1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Grant Cottage

Other Name/Site Number: Grant Cottage State Historic Site

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: 1000 Mount McGregor Road Not for publication:

City/Town: Wilton Vicinity: Wilton

State: New York County: Saratoga Code: 091 Zip Code: 12831

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property		Category of Property	
Private:	___	Building(s):	_X_
Public-Local:	___	District:	___
Public-State:	_X_	Site:	___
Public-Federal:	___	Structure:	___
		Object:	___

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing	
_1_	_1_	buildings
_2_	___	sites
_1_	_1_	structures
___	___	objects
_4_	___	Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 1

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: n/a

DRAFT

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

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

_____ _____

Signature of Certifying Official Date

_____

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

_____ _____

Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

_____

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

___ Entered in the National Register
___ Determined eligible for the National Register
___ Determined not eligible for the National Register
___ Removed from the National Register
___ Other (explain): _____

_____ _____

Signature of Keeper Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:	Domestic	Sub:	hotel
	Domestic		camp
Current:	Recreation and Culture	Sub:	museum

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: Mid-19th Century, Late Victorian

MATERIALS:

Foundation:	Stone, Brick
Walls:	Wood
Roof:	Slate
Other:	n/a

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

Site and Location

Grant Cottage and its current 43 acre grounds are within the towns of Wilton and Moreau, Saratoga County, NY.[1] The cottage is located immediately below the 1,070 foot summit of Mount McGregor, a peak of the Palmertown Range of the Adirondack Mountains.[2] During the period of significance, the cottage was part of an approximately 1,200 acre parcel developed as a hotel within the towns of Wilton and Corinth. After the period of significance, the hotel parcel was redeveloped as a private tuberculosis sanitarium that was subsequently acquired by New York State and used as a veteran's rest home, developmental center, and correctional center until 2014 and is currently vacant. The boundaries of this nomination were established in 2015 following the closure of the correctional center when jurisdiction of 763 acres of the greater parcel were transferred to the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation as an addition to the adjacent Moreau Lake State Park. The Grant Cottage State Historic Site subdivision includes land around all four sides of the cottage, extending down over the railroad bed to the Eastern Overlook, which is a site near the cottage that is closely associated with the period of significance. Also included is the visitors' center, developed after the period of significance.

The cottage is approached today by Mt. McGregor Road, a paved access road originating in 1872 as a dirt carriage road from the hamlet of Wiltonville at the base of the mountain. The road climbs the mountain with a series of switchbacks before reaching the base of the summit. The road forks just west of the property to form a loop around the summit that originally served the greater hotel grounds. The eastbound branch of the fork enters the western edge of the property, curving northeasterly in front of the cottage and exiting the property's north boundary. An additional dirt driveway forming an oval loop with the original road was added east of the cottage after 1885. The original road was paved and likely widened west of the cottage during the early 1900s, and seven paved parking spaces were added just north of the cottage.

The property's topography is extremely irregular and inconsistent resulting primarily from glacio-fluvial activities. The property's cultural resources are located on relatively gentle slopes of two percent to nine percent near the summit. The greater bulk of the property's remaining acreage, located south and east of the summit, drops precipitously with gradients up to thirty-seven percent.[3] The property is generally forested except for the approach road and grassy clearings around the cottage, visitor center, and Eastern Overlook. Where forested, the tree and shrub cover is characteristic of the Palmertown Range, consisting of sugar maple (*Acer Saccarum*), striped maple (*Acer pensylvanicum*), yellow birch (*Betula alleghaniensis*), mountain maple (*Acer spicatum*), American beech (*Fagus grandifolia*), round leaf dogwood (*Cornus rugosa*), white ash (*Fraxinus americana*), witch hazel (*Hamamelis virginiana*) red oak (*Quercus rubra*), American basswood (*Tilia americana*), American hornbeam (*Carpinus caroliniana*), paper birch (*Betula papyrifera*), eastern hophornbeam (*Ostrya virginiana*), eastern white pine (*Pinus strobus*), black cherry (*Prunus serotina*), white oak (*Quercus alba*), chestnut oak

[1] The Town of Wilton was formed from the town of Northumberland in 1818. It is located within the bounds of the "loosely defined" Queensborough Patent from the Mohawks in 1683 through its subdivisions of the 400,000 acre Kayaderosseras Patent (1708), district of Saratoga (1772), town of Saratoga (1788), and town of Northumberland (1798). John H. French, comp., *Historical and Statistical Gazetteer of the State of New York* (Syracuse: R. Pearsall Smith, 1860), 585, 591, and 593.

[2] The range originates along the northern edge of the Lake Champlain basin in Washington County, New York, extends southwesterly through Warren County down both sides of Lake George, is crossed by the Hudson River through a steep and narrow gorge above Glens Falls, and runs through the Saratoga County towns of Wilton into Greenfield where it terminates "in a series of low, irregular hills." French, *Historical and Statistical Gazetteer*, 584, 677.

[3] *Management Plan for Palmertown Range Addition to Moreau Lake State Park* (Albany: New York State Office of Parks, Recreation & Historic Preservation, 2016).

(*Quercus montana*), and eastern hemlock (*Tsuga canadensis*).[4] The current dense forest cover is similar to its extent in 1885, interrupted only by clearings planted with grass around the cottage and at the Eastern Overlook. A stand of conifers remains east of the cottage, thinned from a denser copse present there in 1885.

Grant Cottage (constructed 1874–1878; relocated to present site 1883, contributing building)[5]

Within its first decade, Grant Cottage originated as a small seasonal hotel called the Mountain House (1874–1883) and was relocated 200 feet south to its present site. It was used as a boarding house (1883–1884). The cottage as it appears today results from the adaptation of the boarding house in the spring of 1885 to a large seasonal single family camp dwelling on the grounds of the Balmoral Hotel, a fashionable resort.

Grant Cottage is a vernacular, Late Victorian period, two-story, gable-roofed, traditional wood frame dwelling. The most distinctive architectural feature is the decoratively detailed one-story, hip-roofed, Italianate style verandah wrapped on its east and north elevations. The house is rectangular in plan, measuring forty-three feet north-south by thirty feet east-west built on a rubble stone foundation that is exposed to view along the west (rear) elevation. The verandah floor is built at the level of the first floor of the house. It is twelve feet five inches deep along the east elevation and twelve feet two inches deep along the north elevation. The verandah floor continues as an open deck across the south elevation. The verandah stands on brick pier footings. The lattice panels below the verandah screen the foundation and footings from public view on the principal elevations.

The cottage is sited on a slope. The slope's original prevailing grade was downward from northwest to southeast. This was modified in 1954 when a two-story lean-to addition housing a toilet and built against the south end of the west wall was removed. A concrete block retaining wall was added to raise and level the grade at the southwest corner, resulting in the present prevailing downward slope from west to east. The house foundation stands six feet tall above grade on the south elevation. To its north, the grade has been raised by five feet, retained by a twentieth century concrete block retaining wall aligned with the south foundation wall and extending about ten feet to the west. Elsewhere the grade around the house is original, with the foundation projecting sixteen inches above grade in the northwest corner, four feet in the northeast corner, and six feet in the southeast corner at the grade's lowest point. The foundation originally had five masonry openings located near the south ends of the east and west elevations, north end of the east elevation, and east and west of center on the south elevation. The west opening in the south wall is an original door opening with a batten door that opens to grade and remains in use. The north opening in the east wall is enclosed by boards. The remaining three openings were closed in with brick and rubble stone in around 1891. Apart from the north end of the west elevation, the foundation is screened from public view by lattice panels below the verandah and deck. The deep space below the verandah and deck floors and between the foundation and lattice serves as a sheltered areaway for storage, being full height at the south end and becoming crawl space at the north end.

The first floor level is approached from grade by wooden steps at three locations. A wide flight of seven steps centered on the verandah's east elevation leads to the east door to the parlor. A narrower flight of three steps located east of center on the verandah's north elevation leads to two exterior doorways. Both are in original locations and are used by the public. A service flight of ten steps used by staff is located at the west end of the south deck and leads to the kitchen door. There is also a barrier-free access ramp constructed of wood, added to the north verandah at its west end in 1987.

[4] "Table 2.9-Species List for Calcareous Talus Slope Woodland in Moreau Lake State Park: Trees," typescript, no date [Grant Cottage files].

[5] The source of dates used in the following description is Melissa Trombley-Prosch, "Grant Cottage History," typescript, September 30, 2016.

The plain exterior finish of the cottage is unchanged from the period of significance. The roof eaves extend beyond the wall plane about one foot on the east and west elevations, and approximately six inches on gable end elevations. The eaves faces and soffits are enclosed by plain fascia profiles except for a running molded ogee profile below the slate. The eaves are not equipped with gutters. A continuous fascia frieze board wraps the building below the eaves. It is about ten inches wide on the long elevations and one foot wide below the raking end gables. Below the frieze board, the cottage is trimmed with five-inch wide corner boards bead-molded at outer edges. Walls are sided with painted clapboard with a five-and-one-half inch exposure extending up from the foundation or verandah floor without kick boards. Windows and doors are trimmed with five-and-one-half inch wide fascia architraves. Three doors on the east and north elevations are dressed with projecting hood moldings. These openings have Italianate six-panel door units. The upper four panes, divided by wide mullions are glazed, with the upper two panes shaped with round arch heads. The solid recessed lower two panes are each trimmed with bolection moldings. Windows on all elevations and doors on the south elevation terminate in drip caps above plain fascia lintels. The south door to the dining room holds a solid-four-panel door unit. The south door to the kitchen has four glazed rectangular upper panels over two horizontal solid panels. All doors except the dining room entrance are furnished with late-twentieth century wooden storm doors with glazed upper panels. Windows hold six over six double-hung wood sash throughout. Most windows are furnished with four-pane wooden storms. Nineteen of the building's twenty-five windows are furnished with paired exterior louvered shutters, including all windows on the north and east elevations.

The door trim and verandahs establish the east and north elevations to be more important architecturally than those of the south and west. Fenestration is original except for two windows on the west (rear) elevation added in 1954. The north, gable elevation faced the now vanished Balmoral Hotel in 1885 and is the most formally arranged. It has four symmetrical bays with doors flanking two windows opening on to the porch. Fenestration on the long six bay east elevation, which faced the railroad tracks in 1885, is asymmetrical with a central door flanked by two windows on one side and three on the other. The five openings on the south gable elevation have one second floor window at center positioned lower in height than other second floor windows. The four openings on the first floor are arranged as booked pairs, each with a door closer to center next to a window closer to the corner. The west (rear) elevation, which faced a grove of trees in 1885, has the least formal and only changed fenestration. Five window openings are original, grouped with two vertically aligned windows near the center flanked by two first floor windows north of center and one second floor window in the southernmost bay. The two vertically aligned windows in the second bay north from the southwest corner were added in 1954 when a two-story addition housing toilets was removed. The brick chimney was removed for a central heating system in 1890.

