

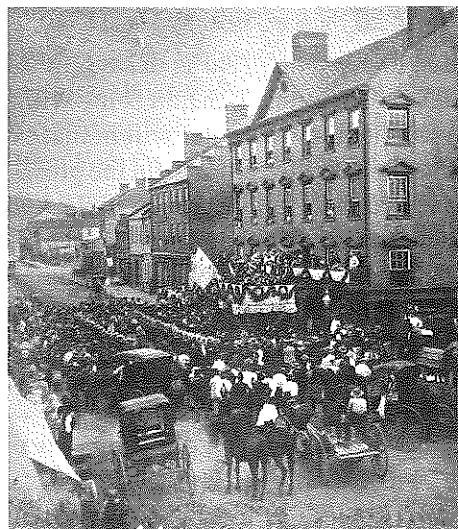
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The Day President Rutherford B. Hayes Came To Town Knoxville 21 September 1877

by Thomas E. Wise



For years, this photograph was misidentified as having been taken on the occasion of a Knoxville visit by President Rutherford B. Hayes on 21 September 1877. A chance discovery, however, proved that it is actually a photograph of a banner presentation to the McKinney Guards on 10 June 1876. Courtesy McClung Historical Collection.

In 1877, President Rutherford B. Hayes visited Knoxville as part of his Southern Reconciliation Tour, a fact well documented in local newspapers. An elaborately decorated city welcomed the president with pomp and pageantry. The president addressed the crowd from a specially erected stage in front of the Lamar House (Bijou Theater) at the south end of Gay Street. For years, an old photograph depicting such a scene and matching in detail to reports of the president's visit, was believed to have been taken on that occasion.

In 1995, by chance discovery, writing on the back of an identical photograph revealed that the image previously believed to be of President Hayes's visit was actually made on the occasion of a banner presentation to the McKinney Guards on 10 June 1876. Thomas E. Wise, Steve Cotham, and Rene' Jordan outlined these research findings in an article, "The Day That Rutherford B. Hayes Did **Not** Visit Knoxville," published in *Tennessee Ancestors*, Volume 14, No. 1, April 1998.

Thinking it likely that such a grand event would have been captured in pictures, Tom Wise undertook a search for photographs of this important day in the city's history. His mission was successful, and he now writes this new article to outline his research and highlight the new photographs. His account is replete with details of the tour, from visiting dignitaries to railroad engineers and carriage drivers and other behind-the-scene players. Tom Wise takes the story from here.

The loss of a photograph taken the day Rutherford B. Hayes visited Knoxville, as a result of the McKinney Guard photograph discovery, left a void begging to be filled. Prompted by a television series on American Presidents, the Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center Library in Fremont, Ohio, was contacted to inquire about such a photograph. Mr. Gilbert Gonzalez, the photographic curator, found three such photographs taken on 21 September 1877. In addition, Nan Card, curator of manuscripts, located a rare publication that contained a transcript of President Hayes's speech. This publication entitled *President's Tour South*, published in 1878, documents the tour from Ohio to the Potomac. It also includes speeches by other members of his party as they visited towns in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia.¹ The Hayes library may have the only known library copy of this publication. Nan Card provided copies of pages covering the president's tour in Tennessee, with speeches and details of events in Nashville, Chattanooga, and Knoxville. Thanks to the

professional and dedicated staff of the Rutherford B. Hayes Museum and Library, valuable photographs and additional segments of Knoxville and East Tennessee history have been provided for which we can all be grateful.

A brief account of President Hayes's visit to Knoxville was also found in an article by Dean Novelli, "On a Corner of Gay Street: History of the Lamar House-Bijou Theater, Knoxville, Tennessee, 1817-1985."² This article referenced the *Knoxville Chronicle* of 21, 22, and 23 September 1877, which was found to feature speech transcripts and parade details during Hayes's visit to Nashville on 19 September, Chattanooga on 20 September, and Knoxville on 21 September 1877. The *President's Tour South* provided more information on the Nashville and Chattanooga visits, but the *Chronicle* carried fuller details of the Knoxville visit.³ Since reporters from both northern and southern papers accompanied the president, other press accounts are likely available.

The presidential train stopped in several East Tennessee towns along the route but the President spoke formally only in Nashville, Chattanooga, and Knoxville before speaking in Atlanta. The President, his family, and other members of the party visited Knoxville a second time on Sunday the 23rd of September for a day of rest and worship prior to returning north via Lynchburg and Charlottesville, Virginia.⁴

The Election of 1876

A brief review of the 1876 presidential election and the post-Civil War environment facing Hayes, as the nineteenth president will place the Southern Tour in perspective and give a better understanding of the political and social impact of his speeches. The presidential election between Ohio Governor Rutherford B. Hayes and New York Governor Samuel J. Tilden rested on disputed ballots in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana. By 1877, these were the only states remaining under Radical Republican rule. Hayes was convinced that fraud and the intimidation of black voters justified the actions of the Republican-dominated election boards. In each of these three states the boards threw out suspect votes, reversing the results in favor of Hayes. The state Democratic candidates, also defeated by this action, defiantly formed separate governments and cast their ballots for Tilden. Congress, with duplicate ballots and unable to agree on the constitutional procedure, appointed a fifteen-member commission to decide the issue. After a bitter fight with heated debates, filibustering, and political compromises, the biased commission cast a consistent eight to seven vote in favor of Hayes. Hayes won with an electoral vote of 185 to 184 and was formally inaugurated on Saturday, March 3, and publicly on Monday, March 5, 1877. Many Democrats, and some Republicans considered Hayes a fraudulent president. The Knoxville *Tribune*, a Democratic paper, referred to the president as a "fraud," a "pretender," and as "Returning Board Hayes" but softened its tone following his visit.⁵

Reconstruction and Radical Republicans

Following the inauguration, President Hayes faced a bitterly divided nation. Immediately after the Civil War the rights of blacks had been established by the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, but Southerners were reluctant to honor them. Military troops had been stationed in all the former Confederate states, except Tennessee, to support Republican governments and to protect the rights of the freed slaves. This period of Reconstruction was

staunchly supported by the radical Republicans, who believed that the South should be treated as conquered territories, given limited constitutional rights, and ruled by military governments. Others, such as Thaddeus Stevens, even took the position that seceding states were no longer in the Union. In contrast, the South considered Reconstruction governments as "alien rule." Self-proclaimed "liberal Republican" or "reformers," such as secretary of the interior Carl Schurz and journalist Horace Greely, were opposed to radical Reconstruction all together.⁶

Consistent with Reconstruction, registration boards were appointed in each state with total discretion over voter qualifications. Thus, Republicans remained in control of the South. By 1876 military rule or "bayonet rule" had been essentially eliminated by President Grant, except in South Carolina and Louisiana. In order to "settle the South" during the Senate debates, Hayes had promised the appointment of a Southerner to his cabinet and to end military rule. As a matter of principal he would not, however, agree to compromise his position on the constitutional right of blacks to vote in order to win the now Democratic "Solid South."⁷

Tennessee's own radical republican William G. (Parson) Brownlow, governor from 1865 to 1869 and U. S. senator from 1869 to 1875, was an interesting example of radical Republicanism. Although in 1870 Brownlow favored the return of Reconstruction for Tennessee, he supported Hayes in the 1876 election. Brownlow died 28 April 1877, five months before President Hayes's Knoxville visit.⁸

