HENRY ADAMS; THE LOST YEARS

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HENRY ADAMS; THE LOST YEARS

By

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A THESIS

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The Making of a Publisher

In the autumn of 1905 Henry Altemus took in a new thing: a publisher the manuscript of a book he had just written. In 1906, having had the hundred copies privately printed, Altemus sent them "to persons interested, for their criticism, correction and suggestion."[1] One of those was his brother Charles, and with it Henry sent a note typical of the ones he sent to other "persons interested":

> I am sending you a volume which contains a certain number of personal allusions which you can identify from the index. Will you please write me the circumstance, and in case you object to any thought or expression, will you please blue pencil it through it, and, at the end, return me the volume. [2]

The book was The Editor of Henry Altemus. Dealing as it did with most of the important persons in his work and highlights in the history of the nineteenth century, there were many names of "persons interested" in which Altemus had no way of his life and time.[3] Charles did

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1. Henry Altemus, The Editor of Henry Altemus: An Autobiography, p.vii. Hereinafter referred to as Autobiography.

2. The Letters of Henry Altemus, 1902-1910, ed. by W. S. Ford, p.179. Hereinafter referred to as Letters, Ed.

3. Charles' letter to William Dean Howells, Ms, MH. Howells had received from Altemus a copy of the Autobiography in a somewhat risible little book dated December 7, 1907: "Dear Mr. Howells: After this dark night of time and separation we [illegible] the opportunity of putting a little copy of your autobiography [illegible] and remember me! For, truly, a copy...I humbly looked in the index for the word 'Howells'...and I'm not myself ashamed, (long as I've been) of having made of Howells a more unusual book or not, or words to that effect. Seriously, my blood would wipe out a debt of gratitude, but you are still [illegible] by the living gods, and I who have owing all these years still considered you as about 40!) so that it remains [illegible] this volume I will compound the injury.

"I may add that autobiographies are [illegible] like [illegible] and

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Adams did not release to the general public until 1918, and then it was found that he had himself assigned its raison d'etre:

> Any schoolboy could see that man as a force must be measured by motion from a fixed point. Psychology helped here by suggesting a unit -- the point of history when man held the highest idea of himself as a unit in a unified universe. Eight or ten years of study had led Adams to think he might use the century 1150-1250, expressed in Amiens Cathedral and the Works of Thomas Aquinas, as the unit from which he might measure motion down to his time, without assuming anything as true or untrue except relation. The movement might be studied at once in philosophy and mechanics. Setting himself to the task, he began a volume which he mentally knew as 'Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres: A Study of Thirteenth-Century Unity.' From that point he proposed to fix a position for himself, which he could label: 'The Education of Henry Adams: A Study of Twentieth-Century Multiplicity.' With the help of these two points of relation he hoped to project his lines forward and backward indefinitely, subject to correction from anyone who should know better. 5

Autobiography, therefore, was not the sole purpose of the book. Adams utilized the autobiographical technique only to demonstrate the effects of "Twentieth-Century Multiplicity" on one reasonably astute observer. But he did not tell his life story in the Education. Of the years that are most significant in his personal experience, the years during which he wrote a multi-volumed historical study, taught at Harvard, edited an

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the only books I let myself buy outside of metaphysical treatises, and that I have the most extraordinary longing to read yours in particular.

"Pray indulge me in this appetite, and believe me, wishing I could see you sometime, yours always faithfully." This letter is cited by W. C. Ford, Ibid., but it does not appear in The Letters of William James, ed. by Henry James.

4. For the correspondence relating to the publication of the Education, see Letters, II, 635, 637 and 639, and H. D. Cater, Henry Adams and His Friends: A Collection of His Unpublished Letters, passim. Hereinafter referred to as Henry Adams and His Friends.

5. Education, pp. 434-435.

important magazine, dabbled in national politics, published two novels, experienced personal tragedy, and roamed all over the world he left no record in the Education; biography was subordinated to "Twentieth-Century Multiplicity." My desire here is to sketch in the broad biographical outline of the twenty crucial years on which Adams himself is silent, to indicate his interests and activities, and so fill up something of the biographical gap which he left.

II

The story of Henry Adams begins in the heart of England in the year 1603.[6] There, one Henry Adams courted and eventually married a girl named Edith, the daughter of a certain Henry Squire. This farmer Adams, holding land from the Lord of the Manor of Barton St. David, lived and reared his family in quiet anonymity until about 1636; and then, succumbing to the pressures, both economic and political, on the English yeomanry, he moved to the New World, and settled at Mt. Wollaston near Boston. On the eighth of October, 1646, having established a foothold for his family, Henry Adams died, leaving "a house and barn, a cow and calf, some pigs, furniture and utensils, and three beds..."[7] For the succeeding two hundred years the family remained quietly prosperous, but by the middle of the eighteenth century, "without warning, like a fault in the geologic record, there is a sudden and immense rise

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6. For the best concise account of the origins of the Adams family see James Truslow Adams, The Adams Family, pp.1-8.

7. Ibid., p.5.

recorded in the psychical energy of the family."[8] For the next century and a half members of this family achieved and maintained national and even international position. From the middle of the eighteenth century through the first decades of the twentieth, the family maintained this preeminence not by the aid of great wealth or hereditary title, but by sheer intellectual ability. The family produced at the same time an ardent revolutionist and an objective constitution maker. It included two presidents of the United States, an ambassador to England, a President of the Union Pacific Railroad, and one of the nation's greatest historians[8] in four consecutive generations. What is the cause of such concentration of vitality and ability?[9] We cannot know. But we can trace some of the forces acting on the Adams family which helped to make Henry Adams what he was.

III

Henry Adams was pressingly aware of the Adams tradition: he recorded its pressure in the famous opening pages of the Education:

> Under the shadow of Boston State House, turning its back on the house of John Hancock, the little passage called Hancock Avenue runs, or ran, from Beacon Street, skirting the State House grounds, to Mt. Vernon Street, on the summit of Beacon Hill; and there, in the third house below Mt. Vernon Place, February 16, 1838, a child was born, and christened later by his uncle, the minister of the First Church after the tenets of Boston Unitarianism, as Henry Brooks Adams.

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8. Ibid., p. 8.

9. Ibid.

> Had he been born in Jerusalem, under the shadow of the Temple and circumcised by his uncle the high priest, under the name of Israel Cohen, he would scarcely have been more distinctly branded, and not much more heavily handicapped in the races of the coming century, in running for such stakes as the century was to offer; but, on the other hand, the ordinary traveller, who does not enter the field of racing, finds advantage in being, so to speak, ticketed through life, with the safeguards of an old, established traffic. Safeguards are often irksome, but sometimes convenient, and if one needs them at all, one is apt to need them badly. A hundred years earlier, such safeguards as his would have secured any young man's success; and although in 1838 their value was not very great compared with what they would have been in 1760, yet the mere accident of starting a twentieth-century career from a nest of associations so colonial -- so troglodytic -- as the First Church, the Boston State House, Beacon Hill, John Hancock and John Adams, Mt. Vernon Street and Quincy, all crowding on ten rounds of unconscious babyhood, was so queer as to offer a subject of curious speculation to the baby long after he had witnessed the solution. 10

Aside from the immediate family connections, the most important complex of ideas or climate of opinion forming the "nest" of colonial ideas was the "Brahmin Pattern"; a combination, as Professor Parrington has noted, of the "ideals of culture, of scholarship, [and] of belles lettres"[11]; but the greatest of these was culture, desired for its own sake. Scholarship and education formed the shortest route to culture, and on this road, Adams was early started.