The verandah is the most ornate exterior feature. It is L-shaped in plan, running along the east and north elevations between the southeast and northwest corner boards. The verandah roof is carried by ten piers extending from the deck to a cased beam at the base of the eaves. The eaves are closed with fascia boards trimmed with a large ogee mold below the roof edge and a quarter-round and filet profile along the joint where the eaves rest on the cased beam. Simple scrollwork Italianate brackets are mounted on fascia boards between the piers. The piers are cased and trimmed with chamfered corners and molded capitals. Above the capitals, each pier has a long and heavy Italianate bracket attached to the face of the piers extending up to the eave soffits, and foliated openwork extending from either side. The verandah is bordered by two foot six inch high railings attached near the base of the columns in bays without steps. Each of the three sections of the open north railing consists of two parallel rails with rounded edges supported by two intermediate, square-section spindles extending from the upper rail to the floor and placed two feet from the adjacent column. The five sections of the closed east railing are balustrades consisting of boards cut with baluster profiles placed between rectangular-section rails and capped by a handrail with rounded edges. The balustrade railing extends one section beyond the verandah's southeast column to a low post, closing the east edge of the open deck. The south edge of the

deck, previously sheltered by a retractable awning, is bordered by three sections of a plain railing attached to matching posts. The railing has square section spindles between rails. The verandah and deck flooring is finished with matched unpainted boards placed perpendicular to the adjacent wall. The verandah ceiling is finished with painted matched boards in a similar pattern. Surface-mounted conduit runs near the center of the verandah ceiling with feeds from the north wall. The open area below the verandah and deck floor is screened by painted wood lattice panels placed between the piers and posts and scribed at their base to follow the site's topography.

The interior of the cottage is divided into twelve rooms on the first and second floors above a fully excavated basement. With the exception of the division of one original second floor chamber into two spaces, the existing plan is identical to its arrangement during the period of significance. Apart from the staircase core at the building's south end, the first floor is planned without formal interior circulation. The five first floor rooms interconnect, with four of the rooms accessible from the verandah for privacy. The plan is divided down the center north-south into two ranks of rooms each two bays wide. The east half of the plan is divided as a **double parlor,** a large rectangular space four-bays long in the northeast corner that opens to a smaller parlor, two-bays long, in the southeast corner (called the **dining room**). The west half of the first floor plan is divided into three rooms: a one-bay long room called the **editing room** in the northwest corner, a three-bay room in the center called the **sick room**, and a two-bay room in the southwest corner used as a **chamber** for the family doctor and staff during the period of significance, and later converted to a kitchen for a live-in caretaker.

The closed staircase, entered from the dining room and kitchen, leads to a second-floor stair hall from which the six original sleeping chambers are accessed. The stairwell enlarges in size at the second-floor landing to include a narrow L-shaped passage to its west and south leading to the hall window. The passage is enclosed by a turned railing along the edge of the stairs. North of the landing, the stair hall is rectangular in plan, with its east and west walls angled near the landing to permit access to the south chambers. The second-floor rooms are symmetrically arranged. The two largest chambers at the north end of the plan are accessed from the hall, are internally connected to smaller adjoining rooms to their south, and are internally connected to each other through a doorway in their dividing wall. A large chamber, slightly smaller in size than the north chambers, occupies the southeast corner next to the stairs. The smaller southwest chamber has been subdivided into a one-bay wide lavatory, accessible from the hall with its south end partitioned off as a closet. The south chambers are accessible only from the stair hall.

The rooms throughout retain their original volumes, trim, doors and floor finishes. Floors throughout are painted wood of nearly matched boards, most being four-and-one-half foot wide. Walls are uniformly trimmed with painted baseboard comprised of fascia with a Grecian ogee cap. Windows and doors are trimmed with painted plain fascia architraves surrounded by mitered Italianate backbands. Plaster walls and ceilings meet at right angles without moldings. The parlor walls and ceiling are finished with original wallpaper. Walls in the editing, sick, and dining rooms are finished with period wallpapers similar to original patterns. Second floor chambers are finished with older wallpaper installed by caretakers after the period of significance.

The brick chimney, rising from the basement and located near the center of the plan, was added in the spring of 1885 to provide a hearth in the parlor. Its wide, exposed brick chimney breast projects from the parlor's west wall, featuring a segmental arched lintel over the hearth and an ogee profile, molded-brick mantel shelf above. The brick is painted in the parlor and plastered over on the second floor level, where it narrows and projects into the stair hall. Prior to 1885, the cottage was exclusively heated by stoves exhausted through two brick shelf chimneys in the attic. The stoves were likely removed in 1890 when central heating was introduced with the

addition of a coal furnace in the basement.[6] Cast iron floor grates from this era remain in place in two locations on the second floor. The stove chimneys were removed in 1955.

Alterations to the cottage have been intentionally minimal since the house began receiving visitors informally in 1885 and as a museum in 1890. The only change to the exterior massing has been the elimination of the two-story lean-to addition from the west elevation, which housed a toilet in 1885. Two new windows matching the original treatment were installed in its place in 1954. The verandah flooring and framing have been renewed in-kind. The parlor has been curated with a few changes to present the room exactly as it appeared on July 23, 1885. It features furnishings present on that day, including a patterned area rug, tables, chairs, clock, and the convertible bed in which Grant died. The parlor's 1885 wallpaper, drapes, and other textiles survived to 1949 through the diligence of the site's caretakers, long enough to provide archival preservation and documentation for reproduction.[7] The dining room exhibits dried floral arrangements that accompanied Grant's funeral cortege.

Eastern Overlook (present 1885, contributing site)

The Eastern Overlook is an informal open clearing on a shoulder of Mount McGregor east of its summit. The overlook is irregular in plan, bordered by a curving forest edge at its north, west, and south, and open along the upper edge of a steep cliff at its east. The overlook provides sweeping panoramic views of the broad valley below and the Taconic and Green Mountain ranges to the east in New York and Vermont. The overlook is reached by two short trails through the forest at its north and south ends. The north trail was the nineteenth century path, originally surfaced with gravel, connecting the overlook to the railroad platform and main hotel beyond. It is now overgrown but passable as an unimproved path. The south trail leads directly from the cottage to the overlook, crossing the railroad bed. The south trail does not appear to have been present during the period of significance but is currently maintained as the overlook's primary access.

Several features introduced after the period of significance are located within the overlook. At the south end is a monument (post-1885) marking the location of a rustic gazebo where Grant visited during his stay. The monument consists of a cylindrical concrete base with a small stone marker surrounded by a circular iron fence. The marker reads with raised capital sans-serif letters: "This stone marks/the spot where/General U. S. Grant/had his last view/of the valley/July 20, 1885." Near the north end is a flagpole (ca 1998) with an aluminum base anchored in bedrock. A bronze plaque next to the base reads "Dedicated to/Medal of Honor/Recipients/1861-1998." An interpretive panel with an anodized aluminum frame (late twentieth-early twenty-first century) is located near the flagpole. And two park benches (early twenty-first century) are located along the overlook's west edge.

Railroad Bed and Depot Site (ca. 1883, contributing structure and site)

General Grant arrived at Mt. McGregor by the train traveling this bed in 1885. Like the carriage drive, the railroad bed climbed the summit from Wiltonville, entering the site near the current visitor's center. There the line crossed the roadway, running generally parallel with it to the east of the road. Beyond the access road, the linear railroad bed remains in place and evident in sections through the site. It consists of quarried, rough rubble placed in locations to level the prevailing grade for the hotel era railroad tracks, built in 1883. It was taken out of service by 1900. Within the NHL property boundaries the bed runs approximately north-south between the

[6] The furnace was paid for by G.A.R. member J. Wesley Smith.

[7] The first floor wallpaper was replaced in 1949 for the visit of Grant's grandson, Ulysses III. The replacement papers were of the 1880s period, found in NYC, and great effort was made to locate papers with similar color and patterns to the originals in each room (office/editing room, sick room, parlor, dining room). The wallpaper was again replaced in the office and sick room in 2013. Second floor wallpaper was replaced in 1920s in all rooms with the possible exception of the southwest storage room. The west bedroom, used as a library, had paper replaced again in 1960s.

cottage and Eastern overlook. The bed terminates at its north end within the NHL boundaries in a larger field of rubble that marks the site of the original depot. The bed continues down the mountain beyond the NHL boundaries to the south.

Circulation Road and Parking (noncontributing structure)

The paved circulation road was widened in the early 1900s, and seven paved parking spaces were added north of the cottage in 2005.

Visitor Center (1913, noncontributing building)

The Visitor Center is a one-story building originally constructed as a three-bay garage during Metropolitan Life's sanitarium era. The building was adapted for use as a visitor orientation center by the Friends of Grant Cottage in 2005. The building is rectangular in plan and massed below a shallow-pitched gable roof. Paired two by six inch rafter tails extend beyond the wall planes below the deep overhanging eaves. The walls are constructed of random ashlar. Rectilinear masonry openings are opened with jack arches of elongated stone voussoirs and axe-finish limestone sills. Fenestration on the west, north, and south elevations is original, holding three-over-three double-hung sash in the end elevations and two-pane stationary sash at the rear. The garage bays were enclosed during the building's conversion. Seven paved parking spaces were added opposite the Visitor Center.

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:
Nationally: X Statewide: Locally: __

Applicable National Register Criteria:	A X B X C D
Criteria Considerations (Exceptions):	A B C D E F G
NHL Criteria:	1, 2
NHL Theme(s):	III Expressing Cultural Values 3. Literature
Areas of Significance:	Commerce, Literature, Military
Period(s) of Significance:	June 16–July 23, 1885
Significant Dates:	n/a
Significant Person(s):	Ulysses S. Grant
Cultural Affiliation:	n/a
Architect/Builder:	n/a
Historic Contexts:	XIV. Literature C. Non-Fiction

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

Statement of Significance

Grant's *Memoirs*, completed just three days before he died in this small cottage on July 23, 1886, are exceptionally significant as a work of nineteenth-century America literature. Ulysses S. Grant (1822–1885) was a towering American military and political figure from 1864 to 1880, serving as Commanding General of the United States Army (1864–1869), President of the United States (1869–1876), unofficial diplomat (1877–1879), and presidential candidate (1880). He was an extraordinarily popular figure at the time of his death and the publication of the *Memoirs* reinforced the high regard in which he was held. Grant Cottage in Wilton, New York, represents a distinct phase of his life, when he emerged as a significant American writer authoring the *Personal Memoirs of Ulysses S. Grant* (1885). Grant wrote *Memoirs* between June 1884 and July 1885 at three locations, of which only Grant Cottage remains today. Grant completed the manuscript at the cottage between June 16 and July 21, 1885, working with his son Frederick to draft the final chapters and with his publisher and friend Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens) in correcting the proofs. Following Grant's death at the cottage, *Memoirs* became a landmark work of American publishing and literature.

Sold to hundreds of thousands of households under an innovative marketing plan devised by Twain, *Memoirs* is thought to be the second best-selling book in nineteenth century America and has never been out of print. Civil War veterans, historians, and critics have continuously recognized *Memoirs* as a primary text of the war. Over time, its appreciation has grown in other ways. Written in a clear and conversational voice unfashionable in its time, Grant's direct and economical writing style was posthumously embraced by later American authors. Since the Civil War's centennial in the 1960s, American public figures writing memoirs have routinely cited Grant's work as their model. The story of how the impoverished and terminally ill former president and victorious general raced death, while writing *Memoirs* to provide an estate for his widow, is central to an understanding of Grant as a man. As such, Grant Cottage meets NHL Criterion 1 for its close association with the creation of *Memoirs* between June 16 and July 21, 1885, as well as Criterion 2 as a reflection of the great man's character, determination, and literary legacy.