President Hayes on Civil Rights, Civil War, and Slavery

The president's speeches throughout the South carried a repetitive appeal to all citizens to come together and recognize the constitutional rights of all citizens. He tactfully spoke of the conflict between the states and addressed the economical, racial, and political tensions. His speeches were frequently interrupted with cheers, laughter, and applause. With political charm he skillfully appealed to the South to respect the right of blacks to vote. This was consistent with his ardent support of the suffrage amendments, the thrust of his presidential campaign. When speaking to mixed crowds in the South, Hayes readily addressed politically sensitive subjects. His explanation on why the South lost is one example. As he tactfully explained in a Nashville speech, referring to a conversation he had had with a Louisville reporter, "I undertook to explain my view of how it happened that the war between us

turned out as it did. It was a matter that we understood pretty well; yet I will give you my view of it. I said to them there that when the war began our Southern adversaries were a little better prepared for it than we. We had good marksmen; we had good horseman, but in proportion to numbers, you had a great many more good marksman and a great many more good horseman than we had. You were educated as soldiers. We had to learn to ride and shoot. But gradually, you know, we got to learn how to shoot and how to ride. Then the struggle came to be between Greek and Greek; and here comes in what my friend, the reporter, at Louisville, overlooked. Every one knows, that when the issue comes to that, Greek against Greek, that Army will conquer which has the most Greeks." (Applause.) This explanation was later repeated in Atlanta.⁹

In Nashville, President Hayes reassured black members of the crowd that "I think the colored people are safer tonight with their rights, in Tennessee, with no Federal bayonets undertaking to protect them, than they were when there were Armies here trying to protect them." In Atlanta, addressing slavery, Hayes's message of conciliation was equally candid and, based on crowd reaction, did not appear offensive. He told the crowd, "What is there to separate us longer? Without any fault of yours or any fault of mine, or any one of this great audience, slavery existed in this country. It was in the Constitution of the country. The colored man was here, not by his own voluntary action. It was a misfortune of his fathers he was here, and I think it is safe to say it was by a crime of our fathers he was here. He was here, however, and we of the two sections differed about what should be done with him. As Mr. Lincoln told us in the war, there were prayers on both sides for him; both sides found in the Bible confirmation of their opinions, and both sides finally undertook to settle the question by that last final means of arbitration --force of arms. You here mainly joined the confederacy side and fought bravely, and risked your lives heroically in behalf of your convictions, and can any true man anywhere fail to respect a man who risks his life for his convictions? (Prolonged cheers) And as I accord respect to you and believe you to be equally liberal and generous and just, I feel as I stand

before you as one who fought in the Union army for his own victories, I am entitled to your respect." (Cheers.)¹⁰

Later in the speech he declared, "It is no discredit to you and no special credit to us that the war turned out as it did." (Extended applause.) In conclusion, he placed the blame on the delay of peace following the war to "belligerent non-combatants," a mild example of waving the "bloody-shirt." The frequent applause, even when he addressed sensitive subjects, is a credit to his political skill. His quick wit was apparent in Knoxville where he easily silenced a heckler to the amusement of the crowd. Even musical heckling failed to intimidate the President. Whenever a band struck up *Dixie*, President Hayes would respond as he did in Chattanooga, "My friends, I have heard that tune before. President Lincoln, you know, said that we captured that tune; and now, as those who were fond of hearing it during the war like to hear it, and as having captured it like to hear it, we are all glad to hear it." Hayes's final words in Tullahoma, a stop prior to Chattanooga, summarized his purpose and expectations

of the Southern tour. In referring to the war he said, "Now that it is over, the cause of strife gone, we are ready to shake hands and be friends. This is all there is of it. So let us shake hands and be friends."¹¹

Against this political and cultural backdrop, President Hayes entered the South with a message of "conciliation, peace, prosperity, and harmony throughout the land."¹²

The Southern Tour

In the summer of 1877 Hayes and his cabinet, following a tour of the west, began their journey of conciliation through the South. These trips, according to Hayes, were to "take a popular bath." The

tour began in Louisville, Kentucky, with major stops in Nashville, Chattanooga, and Knoxville, followed by an unscheduled visit, by invitation, to Atlanta, Georgia. Also unexpected was a return visit to Knoxville before returning to Washington. Presidential party members scheduled for the entire tour were Secretary of State William Evarts, Postmaster General David Key, members of the president and secretary of state Evart's families, and South Carolina Governor Wade Hampton.¹³



President and Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes
Courtesy Library of Congress

William Maxwell Evarts was the famous New York attorney who defended and won the impeachment trial of President Andrew Johnson and served as Johnson's attorney general. Judge Key was a Democratic Senator from Tennessee and an ex-Confederate general who was appointed U.S. senator by Tennessee Governor James D. Porter, also an ex-Confederate general, to replace then Senator Andrew Johnson who had died in office on 31 July 1875. In 1865, Judge Key received a special pardon from President Johnson, dismissing a Civil War treason charge, allowing Key to return to a successful political career and to private life as a judge. The appointment of Judge Key was the concession appointment the President Hayes had promised during his campaign and in his inaugural address, an appointment opposed by Republican leaders in the Senate.¹⁴

Wade Hampton, an ex-Confederate general and the popularly elected Democratic governor of South Carolina, became governor when the radical Republican government in South Carolina no longer enjoyed federal support. Although a Democrat, Hampton won the respect of his opponents and the friendship of the blacks in South Carolina. He was scheduled to speak in Knoxville following the events in Chattanooga but for reasons unknown bypassed Knoxville and stopped in Atlanta where he spoke prior to President Hayes's arrival. From Atlanta he returned home to South Carolina.¹⁵

In addition to the President and Mrs. Hayes, the family members consisted of two sons, Webb C. and Burchart A. Hayes, and a niece, Miss Emily Platt. William Evarts was accompanied by two daughters, Bettie and Mary; and son Prescott, and private secretary Charles H. Russel. Judge Key traveled with two daughters, Emma and Kate. Also in the party were the president's private secretary, Mr. J. H. Sherman, and White House steward, William T. Crump. At the last minute Secretary of Interior Carl Schurz canceled, left the tour at Louisville, and returned to Washington, D.C. Secretary of Navy Richard Thompson accompanied the party as far as Chattanooga and then traveled on to Pensacola, Florida. Likewise, Secretary of War George McCrary, following the Nashville visit, traveled to Fort Monroe. Attorney General Charles Devins, not scheduled for the tour, was in route to Boston. Secretary of Treasury John Sherman, the remaining cabinet member and brother to General William T. Sherman, presumably stayed in Washington. In Nashville, Hayes, Key, Evarts, and Hampton all spoke to enthusiastic crowds following a parade through the elaborately decorated streets. The same occurred in Chattanooga.

An escort party from Knoxville met the dignitaries in Chattanooga on 20 September. The presidential train left Chattanooga at 8 a.m. on 21 September and was scheduled to arrive in Knoxville at the L&N depot at 11a.m., that day.¹⁶