Formal education at the "select private school of Master David B. Tower" and later under Master Epes Sargent Dixwell, erstwhile master of the Boston Latin School, was not nearly so important to Adams as the

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10. Education, pp. 3-4.

11. Vernon Louis Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought, III, 435.

influence of his father and his home.[12] By his own admission, Adams has confirmed this (though it must be noted that Adams' admissions must be examined most critically): "Country schools," he wrote, "are not very serious." The serious things, the things which "stuck to the mind" were "home impressions". If these things which "stuck to the mind" constitute education, then Adams began his in the Brahmin pattern early in life:

> ...As influences... none compared with the mere effect of the back of the President's bald head, as he sat in his pew on Sundays, in line with that of President Quincy, who, though some ten years younger, seemed to children about the same age....It was unusual for boys to sit behind a President grandfather, and to read over his head the tablet in memory of a President great-grandfather, who had 'pledged his life, his fortune, and his sacred honor' to secure the independence of his country.... [13]

Soaked in the Adams tradition, Henry found in his father the embodiment of this heritage added to the incarnation of Back Bay Brahminism. Charles Francis Adams was not given to smiling at the vagaries of his sons, but seated in the second floor library on Mount Vernon Street, surrounded by his eighteen thousand volumes, he exerted a profound intellectual influence.[14] In this room Adams watched his father edit the works of his great-grandfather; and here also he saw the writing of

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12. For a complete discussion of Adams' pre-Harvard education consult Ernest Samuels, The Young Henry Adams, pp. 4-8. Hereinafter referred to as The Young Henry Adams.

13. Education, p. 15.

14. The Young Henry Adams, p. 8.

editorials for the _____.[15] If this was [illegible] true, by this time thoroughly acclimated to the local climate and initiated [illegible] Marxist theory, [illegible] some other [illegible].[16]

By June, 1871, [illegible] was [illegible] "well" for the first time since the days of Mr. Pinwill's school in Leytonstone, and able to [illegible] use of [illegible] joy with this experience was [illegible]."[17]

By this time, "the restless [illegible]" for which "Mr. [illegible] College",[18] and in the fall of that year Henry took it. His [illegible] universities on Marxism [illegible] four years at [illegible] College, he asserted, "gave [illegible] a mild" and proclaimed, "[illegible] successful", in "an [illegible] block, a mind on which only [illegible] mark had been stamped."[19] [illegible] thoughts. "The [illegible] nothing for me the social [illegible]." [illegible] something about [illegible] thing--he had never heard the name of Karl Marx or any of his [illegible]. His courses in philosophy "[illegible] like a [illegible]". Toynbee College was a "[illegible]." [illegible] the four years

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15. When Henry, [illegible] doubts, his father [illegible] one of the owners and an editor of this newspaper, a position which he held for ten years. See [illegible], Jr., _____ (London: [illegible], n.d.), p. [illegible].

16. Cf. _____, p. [illegible], and _____, p. [illegible]. See also [illegible] to Henry's [illegible] in _____ and _____, pp. [illegible].

17. _____, p. [illegible].

18. Ibid.

19. _____, p. [illegible].

would have been easily put into the work of any four months in after life."[20] Forty-odd years after he had left the Yard, Adams still felt that the college "taught little, and that little ill, but it left the mind open, free from bias, ignorant of facts, but docile."[21]

Adams' most recent biographer has called all this censure of Harvard College into question.[22] "One is struck," says Professor Samuels, "by the persistence of certain [of Adams'] fundamental ideas;" and these fundamental ideas, it is implied, were achieved during the four years Adams spent at Harvard.[24]

It is dangerous thus to assert the intellectual poverty of any

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20. *Ibid.*, p.60.

21. *Ibid.*, p.55.

22. Cf. *The Young Henry Adams*, pp.10-70. Harold Dean Cater, reviewing this book for the New York Times *Book Review* (Dec. 5, 1948, pp.14-16) asserts that "it is in no sense biography," but rather, "an English professor's study of some of the aspects of Adams' intellectual life." This is a cavil. The record of Adams' intellectual life up to the age of forty is necessarily largely a record of his books and trans-[illegible] or [illegible].

23. *The Young Henry Adams*, p.1[illegible].

24. Professor Samuels is on the verge of a good point without quite realizing it. Insisting on the principal influences of the "[illegible]" and the ideas finally [illegible] in the youth of Henry, he then proceeds to find that the results of these influences came only from Harvard College. Despite the long and elaborate analysis of the Harvard curriculum of 1854-1858, it is difficult to state just where or when Henry achieved his "fundamental ideas." Moreover, Professor Samuels is too rigid as to what constitutes "fundamental ideas"; the ideas underlying the *History* and the *Mont-Saint-Michel* are probably not the same and there is reason to believe that they were incompatible. But one would be foolish indeed to assert that at the time of composition, [illegible] as the "[illegible]."

man, and doubly so when that man has spent his entire life in ardent pursuit of nothing but "fundamental ideas." Moreover, Adams, despite his dilettant facade, was capable of almost Herculean intellectual labors, and it is entirely possible that the man who could produce the books and letters and other literary documents which Adams left, and at the same time carry on a vigorously active social life, could cram the intellectual content of Harvard's mid-[illegible]th century curriculum into "any four months of after life."

But in the Harvard of the 1850's, even as now, the things of the mind were not the total picture of college life. Adams was elected to the Hasty Pudding Club, the Literary Institute of 1770, availed himself of the lectures of such men as Thackeray and Horace Mann, Edward Everett and Rufus Choate, and was named editor of the Harvard Magazine. In addition to these manifold activities, Adams exercised and developed his life-long talent for friendship: Roony Lee, son of General Robert E. Lee, Henry H. Richardson, the budding architect, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. were among his associates. He was on intimate terms with the members of his own clique: Benjamin Crowninshield, Nicholas Anderson, Hollis Hunnewell, Joseph Bradlee, Daniel Payne, William Endicott, and James May.[25] His college friendships he later characterized as a "disappointment,"[26] but on reflection he saw that his association with his

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25. For the record of Adams' collegiate friendships and some anecdotes of his college life, see Henry Adams and His Friends, pp.xvi-xxiii. Cf. also James T. Adams, Henry Adams, pp.47-48, and the Education, pp.55-58.

26. Education, p.55.

follows at Harvard "was a sort of education for its own sake."[27]

Adams' friends returned his warmth. At the close of his college career he was elected Class Orator, and his name appeared before that of every other officer.[28] What Adams said in his oration has not been recorded, but "he naturally remembered what was said of it":

> One of the elderly gentlemen noticed the orator's "perfect self-possession." Self-possession indeed! ... Self-possession was the strongest part of Harvard College, which certainly taught men to stand alone, so that nothing seemed stranger to its graduates than the paroxysms of terror before the public which often overcame graduates of European universities.... He was ready to stand up before any audience in America or Europe, with nerves rather steadier for the excitement..." [29]

Despite his sureness of his ability to stand alone, Adams badly needed to be confirmed in his self possession: he was forced to conclude that after four years of college, "he knew nothing. [His] education had not begun."[30]

IV

Having weighed one education and found it wanting, Adams turned to Germany, and, ostensibly, to the study of civil law. Neither Henry

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27. Ibid., p.52.

28. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.xxi.