Development of Grant Cottage (1870–1885)

Prior to the 1870s, Mt. McGregor was called Palmertown Mountain. It was renamed after Duncan McGregor (1808 or 1809-after 1880), a Wilton native who assembled 800 acres "lying upon the mountain and adjacent slopes" and developed "a pleasure-resort of great beauty and attractiveness" on the summit, approached by a carriage road from the hamlet of Wiltonville at its base. McGregor began building the road and clearing the summit in 1872. As described in a contemporary history, it was an "easy roadway" with switchbacks climbing the slopes "making several graceful curves by which the grade is lessened, and the drive made more beautiful and picturesque." He selectively cleared trees to open vistas along the drive and a building site at the summit, removing understory brush from the second growth forest then described as "pine, chestnut, oak, beech, maple and birch," trimming some trees while leaving much of the forest untouched, "…in all the beauty of its wild, lonely solitude."[8] The carriage road followed the edge of the steep east slope below the summit, cleared "…as an open space on the east front" providing "…a wide and pleasing view."[9] McGregor began developing buildings and amenities at the summit in 1874 centered on the building that would become the future Grant Cottage,[10] naming it the Mountain House and opening it for guests in the 1878 season. Mountain House was one

[8] Nathaniel Bartlett Sylvester, *History of Saratoga County, New York*. Philadelphia: Everts & Ensign, 1878, 469.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid. The hotel grounds afforded "ample room for croquet grounds, swings, and winding walks outlined with white stones."

of several rural resorts providing accommodations suitable for men and women, developed in the southern Adirondacks at the periphery of the booming post-Civil War resort development of nearby Saratoga Springs. By 1881, the hotel complex included an attached, glazed dining pavilion, and a separate dining room and kitchen building.

In 1882, McGregor sold the Mountain House and his large "estate" to the Mt. McGregor, Lake George, and Saratoga Railroad Company, a group of investors who redeveloped it as the Hotel Balmoral, a grander and more luxurious resort, accommodating three hundred guests and more in fashion with Gilded Age-era Saratoga Springs. McGregor's hotel building was moved 200 feet southward below the summit to its present site in the fall of 1883 and re-used as a boarding house for the construction workers building the new hotel on its previous site. When the Hotel Balmoral opened in time for the 1884 season it was one of the most modern in the country, serviced by site-generated electric lighting and accessed by a newly constructed narrow gauge railroad from Wiltonville to the summit.

Joseph William Drexel (1833–1888), a banker and forward-thinking philanthropist, was one of the partners who developed the Balmoral Hotel. After retiring from partnership with his brother and J. P. Morgan in the firm of Drexel, Morgan and Company, Joseph Drexel pursued other interests including innovative real estate development in rural locales.[11] Drexel, who owned a fashionable house on North Broadway in Saratoga Springs, purchased the former boarding house in the spring of 1885 to adapt it as an informal summer cottage for his family. The cottage was connected to the hotel's water supply, and akin to contemporary private clubs in the Adirondacks, lacked its own kitchen, being serviced with food prepared at the hotel or main lodge. Drexel was in the midst of converting the cottage for his occupancy when he learned that the Grant family needed a place to summer and to complete the *Memoirs*, and offered its use to his friend. A May 13, 1885, article in the *Daily Saratogian* noted that Drexel's business partner, W. J. Arkell, was arranging extension of the hotel's electricity to the cottage for lighting by the Edison Electric Light Company, and furnishing and decorating by the firm of Green & Waterman of Troy, New York, to prepare the cottage for the Grant family's use.

Mark Twain and Grant (1869–1881)

Mark Twain, a young writer and author of *Roughing It*, first met Ulysses S. Grant at the White House in 1869 during Grant's first term as president. The meeting, as later described by Twain, was brief.

> General Grant got slowly up from the table, put his pen down, and stood before me with the iron expression of a man who had not smiled for seven years and was not intending to smile for another seven. I had never confronted a great man before, and was in a miserable state of funk and inefficiency…I could not think of anything to say…There was an awkward pause, a dreary pause, a horrible pause. Then I thought of something, and looked up into that unyielding face, and said timidly: "Mr. President, I-I am embarrassed. Are you?"
> His face broke—just a little—a wee glimmer of, the momentary flicker of a summer-lightning smile, seven years ahead of time—and I was out and gone as soon as it was.[12]

Sylvester also notes that extensive improvements planned, but yet to be implemented in 1878, included an additional four or five mile carriage drive through the forest, an observatory with views toward the west, and a telegraph line to Saratoga Springs.

[11] Based in New York, Drexel served on boards of the New York Philharmonic Society, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Metropolitan Opera, American Museum of Natural History, National Academy of Sciences, and New York Sanitary Commission. In addition to the Balmoral Hotel, his unusual rural developments included Kjej Grange in Maryland, a planned community where farm lots were sold to poor people at cost, and his own 200 acre gentleman farm outside New York that housed clothed and fed unemployed workers and trained them in agriculture.

[12] Caroline Harnsberger, *Everybody's Mark Twain* (South Brunswick, NJ: A. S. Barnes, 1972), 227–28.

The two men next met ten years later in Chicago at a reunion of Sherman's Army of the Tennessee in Grant's honor. When Twain, now a nationally known writer and lecturer, approached Grant to reintroduce himself, "Before I could put together the proper remark, General Grant said, 'Mr. Clemens, I am not embarrassed—are you?' And that little seven-year smile twinkled across his face again."[13] Twain later gave a humorous but daring toast in honor of Grant, the last of the evening, invoking the audience of veterans to imagine their future commander in chief as a baby struggling to swallow his toe. Twain recalled:

> Gen. Grant sat through fourteen speeches like a graven image, but I fetched him up. I broke him up utterly! He told me that he laughed till the tears came & every bone in his body ached. (And do you know the biggest part of the success…lay in the fact that the audience saw that for once in his life he had been knocked out of his iron serenity.)[14]

The Chicago toast formed a bond of trust between the two men, and they met socially several times after 1879. In 1881, Twain and fellow author William Dean Howells joined Grant at the former president's office at 2 Wall Street in New York. Over a lunch of "baked beans and coffee…of about the railroad-refreshment quality,"[15] Twain suggested that Grant should write his memoirs. As the senior partner of Grant & Ward, a small investment house, Grant was living a comfortable private life and dismissed the idea "…having no necessity for any addition to his income."[16]

Creation and Publication of Personal Memoirs of Ulysses S. Grant (1884–1885)

Twain was not the only person to see the value of Grant's story told in his own voice. In January 1884, *The Century* magazine's editor-in-chief, Richard Watson Gilder, approached Grant to gage his interest in contributing first-hand account articles for a "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War" series planned for publication in the magazine.[17] *The Century* believed that Grant was central to the project since without him the participation of other field commanders on both sides was unlikely. Grant also rebuffed this idea, feeling that his role had been comprehensively addressed in the three-volume *Military History of Ulysses S. Grant, from April, 1861 to April, 1865* written from Grant's field reports by his military aide, Adam Badeau, and published between 1868 and1881.[18] "It is all in Badeau," he replied in rejecting the offer. Grant wrote Badeau on January 21 that he had no interest in writing the articles requested by *The Century*.[19] The magazine postponed the project for a year.

Sixty-two-years old, Grant's situation dramatically changed in early May 1884 when he was swindled in a Ponzi scheme by Ferdinand Ward, his business partner in Grant & Ward. Unbeknownst to Grant, Ward had been buying stocks with investors' funds, lured by stories that Grant had insider information about mythical government contracts. The crisis occurred on May 2 when James D. Fish, President of the Marine Bank and Ward's accomplice, shuttered the bank's doors. The scheme ruined Grant financially and he was thrust back into the national spotlight. His reputation was suspect until he was vindicated by the arrests of Ward and Fish in

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[13] Ibid.
[14] Ron Powers, *Mark Twain: A Life* (New York: Free Press, 2006), 429–31.
[15] Ibid., 452.
[16] Harriet Elinor Smith, ed., *Autobiography of Mark Twain*, vol. 1. Berkeley, University of California Press, 2010, 70.
[17] Gilder (1844–1909) had risen to editor of *Scribner's Monthly Magazine* in 1881 when it was bought by Roswell Smith and renamed *The Century*. Published monthly, *The Century* continued the general interest format of its predecessor, including serializing novels such as those of Twain. *The Century*, however had a stronger interest in American history. Originally planned to run for twelve months, the Civil War series would eventually run for three years and increase the magazine's subscription to 250,000.
[18] Adam Badeau, *Military History of Ulysses S. Grant, from April, 1861 to April, 1865*. 3 vols. (New York: D. Appleton, 1868–1881).
[19] Charles Bracelen Flood, *Grant's Final Victory* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2011), 56.

late May. Public opinion on Grant generally changed to view him as a victim as the facts emerged by the end of the month. Friends and strangers rallied to Grant's support early in the scandal. Political allies in Congress reintroduced a bill to restore Grant's highest rank as General of the Army to retire him with full pay.[20] Determined to pay his debts, yet lacking cash or credit, the Grants reduced living expenses and liquidated assets, dismissing all but one household servant and selling off their horses, carriage, and real estate in Washington, DC, Missouri, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Galena, Illinois, and his rowhouse at 3 East 66th Street in Manhattan. The Grant's retained their seaside villa at 995 Ocean Avenue in Long Branch, New Jersey, and continued to live in their New York City rowhouse through the intervention of William H. Vanderbilt.[21]

Grant's struggle to conceal his anguish from the public and his family was taking a toll. His health was failing. A fall that April had impaired his mobility, requiring him to walk with a cane. Then, on June 2, Grant experienced a sudden sharp pain in his throat, the first symptom of terminal throat and mouth cancer. Although he would postpone an official diagnosis until that fall, the condition caused him much discomfort through the summer of 1884.

Aware of Grant's well-publicized financial distress, *The Century* staff contacted him again through Badeau. This time the reluctant writer agreed to meet with *The Century*'s associate editor Robert Underwood Johnson, inviting him to the Grants' seaside villa in Long Branch to discuss the project.[22] As Johnson recalled, after a discussion of the series' overall goals,[23] Grant explained "the debacle of his fortunes" and that "his changed financial condition had compelled him to consider what resources might be afforded by his pen."[24] Grant agreed to write four articles for $500 each. He quickly drafted the first article at Long Beach on the battle of Shiloh from the manuscripts of his official reports, delivering it to *The Century* on July 1, and immediately started work on a second article on Vicksburg.

Johnson and Badeau were instrumental in transforming Grant into a confident and enthusiastic author in Long Branch that summer. Johnson read the first Shiloh draft with "dismay," but was not discouraged and took responsibility to instruct Grant indirectly and without criticism about what his readers wanted.

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[20] The bill had been introduced by Congressman Joseph E. Johnston, a former Confederate general who had faced Grant on the field at Vicksburg, and the legislation had failed to pass three times. Although it did not pass this time either, it was enacted the following March on the eve of Cleveland's inauguration.