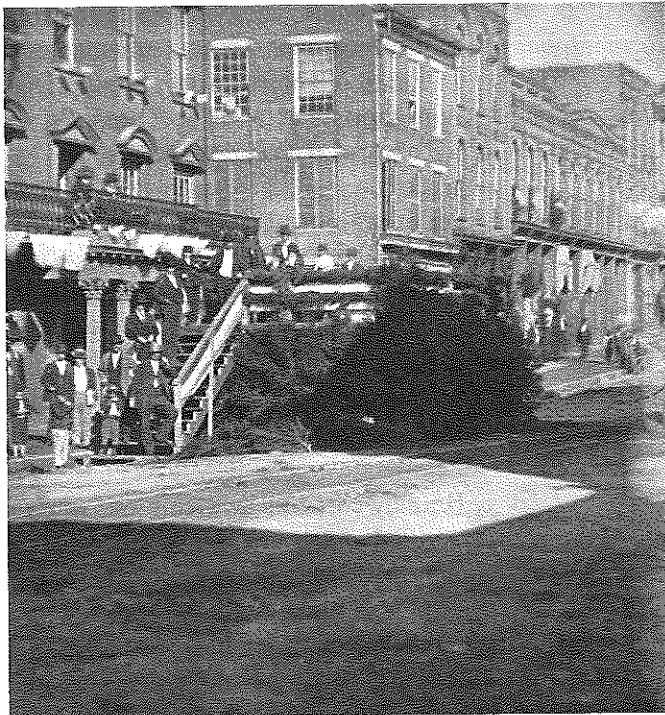
Preparations in Knoxville

Preparations in Knoxville had begun as early as the 31st of August when a meeting was held at the Lamar House to appoint a welcoming committee, an arrangement committee, a finance committee, an invitation committee, and a chairman. The welcoming committee arranged special roundtrip railroad tickets to Knoxville from all stations between Bristol and Chattanooga, and the largest crowd ever was expected. The L&N Railroad issued inscribed silk time cards. Perez Dickinson, Charles McGhee, and Thomas O'Conner had offered their private homes for the convenience of the visitors. Schools and railroad shops were to be closed. Other places of business and industry suspended operations in honor of the great occasion. "Knoxville assumed an air of hearty welcome and greetings." All members of the Knoxville Rifles and former members of the Dickinson Light Guards were requested to bring articles of company property to E. F. Esperardieu's Store for parade use. The Knoxville Guards were invited and the invitation accepted by Capt. Alex Allison. Following the reception and speeches, the homes of prominent Knoxvilleians would entertain the president, his party, and invited guests. At the McGhee House over 1000 gas jets were arranged on the grounds and a platform under the oaks was provided to accommodate those who were inspired to dance. One thousand invitations were given out.¹⁷

On the 18th of September the city began the construction of an elaborate arch at Gay Street and Union Avenue at Bradley corner. The arch motif was not unique to Knoxville but was apparently a common symbol used to honor royal visitors. In Nashville the presidential parade passed under no less than three arches. The first had been constructed opposite the northern end of the Market House with the inscription "Tennessee's Welcome To The President." The second arch, opposite the Maxwell House, displayed the message, "He Serves His Party Best Who First Serves His Country." The third was a "grand arch" at the entrance to the capitol, erected at the eastern gateway, 26 feet by 50 feet, and inscribed, "No North, No South, No East, No West, On Earth Peace Good Will To Men." In Chattanooga a "triumphant" monogram arch was mounted at the corner of Market and Ninth Street and shaped to form the initials "R. B. H." with a

large, key-shaped banner suspended from the center. If these three towns were in competition, Nashville would take the prize. Reporter J. B. McCormick, however, of the Cincinnati *Enquirer* thought Knoxville's arch was the finest he had ever seen. James D. Cowan of the committee was given credit for its success.¹⁸

In addition to the arch, Knoxville planned a 21-gun salute from Summit Hill, to be commanded by Captain W. O. White and G. H. Bomar. Two cannons were purchased for the occasion. With the expectation that Judge Key, and possibly Wade Hampton, both ex-Confederate Generals, and President Hayes, an ex-Union general, were visiting Knoxville with a message of unification, it was certainly appropriate for the welcoming committee to orchestrate the 21-gun salute under two former Civil War commanders--one from the North and one from the South. Bomar would be celebrating the sixteenth anniversary of his Confederate enlistment. A mix of veterans would also be among the members of the welcoming committee and most definitely among the spectators.¹⁹



This stand was erected in front of the Lamar House [now Bijou Theater] at the corner of Gay and Cumberland especially for the presidential visit.

Courtesy Rutherford B. Hayes Library

Following a parade down Gay Street, the president would be escorted to the specially constructed speakers stand in front of the Lamar House at the corner of Gay Street and Cumberland Avenue. The front of the Lamar building was given

a fresh coat of paint, "getting in shape for the big-to-do Friday." The parade plans, detailing the order of the participants, were published in the Knoxville *Chronicle* on September the 20th. The police would lead the way, followed by the U. T. Band, U. T. Cadets, Knoxville Rifles, and a train of carriages filled with the president's party, committee members, guests, and the visiting press. On arrival, Perez Dickinson, as chairman of the welcoming committee, would greet the President and, with committee member Mayor Daniel A. Carpenter, escort him to the waiting carriages.²⁰

Hayes Arrives in Knoxville

On the morning of September 21, the rain that drenched the party in Chattanooga stopped in time to allow the workers in Knoxville to finish the arch and decorate its castellated top with flags and cover its sides with evergreen boughs. A "Welcome" banner was attached to the north side. The "artists" of "Messrs. T. H. Lindsey and Co.," had carefully set up their equipment at a location to photograph the procession just as the president's open phaeton passed under the arch.²¹

The crowd began arriving in Knoxville in early morning, taking advantage of the special rates on the K&C from Blount County, the K&O from Anderson and Campbell counties, and presumably on the ETV&G from Bristol. Determined citizens arrived on foot, on horseback, and in carriages. Some walked twenty miles, perhaps even thirty miles, to get a glimpse of the President. Others traveled more than 40 miles across the mountain from North Carolina. By parade time, the crowd was estimated at 10,000-15,000, or a solid 12,000. The train from Chattanooga left the car shed at 8 a.m. pulled by Johnnie Ramsey and engine "old 49" decorated by flags and evergreens. There was an L&N Palace car for the party, a baggage car, and a car for outsiders. At the rear was President Standiford's car with an observation deck for informal talks with crowds at small town stops. (President Standiford, president of the Cincinnati and Louisville Railroad, and his military guards had accompanied the party as far as Nashville.) En route to Knoxville, local citizens gathered at all stations for brief stops and talks. Mrs. Hayes appeared at Cleveland and a bouquet of flowers was presented to her by Mrs. J. E. Raht. Similar scenes were repeated at Charleston, Athens, Sweetwater, and Loudon. A number of Chattanooga and Knoxville committee members W. P. Champlain, George Andrew, T. S. Webb, and C. E. Tucker boarded at Cleveland. At Loudon, additional committee members met the train, including Col. John Baxter, Hon. O. P. Temple, Judge

L. C. Houk, Capt. Joseph Jaques, Col. F. S. Heiskell, Judge T. J. Freeman, Maj. Thos. O. Conner, A. A. Kyle, Esq., S. T. Logan, L. T. Baxter, and William. Rule. The train's progress was telegraphed ahead to the waiting crowds at the Knoxville car shed by master of transportation J. B. Hoxsie.²²

The anxious crowd mistook a "special" at 11:00, but when the Hayes' train arrived shortly thereafter at 11:30, shouts of "Here he comes" filled the air as the crowd rushed forward, giving a "throat-splitting welcome" as police struggled to restrain their advance. As the presidential party disembarked, the first of the 21-gun salute was fired from Temperance Hill. It was reported that the guns were on the same spot where they sounded a salute to Tilden on the night after the election in November and that Louis Rucker assisted on this occasion with the same enthusiasm in the firing that was exhibited that night.²³

President Hayes walked out, "hat in hand, both saluting and being saluted by the crowd as he passed along."²⁴