29. Education, p.69.

30. Ibid.

of his independence than the civil law,[31] [illegible] proved the only place to [illegible] to find it.[32] Besides, several of Adams' classmates were going to Germany, [illegible] if he did not desire to [illegible] the crowd, he still [illegible] as he [illegible] had suggested such a trip. In September, however, [illegible] Henry [illegible] aboard the *Persia*, "[illegible], longest and [illegible] afloat."[33] The first thing [illegible] in a [illegible] with the civil law [illegible] politics: his father had been elected to Congress. [illegible] to know that the family influence was still potent, [illegible] faithfully reported to his brother Charles:

> Here I am, then, in Berlin...independent; without [illegible] and [illegible], hating the language and yet grubbing into it....I go about to the Galleries and Museums, and [illegible]....[34]

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[31] See *Education*, p.71. Cf. also *Henry Adams and His Friends*, p.xviii; *The Young Henry Adams*, pp.[illegible]; [illegible] *Henry Adams*, p.[illegible].

[32] For a discussion of some other possible reasons for Adams' going to Europe see *The Young Henry Adams*, pp.[illegible].

[33] See *Henry Adams and His Friends*, p.xiii and note. This date is based on [illegible] in the *Diary Journal of Benjamin Crowninshield* which was utilized by Cater. There is a discrepancy in dating between this journal and the *Education*, p.71, the latter putting the date of departure [illegible] later. Since the *Journal* was contemporary [illegible], it is thought to be a more reliable [illegible]. The earliest [illegible] letters [illegible] from Berlin [illegible], 1858. Cf. *Letters of Henry Adams*, I, 1.

[34] *Letters*, I, 1.

Education in the new country came swiftly. The language was a barrier barely [illegible]; but there was more to [illegible] than the language. Manners and behavior, and even Wagner, quickly [illegible] Adams:[35]

> I was [illegible] a little [illegible] in his life, to [illegible] to the old school, in [illegible], to [illegible] at [illegible], but he could [illegible] it, and [illegible] it as [illegible], positively, not to be [illegible].[36]

But behind the "[illegible]" and the [illegible] reached the German boy's ego, and that effectually barred him from his pursuit of the civil law for which he had come to Germany. In desperation, he entered a public school for young boys, hoping thereby to grasp the rudiments of the language. Four months later he could stand it no longer.[37] His letters home show his "neither...in good spirits [illegible]...good temper";[38] he had decided that "Boston's a little place, but damn me if it isn't preferable to this cursed hole." Nothing about Germany pleased him now: German society, German palaces, German lodgings, German chess, German food and even German [illegible].[39] Leaving Berlin, he went to Dresden, and finding that his handy letters, he spent the summer touring Italy and Switzerland, Germany and Holland.[40]

Returning to Dresden in the fall for [illegible] letters [illegible] to go,

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35. The Education, p.[illegible].

36. Education, pp.[illegible].

37. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.[illegible].

38. Letters, I, 22.

39. Ibid., 22-23.

40. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.xxvii.

he had rescued by his sister, Mrs. Kuhn. The following April she took Adams into Italy with her. They arrived just as Austria was mobilizing to fight the annexation of Napoleon III and Cavour. Italy placed her finest troops on the Alpine frontier under the command of Garibaldi.[41] Adams lasted an eighty-mile ride. He wrote a series of letters --fifty-two of them in all--recording his impressions of events in Italy, and sent them off to Charles, who immediately turned them over to Boston and New York newspapers for publication. Their appearance, over the initials "H. B. A.," established Adams' reputation as a reporter.[42] By July 1, 1860, he was in Paris, and, as he wrote to his brother in Washington, ready to come home.[43]

V

Adams spent the winter of 1860-61 in Washington--a time and place calculated to test the strongest character. He had returned for a time to the quietness of privacy, "the old block," he wrote, "with a drop of lead".[44] But political events lifted the quiet scholar from that calm he was

> ...tossed into a sphere by a sudden energy which

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41. For an account of Adams' activities in Italy see "Henry Adams and Garibaldi, 1860," American Historical Review, 37 (July 1932), 741-757.

42. See, also, The Education, pp. 72-75; Henry Adams and His Friends, p. viii; Letters, I, 70, 72.

43. Letters, I, 80-81.

44. Education, p. 80.

> played with all his generation as a cat plays with mice. The simile is none too strong. Not one man in America wanted the Civil War, or expected or intended it. A small minority wanted secession. The vast majority wanted to go on with their occupations in peace. 45

But Adams had no occupation. Invited to accompany his father to Washington in the role of private secretary, he "plunged at once into the lurid atmosphere of politics." Adams knew at once the significance of events to come. Immediately on his arrival in the capital he dispatched a long letter to his brother, proposing

> ...a series of private letters to show how things look. I fairly confess that I want to have a record of this winter on file, and though I have no ambition nor hope to become a Horace Walpole, I still would like to think that a century or two hence when everything else about it is forgotten, my letters might still be read and quoted as a memorial of manners and habits at the time of the great secession. 46

For the secessionists Adams felt an animosity that was not lessened by the passing of fifty years: They were always for him "unbalanced in mind -- fit for medical treatment, like other victims of hallucination." They were "ignorant of the world" and "mentally one-sided, ill-balanced, and provincial to a degree rarely known."[47]

Adams had no intentions of hiding his anti-secession lights under a bushel. Remembering his experiences as a correspondent in Italy, he made arrangements with the co-editor of the Boston Advertiser to act as

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45. Ibid.

46. Letters, I, 65.

47. Education, p.100.

its Washington representative.[48] Naturally, in view of his position as private secretary to a member of Congress, he desired that his newspaper connections be kept secret. Arriving in the city on December 1, he sent his first dispatch to Boston dated only a week later. "The feeling here," he reported, "is that nothing will do any good until secession has been tried."[49] He was right. By January the nation, both North and South, was face to face with the possibility of civil war; and Adams the columnist was dealing with issues that led to bloodshed. Following the lead of his father, Adams constantly counselled moderation. His plea was apparently heeded by some, for when Charles Hale arrived in Washington to take over the job of correspondent for the Advertiser, he continued to write in the same vein.

As soon as he was released from the obligations of his newspaper work, Adams sought another task for his pen. He thought the secession battle won, and therefore proposed to record it for posterity. In February, 1861, he wrote to his brother:

> In my belief everything is going to simmer down and wise men will keep quiet. The next administration will give us trouble enough, and I for one am going upon the business or the pleasure that shall suit me, for every man hath business or desire such as it is, and for my own part -- look you -- I will go and write an article for the Atlantic Monthly, intituled [sic] 'The Great Secession Winter of 1860-61'. [50]

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48. The only treatment of this period of Adams' life is made in The Young Henry Adams, pp.77-97. For his work as a correspondent of the Boston Advertiser see especially pp.81-82.

49. Cited in The Young Henry Adams, p.84.

50. Letters, I, 82. This article was printed in the Massachusetts

Sometime in April, Adams decided that his article was unworthy of publication. He sent it to his brother Charles with the following note:

> As you will see on reading it over, it is not worth printing. If it had been I should have given it to you before. But finding that it was not going to be a success, I just finished it and laid it by, thinking that though as a whole it is a failure, there are still some parts of it which might be put to use. 51

Henry Adams, notes Professor Samuels, "was making progress as an author. He now had two unpublished manuscripts."[52]

But the secession battle was not won; it had merely been postponed. When Congress adjourned in March, Adams' usefulness in Washington ceased. There remained no alternative course for him but to return to the paternal home in Boston.