[21] Grant was indebted to Vanderbilt for a loan of $150,000 to Grant & Ward on May 4, when Grant sought to prevent the firm's bankruptcy before understanding its cause. Later, when Grant refused to accept Vanderbilt's willingness to forgive the debt as a personal loan, Vanderbilt offered to take title to the rowhouse while allowing the Grant family to remain there indefinitely. The Grants had believed that they owned the house free of debt but discovered that Ward, entrusted by them to handle the purchase in 1881, invested most of their purchase money in his own account at Grant & Ward and assumed a mortgage held by the sellers. Under these circumstances, Vanderbilt purchased the house outright and took title to the contents from Grant, including his collection of Civil War and presidential memorabilia. After Grant's death, Vanderbilt allowed Julia Grant to give these objects and Grant's books to the federal government. Flood, *Grant's Final Victory*, 43–44. Grant wrote much of *Memoirs* at the New York City rowhouse, which was demolished in the early twentieth century.

[22] The summer house was rented-out by the family in 1885 and ultimately demolished in 1963.

[23] "…the Century War series, through peculiar circumstances, has exerted an influence in bringing about a better understanding between the soldiers who were opposed in that conflict. This influence, of which substantial evidence has been given, North and South, lends additional historical interest to the present work. Many commanders and subordinates have here contributed to the history of the heroic deeds of which they were a part. General Grant, who, in accord with the well-known purpose of President Lincoln, began at Appomattox the work of reconciliation, contributed to the War Series four papers on his greatest campaigns, and these are here included." Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, eds. *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War : being for the most part contributions by Union and Confederate officers (*based on "The Century war series" published from Nov. 1884 to Nov. 1887 *The Century Magazine*). The Century Co., New York, 1887-1888, vol. 1. ix.

[24] Robert Underwood Johnson and Margaret Woodbridge McFadon Willing. *Remembered Yesterdays*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1923, 213–15.

> The General, of course, did not realize the requirements of a popular publication on the war, and it was for me to turn this new disaster of Shiloh into a signal success. This required all the tact I could muster, that he should not be discouraged, and at the same time that our project be saved from the blight of the deadly official report…which is lacking in the personal touch that makes a great battle a vital and interesting human event.[25]

Johnson visited Grant again at Long Branch, drawing him into describing the battle in conversation:

> I then discovered that General Grant, instead of being a silent man, was positively loquacious. He spoke rapidly and long of the two days' battle…he revealed the human side of his experience… I told him that what was desirable for the success of the paper [article] was to approximate such a talk as he would make to friends after dinner, some of which would know all about the battle and some nothing at all, and that the public…was particularly interested in his point of view, in everything that concerned him, in what he planned, thought, saw, and did. This was a new idea to him, and when I told him that I was convinced that he could do what was desired if he would not try too hard, he said that he would begin again.[26]

Grant worked on the first two articles that summer in an upstairs room of the villa with maps and reports spread out on a pine table, accompanied by his wife Julia seated nearby. "All that summer was spent by my dear husband in hard work: writing, writing, writing for bread."[27] By July 15, Grant submitted a second, improved Shiloh draft closer to Johnson's expectations. A week later Grant forwarded a draft of the Vicksburg campaign to Badeau for his approval prior to submitting it to Johnson. Badeau joined the Grant family in Long Branch in late August for ten days. During his stay, Badeau revised the Shiloh and Vicksburg drafts and worked with Grant to outline the remaining articles on Chattanooga and the Wilderness.

By the summer's end the Century Company, confident that Grant's articles could form the basis of a book, began to consider a contract with the promising author. Johnson again visited Grant in Long Branch in early September accompanied by Century's president Roswell Smith to raise the subject of extending the four articles into a book whose title would include the word "Memoirs."[28] Without formally accepting Century's terms, Grant decided to pursue a book, finding that writing the articles "…filled up my time so pleasantly that I concluded to continue the work and write my life to the close of the rebellion."[29] Around this time, Grant arranged with Badeau, the person most familiar with his papers, to resume a working relationship as "something between an editorial advisor and secretary."[30]

The Grants moved back to 3 East 66th Street in early October, with Grant working "five, six and seven hours a day" to complete *The Century* articles and shape the additional chapters for the book following an outline he developed in September. *Memoirs* would include chapters on his ancestry, youth, and experiences in the Mexican War before the Civil War. The book would follow the story to May 23, 1865, when vast crowds gathered in Washington to witness the return of Sherman's army and the final review and dismissal of the combined armies gathered together, six weeks after Appomattox and five weeks after Lincoln's assassination.

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[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Julia Dent Grant, *The Personal Memoirs of Julia Dent Grant (Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant)* (New York: Putnam, 1975), 328–29.
[28] Flood, *Grant's Final Victory*, 61–62.
[29] Grant to George W. Dent, February 16, 1885, quoted in Flood, *Grant's Final Victory*, 70.
[30] Flood,, *Grant's Final Victory*, 69. Badeau maintained that Grant's "proposition" was conditioned on keeping the arrangement entirely secret. Badeau's later suggestions to the press that he ghosted *Memoirs*, a claim embraced by Grant's contemporary enemies but now dismissed by scholars, led to a bitter break in the men's' relationship.

In titling his book *Personal Memoirs*, Grant relieved himself of an obligation to his readers to write about subsequent events in his life that he did not want to revisit. In mid-October he wrote to William Tecumseh Sherman that he was "now about one third through. My idea is that it would be a volume of from four to five hundred pages. But it now looks like it will be two volumes of nearly that number of pages each."[31]

Grant's failing health gave sudden urgency to *Memoirs*. Soon after writing Sherman, the pain in Grant's throat became constant, prompting him to visit Dr. John Hancock Douglas, a throat specialist on the recommendation of his physician, Dr. Fordyce Barker. At the conclusion of the doctor's examination, Douglas gave an incomplete diagnosis suggesting cancer and treated the pain. Grant left the doctor and immediately went to Century's offices by streetcar to inform Smith that he "wants us to publish his book or books."[32] Grant struck Smith as being amenable to a ten percent royalty on each copy based on a projected sale of 25,000. Grant began receiving treatment for pain at Douglas' office twice daily, concealing it from his family until the end of October. In early November, a biopsy ordered by Douglas was confirmed by Dr. George Shrady, a surgeon and microbiologist, as *lingual epithelioma*, cancer of the tongue. The doctors concurred that the cancer had spread too far for surgery and was terminal. As Shrady later wrote, "The wisdom of such a decision was manifested in sparing him unnecessary mutilation and allowing him to pass the remainder of his days in comparative comfort. Relatively, however, it meant suffering for him until the end."[33]

Grant completed *The Century* articles and drafted the bulk of *Memoirs* between November and the following June at a small desk in a small second floor room at 3 East 66th Street. Badeau and Grant's son Frederick worked in a nearby room, organizing the records and maps needed to outline and fact-check Grant's drafts. Badeau regularly presented Grant with a stack of materials and notes about what was being written and discussed with the author how it could fit in. Grant made his own selections from these materials, writing for hours a day, interrupted by occasional visits to his doctors. His servant, Harrison Tyrell, stood by to spray Grant's throat with a solution of cocaine and disinfectant when he observed Grant in pain. Grant sent completed sections to his son and Badeau to check facts and suggest revisions. At times, when he wrote passages that pleased him, he summoned Julia to his side and read it to her. At the end of the day Grant, Badeau, and Frederick met to plan where and how to start the next morning. "Occasionally Badeau would become argumentative about these decisions as to what should come next. Grant would simply stop talking to him."[34]

Twain inserted himself in the process when he learned on November 18 of Grant's imminent contract with Century directly from Gilder.[35] "I wanted the General's book, and I wanted it very much, but I had little expectation of getting it," recalled Twain. Twain visited Grant the next day and urged Grant to renegotiate Century's terms. Grant did not want to be seen as the "robber of a publisher" that had been working with him for months and was skeptical that Century would be open to the terms Twain was suggesting. But Frederick, impressed by Twain's enthusiasm, persuaded his father to postpone signing the Century contract for a day. The next morning Twain visited again with Grant and Frederick and proposed that Grant sell the memoirs to him for more than the ten percent royalty offered by Century. "I have a checkbook in my pocket; take my check for fifty thousand dollars now, and let's draw the contract," adding that he believed he could make $100,000 on the book in six months. Grant remained hesitant, replying that he regarded Twain as a friend and did not want him to lose money. But the General agreed to consult with George Childs, a Philadelphia newspaper publisher and friend whose lawyer had reviewed Grant's contract with Century. Twain, scheduled to appear in Newburgh, New York, that evening, left the details in the hands of Charles L. Webster, his niece's husband who was his

[31] Quoted in Flood. *Grant's Final Victory,* 83.
[32] Quoted in Mark Perry, Mark. *Grant and Twain: The Story of an American Friendship*. New York: Random House, 2004, 68.
[33] Quoted in Flood, *Grant's Final Victory,* 87.
[34] Flood, *Grant's Final Victory,* 88.
[35] Twain was in New York on a speaking tour, and Gilder was editing three sections of *Huckleberry Finn* for publication in *The Century*.

publisher and Frederick.[36] Frederick Grant and Charles Webster, with the continued assistance of Childs' attorney, worked on an acceptable agreement through December and into the next February while Twain was on a reading tour in the Midwest of the recently published *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. As the contract evolved, Twain agreed to terms of unusual generosity for the times: twenty percent gross royalties to Grant on the sales, a $10,000 advance,[37] and at Childs' lawyer's suggestion, Julia as signatory to prevent Grant's creditors from seizing any profits.[38] Even with the generous terms, Twain and Webster were confident that *Memoirs*, by now planned for two volumes, would be a singular success in terms of money and prestige based on an innovative advance subscription plan to sell the final product door to door. Webster & Co. proposed to enlist veterans as canvassers wearing GAR badges and trained by a script written by Twain. "There's big money for both of us in that book and on the terms indicated in my note to the General we can make it pay big" Webster wrote to Twain on February 14.[39] "If these chickens should really hatch" Twain wrote to Webster, "General Grant's royalties will amount to $420,000."[40] Grant also considered the value of the sales plan in finally making up his mind for Webster & Co. to publish his book: "I believe [Webster & Co.] can sell a greater number than the Century. They have no other business which this will come into competition with…Webster offers better terms."[41]

Twain learned of Grant's terminal condition and his selection as publisher on February 21 when the author returned to New York from his reading tour. Although Grant's physical appearance had deteriorated since November when the two men last met, news of his terminal illness was not yet public beyond his immediate family and a few close intimates. On leaving the town house that day, Frederick informed Twain of his father's condition, noting that the doctors' current prognosis was that Grant might live only a few more weeks. This concerned Twain but did not deter him from signing the contract six days later. At this point he understood volume one as lacking two or three chapters while the progress of volume two was unknown. Twain and Webster hastily made a contingency plan, aiming for Grant to complete volume one as the highest priority.[42] Twain cancelled a reading tour in England and Australia to focus on the project, including straightening out the loose ends with Century over the publishing rights to the four articles. Twain also hired Noble E. Dawson as a stenographer to speed the General's writing.[43] From this point on Grant dictated *Memoirs* to Dawson, with the stenographer reading the text back to Grant and making corrections as directed. As Dawson described:

> General Grant dictated very freely and easily. He made very few changes and never hemmed and hawed. Mr. Mark Twain was shown the manuscript of the first volume during one of my dictation sessions with the General. Mr. Twain was astonished when he looked at it and said that there was not one literary man in one hundred who furnished as clean a copy as Grant. The General's sentences rarely had to be revised in any way.[44]

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[36] Twain had recently taken the unusual step for an author to establish his own publishing company, Charles L. Webster & Co. at 658 Broadway in New York with his niece's husband as president, after several negative experiences with other publishers.