The Parade Down Gay Street

President Hayes was greeted by Perez Dickinson and Mayor Daniel A. Carpenter and escorted through a passage formed by the Knoxville Rifles and U.T. Cadets to the waiting carriages along the platform from the depot to the bridge. The cannons sounded the salute. The procession moved down Gay Street led by Police Chief J. P. Pickens, who in turn was followed by the University of Tennessee Band. Band director J. F. Rule lowered his baton and began the procession with a festive, martial march. As the band marched forward, George W. Baxter of the 5th U. S. Cavalry mounted his "dashing" steed and gave the forward-march command to the U. T. Cadets. The thunder from Temperance Hill continued as Captain Alex Allison ordered the Knoxville Rifles forward, in step with the band. The first carriage to move was Mr. Daily's fine open "phaeton," drawn by four white horses, with Pryor Brown driving, that carried President Hayes, the Honorable Perez Dickinson, and Dr Thomas Humes. The president's phaeton received a special police escort, two policeman on each side, to restrain, if need be, the pressing crowd. Colonel McGhee's carriage was next, carrying Charles McGhee, Secretary of State Evarts, and Col. John Baxter. Major O'Conner's carriage was third in line with Postmaster General Key, the Honorable H. O. Temple, Maj. Thomas O'Conner, and George M. White, Esq. of the welcoming committee. A livery carriage followed with Mrs. Hayes and Miss Evarts, W. P. Chamberlain, and Dr. John Fouche of the

committee. (In the next issue the *Chronicle* admitted to an erroneous and embarrassing "livery" carriage error and stated that Mrs. Hayes was in one of Knoxville's finest private carriages, driven by Sandy, "a trusted and skilled driver who knew just how to handle the ribbons.") In the fifth carriage, belonging to Mr. F. H. McClung, were Mrs. Key and daughter Miss Key, Capt. Joseph Jaques, and Maj. R. C. Jackson of the committee. The remaining daughters, Miss Key and Miss Evarts, rode in the sixth carriage, accompanied by L. T. Baxter and H. B. Branner, also of the committee. Third from last, in a livery carriage, was Mr. Evarts, Jr., (actually, Prescott Evarts and more likely in a private carriage) riding with Miss Platt, Maj. T. S. Webb, and C. S. Luckey, Esq., of the committee. This carriage was followed by one occupied by Mr. Webb Hayes, riding with Col. A. Caldwell and L. C. Houk of the committee. In the ninth and last of the official guest carriages rode Mr. Burchard Hayes, accompanied by Maj. A. S. Posser, Judge George Andrew, and Col. F. Heiskell of the committee. Bringing up the rear were press members in carriages and citizens in carriages, and on foot, who wished to join the parade.²⁵

To precisely quote the *Chronicle*, "...a thronged mass of human beings of all shades and classes lined Gay Street from the bridge to the Lamar House, and there was barely in the middle of the street for passage of grand triumphal procession, besides every door and window in all the buildings along the line was chuck full of human faces, eagerly peering out upon the party. Besides, even the housetops all along were covered. The President stood on his feet in the carriage during the entire drive steadying himself by resting his left hand on Dr. Humes' shoulder and with his right holding his hat, he continually bowing to the right and left, responding to the salutes by gentlemen and waving of hankerchiefs, etc., by the thousands of fair hands which graced the many windows, doors etc. It was indeed a grand and triumphant march, and a continuous flow of enthusiasm which knew no bounds." The *Chronicle* estimated that "forty thousand eyes viewed the President and the ovations came freely from all classes regardless of politics or anything else."²⁶

Working the crowd was a "silver-tongued peddler" collecting hundreds of nickels selling a steel engraving of the President for the small sum of five cents.

Passing Under The Arch

As the sounds of hoofs, squeaking wheels, marching feet, brass horns, and drums approached the pressing crowds the police formed a narrow passage through the spectators for the carriages to precede.

Gay Street's royal ambience reflected this once-in-a-generation event. (Prior to this the first and only presidential visit was in 1836 when Andrew Jackson was campaigning for Martin Van Buren.) "The street had been festooned and decorated with flags, bunting, and evergreens." The Presidential party was no doubt impressed, even at a distance, as they approached the triumphant arch covered with evergreens, its castellated top supporting large multi-colored flags. This majestic structure extended across Gay Street at Union Avenue, in front of the Cowan, McClung and Co. building. The 38 smaller flags on top, one for each state, became the focus of attention as the carriages passed under the welcome banner. President Hayes could not help but notice and be moved by the two "angelic like form," of two small girls, Miss Cowan and Miss Faney Aikins [Atkins, Alkins], perched among the evergreens on top of the arch. Each girl waved a flag in one hand and as the carriage passed "strewed flowers into it from their lofty and exalted position." As reported in the *Chronicle*, "this was quite a pleasant scene in the procession and was noticed and admired by all." At this exact instant the parade stopped. Photographer T. H. Lindsey tripped the shutter of his stereographic camera, thus capturing the historic picture of the great arch, the crowd, the cadets, the rifles, and the four white horses pulling the president's phaeton. The *Chronicle* reported the event, naming the "artists" (T.H. Lindsey and Company) and the prearranged pause, a tribute to this special day and the esteem of

being photographed, in the late 1800's, especially with the President of the United States!

The artists gathered their bulky equipment and began the long trip through the crowded street to set up in front of the Lamar House at the south end of Gay Street to photograph the president at the speakers' platform.²⁷ Another artist vying for the President's attention was the noted painter Lloyd Branson. He had placed a large crayon portrait of Hayes in front of the McCary and Branson Gallery. The portrait, sketched on canvas and surrounded by miniature banners, attracted much attention and was said to be "a remarkable true picture."

Lunch at the Lamar House

The scheduled lunch at the Lamar House prior to the speeches, prepared by Mr. and Mrs. James

D. Cowan, would provide photographer Lindsey the time to position his camera looking north toward the platform. The party filed through the ladies entrance at the Lamar House and enjoyed a lunch reported to be "a model of perfection in the epicurean art."²⁸ Perez Dickinson escorted the president to the stand where an enthusiastic crowd pressed against the rows of U.T. Cadets and the Knoxville Rifles.

Appropriately, the Reverend Dr. Thomas J. Humes had the honor of introducing President Hayes.

Dr. Humes was the son of Thomas Humes who built the Lamar Building in 1815-1816. He was a close associate of Perez Dickinson, partner in his wholesale business, and the first editor of his newspaper. Like Dickinson, Dr. Humes was a



At the exact moment the presidential party passed under the arch, the parade stopped. Photographer T.H. Lindsey tripped the shutter of his stereographic camera, capturing this historic moment in Knoxville history.

Courtesy Rutherford B. Hayes Library

strong Unionist during the Civil War. At the time of President Hayes's visit, he was the president of East Tennessee University.²⁹

Dr. Humes Introduction

"Mr. President: We are assembled today without distinction of party to honor you as the head of the nation--the body politic, of which every man here present, even the humblest and poorest, is an equal and integral part. We feel that it is only right and becoming in us to honor you as the Chief Magistrate of the Republic; and therefore, we give you a cordial welcome. But we may go further than this, while ignoring and abjuring all party politics as alien to the occasion. For when we consider the difficulties that beset the path of your official duty from the beginning, we can not

but admire and commend the fidelity to your own conviction--the discretion and courage with which you follow that path, as you perceive it and we rejoice over whatever happy and auspicious results have ensued. Unquestionably, the public pulse beats strong and full in favor of concord and the peace of the Nation within itself. And why should it not? Are we not all fellow citizens of a common country? Where is the American in whose heart no patriotism throbs and glows?

--In whose mind is lodged no sentiment of nationality? Who can not say of the people of the land, this his own, native or adopted land, 'All these are my country men, in a civic sense, my brethren?' We honor you, therefore, not only

because, in the high office you fill, you have sought, according to your best judgment, to do that which is fair and right to all the States, and to all the people of the land. And we bid you God-Speed in whatever measure of your Administration are in harmony with the eternal principles of righteousness and peace, and will therefore promote the welfare of our whole country. Again, we bid you welcome to this city in the mountains, which although small, is 'no mean city.' It has its present attainments, its capacities and hopes for the future, and its historic memories. Here was the home of a man who received the vote of Tennessee for the Presidency of the United States, who was the contemporary and peer of Clay, Calhoun and Webster, and who was called in his day--'the Cato' of the American Senate--Hugh Lawson White. Mr. President, to use a homely phrase, we are

glad to see you. The rock-ribbed mountains, that surround East Tennessee,--this heart of the Atlantic States,--have been overcome by commercial and industrial enterprise, which has built a broad and inviting highway for all the world to visit us. And we trust that your present visit may prove so agreeable to you, that you will come again."³⁰

President Hayes stepped forward to speak, and at some point thereafter, photographer Lindsey took his second historic picture. Just as the shutter

clicked, the president may have been distracted by the activity to his right. A spectator was climbing over the railing of the stage, down to the street, while another member of the crowd was climbing up at the corner of



President Rutherford B. Hayes addresses the crowd from the stand in front of the Lamar House.