VI

Looking forward to a quiet summer, Adams was again "tossed into space by an unknown energy."[52] On the nineteenth of March, "hardly a week"[53] after his return to Boston, his father received telegraphic announcement of his appointment to the Ambassadorship to the Court of

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Historical Society Proceedings, 43, 656. For an able analysis of Adams' argument in this paper see The Young Henry Adams, pp.81-82.

51. This letter is cited without documentation in The Young Henry Adams, p.83. It does not appear in either Letters or Henry Adams and His Friends and is not published with any of the letters printed separately.

52. Education, p.98.

53. Ibid., p.110.

St. James. Henry's brother Charles noted in his diary the effect of that telegram on the family:

> It fell on our breakfast-table like a veritable bomb-shell, scattering confusion and dismay. It had been much discussed in Washington, but Seward had encountered so much difficulty, and the President had seemed so intent on the nomination of Dayton, that the news finally came on us like a thunderbolt. 54 My mother at once fell into tears and deep agitation; foreseeing all sorts of evil consequences, and absolutely refusing to be comforted; while my father looked dismayed. The younger members of the household were astonished and confounded. 55

For Adams and America, events following the explosion of that "veritable bomb-shell" flew fast. On April 13, 1861, "the storm [of civil war] burst and rolled several hundred thousand young men like Henry Adams into the surf of a wild ocean... to be beaten about for four years by the waves of war."[56] Charles, who had been a member of the Fourth Battalion of Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, was ordered to active duty at Fort Independence in Boston Harbor.[57] By May 1, Henry and his father and mother, his younger brother Brooks, and his sister Mary boarded the Niagara and sailed for Liverpool. The "waves of war" had washed Adams

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54. William L. Dayton of New Jersey was strongly favored for the post by President Lincoln. Cf. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., Charles Francis Adams, p.144.

55. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., Charles Francis Adams, 1835-1915: An Autobiography, p.107. For the political backgrounds leading to C. F. Adams' appointment, see Charles Francis Adams, Jr., Charles Francis Adams, pp.138-147. See also Education, p.110.

56. Education, p.111.

57. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., Autobiography, p.114.

into a sheltered cove on the shores of England: there, for the next seven years, he may have been "beaten about," but this experience was to become one of his most useful ventures in education.

The vast and complex diplomatic history into which Adams entered during the war need not detain us. It is only necessary to note that once he had made up his mind that he was occupied in the sphere for which he was best suited, he devoted all his energies to hasten a Union victory.[50]

Not the least part of those energies he [illegible]. Acutely aware of the importance of events even prior to the firing on Fort Sumter, Adams had made arrangements to exert his influence through American newspapers. Through his acquaintance with Henry J. Raymond he had opened to him the columns of the New York Times. He was, in point of

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50. Adams was not immediately aware that he belonged in London during an American civil war. In his first letter to his brother Charles he commented at length on the War, and by the middle of July he declared that he would "give my cocked hat and kneebreeches to be with [Gordon's Regiment] at this moment." After that he kept up a steady fire of requests to Charles for a commission in the army. Adams promised that he could be home within three weeks and if Charles failed to procure him a commission he would come home and get one for himself. Charles tried to advise calmly, but the incessant demands from Henry finally caused him to boil over: "Here is your field, right before your nose, in which you could be of real service, and you want to rush away to do what neither education nor nature fitted you for -- what others could do as well or better, and get your head knocked off without doing the least good. If you have any energy use it where you are and where it can be of value. If you haven't any keep out of the army... Wake up and look about you and make yourself useful and don't jog on in this cart horse way, or bray over your harness and wish yourself a blood-horse, with McClellan, instead of a jackass who can't break his traces." A Cycle of Adams Letters, ed. by W. C. Ford, 2 vols., I, 24, 30-31. Hereinafter referred to as Cycle.

fact, its accredited London correspondent,[59] though the arrangement was of necessity kept absolutely secret from everyone but Raymond and Adams' brother Charles, who acted as his agent.

Adams wrote well but not too wisely. He was "angry and hateful" about Britain's actions in the war, and stormed that "war [with England] was not only possible, but inevitable."[60] American foreign policy antagonized him, too:

> Good God, [he ranted to Charles] what's got into you all?... You're mad, all of you. It's pitiable to see such idiocy in a nation. 61

James Truslow Adams has made the only comment possible on such an outburst:

> One hesitates over what to wonder at most, the colossal egotism of a young man holding his own against a world of 'bloody fools' or the sight of a son of a Minister writing to the newspapers that the country to which his father is accredited intends war against his own. 62

Eventually his work for the New York Times led him into difficulty. Acting on a suggestion from Charles,[63] Adams went down to Manchester

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59. The Young Henry Adams, p.97.

60. Cycle, I, 83.

61. Ibid. This whole letter of 13 December, 1861 indicates clearly the state of mind of the American Legation in London. C. F. Adams either could not or would not permit himself the luxury of such a temper tantrum. But Charles, seeing the war from Boston Harbor, did not even deign to notice it. For a concise account of Charles' attitude towards Henry in England, see The Young Henry Adams, pp.112ff.

62. James Truslow Adams, Henry Adams, p.88.

63. Cycle, I, 43.

to gather material on the cotton famine which had so violently upset the economy there. The article which he wrote was soon published in the Boston Courier.[64] A modern historian has found that Adams was a "competent appraiser of public opinion"[65] -- but he neglects to point out that Adams appraised only one segment of public opinion, that of the laboring classes which supported the Northern cause.

Moreover, the Boston Courier had "blurted out" the author's name in a supporting editorial:

> The interesting Diary at Manchester on the outside of today's Courier, we feel at liberty to say, is written by Mr. Henry Adams, the son of our Minister to Great Britain... 66

The London Times did not let this juicy morsel escape. Allied with the mercantile interests of Britain and more than lukewarm in defense of the Confederate cause, it saw an opportunity to embarrass the American Minister by throwing the whole legation into a frivolous light. Adams was stricken with terror -- and more important, his pride was hurt by the condescending tone of the Times article.

> The Courier [he wrote to Charles] in putting my name to my 'Diary' has completely used me up. To my immense astonishment and dismay I found myself this morning sarsed through a whole column of the Times, and am laughed at by all England. You can imagine my sensations...I shall cease my other

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64. The Young Henry Adams, p.114.

65. Arthur W. Silver, "Henry Adams' 'Diary of a Visit To Manchester'", American Historical Review, 51 (October 1945), 76. The entire article is reprinted here together with an excellent commentary on the cotton supply question.

66. The Young Henry Adams, p.116.

> writings [for the New York Times] as I can in my mind for they should be imperfect.[37]

Adams was [illegible] by the chance and tried to keep himself as inconspicuous as possible. The thought of cutting himself off from the Legation and fighting out the real issue of slavery seemed never to have entered his mind.[38]

Adams subsided into letter writing and society. From the vast London social life open to him through his family connections, Adams chose wisely, and made many life-long friends: Sir Robert Cunliffe, Cecil Spring-Rice, Ralph Palmer, and Charles Milnes Gaskell. Gaskell's influence especially was a strong one on Adams. He came to think of Wenlock Abbey as a second home, and later in life he wrote to Gaskell:

> Life's youth still has glamour, and mine owes much of it to you. I do not know that I care to live over again any part of my life, but if I did, the part connected with Wenlock and you would be it--the most pleasure and the least pain. 70

There is no question that these lasting friendships did much to loosen Adams' ties to New England roots and begin the growth of his cosmopolitanism.[71] In addition to forming these personal attachments, Adams became very familiar with a host of London persons, diplomats, scientists,

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37. Cater, I, 101.