[37] Grant however refused the full advance, insisting that it be reduced to $1,000. Twain later wrote that "it was a shameful thing that a man who had saved his country and its government from destruction should still be in a position where so small a sum --$1,000 – could be looked upon as a godsend." Quoted in Flood, Grant's Final Victory, 103–104.

[38] Ibid., 103.

[39] Samuel Charles Webster, ed. *Mark Twain Business Man*. Boston, Little Brown & Co., 1946, 302.

[40] Quoted in Perry, *Grant Twain*, 118.

[41] Quoted in Flood, *Grant's Final Victory*, 129.

[42] Twain wrote to Webster, if missing text is needed "…to be supplied by another hand, they may begin the 2nd vol., not mar the 1st, which must be all General Grant, if possible. Quoted in Thomas M. Pitkin, *The Captain Departs: Ulysses S. Grant's Last Campaign*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois Press, 1973, 31.

[43] Dawson had previously served as Grant's secretary during a post-presidential trip to Mexico.

[44] Quoted in Flood, *Grant's Final Victory*, 130.

Concurrently, Webster began implementing one of the nineteenth century's most successful sales plans, hiring 10,000 canvassers, many veterans trained with script written by Twain, in March to begin obtaining door-to-door subscriptions for the still incomplete two-volume *Memoirs*. The set was offered with three qualities of bindings ranging from paper to leather at three prices. Initial subscriptions exceeded Webster & Co.'s expectations, fueled by news of Grant's terminal condition made public on March 1. Some 60,000 sets were ordered while he was alive,[45] and orders so rapidly increased upon his death that Webster engaged multiple presses and binderies to run double time to complete the orders.[46] By December 1885, the first printing of 200,000 copies was available for shipment domestically,[47] and foreign subscriptions began to be filled.[48]

Grant's uninterrupted progress on *Memoirs* ceased on March 31 when his condition took a sudden turn for the worse. Coming close to death on April 1, Grant rallied, improving enough to resume writing between mid-April and mid-May. During this time the family decided not to summer at Long Beach for financial reasons, renting their cottage and then putting it up for sale. Grant's family and doctors nevertheless desired to get the fading patient away from the onset of New York City's summer. On May 22, the day after Grant penned the dedication for *Memoirs*, Grant wrote to the Librarian of Congress about the disposition of his property noting that he would "soon be leaving the city," his first acknowledgement of plans made to relocate to Joseph Drexel's cottage on the grounds of the new Balmoral Hotel on Mt. McGregor.

On June 16, an oppressively hot day, Grant and a large entourage journeyed from Grand Central Station to Saratoga Springs in a special train consisting of a locomotive, William K. Vanderbilt's private car, and another private car provided by the sleeping car company owned by Vanderbilt's son-in-law, William Seward Webb. The group consisted of Julia, their son Frederick and his wife Ida, daughter Nellie Sartoris, three of their five grandchildren, Drs. Douglas and Shrady, stenographer Dawson, servant Harrison Terrell, "white nurse" Henry McSweeny, an Irish maid, and Frederick's children's French nurse Louise. Others on the train included W. J. Arkell, one of the owners of the Balmoral Hotel,[49] Thomas Cable, the hotel manager, and reporters from the New York newspapers. The train was greeted in Saratoga by members of the GAR who watched Grant transfer to the smaller single car Mt. McGregor train. The train left Saratoga, climbing the steep ascent to the hotel's small wood platform at the summit of Mt. McGregor. Too weak to walk from the platform to the cottage, Grant was conveyed in a wicker chair borne by two Saratoga policemen.

Grant spent the first five days adjusting to his new accommodations. He was largely confined to the cottage; his mobility was limited to the first floor rooms and the large verandah that wrapped three sides of the building. The small northwest room was set up as an office where some of the writing and much of the final editing was done. Next to it was a room that became known as the "sick room" or "sick room office" containing two large leather chairs, also conveyed on the train from New York, where Grant tried to sleep and sometimes write. Adjoining that room in the southwest corner was the servant's room occupied by Terrell, McSweeney, and sometimes the physicians. The large parlor occupied most of the building's east side, adjoining a dining room in the southeast corner that was largely unused. The upstairs rooms were occupied as bedrooms by the rest of the family. Grant also spent time seated on the verandah writing. On June 25, Grant visited the hotel at the summit, conveyed part way in a Bath chair. Twice he ventured from the cottage to the Eastern Overlook, the first time

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[45] J. Waugh. *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant: A History of the Union Cause*. Marquette University Press, Milwaukee, 2003.

[46] A. B. Paine. *Mark Twain, A Biography: The Personal and Literary Life of Samuel Langhorne Clemens*. Harper & Bros., New York, 1912, 816.

[47] W. A. Friedman. "Selling U.S. Grant's Memoirs: The Art of the Canvasser, in *Birth of a Salesman: The Transformation of Selling in America*. Harvard U. Press, Cambridge, MA, 2004.

[48] "Demand for Gen. Grant's Book," *New York Times*, December 3, 1885.

[49] Arkell later admitted to the *New York Tribune* a less charitable motive in welcoming Grant to his Balmoral Hotel. "I thought if we could get him to come here to Mount McGregor, and if he should die there it might make the place a national shrine, and incidentally a success." Quoted in Waugh, 197.

on June 17, the day after he arrived, walking with a cane and assisted by Terell, and the second time on July 20, the day he completed *Memoirs*, in a Bath chair. The panoramic view from the overlook was of great interest to Grant, taking in the Saratoga battlefield to the south and Whitehall, the southern port of Lake Champlain and birthplace of the American navy to the north.

Grant returned to work on *Memoirs* on June 21. He arrived with Volume One in printed proofs but still subject to his final edits, and Volume Two an incomplete manuscript partially in Grant's hand and partially in Dawson's. At Mt. McGregor, Grant added three short chapters and a chapter titled "Conclusion," dictating up to ten new pages a day to Dawson in a low voice. Twain visited Grant over the weekend of June 29-30, hoping to wrest away the author's final corrections to the Volume One proofs but leaving without them. Between periods of writing Grant received numerous visitors who came on other business or simply to say goodbye. Among them was Robert Underwood Johnson who visited Frederick about the final proofs of the Vicksburg article for *The Century* on July 8. When Grant learned of Johnson's visit he insisted on seeing him to convey his thanks for the *The Century*'s staff "acting the part of the gentleman," despite Grant's choice of Twain to publish *Memoirs*.

"I am a verb instead of a personal pronoun," grant wrote in a note to Dr. Douglas near the end. "A verb is anything that signifies to be; to do; or to suffer. I signify all three."[50] Grant died at 8:08 on July 23 in the front parlor in a piece of convertible furniture in which a bed folded out from a desk. Few Americans at that time were unaware of the events that brought Grant to Mt. McGregor, as sketched by his wartime secretary and biographer Adam Badeau.

> His whole life had been a drama, in spite of him, full of surprises and startling results and violent contrasts, but nothing in it all was more unexpected than this last scene, this eager haste, not in business nor in battle, but in literary labor: this race with Death, this effort to finish a book in order to secure a fortune for his family.[51]

Grant Cottage After 1885

The Grant family's brief stay in June and July that year was the cottage's only occupancy for the seasonal residential use intended by the renovation. After Grant's death, Drexel decided to preserve the building's interior for public visitation. The cottage began receiving visitors informally immediately in 1885 and soon after was staffed by a live-in caretaker on the second floor. Drexel first offered it to the federal government, then to the Grand Army of the Republic (G.A.R.). His own premature death in 1888 interrupted legal arrangements in process.[52] Drexel's executors established the Mount McGregor Memorial Association to preserve and maintain the cottage, and transferred the cottage on a small buffer lot as an inholding within the hotel grounds to the new association on February 19, 1889. The building was renamed Grant Cottage, formally opening to the public in 1890 as a historic site operated with funds raised by the G.A.R. It received 15,000 visitors that first year.

The Hotel Balmoral burned to the ground in 1897 and was not rebuilt. The hotel's central electrical generator, water supply and railway were abandoned. Alternative systems were introduced to the cottage to maintain the caretaker, including re-lamping with kerosene lights, cistern-collected water, and an earth closet replacing an earlier water closet. Grant Cottage remained open, reached from the main rail line by the old carriage road. In

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[50] Quoted in J. Waugh. *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant: A History of the Union Cause* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2003), 201.

[51] Adam Badeau, *Grant in Peace: From Appomattox to Mt. McGregor, A Personal Memoir.* S. S. Scranton & Co., Hartford, 1887.

[52] *The New York Times* reported on the day of his death, "It has been proposed that the cottage should be deeded to the Government,...that fences should be put around it, and that it be preserved about as the Grant family leave it."

1900, Governor Theodore Roosevelt signed legislation to provide state funding to supplement the increased costs of maintaining, improving, and operating the now isolated site.

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company purchased the former hotel property surrounding the cottage in 1912, assumed maintenance of the access road, and redeveloped the grounds on the south slope below the cottage as a tuberculosis sanitarium for its employees. The buildings of the sanitarium, designed by architect D. Everett Waid, were sensitively sited with deference to Grant Cottage, and they are the built environment surrounding the cottage today.[53] Available documentation indicates that changes to Grant Cottage were relatively minor during the sanitarium era (1912-1945) despite the State's intermittent efforts to remedy the caretaker's living conditions.[54]

Metropolitan Life sold its property surrounding the cottage to New York State in 1945, which adapted the sanitarium buildings and infrastructure for a series of institutions until 2014: the Mount McGregor State Veterans' Rest Home (1945-1960), an annex of the Rome State School (1960-1965), the Wilton Developmental Center (1965-1975), and Mt. McGregor Correctional Center (1981-2014). The cottage remained in the Association's ownership until 1957, but the State began to assume greater responsibility for its upkeep in 1941, following the death of long term caretaker Martha Clarke, a GAR widow. This work included: replacement of the septic tank (1942), repainting second floor trim and repairing floors (1943), replacing first floor wallpaper (1949), carpentry repairs to the porch (1950), introducing new electric service (1953), removal of the two-story water closet/earth closet addition (1954), remodeling of the kitchen, introducing a bathroom, and replacement of the central hot air furnace (1955). Following transfer of title to the State in 1957, the cottage was administered by State Historic Sites (1957-1966), the New York State Historic Trust (1966-1972) and the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation (1972-present).

Since 1992, Grant Cottage has been operated by, and administered in partnership with, the Friends of Ulysses S. Grant Cottage under an agreement with New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation. Under the joint stewardship major improvements have been made in the site's condition and interpretation including major repairs to the verandah framing and floor boards. In addition to Grant Cottage, the Friends have operated a visitor center since 2005 in a former sanitarium garage building (1913), nestled into a shoulder of the hill on the approach to the cottage.