Courtesy Rutherford B. Hayes Library

the stage near the simulated evergreen tree. This was inadvertently captured in Mr. Lindsey's photograph.

The President's Reply

"My friends of Knoxville and East Tennessee: I congratulate you on the beautiful day, contrasting as it does so greatly with the gloom of yesterday. I am glad to have heard the address of the distinguished gentlemen to whom we have just listened. You are entirely right in intimating that, in the vast numbers that we see around us, are united men of all political parties, and that the first point in the welcome is, that it is for respect of the office, which, for the time being, it is my fortune to occupy. This multitude has assembled to show respect to the office of the Chief Magistrate of the country, and exhibit their patriotism to the Nation, to the laws and Constitution. (A voice, 'Hurrah for Tilden') They expect also to show their attachment to freedom of speech, of which we have examples from time to time. (Laughter and applause.) And, my friends it adds immensely to the satisfaction of this meeting to know that it is an assembly of men of both parties and veterans of both armies, and citizens of all races. (applause) Such an assembly, meeting as you do, with the utmost good feeling and friendship toward each other, is proof that the general course of the Administration, or if not the general intent, the general purpose of the Administration in regard to the pacification of the whole country is here heartily approved. And, my friends, why should we not approve a policy which seeks the speedy restoration of national harmony? If we regard business, if we regard commercial interests and all other important interests, are they not best promoted by friendship, by peace on behalf of National Government and State Government; peace between the different sections of the country, peace between the different classes in promotion of enterprise, of development, of progress and happiness in every department of life?

"My friends, I have been during the last two weeks so frequently upon this general discussion, without preparation, that I cannot but repeat the same in substance from place to place, and I find the feelings and personal opinions of the people everywhere so similar upon this subject that there is no occasion for a change of topics, even if it were possible to do so. When a committee comes to me of working men, I am glad to receive them. If a committee of colored men, I have the same feelings for them. If Democrats, I give the same attention to them; and with Republicans it is the same, for we believe that the Government of the United States ought to regard alike the rights and interests of

all sections of the country, and the State Government, as well as the National Government, should regard alike equally the rights and interest of all races of men. Now again, upon this, there is no longer any cause of separation. Washington announced that the Constitution made us one people. Mr. Webster coming after said, 'We have one Constitution, we have one Nation, we have one destiny.' Let us, my friends, bear in mind these great ideas. We may separate from each other as to currency, as to tariff, as to internal improvements, but, my friends, we must all agree with Jackson that 'the Union must and shall be preserved.' We can look into the faces of this audience, and see, no doubt the faces of soldiers of the Federal and soldiers of the Confederate army. Now we understand each other. We have been introduced to each other. We are acquainted. We have met before (Laughter), and as I demand respect from the man I found fighting against me, for my convictions, I yield the same measure of respect to him who fought for his convictions. I want the people of all sections to be better acquainted. I want the people of all sections to be introduced to each other, not exactly as the soldiers have been, but to be friends as the soldiers here are friends, and one of the great objects of this tour is to encourage intercourse, intercourse between different sections of the country. We want you in New England, in Ohio and in New York. I want the men of Tennessee to be as much at home on the soil of Vermont as he is in any State of the South. I want the people of Ohio to feel as much at home in the South as in any State north of the Ohio river; to be united in duty and united as citizens of different sections, then shall we be a happier people to the end of our career.³¹ When the applause faded Secretary Evarts spoke.

Evarts Speaks

"Fellow citizens: It is quite necessary for us as we travel from place to place, coming through Kentucky and into middle Tennessee, and then into East Tennessee, to remember the route and distances which we have taken, in order to persuade ourselves that we are in new places and amid new men for we find the same spirit of hearty adhesion to the government of the country, and the same applause for the purposes and plans of the President of the United States and of hearty affection for his character. I do not propose to say much of anything on the subject on which the President has plainly spoken, but direct your attention to the great provinces which he made to attend every movement in the national spirit and for national purpose. We had no sooner celebrated the great anniversary of our hundred year of independence on the Fourth of July of

last year in the pride, in the glory of that event which was calculated to excite our patriotism, than we were met with sudden disappointment in the closeness of the election and in the character of some of its results. The nations of Europe that had looked on and had been disappointed in the power of civil war to break up this Government, knowing that so many Nations had been broken asunder by the political dissensions that grow out of divided opinion, seemed to anticipate a similar result in this country, but the great mass of the American people was adequate to that difficult situation. The great mass are ready to unite in holding up the hands of the President of the United States, and now I can view in this ancient capital of Tennessee the descendents of the mountaineers who fought at the battle of King's Mountain. In seeing you my country men, in being recognized by you as my country men, I feel that we may seek all the ends that belong to peace, that belong to prosperity, that belong to union, and that they are hereafter to be uppermost all over the land. It was my fortune to be associated with the distinguished citizen of East Tennessee whom the Republic chose Vice President, and who, under the Constitution, came to be President of the United States; and the whole country admires the heroic devotion with which President Johnson defended the Presidential office and the Constitution of the country against a country in arms, not favoring a separate section but the people of the whole country, and for which the country feels a sense of obligation that it will never forget."³² Following a repeat of ovations, Mr. Key spoke. He had not completely recovered from the hoarseness experienced the day before in Chattanooga.

Key Speaks

"Fellow citizens: My voice is not as strong as Gabriel's trumpet, and I can not hope to reach the extreme limits of this vast audience. You have all seen me before in the old and metropolitan city of East Tennessee. The last time I had the honor of appearing before you it was in that building over there, which you call Staub's Opera House, in which I made a speech, which, at the time, attracted some public attention, and, in that speech, I was advocating, to the very best of my ability, the election of Samuel J. Tilden for President of the United States. I appear before you today in a somewhat changed attitude. I appear before you as an humble member of the cabinet of President Hayes, and support that administration with all my heart. (Cheer) If you remember, my friends, or if you do not, if you will turn to your newspapers you will find that I said in that speech that Mr. Hayes was an honest man. (Applause)

I said in that speech that I rejoiced that the Republican Party had chosen as their standard-bearer a man whose character was above reproach. I said more, which I might as well say before him here, I told you that his letter of acceptance was well enough, but that he would not be able to keep the pledges which he made. I tell you today, in the presence of this intelligent audience for no man can address a Knoxville audience that is not intelligent - I say before you to-day that in that I was mistaken. He has kept his pledge--a thing that I did not believe he would be able to do. There are men who tell you that political platforms are made to catch votes and that a man is under no obligations to keep such pledges. That man is not President Hayes. We have all come to very much the same conclusion, and the president has everywhere and of all parties been received with distinguished respect."³³

Lamar House Reception

After the conclusion of Postmaster General Key's remarks, calls were made for Mrs. Hayes, who was introduced by Mr. Perez Dickinson. Her presence was greeted with a storm of applause, which she acknowledged with a graceful bow and retired. When the applause ebbed, Mr. Dickinson announced a reception in the parlor of the Lamar House and escorted President Hayes through the main entrance and up the steps, barely avoiding the crowd of spectators that swarmed the entrance and the steps. The police finally persuaded the masses to move to the ladies side entrance in order to pass through the parlor, shake hands with the president and exit through the main entrance. Perez Dickinson and Mayor Carpenter introduced the citizens as they passed. According to the plans of September 18, the Mayor was to introduce, in addition to the stream of citizens, the city council members and the Supreme Court members (which was in session.) The hand shaking lasted for about one hour. "There was no partiality shown whatever, and all classes of people were represented, native-born and adopted citizens, white and black, all met with a hearty shake of the hand and a smile of the President, and the best of feelings prevailed." The parlor was handsomely decorated and conveniently arranged with a pyramid of flowers on the center table. Secretary Evarts and Postmaster Key were also introduced as the line passed, greeted by the citizens, especially Postmaster Key who felt quite at home. The President retired from the parlor, and Mrs. Hayes made her appearance to be introduced to the citizens who remained or were still arriving, and for five or ten minutes gave a hearty shake of the hand and a smile for all.