38. W. C. Adams' letter to Thomas, Ibid., 101. It is interesting to note that Adams never mentioned his [illegible] in the Education.

39. For the record of these friendships, see Letters, I and II, again, and The Letters and Friendship of Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, ed. by Stephen Gwynn, 2 vols., Boston.

70. Letters, II, 31o.

71. The Young Henry Adams, p.p.12o-127.

politicians, and literary figures, both British and American, many of whom taught him much.[72]

But the itch to make a career was still felt, and the only course open to him seemed to involve his pen. Under the aegis of John Gorham Palfrey, Adams turned to history. Palfrey, in his researches in colonial American history, had found Captain John Smith a decidedly unpuritanical fellow, and in the course of his studies he had become skeptical of the Pocahantas story. He proposed to Adams, therefore

> ...that an article in the North American Review on Smith's relations with Pocahantas would attract as much attention and break as much glass, as any other stone that could be thrown by a beginner. 73

Adams tried. He wrote and re-wrote; read widely and intensely.[74] "I pass my intervals from official work in studying DeTocqueville and John Stuart Mill,"[75] he wrote to Charles. And he read deeply in the burgeoning sciences.[76] The storm created by Darwin's Origin of Species was at its height, and Adams was intensely interested in the philosophical ramifications of the theory of evolution. The physical sciences, and especially the study of applied mechanics, were developing so rapidly that England found herself with an "utterly antiquated and useless" navy. Almost drunken with the implications of the new sciences,

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72. A long list of Adams' acquaintances may be found in The Young Henry Adams, pp.121-125.

73. Education, 222.

74. See his series of letters to John Gorham Palfrey in Henry Adams and His Friends p.3 and passim.

75. Cycle, I, 231.

76. The Young Henry Adams, pp.129-135.

[illegible]:

> [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]:

> [illegible]

[illegible]:

> [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

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77. [illegible], I, [illegible].

78. [illegible], II, [illegible].

79. [illegible], [illegible].

80. [illegible], [illegible].

[illegible] of his peculiarly [illegible] than [illegible] ev-
[illegible] in [illegible] with [illegible]. [illegible] all, a [illegible] in a profession. Moreover, though America might be his home, he was no longer a provincial Yankee; by [illegible] he was "more in his element in London."[87] And he found himself [illegible], and in London, [illegible] had [illegible]. [illegible] in the [illegible] of [illegible], [illegible] and his [illegible]

> ...for sale in the open market. So [illegible] [[illegible]] [illegible] of his friends. All the world knew it, and [illegible] that they were cheap....There was no [illegible], no [illegible], [illegible] illusion about it.[illegible]

In Boston he found the newspapers, politics and [illegible] all closed to him.[88] In his Education he insisted on the "worthlessness of so-called social connections,"[89] but in reality, he depended on them, and in the end, social connections set his career on [illegible]. Deciding on a career as a journalist, Adams went to Washington. There, his "so-called social connections" [illegible] for him. He wrote an account of his [illegible] of Washington to his old English friend, Charles Milnes Gaskell:

> I left Boston on the 12th of October and stopped several days in New York, intending to [illegible] till I could [illegible]. [illegible] street. The [illegible]

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[87] Henry had thus described his father in a letter to Charles. See Letters, I, [illegible].

[88] Education, p.[illegible].

[89] Ibid., p.211.

[90] Ibid., p.[illegible].

> recollect his visit to Cambridge with me in 1868, since which he has become a great man, saving the President in the Impeachment by his skill as Counsel, and in consequence of his service then, appointed a member of the Cabinet as Attorney General....He stopped me to urge that I should stay at his house in Washington until I settled myself. Naturally I assented....He took me to call on the President, who was grave and cordial, and gave me a little lecture on constitutional law. The Secretary of State...Mr. Seward, was also cordial, and his major-domo selected rooms for me. With the Secretary of the Treasury, I am on the best of terms and he pats me on the back, not figuratively but in the flesh. Finally the Secretary of War and I are companions. 91

Few budding newspapermen in search of the materials for a career ever entered into the political sanctum sanctorum with such ease.

Adams made the most of his opportunities. Grant had been elected in November, and though Congress reconvened on December 7, 1868, it was a "lame duck" session and no work on the pressing problems of reconstruction was anticipated. Next in importance to reconstruction in Adams' view was the problem of government finance in all its ramifications. Adams was not the first to sense this need: David A. Wells, the Special Commissioner on the Revenue, had been appointed by Secretary McCulloch to bring some order out of fiscal chaos. As early as 1868 Wells had discovered that while the average wage had risen about sixty percent since 1860, the increase in the cost of living had risen about ninety percent.[92] By 1868 Wells was able to assert that the

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91. Letters, I, 147.

92. Allen Nevins, The Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1878, p.69.

" great majority of wage-earners were worse off than in 1860."[93] Wells did more than publish his Annual Reports: he attempted to initiate reforms by bringing together a group of like-minded men.[94] Adams was included in the group, and urged on by them, he completed his article and sent it off to Britain where it appeared as "American Finance, 1865-1869" in the Edinburgh Review for April, 1869. This essay, like his earlier one on Captain John Smith, was calculated to break glass. He reported on it to Charles:

> Reeve[95] says it is the best article on American affairs ever printed in an English periodical and that he attaches great importance to it. I don't see its astonishing merits, nor will you. But I hope it will make me unpopular. 96

It did -- in certain quarters. Adams had damned the entire currency system endorsed by Johnson and Grant. He demonstrated from official reports that the Treasury was "mired in difficulties": he insisted that Congress embraced "the wildest financial theories."[97] The tax system and the tariff system fared no better at Adams' hands; the tax system was fouled by "this wholesale corruption [of] the regular party organization";[98] and the entire tariff structure rested on "fraud and corruption."[99] Adams pleaded for reform:

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93. Ibid., p.[illegible].

94. The Young Henry Adams, p.174.

95. Henry Reeve (1813-1895) was for forty years editor of the Edinburgh Review.

96. Letters, I, 153.

97. "American Finance, 1865-1869," Edinburgh Review, 129 (April 1869), 523.

98. Ibid., 527.

99. Ibid., 530.

> The great responsibility of the new administration
> lies in itself....The [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible] pr-
> [illegible] principles [illegible];
> but if the [illegible], [illegible]
> country shall go on increasing its wealth and power
> more rapidly than ever, the world will have the right
> to believe that neither the skill of the government nor
> the virtue of American institutions had any share
> in the result, except so far as the nation is re-
> ceiving and squandering advantages left to it by a
> past and purer generation.[100]

If [illegible] was impressed, and if some of the [illegible] of [illegible] administration were [illegible], [illegible] never knew it. Nobody offered either praise or blame.

Meanwhile, Adams was laying plans for another blast for reform: working "[illegible] four days,"[101] to prepare an article on "The Session."[102] For his American audience [illegible] pulling [illegible] the [illegible]. [illegible] read widely. "Perhaps not [illegible] the Congress [illegible] more," he wrote,[103] and this [illegible] the Congress. He [illegible]:

> Within the walls of two rooms are thrust together
> in close contact the jealousies of thirty-five
> millions of people,--jealousies between individ-
> uals, between cities, between [illegible], between
> parties, between branches of the government, be-
> tween sections of the country, between [illegible].

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[100] Ibid., [illegible].

[101] Letters, I, [illegible].

[102] "The Session", North American Review, [illegible](April [illegible]), [illegible].

[103] Ibid., [illegible].

