life.

Borah became nationally famous even before he took his Senate seat largely because of two court cases in which he became involved in 1907. In May he served as special prosecutor in the trial of William D. "Big Bill" Haywood, Charles Moyer, and George Pettibone of the Western Federation of Miners. They were charged with the assassination of former Governor Frank Steunenberg. Although the three labor leaders' attorney, Clarence Darrow, won their acquittal, Borah attracted much favorable attention because of his fair treatment of the defendants and the eloquence and strength of his arguments. Shortly after this trial, Borah himself was indicted for defrauding the Federal Government of timber lands. In a brief trial in September, he proved that his indictment was baseless and the work of his political enemies, who had packed the grand jury. He was exonerated completely.

When Borah entered the Senate in December 1907, his reputation as an attorney for lumber and mining interests and a prosecutor of labor unions caused the conservative Republican Majority Leader Nelson A. Aldrich to appoint him **chairman** of the Committee on Education and Labor in the hope that he might go slow on reform legislation. Borah, however, became one of the leading Senate progressives and used his position to hammer out bills that created the Department of Labor, the Children's Bureau, and the Industrial Commission and required the 8-hour day for companies holding Government contracts. Described as a man who "eats a maginate for breakfast every morning," Borah wholeheartedly endorsed the "trust

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CONTINUATION SHEET Boran Apartment ITEM NUMBER 8 PAGE four

busting" program of President Theodore Roosevelt.⁶ Predictably the Idahoan also became an ardent advocate of the direct election of U. S. Senators. In 1911 he presented the report for the proposed 17th amendment and, according to biographer Marian C. McKenna, pushed it with "resolution, courage, ingenuity, and skill against an entrenched opposition until he achieved success."⁷

Although he supported Theodore Roosevelt for the 1912 Republican Presidential nomination and led his forces in the unsuccessful effort to challenge the seating of William Howard Taft delegates, Borah refused to follow Roosevelt into the Progressive Party. The Senator's decision in this matter stemmed largely from party loyalty and a realization that he needed the votes of Taft Republicans for his own reelection campaign that fall. Also, Borah did not approve of Roosevelt's conservation program and his plan for the recall of Federal judges.

Despite Borah's progressivism, he opposed many of President Woodrow Wilson's programs, including the Federal Reserve Act, the Clayton Antitrust Act, and the Federal Trade Commission, because he felt they did not go far enough and left too much power in the hands of the private sector of the economy. A Jeffersonian who wished a "return to an ideal nineteenth century egalitarian, competitive order," Borah wanted to strike a balance between conflicting forces in society. Consequently his interest in reform was "tempered by a dislike of bureaucracy and of federal centralization."⁸

In 1913 Borah was appointed to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. There he soon emerged as the leading critic of Wilson's foreign policies. Although he had originally supported the President on nonintervention in Mexico following border troubles with that nation, Borah by 1916 had begun to demand intervention. This might

(continued)

⁶ Quoted in Robert James Maddox, William E. Borah and American Foreign Policy (Baton Rouge, 1969), xvii.

⁷ McKenna, Borah, 110.

⁸ Leuchtenburg, "Borah," Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. XI, Supplement 2, 51.

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CONTINUATION SHEET Borah Apartment ITEM NUMBER 8 PAGE five

have been, says diplomatic historian Robert James Maddox, merely part of a "calculated effort [By Borah] to divert attention from the European war which, in his opinion, constituted the greater threat to American interests."⁹ Nevertheless when war came in Europe in 1917, Borah voted for it and for most of the measures for its prosecution. The exceptions were the espionage bills.

After the war, in 1919-20, Borah and his small band of "irreconcilable" opponents of the League of Nations joined in a shaky partnership with the equally influential Massachusetts Senator, Henry Cabot Lodge, and defeated the ratification of the Versailles Treaty and American entrance into the League. Not only did Borah "take the initiative in opposing Wilson's idea of a League," says historian Ralph Stone, "but until the very end his determination remained steadfast."¹⁰ Lodge's opposition was just as significant but was perhaps less idealistic. It was based in part on purely political considerations. Isolationist only in the sense that he wished the United States to act independently in foreign affairs, Borah opposed the League because he believed it would destroy this independence. Also he criticized the Versailles Treaty because of its harsh terms and its efforts to maintain the status quo in regard to colonial possessions.

During the 1920's, Borah, says scholar William E. Leuchtenburg, became "the most powerful force in foreign affairs in the country," especially after he succeeded Lodge as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee in 1924.¹¹ Almost singlehandedly, Borah dictated the broad outlines of American foreign policy during the administrations of Presidents Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. Convinced that the United States should lead the world to peace, the Idahoan devoted himself to the advocacy of peace plans that did not involve political sanctions and military alliances, and he worked to defeat proposals like the World Court. His 1920 disarmament resolution paved the way for the

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9 Maddox, Borah and American Foreign Policy, 15.

10 Ralph Stone, The Irreconcilables: The Fight Against the League of Nations (New York, 1973), 183.

11 Leuchtenburg, "Borah," Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. XI, Supplement 2, 51.

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Washington Naval Conference of 1921 and its subsequent agreement by the United States, Great Britain, France, Japan, and Italy to reduce the size of their navies. By 1923 Borah had become the leading proponent of the outlawry of war idea, and he played an important role in shaping the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, which renounced war as an instrument of national policy and was ultimately signed by 64 nations. Borah also used his position to urge recognition of the Soviet Union and to oppose extraterritorial rights in China and intervention in Nicaragua and Mexico.

Despite his overriding concern with foreign affairs, Borah remained one of the leading spokesmen for progressivism. In the 1920's he was the leader of a small but vocal bloc of progressive Republican Senators, who criticized their party's tax, tariff, and farm policies. Because of factionalism among themselves and the prevailing conservatism of the era, the group had little success. Still, according to historian LeRoy Ashby, Borah proved an invaluable publicity agent for progressive ideas because his stature made him "able to gain headlines for liberalism when few others could."¹²

With the exception of the National Recovery Act and President Franklin D. Roosevelt's court packing scheme, which Borah opposed because he feared "collective power, economic or political," the Idahoan supported most of the New Deal legislation and rendered valuable assistance in its passage.¹³ In 1936 he announced his candidacy for the Republican Presidential nomination, and although he made a creditable showing in the western States, his chances were doomed because of opposition from party conservatives. Reelected to his sixth Senate term that year, Borah grew increasingly concerned about the possibility of war in Europe and became a leading advocate of neutrality legislation. By now he was in his seventies, and his health had begun to deteriorate. He died in Washington on January 19, 1940, after suffering a cerebral hemorrhage.

¹² Ashby, The Spearless Leader, 17.

¹³ Graham, An Encore for Reform, 182.