Greetings At The Staub House

The next event on the itinerary was the greeting of school children at the Staub's Opera House, directly across the street from the Lamar Building. "The Templeton Stan Alliance" had entertained Knoxvilleians the previous week at this historic house, but today the school children would have the stage to honor the president. The children, each waving a flag, filled the house from "pit to gallery." The president, Mrs. Hayes, Evarts, and Key, escorted by Perez Dickinson, were received on the stage by city school board members, Messrs. J. A. Raly, J. W. Gaut, J. S. Van Gilden, Superintendent H. P. Morton, and members of the Citizen's Reception Committee. The children began by singing a school song to the "air of Yankee Doodle." Mr. Rayl, chairman of the school board, then addressed the president: "Mr. President: I have been informed that it has been made my duty to introduce to you the children of the city free schools. As a brief speech is all that is expected, perhaps I can discharge the pleasing duty. We appear before you, sir, to-day as the Board of Education, teachers and children of the schools of Knoxville, and not as politicians, for as such we would not come, but as representatives of the rising generation--the men and women of the future, who will take the places we now occupy on the stage of active life, and perhaps even the exalted station you now fill. We rejoice at your presence here-to-day, and would render you all honor as the exponent of a policy which is producing such happy results in our section. But especially, sir, do we honor you as a friend of American free schools, the Bible, the Sabbath, and the holy church of Christ."³⁴

The President Responds

"Among the pleasant things that have come under my observation in Tennessee, the educational advantages in the larger towns and cities are most striking, and I congratulate the people and school board of Knoxville on what they have done in the cause of popular education." The children then sang another sparkling school song to the "air of Dixie." After which Mr. Key was called on to speak.

Mr. Key Speaks

"It is proper to say that the first money I ever earned was as a schoolteacher at \$15 per month, which would now be called poor wages. The President has intimated that I must have been a poor teacher, or I would have stuck to that profession. I told the school children in another place that it was my business to look after the letters that were written by everybody

in this country, including those of the little boys and girls, and those that are most plainly directed are more apt to reach their destination --hence the importance of learning to write well." Looking up to the gallery where the colored children were seated, he continued, "My remarks apply equally to the colored boys and girls. I look after their letters and send them to their destination as promptly as those of the white children."³⁵ Following additional cheers from the children, the president introduced Mrs. Hayes who bowed and smiled pleasantly. When the cheering subsided the party returned to the Lamar House.

Drive Around Town then Dinner at the Lamar House

Shortly after arriving at the Lamar House, the carriages were ordered for a ride around town. The President's party and a number of citizens took a ride to Fort Sanders.³⁶ A few moments were spent admiring the mountain scenery and talking about the bloody battle that had made the ground a historic site.³⁸

The drive continued to Melrose, the splendid mansion of Major Thomas O'Conner, where, after lunch, the party bid the O'Connors goodbye. The carriages traveled east through town to the hill near General Mabry's house and then shortly after 5 p.m. returned to the Lamar House, where they dined. The dining room was described as handsomely decorated with flowers, fruits, and pyramids. Dinner was attended to by John Scherf, the landlord, and assisted by a Mr. Lillard. Seasonal delicacies that could have been served, according to newspaper ads, included fresh oysters and Magnolia ham from Schubert's Cumberland Street Restaurant and, due to the cool weather, gilt-edge cheese from Lee and Peirson. It was an unusually quiet dinner, without a toast, that lasted about an hour. At 7 p.m. the carriages were again ordered to take the party to the Perez Dickinson estate on Main Street.³⁷

At The Dickinson's

The presidential party was soon dispersed among a multitude of guests. Some 1,000 invitations had been extended, and, by all appearances, most had been accepted. The grounds were aglow with a thousand gas jets illuminating three large arches surrounding the walk from gate to door, with hundreds of burning tapers placed on the grounds among the shrubbery. Inside, over the hall door, a welcome sign in large letters with flowers greeted the president, and another one greeted him in the hall. Mr. Dickinson showed guests around the house and introduced them to new friends and children. Mrs. Hayes greeted each child with a kiss.³⁸

Certainly, President Hayes found comfort and support for his agenda in the company of so many Unionists in this Southern city. After partaking of another lunch the party proceeded to the McGhee residence, the last stop on this busy itinerary.

Farewell Dance at the McGhee's

In contrast to Perez Dickenson and Dr Humes, Charles McGhee had been a loyal Confederate during the war and carried the title of colonel. McGhee's newly built house on Locust Street was ablaze with gas jets reflecting on the green awards and shrubs. A splendid string band from Georgia had been engaged, and sounds of music drifted from the arbor where gay devotees of "Terpsichore" were enjoying "allurements of the dance," reported the *Chronicle*. Those present obviously outnumbered the 600 invitations sent to friends and families. The event was reported to be the most "recherché" ever given in Knoxville and, according to the *Chronicle*, "The illuminations attracted a large crowd, streets were packed, to glimpse fairy land, anxious to see the president and dignitaries." Some had a long wait, since the President did not arrive until 9 p.m. On arrival, the party was escorted to the parlor where a perfect "levee" was held for an hour. Streams of people flowed through the halls to be introduced to the president.³⁹

Judging from the guest list, here was a place to hob-nob with Knoxville's finest, or, as the *Chronicle* described it, "The bon ton of Knoxville was out in full strength and grave Supreme Judges, learned counselors, and princes of trade mingled in the gay throng with lovely women in all the brilliancy of full dress evening toilettes, while the young men mustered in large numbers and braved the crash in the drawing rooms on the dews of evening with equal readiness when accompanied by the owner of bright eyes and silken tresses. The platform for the dancers was most tactfully arranged and offered ample floor room for nearly a hundred couples, while a splendid orchestra discoursed the sweetest music and the liquid notes of Straus's Waltzes mixed with the cadence of slipped feet tripping through the mazes of the dance." And Mrs. Parton sang "Fleur De Alpes."

As reported in the newspaper, "About ten o'clock the quest partook of a bountiful collation, soon after which the presidential party retired, but their departure did not abate the enjoyment of those on pleasure bent. Ample refreshment were prepared for the large party present, and for two hours the large dining room was crowded with the revelers, to whose appetites dancing had given a zest such as only that exercise can. As

fast as emptied the places of those retiring were filled with others, and so the repeat was prolonged until all had partaken of the luxuries of the hospitable board. The festive scene continued without relaxation until the encroachment on the small hours warned the participants that it was time to seek the restoring influence of balmy sleep. The event will be one long remembered by all who were present on the occasion, and marked with a white stone in their memories."⁴⁰

The morning paper reported a lost Pocket Book in the vicinity of the McGhee's home containing a sum of money and valuable papers. A reward was offered.