> and its neighbors. As years pass on, the noise and confusion, the vehemence of this scramble for power or for plunder, the shouting of the reckless adventurers, of wearied partisans, and of red-hot zealots in new issues,-- the boiling and bubbling of this witches caldron, into which we have thrown the eye of newt and toe of frog and all the venomous ingredients of corruption, and from which is expected to issue the future and more perfect republic,-- in short the conflict and riot of interests, grow more and more overwhelming; the power of obstructionists grows more and more decisive in the same proportion as the business to be done increases in volume; the effort required to accomplish necessary legislation becomes more and more serious; the machine groans and labours under the burden, and its action becomes spasmodic and inefficient. 104

With the accession of Grant, the need for sweeping reforms became imperative. In Grant the nation had a President who was "painfully blunt in his ethical perceptions,"[105] and the same sort of "ethical perceptions" seemed to pervade the whole government.[106] Grant had injected the double virus of incompetence and fraud into the government with his nominations to the Cabinet. Adams went to the Capitol to hear the announcement of the names of Grant's selections, a secret carefully guarded up to that point. The list was "an absurdity": Grant's nominations "had the singular effect of making the hearer ashamed, not so much of Grant, as of himself."[107]

Long years after, Adams could not shake off the revulsion he felt

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104. Ibid., 610-611.

105. Allen Nevins, op. cit., 179.

106. The best succinct account of "The Moral Collapse in Government and Business" may be found in ibid., 178-202.

107. Education, p.262.

[illegible]

> a defiance of first principles. It had no right to exist....That, two thousand years after Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar, a man like Grant should be called--and should actually and truly be--the highest product of the most advanced evolution, made evolution ludicrous. One must be as commonplace as Grant's own commonplaces to maintain such an absurdity. The progress of evolution from President Washington to President Grant, was alone evidence enough to upset Darwin. 108

Adams was sickened by the whole Washington scene. He [illegible] to Boston to escape it.

Boston offered no refuge, however. Grant's administration had [illegible] behind, and in September of 1869 it erupted in [illegible] whirlwind: Jay Gould and Jim Fisk, [illegible] and using the President, attempted to corner the gold supply,[109] in that infamous "Black Friday", September 24, 1869. Adams was humiliated by this scene of national debauchery--humiliated and infuriated. He was only thirty-one when the event occurred, but when he was nearly seventy he could feel nothing but utter contempt for a milieu which permitted such things:

> The worst scandals of the eighteenth century were relatively harmless by the side of this, which smirched executive, judiciary, banks, corporate systems, professions, and people, all the great active forces of society, in one dirty cesspool of vulgar corruption. 110

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108. *Ibid.*, p.[illegible].

109. An excellent explication of this gold conspiracy and of Grant's part in it may be found in Claude G. Bowers, *The Tragic Era*, pp.283-2[illegible]. For a more objective account see Allan Nevins, *op. cit.*, 1[illegible]4-10[illegible].

110. *Education*, pp.271-272.

Both Henry and Charles had scented corruption all through the summer and had begun a private investigation. Charles observed the fiscal arrangements which appeared suspicious, and Henry, waiting for the opening of Congress, studied the politics of the coming scandal. The more Adams studied, the more saddened he became: reforming American government, cleansing it of corruption, appeared to involve reforming American society. After "Black Friday", Adams felt little hope.

He worked all winter on his article and in April, when it was finished, he decided that he had had enough of Washington. Because the essay contained passages which might be considered libelous, Adams sent it to England for publication, and in May he followed it himself.

Adams' fears of libel charges were not groundless. He had told the whole contemptible story of the conspiracy, and in doing so, he had poured out the vials of his wrath on the persons involved. Jay Gould had a "reminisence of the spider in his nature," but he "had not a conception of a moral principle." James Fisk "was still more original in character. He was not yet forty years of age and had the instincts of fourteen... Personally Mr. Fisk was coarse, noisy, boastful, ignorant; the type of the young butcher in appearance and mind." Fisk established his office next to the opera house, took over the opera, named himself manager-in-chief, and "as the opera itself supplied Mr. Fisk's mind with amusement, so the opera troupe supplied him with a permanent harem." The actual plot to corner the gold market was "clever", but "like all other ideas of these gentlemen...seems to have had the single fault of requiring that some one, somewhere, should be

swindled."[111] Adams anatomised the plot and showed how deeply certain government officials were implicated in it. He pointed to breach of trust and corruption by name, and again he demanded reform. The public, which had been swindled, cared not a whit. The article fell still-born from the press.

Meanwhile, Adams had received an invitation from Charles Milnes Gaskell to spend the summer at Wenlock Abbey,[112] and had written that he would come over "mostly to see you and yours."[113] By the end of May he was once more in London, but not for long. His sister, Mrs. Kuhn, summering in Italy, was stricken by a tetanus infection as a result of a carriage accident.[114] Adams rushed to the Bagni di Lucca and spent three horrible weeks on a death watch, swimming, as he wrote to Gaskell, "in chloroform, morphine, opium, and every kind of most violent counter-agent."[115] On July 13, 1870, she died, and Henry's only thought was to "get away from society and condolence."[116]

In the midst of the pressure attending the illness and death of his sister, Adams received two letters from President Charles W. Eliot

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111. This essay was printed as "The New York Gold Conspiracy," Westminister Review, 38(October 1870), 411-436. It was reprinted in Charles F. Adams, Jr. and Henry Adams, Chapters of Erie and Other Essays, pp.100-155. Citations are from the reprinted edition.

112. Letters, I, 179-180.

113. Ibid., 187.

114. James Truslow Adams, Henry Adams, p.122. Cf, Education, p.277.

115. Letters, I, 190.

116. Ibid., 199. For the effect of Mrs. Kuhn's death on Adams see Education, pp.287ff.

of Harvard offering him a position as assistant professor of history in a chair to be created. Adams declined with thanks.[117] He was unable [illegible] April [illegible] in "the distorted sight [illegible] of his personal [illegible]."[118] [illegible] the role of [illegible].

By the middle of [illegible] in Washington again, [illegible] the assistant professorship was offered to him. He [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] as follows:

> On my return home I found the question of the professorship sprung upon me again in a very troublesome way. Not only the President of the college and the Board made a very strong personal appeal to me, but my brothers were [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible], and [illegible]. Here I am, therefore, assistant professor of history at Harvard College with a salary of $2000 a year, and [illegible]....then I am to teach mediaeval history, of which, as you are aware, I am utterly and absolutely ignorant....I gave the college fair warning of my ignorance, and the answer was that I knew just as much as anybody else in America about the subject and I could teach better than anybody that could be had....With the professorship I took the North American Review and found it [illegible]....[illegible] for five years....I....am free to teach what I please within the dates 800-1649. I am responsible only to the college government....so that I [illegible] of strong feeling from above.[119]

Once again, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

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[117] Henry Adams and His Friends, pp.44-45. In the Education, p.291, [illegible] Harvard [illegible] from [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

[118] Education, p.29[illegible].

[119] Letters, I, 194-197.