Comparable Properties

As noted, the two other sites where Grant worked on his memoirs are no longer extant. Apart from battlefields and the White House, three properties associated with the life of Ulysses S. Grant are designated as NHLs. The U. S. Grant Boyhood Home in Georgetown, Ohio (NHL, 1985), is where Grant lived as a young boy, leaving in 1839 at age seventeen to enter the West Point Military Academy. Today it is a private house museum. "White Haven," in St. Louis County, Missouri (NHL, 1986), belonged to Grant's wife's family. The couple met there and also lived there for a short time in the 1850s. It is now a unit of the National Park System. The Ulysses S. Grant Home in Galena, Illinois (NHL, 1960), is where Grant resided after the Civil War, 1865–1867, prior to going to Washington, DC to serve as Secretary of War. He also returned here briefly after his presidential term

[53] Metropolitan Life itself was another legacy of the Civil War, founded as the National Union Life and Limb Insurance Co. and issuing policies to soldiers and sailors. The sanitarium's development and history is described in Dave Hubbard, "Met Life Sanitarium (notes for a presentation at Grant Cottage)," typescript, n.d. Waid (1864-1939), a future president of the national AIA (1924) was architect for Metropolitan Life during the company's early twentieth century expansion.

[54] State records from 1928 and 1933 noted the absence of modern toilet facilities, cistern supplied domestic and potable water, and continued lighting with kerosene lamps. State officials encountered physical difficulties providing new underground services due to the proximity of rock near the surface, as well as the caretaker's resistance to "any change whatever." Cited in Melissa Trombley-Prosch, "Grant Cottage History," typescript, September 30, 2016 4-5.

was over. It was given to the Grants by the citizens of Galena in grateful recognition of Grant's service to the nation in the Civil War. It is maintained as a house museum. These properties are associated with Grant's early life and adult careers, but none of them are directly related to significant aspects of Grant's later life as is the Grant Cottage.

Ulysses S. Grant's Legacy as a Writer

Grant's life is distinctly American. His sudden rise from relative obscurity remains one of the great stories of American opportunity and leadership, and his determined drive to reverse his financial ruin, and provide for his family, by completing *Memoirs* while terminally ill epitomizes American grit. Grant's first person account of the Civil War from the vantage of the victorious military commander is, by itself, a singular primary historical document without equal. It was widely regarded as such prior to publication in 1885 and remains so today. Over time, *Memoirs* has earned additional recognition and significance as a model of its genre and writing style.

"The hero of Appomattox" was seen by his contemporaries as a simple "silent man" of action who established a role model for a general in modern warfare. This persona was promoted by Grant himself and reinforced in numerous biographies written by the Civil War generation.[55] A re-examination by scholars during the war's centennial discovered a more complex, multi-dimensional figure within the silent man. Synthesizing four decades of re-evaluation of Grant, historian Ronald C. White describes "the nature of Grant's greatness" as a puzzle with many, often contrasting pieces: he was modest and humble yet magnanimous and morally courageous, decisive yet understated, strong but gentle, an accurate judge of military character but too often a poor one of business and political associates. But perhaps the most underappreciated facet of Grant's character, evident to White in Grant's military orders and personal letters to intimates, especially Julia, was an "imaginative depth" capable of expressing hopes, struggles and fears.

> Grant possessed formidable intellectual capacity. He had the novelist's gift for the thumbnail sketch of character, dramatic setting of mood and introduction of the telling incident; he had the historian's ability to summarize events and incorporate them in the larger narrative; he had the topographer's feel for landscape and the economist's instinct for material essentials… At the end of his life, Grant wrote one of the finest memoirs of American letters, which modern American presidents invariably refer to when they write their own. In this last piece of the puzzle, one question must be asked: Accomplishing such a literary feat required extraordinary gifts; did we miss something along the way?[56]

Initial nineteenth century reaction to *Memoirs* was mixed, which is not surprising within the context of Grant's stature as the post-war military victor of a bitter civil conflict who had been elected to the presidency. He was a hero to most but also a villain to many others. *Memoirs* as history drew praise from military leaders of both sides, GAR veterans, and other northerners for its non-judgmental exposition, theme of reconciliation and peace among former foes, and Grant's modesty in downplaying his central role. Supported by substantial documentation, Grant's measured and objective account of his biography and the Civil War was favorably reviewed as truthful in *Atlantic Monthly*, *The Nation* and *The Dial*.[57] But there were detractors. With the Civil War still fresh in many minds, those disinclined to accept Grant's account found it, "… full of blunders and flat contradictions of official reports…" and fundamentally unreliable.[58]

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[55] Not all were favorable. Historian Joan Waugh, for example, traces how Grant's reputation as a warrior was tarnished soon after his death by historians influenced by the Southern "Lost Cause" perspective. Waugh, *U.S. Grant: American Hero, American Myth*, 185–91.

[56] Ronald C. White, *American Ulysses: A Life of Ulysses S. Grant* (NY: Random House, 2016), xxiv-xxvi.

[57] *Atlantic Monthly* 57 (March 1886): 419–24; *The Nation* 42 (February 25, 1886): 172–74; and *The Dial 7* (March 1886): 57–58.

[58] *Southern Historical Society Papers* 14 (1886): 574–76.

Grant's writing style succeeded in connecting *Memoirs* to his core northern audience and making it a commercial success. In her evaluation of the place of *Memoirs* in American culture, historian Joan Waugh observed:

> Grant portrays himself as a representative character of the victorious North. His writing style is simple and clear, even conversational at times and utterly disarming. In adopting this style, he consciously invites the reader to appreciate the good, solid, unthreatening virtues of a typical northerner, who like himself, lived in a free-labor society.[59]

The conversational writing voice, coaxed from Grant by Johnson and Twain, stood apart from the mainstream of nineteenth century American literature. Grant, an avid reader of popular fiction, knew well and enjoyed its embellished indirect style. It was *Memoirs'* simple, straightforward, unpretentious phrasing "…with never a touch of grandiosity or attitudinizing, familiar, homely even common in style…" that led the book reviewer in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* to praise it as "a great piece of literature, because great literature is nothing more nor less than the clear expression of minds that have something great in them, whether religions, or beauty, or deep experience."[60] "He wrote as he talked, simple, unadorned, manly," wrote political cartoonist Thomas Nast. But literary tastemakers Henry James and Henry Adams used the same lack of prosaic flourish as cause to dismiss Grant's writing skill out of hand. The English poet and essayist Matthew Arnold (and Confederate sympathizer) found Grant's "English without charm and without high breeding" but with "…the high merit of saying clearly in the fewest possible words what had to be said, and saying it, frequently, with shrewd and unexpected turns of expression."[61]

Over the next eighty years, as the centennial of the Civil War approached, *Memoirs* grew in stature as a literary work. Prominent early twentieth century American writers, including Gertrude Stein (whose father was a canvasser) and Sherwood Anderson, cited *Memoirs* as an important stylistic influence in their work.[62] On the eve of the centennial, critic Edmund Wilson ranked *Memoirs* with *Walden* and *Leaves of Grass* as "a unique expression of the national character… Perhaps never has a book so objective in form seemed so personal in every line. The tempo is never increased, but the narrative, once we get into the war, seems to move with the increasing momentum that the soldier must have felt in the field." [63] "Oddly, it was the president perhaps least known for his intellectual powers who wrote the most famous book we have by a president about his own life," wrote Pulitzer Prize winning Grant biographer William McFeely, praising the *Memoirs* as offering "…. a splendid demonstration of the entanglement of politics and war and an even more impressive grasp of the wholeness of the conflict. There is no false humility; he allows himself to stay at the center of his story (which he does not permit to do him discredit), but what impresses the reader is his historian's quiet grasp of a total experience. The individual anguish of dying men is lost, but the contours of the ceaselessly changing events of the war are strongly drawn by a writer who is a fine craftsman."[64] John Y. Simon, the editor of Grant's papers, perceived a "grace of expression" in *Memoirs*.[65]

This period of Grant's life and his late flowering as a writer in *Memoirs* has been a growing subject of recent scholarly examination. Charles Bracelen Flood's *Grant's Final Victory* (2011) reconstructs in detail the context

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[59] Waugh, *U.S. Grant*, 202.
[60] Quoted in Waugh 209.
[61] Quoted in George Packer, "*Dead Certain*: Review," *The New Yorker*, Nov 29, 2010.
[62] Stein,7.
[63] Edmund Wilson, *Patriotic Gore: Studies in the Literature of the American Civil War*. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1962.
[64] William S. McFeely, "The Personal Memoirs of Ulysses S. Grant." *History Today* 32: 12, 1982.
[65] John Y. Simon, *Ulysses S. Grant: One Hundred Years Later*. Springfield, IL: Illinois State Historical Society, 1986, 255.

and sequence of events leading to the publication of *Memoirs*. [66] Mark Perry's *Grant and Twain: The Story of an American Friendship* (2004) explores the mutual beneficial influences both men gained from their collaboration in *Memoirs*.[67] The commercial significance of *Memoirs* within American business history is profiled in W. A. Friedman's "Selling U.S. Grant's Memoirs: The Art of the Canvasser" (2004).[68] Contemporary book critics now regularly recognize *Memoirs* as exemplary and significant, especially when reviewing military and political autobiographies of living authors who cite it as a model.[69]

The public is most familiar with the successes of Ulysses S. Grant as military leader because of his role as commander of the Union forces during the Civil War and his failures as civilian leader through the scandals of his Presidency. But few people are aware of Grant's abilities and success as an author. No other property associated with Grant recognizes his work as an author. The end of his life was as nationally significant from the perseverance and strength he showed while terminally ill to the important and well received book he produced during this time. No other extant site with integrity retains as direct and significant association with that work, *Memoirs*, or the remarkable story of its creation by a leading figure of late nineteenth century in the United States.

[66] Flood, *Grant's Final Victory*,

[67] Mark Perry, *Grant and Twain: The Story of an American Friendship*. Random House, New York, 2004.

[68] W. A. Friedman, "Selling U.S. Grant's Memoirs: The Art of the Canvasser." *Birth of a Salesman: The Transformation of Selling in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).

[69] For example, Herbert Mitgang, "*It Doesn't Take a Hero*: It's Not the Last Word, but it's Firsthand and Fast," *New York Times*, September 30, 1992. George Packer, "*Dead Certain*: Review," *The New Yorker*, Nov 29, 2010.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

__ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
_X_ Previously Listed in the National Register. NR#71000557, Listed February 18, 1971
__ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
__ Designated a National Historic Landmark.
__ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #
__ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

__ State Historic Preservation Office
__ Other State Agency
__ Federal Agency
__ Local Government
__ University
_X_ Other (Specify Repository): Grant Cottage, Wilton, New York

10. GEOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

Acreage of Property: 9.9 acres

UTM References:	**Zone**	**Easting**	**Northing**
1	18	602027	4784082
2	18	602301	4783979
3	18	602369	4783585
4	18	601942	4783525
5	18	601859	4783808
6	18	601867	4783910

Verbal Boundary Description: The boundary of Grant Cottage is shown as the solid line on the accompanying map entitled “Grant Cottage, Towns of Moreau and Wilton, Saratoga County, NY”.

Boundary Justification: The boundary includes the property and resources that were historically part of the Grant Cottage State Historic Site that maintains historic integrity.

11. FORM PREPARED BY

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Date: February 28, 2016 (DRAFT)

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NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS PROGRAM
September 6, 2017

Figure 1: Albany Journal. "Last photograph of Gen. Grant, four days before death." July 1885. Camera facing south from outside north verandah. Courtesy of Library of Congress.