Departing For Atlanta

At the depot the presidential party boarded sleeper cars brought the previous day from Atlanta for their comfort by Capt. Tom McGill of the Western and Atlantic Road. The train pulled out at midnight, with Mack Parker as conductor and Bill Whitlock, engineer. Prior to leaving, Postmaster Key sent a telegram to Lynchburg announcing the arrival of the presidential party in that city on Monday morning, following a return to Knoxville on Sunday for a day of rest and worship. A local reporter who overheard a conversation at the Dickinson party may have obtained a hint of the return trip to Knoxville. A party member commented to the president "I want you to fall in love with our city of Knoxville." The President replied, "I think your desire is accomplished." It was also reported in the *Chronicle* that, "there was much disappointment in Chattanooga on Sunday morning when the people learned that President Hayes would spend the day in Knoxville." His last words to the Chattanoogaans were that he would spend the day there and regretted missing the contemplated trip to Lookout Mountain for which Mr. Rathburn of Chattanooga had arranged carriages.⁴¹

In Atlanta the president and postmaster Key spoke to the crowds and were received cordially with the same enthusiasm and respect. Ex-Governor Brown welcomed the president, "We feel that you are honest; we know that you are just; we owe you a depth of gratitude which we are trying to express to you by the most public testimony." The president repeated the "Greek" story and again told the southern blacks, "I believe that your rights and interests would be safer if the great mass of intelligent white men were left alone by the General Government." (Immense enthusiasm and cheering, lasting several minutes)⁴²

Return To Knoxville

The train arrived in Knoxville from Atlanta at about quarter past eight, Sunday morning. The party

was greeted at the depot by waiting carriages and taken to reserved suites at the Lamar House. They registered for breakfast. In the party were President and Mrs. Hayes, sons Burchard and Webb Hayes, niece Emily Platt, Secretary Evarts, his wife and daughters Mary and Betty, son Platt Evarts, C. H. Russell, Postmaster Key, his daughters Emma and Kate Key, Evarts' private secretary William Crump and J. W. Fowler.

The ever anxious but by now weary press was in pursuit. The press traveling from Atlanta consisted of E. V. Smalley, *New York Tribune*; D. F. Madden, *Louisville Courier-Journal*; John B McCormick, *Cincinnati Inquirer*; W. H. Chamberlain, *Cincinnati Gazette*; Will O. Woodson, *Western Associated Press*; and H. V. Redfield, the *Cincinnati Commercial*, who came up from Chattanooga to join the party again.⁴³

Church Services

At 10:30 am, President and Mrs. Hayes with Burchard and Miss Platt attended the First Methodist Episcopal Church on Church Street. They walked by choice, escorted by two members of the congregation. Mrs. Hayes was a life long member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and President Hayes, though not a member of any denomination, always attended with his wife. A special thanksgiving service, made even more special by the presence of the president's family, was being held on this special Sunday to rededicate the newly restored church to God, the first service since the completion of repairs. In the past two months, the roof had been replaced, the rain-damaged plaster restored and the walls re-frescoed (by J. F. Haupt), and there were new window glass, new carpets, and new seat cushions. The benches were re-varnished, and essentially the entire inside restored to new. The outside was painted, and the bricks re-penciled.⁴⁴

Although the First Methodist Episcopal had the largest seating capacity of any Knoxville church, still worshipers had to be turned away. All past pastors of the church were invited to attend the special service. The Rev. J. B. Ford and Rev. J. F. Spence accepted and assisted the present pastor, the Reverend Mr. J. J. Manker. Professor John Marshall was the organist, and the choir consisted of the leader, Mr. A. W. Williams; sopranos, Mrs. John Marshall, Mrs. Greenwood, and Miss Ceila Williams; alto, Miss Annie Parton; tenor, D. J. Hope and Tom F. Self; bass, Luther Howell, John Dawes, Sam Epps Young and John A. Rule.⁴⁵

Pastor Manker gave thanks for the renovations and began the sermon with Psalm 146, followed by a congregational singing of "All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name" and a prayer. Rev. Spence read the second

scripture lesson, and the choir sang "What Shall the Harvest Be?" After the offering, Rev. J. B. Ford read Psalm 126, verses 5 and 6, "They that sow in tears shall reap in joy." The sermon lasted forty-five minutes. After a prayer by Rev. Spence, the choir sang the doxology, and Pastor Rev. Manker gave the benediction. The Hayes family walked back to the Lamar House.⁴⁶

Secretary Evarts, his two daughters, Bettie and Mary, and son, Prescott, accompanied by C. H. Russell, and Mr. Mead and wife, walked to St. John's Episcopal Church and attended services by Reverend Thomas Duncan, the rector. Later they dined at the home of Mr. W. S. Mead.

Visit to O'Conner's, C. J. McClung's, and Island Home

Mr. Key and family visited his brother-in-law, Dr. McDonough, in North Knoxville, joined by Captain Jaques, and Mr. Lillard. They later made a return visit to the home of Major Thomas O'Conner for dinner. Mr. Key continued his visit with Thomas O'Conner, while Mrs. Key and daughters were driven to the west side of the city for a tour of Lyon's View. Meanwhile, the Hayes family enjoyed a visit and dinner at the home of Mr. C. J. McClung, founder of one of the largest wholesale businesses in the southeast. Following dinner the Hayes and Evarts families met back at the Lamar House where at 4 p.m. they were driven to Island Home, "the most beautiful and well arranged farm in the whole country and well worth going to see." The carriages with President Hayes and Senator Evarts crossed the Holston River at Jones Ferry with "Uncle Jack" at the helm. They were shown around by Mr. Perez Dickinson and enjoyed the beautiful grounds for over an hour before returning to the Lamar House for supper.⁴⁷

Departing for Lynchburg

At 8:45 p.m. the whole party was conveyed to the depot where they boarded one of three sleepers. The baggage car was loaded, and the train rolled out at exactly 9 p.m., pulled as before by Bill Whitlock, engineer, and Capt. Mack Parker. The train traveled at night with a surely exhausted crew. All requests to stop by stations and towns along the way were denied at the disappointment of all the people. A two-hour visit had been hoped for in Greeneville. The train went directly to Lynchburg.⁴⁸

Success or Failure

President Hayes fulfilled his promise to support the civil rights amendments and to fight for civil service reform. These positions were never

compromised. He supported the return of local control to all southern states, and by the 24th of April 1877 had removed all remaining federal troops and ended military and political reconstruction in the South. With a sincere belief in the need to unite the country, he came to the South with a purpose, a mission of "peace, unity and prosperity." As he later proclaimed, "I am very happy to be able to feel that the cause taken has turned out so well."⁴⁹

Several historians, however, have said that President Hayes failed, that the South had violated the amendments by not respecting the rights of blacks to vote. The nation remained divided, and the "Solid South" became Democratic, rather than Republican. The Southern conservative Democrats did not join the Republican Party. For most of the South, the end of Reconstruction also resulted in the end of black

suffrage. On 15 October 1877, Congress failed to elect future President Garfield speaker-of-the-house, or even a Republican controlled House. Hayes's policy of conciliation began to deteriorate at that point. Even so, Rutherford B. Hayes must be respected and admired for his non-partisan efforts toward unification, for ending Reconstruction, and for returning self-rule to the South. He has also been credited for initiating the modern day federal bureaucracy through his civil service reforms, but these tangible, textbook contributions cloud a subtler one--one on a more personal, daily life level. President Hayes's Tour-of-the-South gave the people of the South, for the first time since the Civil War, a feeling once again of being American. A South, to further paraphrase Coulter, that could celebrate the Fourth of July and have a country they could love.