CHAPTER II

[illegible]

The Harvard College to which Adams returned in the autumn of 1870 was outwardly the same institution from which he had been graduated. Inwardly, changes were being made. Adams had found fault with the college as an undergraduate, and, apparently, others had too. In an attempt to revitalize the institution, Charles William Eliot had been elected President. [illegible], he [illegible] him to teach at Harvard, [illegible] medieval history, but [illegible] it was felt that he would be [illegible] in changing the system. He was placed in the history department and [illegible], but its head and Dean of the Faculty, Professor Gurney, was already working for reform. If President Eliot desired a reformer, Henry Adams was an ideal choice. He had admitted to Gaskell that he had been brought into the university to "strengthen the reforming party," and he turned to the task with gusto.[1] He was certain to have "strong backing from above" and was "responsible only to the college government."[2] Adams delighted in the opportunity thus presented. That the college [illegible] had enrolled over [illegible] students. After less than a month [illegible] he could say:

> I don't believe in the system in which I am involved

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[1] Letters, I, 191.

[2] Ibid.

> part, and thoroughly dislike and despise the ruling theories of education in the University. So I have undertaken to carry my department on my own bottom without reference to the Faculty or anyone, and unless I am interfered with, which is improbable unless I make great blunders, I shall quietly substitute my own notions for those of the College, and teach in my own way. 3

He apparently made no "great blunders," and he began to substitute quietly his own notions for those of the college. At the end of his second month as assistant professor he reported on his progress to Gaskell: "I am smashing things here, and have declared war against the old system of teaching, in a manner which is not very respectful to the University."[4] There was truth in his report. To General Jacob Dolson Cox, a man who shared Adams' enthusiasm for reform, he was equally frank:

> The devil is strong within me, and my rage for reform is leading me into an open war with the whole system of teaching. Rebellion is in the blood, somehow or other. I can't get on without a fight. 5

An event of a few years later illustrates Adams' propensity for a fight in the interests of reform. John L. Sibley, the Librarian of the College, represented to Adams one of the worst examples of vested interest in the institution. He had made of the library building a museum for housing his private collection of curiosa and oddities. Adams wanted some of the space so that his students would have facilities to do the work he expected of them. He went directly to Sibley.

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3. Ibid., 135-136.

4. Ibid., 139.

5. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.49.

> Adams asked that tables be provided for the use of students, and when his request was refused for want of space, said to the Librarian,"If you don't get your old rags out of here by a certain date I will appeal to the corporation." 6

Appeal he did. He directed "To The Hon. The Corporation of Harvard College" a petition asserting that the "inconveniences" caused by "show-cases, stands, or other fixtures which do not necessarily belong there and which add nothing to the proper usefulness of the institution" were "unnecessary."[7] Adams made his point. The "show-cases, stands, or other fixtures" were removed to make room for tables at which his students could work.

For such minor issues, Adams utilized minor weapons; the major evils in the educational system of Harvard he carried to the public, or to that segment of the public which read the North American Review. He did not mince words. He placed most of the blame for Harvard's shortcomings on the Harvard faculty, because "in the great majority of cases the teacher is, in his own eyes, the most important part of (the) school." To the teacher, "the school or system ranks next, and the scholar comes last of all."[8] Adams insisted that this was a false and malicious view of education. "No instructor," he asserted, "can well be allowed to forget the fact... that the teacher exists for the

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6. This anecdote is cited by Samuel Eliot Morison, The Development of Harvard University Since the Inauguration of President Eliot, 1869-1929., p. 157.

7. Henry Adams and His Friends, pp.73-74.

8. "Harvard College", North American Review, 114(January 1872), 116.

sake of the scholars, not the scholars for the sake of the teacher."[9] Adams desired to "reverse this order of things," and he laid down his own fundamental principle of education as the reason for wanting change:

> No system of education can be very successful which does not make the scholar its chief object of interest; a principle which may sound like a truism, but which, in fact, will be found to have been rarely put in practice... and which, in the daily work of education, is the most difficult of all principles to act upon. 10

If Adams objected to the "student-be-damned" attitude taken by the Harvard faculty, he sympathised even less with the motives and ideas which impelled the Board of Overseers. He was willing to admit that this body was composed of "grown men"-- but he complained that they looked on Harvard College

> in the same light as a railway or banking corporation, with a history which is thoroughly economical, made up of charters, deeds, and statistics or passengers carried, discounts effected, boys educated, and stock watered. 11

Historically the situation was not much better. If Harvard College in 1870 had major faults, it indicated no lapse from any standards once held. Henry cited the college diary of his grandfather, who had attended the school nearly a century earlier, in support of this contention:

> It seems almost to be a maxim among the governors of the College to treat students pretty much like brute beasts. There is an important air and a

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9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., p.117.

> haughty look that every person belonging to our government... assumes, which indeed it is hard for me to submit to. 12

For at least a century, the situation at Harvard had been foul. With the passage of time the evils had developed until now

> an invincible hostility between students and instructors was one of the traditional customs of the College, and the one which created most annoyance to both divisions of the University, the teachers as well as the taught. 13

Here was the place for reform, then. The "invincible hostility between students and instructors" must be broken down, and, characteristically, Adams asserted that the responsibility for breaking it down must rest with the instructor, not the student: the instructor is obligated "to understand [the] motives and susceptibilities"[14] of the students, and having done this, he must extend to them his own "active aid and sympathy."[15] Adams was filled with high seriousness. Simply because Harvard College had succeeded in wasting his time while a student there, it did not follow that he must waste that of his own students. And though he felt that much of Harvard's work was of indifferent quality, he held out hope that the College would be made an influence for good in the lives of its students.

One aspect of Harvard College was absolutely hopeless to Adams: the time-honored faculty meetings. Publicly he never mentioned them.

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12. Ibid., 135.

13. Ibid., 136.

14. Ibid., 147.

15. Ibid., 115.

But privately, in his letters to intimates, he poured vituperation on them. The regular Monday evening meeting of the faculty was composed of "some thirty twaddlers"[16] and "old buffers" who do nothing but "talk! talk! talk!" "Ugh! !" he concluded, "I wish I could scalp 'em."[17] These meetings constituted for him "the feurf llest bore I have to undergo," and he sought means to "mitigate it as best I may."[18] He found two means to "mitigate" the "bore" of "thirty twaddlers." For a while, when the Faculty devoted three hours to so-called business discussions, Adams sat quietly in the rear of the room and occupied his time by writing letters. Presently, he simply stopped attending the meetings altogether.

II

Henry Adams brought to his teaching all the character, intelligence and idealism which had made his family famous. He felt that teaching was a high calling and that it deserved the best efforts he could bring to it. President Eliot shared his intense enthusiasm and had hired Adams in an effort to lessen the intellectual stodginess which had afflicted the college for so long. Adams surveyed his position as assistant professor of History:

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16. Letters, I, 199.

17. Ibid., 200.

18. Ibid., 205.

> Between Gurney's classical courses and Torrey's modern ones, lay a gap of a thousand years, which Adams was expected to fill. The students had already elected courses numbered 1, 2, and 3, without knowing what was to be taught or who was to teach. If the new professor had asked what idea was in their minds, they must have replied that nothing at all was in their minds, since their professor had nothing in his, and down to the moment he took his chair and looked his scholars in the face, he had given, as far as he could remember, an hour, more or less, to the Middle Ages. 19

This was the intellectual relationship between teacher and student. Like his forefathers, Adams then asked himself what his obligations were, in this case, to the students. They were vast, he discovered, because

> to him education was a serious thing. A parent gives life, but as parent, gives no more. A murderer takes life, but his deed stops there. A teacher affects eternity; he can never tell where his influence stops. A teacher is expected to teach truth, and may perhaps flatter himself that he does so, if he stops with the alphabet of the multiplication table, as a mother teaches truth by making her child eat with a spoon; but morals are quite another truth, and philosophy is more complex still.... [A teacher] makes his scholars either priests or atheists, plutocrats or socialists, judges or anarchists, almost in spite of himself. 20

Adams was not himself sure of what he wanted to make of his scholars. He had no theories of his own to impose on the vast body of history he was supposed to teach, and the college had previously been content to give the students in such courses merely "a few elementary dates and relations, that they might not disgrace the university."[21] Such

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19. Education, p.300.