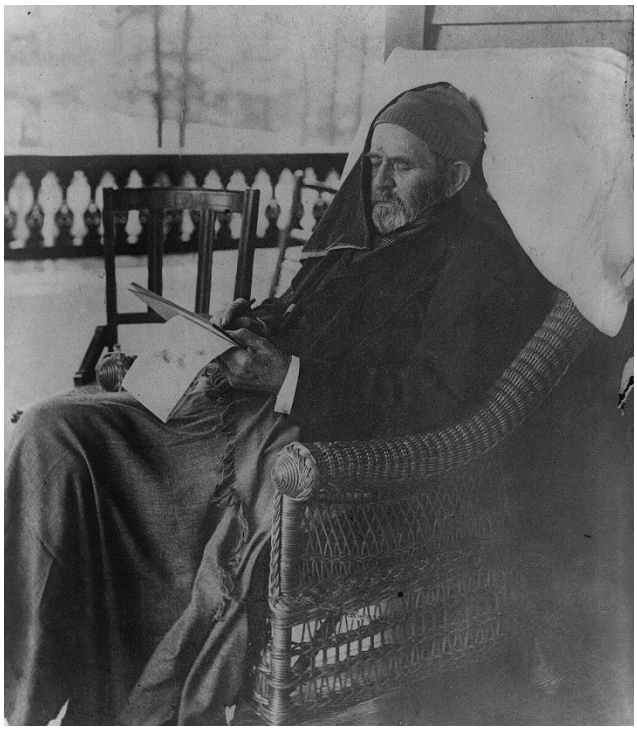


Figure 2: Howe? Photograph by. "Gen. U. S. Grant, writing his memoirs at Mr. McGregor, June 27, 1885." Camera facing southeast from within north verandah. Courtesy of Library of Congress.

Figure 3: Grant family portrait on steps of north verandah, July 1885. Camera facing southwest from outside north verandah. Courtesy of Library of Congress.

Figure 4: Northeast parlor following Grant's death, 1885, camera facing north. Courtesy of Library of Congress.

Figure 5: "Existing Conditions, Grant Cottage, East and North Elevations," 1972. Delineator D. Manley, New York State Historic Trust. Courtesy of Friends of Grant Cottage.

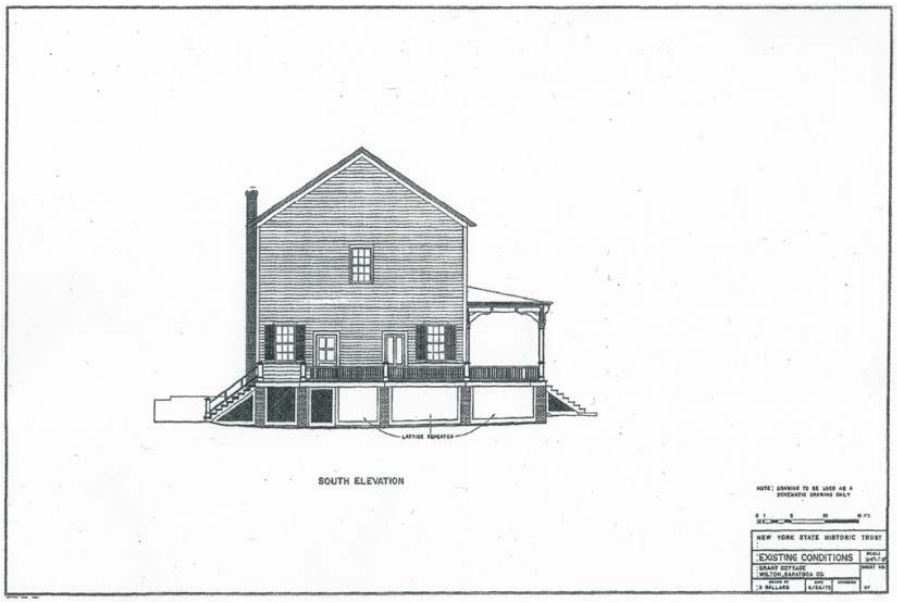


Figure 6: "Existing Conditions, Grant Cottage, South Elevation," 1972.
Delineator D. Manley, New York State Historic Trust. Courtesy of Friends of Grant Cottage.

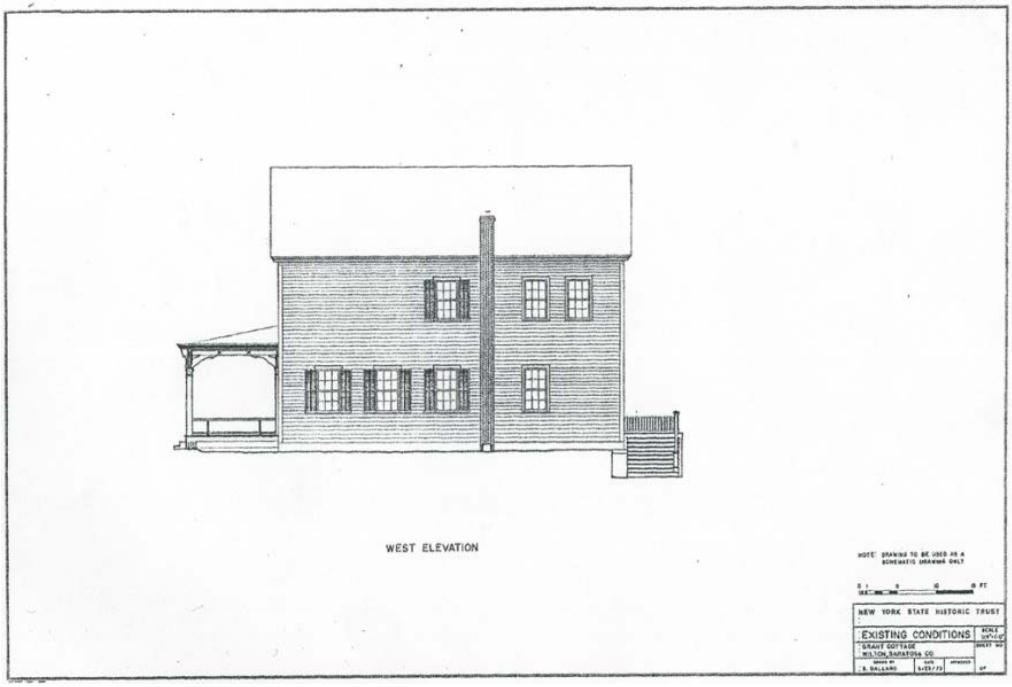


Figure 7: "Existing Conditions, Grant Cottage, West Elevation," 1972.
Delineator D. Manley, New York State Historic Trust. Courtesy of Friends of Grant Cottage.

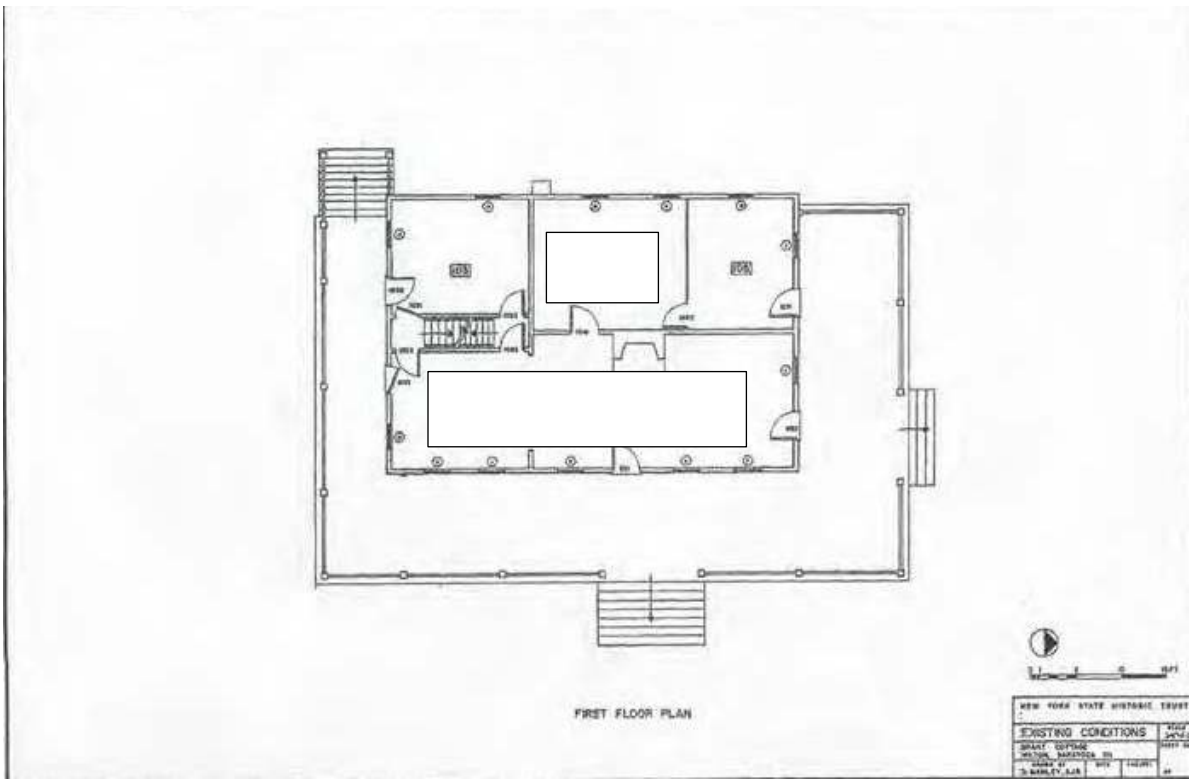


Figure 8: "Existing Conditions, Grant Cottage, First Floor Plan," 1972.
Delineator D. Manley, New York State Historic Trust. Courtesy of Friends of Grant Cottage.

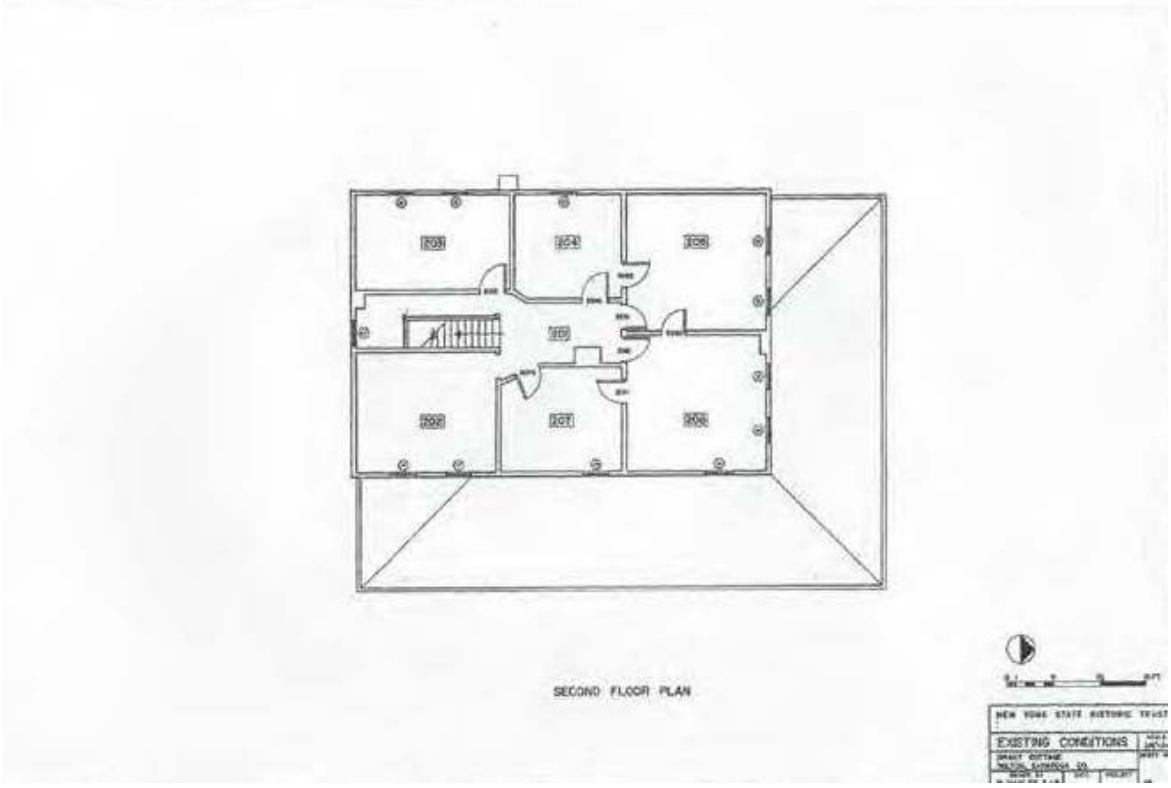


Figure 9: "Existing Conditions, Grant Cottage, Second Floor Plan," 1972.
Delineator D. Manley, New York State Historic Trust. Courtesy of Friends of Grant Cottage.