".. they had that country under Hayes."⁵⁰

The Photographs

Thomas H. Lindsey had a photography studio in Knoxville from sometime after the Civil War until the late 1880s. As indicated in the *Chronicle*, Thomas H. Lindsey had associates in his business. It was reported that photographs were taken by "artists" of the "Messrs." of Lindsey and Co. According to Massengill, Lindsey was born in 1849 in Virginia of Scottish decent. He moved to Tennessee in the 1870s after serving in the Confederate Army, in Co. B, 23rd Virginia Battalion. He moved to North Carolina in the late 1880's and became a leading Asheville photographer. For a time he was in partnership there with Edward E. Brown under the name "Lindsey and Brown." The firm prospered during the rise in tourism in the 1890's. Lindsey died in 1927.⁵¹

The three photographs by T. H. Lindsey are without question the photographs of the day President Rutherford B. Hayes visited Knoxville on 21 September 1877. Although the quality of the prints prevent positive identification, the stature, beard, and the stereograph's back-mark all support their authenticity. The photograph of the parade scene on Gay Street with the arch requires no authentication and clearly provides a sense of "being there." The platform in front of the Lamar House, is seen to be decorated like the arch with evergreen branches stuffed between the railings. At the south end of the platform more evergreen branches appear to be arranged to represent a small tree. The third photograph, taken either before or after the event, provides details of the platform structure. The branches from the decorations can be seen in a heap at the front

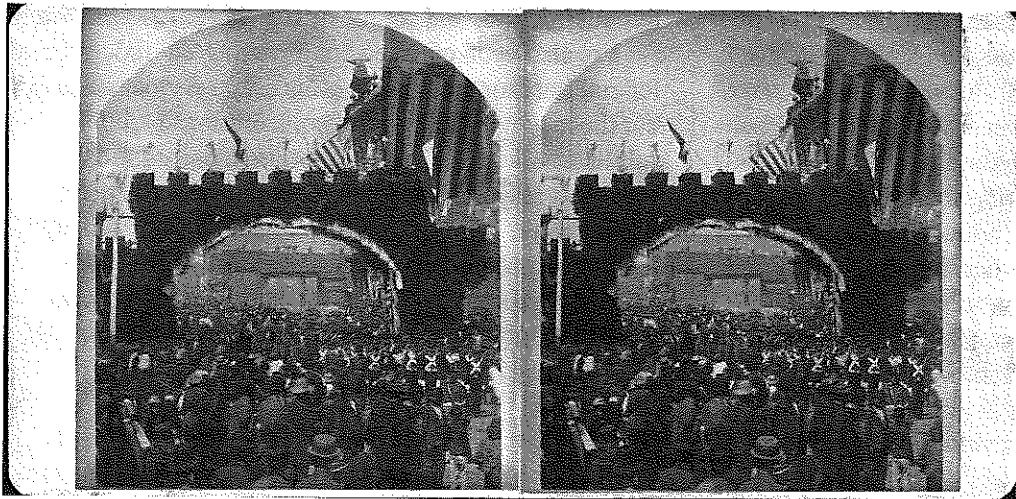
of the platform. (This platform is similar but not the same as seen in the McKinney photograph, an event that occurred over a year before, on 10 June 1876.) The pride and thrill of the occasion can be seen on the faces of the loitering town folks posing for the photographer.

The original stereographs of President Hayes's visit are also shown here. On the reverse of each is an identical back-mark that identifies the publisher as T. H. Lindsey and Co. of Knoxville. In a popular guide to stereo photographers, T. H. Lindsey is listed only as an Asheville photographer who published stereographs in the 1870s. The only listed Knoxville stereo photographers in the cited reference were A. T. Hunt (1870s) and T. M. Schlier (1870s/1880s).⁵²

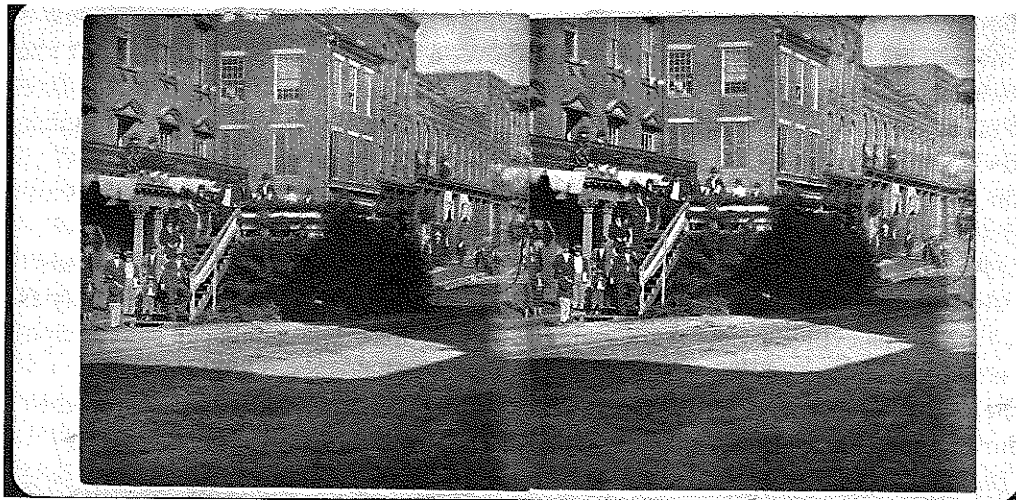
The three photographs shown here, as well as the one of the McKinney Guards referred to in the previous article, "The Day that Rutherford B. Hayes Did Not Visit Knoxville," are presented in a common format of the time known as "stereographs." The required stereographic camera was essentially two cameras combined in one housing with the two separate lenses spaced approximately the same as the human eyes. This produced a pair of photographs which, when mounted side-by-side and viewed through a special viewer, would produce an illusion of depth on the order of human perception. Most Civil War photographs were taken in this format but typically only one of the pair would be used in publications. Millions of stereographs were published from the 1850s through the 1930s and viewed through a "stereoscope," the television of the period.⁵³

Stereographs of President Hayes's Visit to Knoxville, 21 September 1877

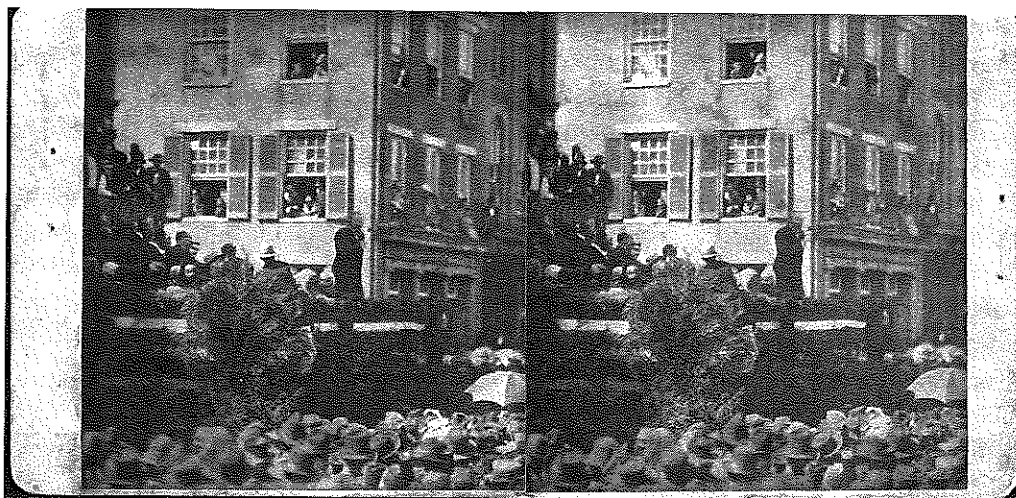
A stereograph camera produced a pair of photographs which, when mounted side-by-side and viewed through a special viewer, produced an illusion of depth. The below stereographs were made by photographer Thomas H. Lindsey. *Courtesy Rutherford B. Hayes Library.*



The presidential party as it passed under the arch.



A special stand was erected in front of the Lamar House for the presidential visit.



A large crowd assembled in front of the Lamar House on Gay Street to hear President Rutherford B. Hayes's address.