Photo 1: South and east elevations, camera facing northwest.
Photograph by Wes Haynes, October 2016

Photo 2: North elevation, camera facing southwest.
Photograph by Wes Haynes, October 2016

Photo 3: North and west elevations, camera facing southeast.
Photograph by Wes Haynes, October 2016

Photo 4: East verandah, camera facing south.
Photograph by Wes Haynes, October 2016

Photo 5: Large north parlor, the room where Grant died, camera facing north.
Photograph by Wes Haynes, October 2016

Photo 6: Small south parlor, camera facing south. The room exhibits floral sprays from Grant's funeral cortege. Photograph by Wes Haynes, October 2016

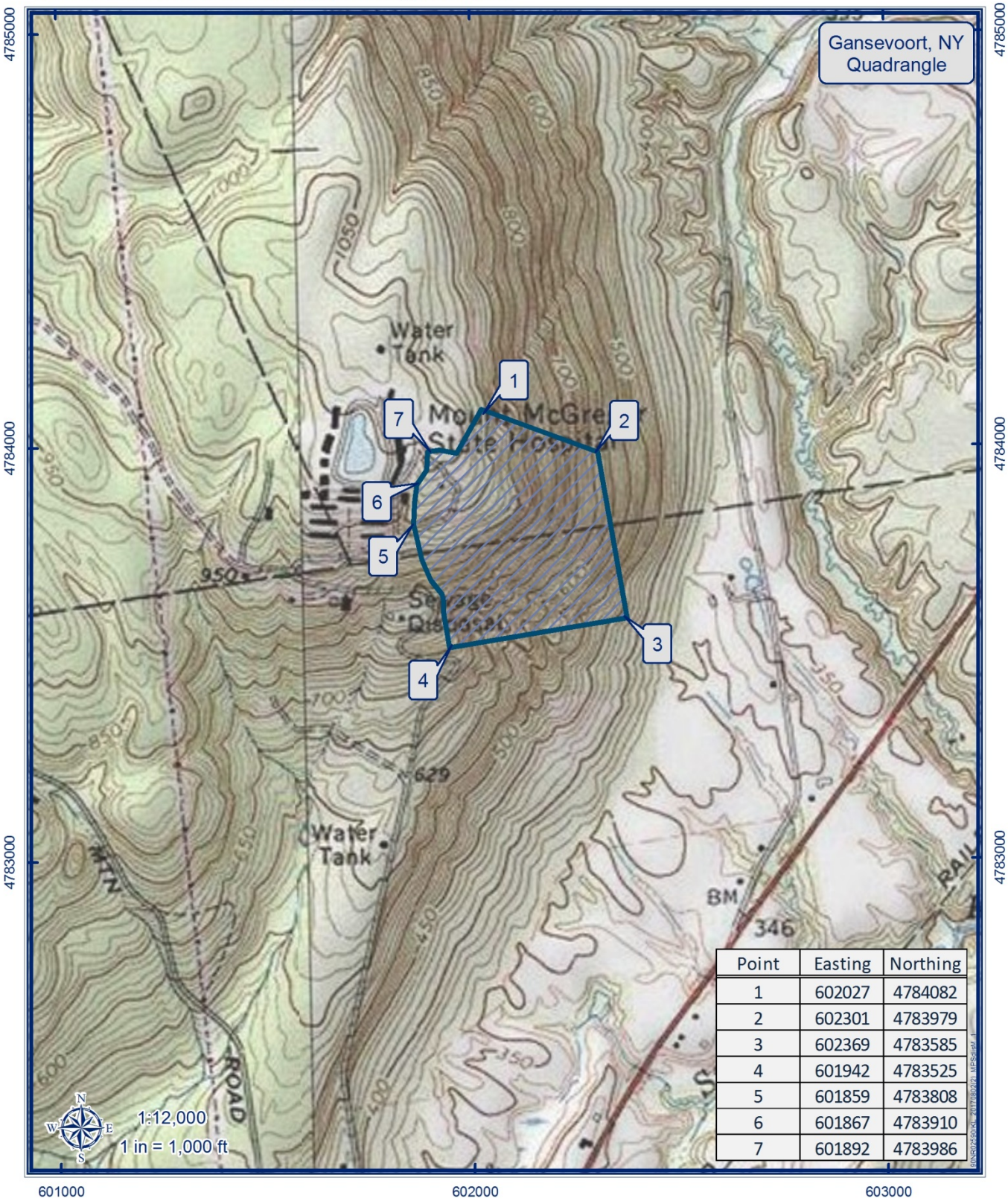
Photo 7: "Sick Room," camera facing south. When inside, Grant slept and worked on *Memoirs* seated on paired leather chairs brought from his New York residence.
Photograph by Wes Haynes, October 2016

Photo 8: Eastern Overlook, view toward the Champlain Valley and distant Taconic and Green Mountains to the northeast. The monument in the foreground marks the site of a rustic gazebo from which Grant took in the view. Photograph by Wes Haynes, October 2016

Photo 9: The south and east elevations of the site's visitor center, adapted from a sanitarium-era garage located southeast of Grant Cottage along the approach road, camera facing west.
Photograph by Wes Haynes, October 2016

Grant Cottage
Towns of Moreau & Wilton, Saratoga Co., NY

1000 Mt. McGregor Road
Gansevoort, NY 12831



Point	Easting	Northing
1	602027	4784082
2	602301	4783979
3	602369	4783585
4	601942	4783525
5	601859	4783808
6	601867	4783910
7	601892	4783986

Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 18N
Projection: Transverse Mercator
Datum: North American 1983
Units: Meter

Feet
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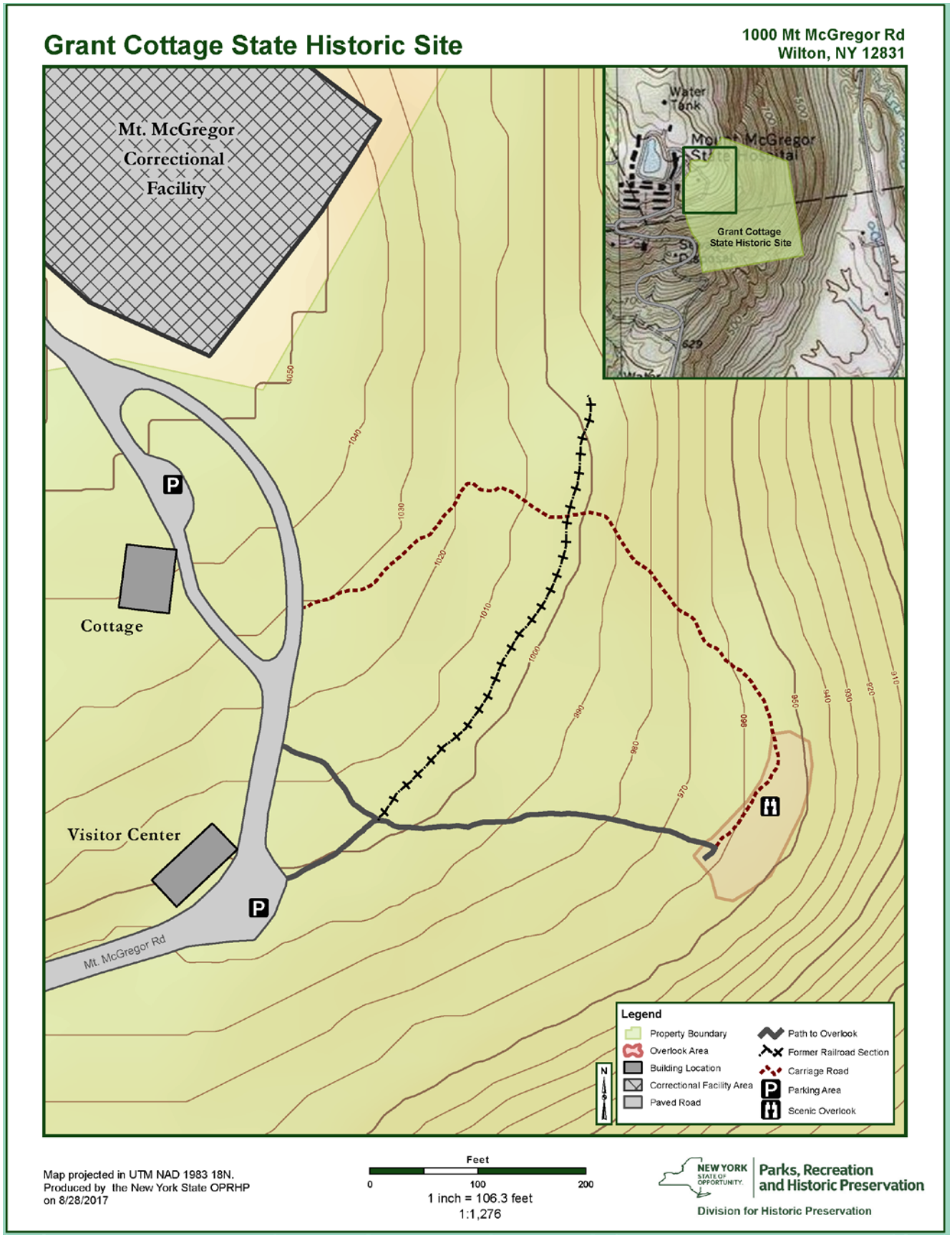
Grant Cottage

NEW YORK STATE OF OPPORTUNITY. Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation


Grant Cottage State Historic Site
1000 Mt McGregor Rd
Wilton, NY 12831
Mt. McGregor Correctional Facility
Cottage
Visitor Center
Mt. McGregor Rd
Water Tank
Grant Cottage State Historic Site
Legend
Property Boundary
Overlook Area
Building Location
Correctional Facility Area
Paved Road
Path to Overlook
Former Railroad Section
Carriage Road
Parking Area
Scenic Overlook
N
Map projected in UTM NAD 1983 18N.
Produced by the New York State OPRHP
on 8/28/2017
Feet
0
100
200
1 inch = 106.3 feet
1:1,276
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Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation
Division for Historic Preservation