20. Ibid., pp.300-301.

21. Ibid.

standards made no appeal to Adams. He plunged boldly into one more abyss in his ignorance.

The plunge was not without pain-- either to himself or his students. By the end of October he was able to write to his friend Henry Lee Higginson that "I am working harder than I ever worked... and I hope in time to know something."[22] Adams' work was only beginning. By December he could write to Gaskell:

> I have not had a clear hour of time for a month. I have read more heavy German books and passed more time in the printing office,...I have delivered more lectures about matters I knew nothing of, to men who cared nothing about them; and I have had my nose ground down more closely to my...grindstone than ever a cruel Providence can have considered possible. My happy carelessness of life for the last ten years has departed, and I am a regular old carthorse of the heaviest sort. [23]

By January he was "so overwhelmed with work as to reduce [him] to despair."[24] To Charles Eliot Norton, who was vacationing in Italy, he commented on his position as teacher:

> The less said of it the better. A sadder choice I can't conceive than that of me to teach medieval history, but they said there was no one better.... It amuses me, certainly, but I doubt whether the professorship was established for just that object. Perhaps in time I may learn something about it, but thus far, the only merit of my instruction has been its originality; one hundred youths at any rate have learned facts and theories for which in after life they will hunt the authorities in vain, unless, as I trust, they forget all they have been told. The

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22. Letters, I, 197.

23. Ibid., 199-200.

24. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.53.

> effect upon our historical criticism, hereafter, will, I imagine, be startling, at least to the mere bookworm of effete Europe. 25

For the first year Adams floundered through courses: History I, the General History of Europe from 987; and History II, Medieval History.[26] For the first course he used Duruy's Moyen Age as a text, and for the second, Hallam's Middle Ages. The materials involved were as new to Adams as to his students, and he directed almost all his energies to the "pleasing excitement in having to lecture tomorrow on a period of history which I have not even heard of till today."[27] He liked to read "three or four volumes of an evening and to leave as many more unread which are absolutely essential to the least knowledge of the subject."[28]

One of the most important by-products of this first year of teaching for Adams was his quickening interest in medieval architecture and its significance--an interest which finally culminated in Mont-Saint-Michel. The source of that interest Adams left in fairly certain terms:

> In my reading I have only picked up one book which I can recommend to you, and I am only surprised that I did not tumble over it while I was mousing about in England or that Palgrave did not call my attention to it when I was reading Fergusson[29] and and Ruskin. This book is a translation of Viollet leDuc's essay on military architecture in the middle ages. 30

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25. Ibid.,p.54.

26. For the lists of courses taught, the texts used, and the number of students involved, I am indebted to the researches of Professor Ernest Samels, The Young Henry Adams, pp.338-341.

27. Letters, I, 203.

28. Ibid.

29. History of Architecture.

30. Letters, I, 203.

Adams admitted that many of his lectures were "cribbed bodily out of Fergusson and Viollet le Duc," and thought that if Palgrave were to hear them, he would "brandish my ancestral tomahawk over my head and brain me where I sit."[31]

For all his passion for the things of the mind, Adams still was faced with lecturing to one hundred students for "nine hours a week,"[32] and after nine months of it, he still had not a minute to spare. He drove his students as remorselessly as he drove himself, and during the first "Annual" examination, he wrote to his friend at Wenlock with a faint touch of pride:

> I write now from among a dozen of my boys who are indulging in the excitement of an Annual....The poor wretches have to pass a week in the examination rooms and I am sorry to say that I am the object of unlimited cursing, owing to the fact that I intentionally gave them papers so difficult that half the youths could do very little with them. I very nearly had a rebellion, but I think they will find that no one is hurt who doesn't deserve it. Mine is an "elective" department, and I have been obliged to drive the lazy men out of it, which can only be done by putting gentle pressure on them, the 'gentleness' consisting in telling them that I will take away their degrees if they ever put themselves in my clutches again....My rule in making up [examinations] is to ask questions which I can't myself answer. It astounds me to see how some of my students answer questions which would play the deuce with me. 33

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31. Ibid., 204.

32. Ibid., 194.

33. Ibid., 211.

With examinations completed, Adams and his childhood friend, the geologist Frank Emmons, left Cambridge to spend the summer with a field-party making the government survey of the Fortieth Parallel.

The summer was notable to Adams for only two things: it opened to his mind the physical vastness of the United States, with something of the complexity of the problem of settling it in the face of hostile savages, and what is more important, it brought about his meeting with Clarence King. Typically, King made the greater and more permanent impression on him. Adams never cared for sheer bulk, but he was vividly alive to the qualities King offered. Later in life he recorded his first impression of his new-found friend thus:

> King had everything to interest and delight Adams. He knew more than Adams did of art and poetry; he knew America...better than anyone; he knew the professor by heart, and he knew the Congressman better than he did the professor. He knew even women; even the American woman, which is saying much....he knew more practical geology than was good for him, and saw ahead at least one generation further than the textbooks....the charm of King was that he saw what others did and a great deal more. His wit and humor; his babbling energy which swept everyone into the current of his interest; his personal charm of youth and manners; his faculty of giving and taking, profusely, lavishly, whether in thought or money, as though he were Nature herself, marked him almost alone among Americans. He had in him something of the Greek--a touch of Alcibiades or Alexander. One Clarence King only existed in the world. [34]

King's influence on Adams was as remarkable as the man himself.[35] For

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34. Education, p.311.

35. For Adams' finest tribute to King, see his "King" essay in Clarence King Memoirs, pp.157-195; see also "Henry Adams and Clarence King: The Record of a Friendship," New England Quarterly, 17(June 1944), 230-254.

the rest of the summer, "till the frosts came sharp in the mountains,"[36] King continued to persuade Adams that "history was more amusing than science."[37] Then Adams returned once more to Cambridge and "the humble tasks of schoolmaster."[38]

When Adams returned to Cambridge, it was to assume once more the role of teacher as he conceived it: he desired to lead the intellectual life of his students by giving them his own "active aid and sympathy." During the school year of 1871-1872 he taught three courses, mostly on the same subjects he had taught previously,[39] but he drove himself and his students as hard as ever. He reported to his confidant Gaskell that he was "deep in German again, working up no end of history and thinking of nought besides."[40] At the end of the year he was "still hard at work" and "fearful German books" had become his "daily bread."[41] He was sinking, for the benefit of Gaskell at least, "into provincial professordom" even though he fought against it "with anguish." "It is fate," he concluded, "and I bow dispose."[42]

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36. Education, p. 313.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. During the year 1871-1872 Adams taught The History of Germany, France, and the Church (from the Eighth to the Fifteenth centuries) to 33 juniors; Mediaval Institutions (for honors) to 7 juniors; and the History of England (to the Seventeenth Century) to 15 seniors. Cf. The Young Henry Adams, p.310.

40. Letters, I, 217.

41. Ibid., 218.

42. Ibid., 220.

Whatever "Dies diggeses" for Adams, it was not a "provincial professordom." Almost as soon as he had returned to Cambridge he and his brother Charles had put some of their articles together to form a volume of essays.[43] Three of the eight were by Charles, yet Adams sent word of the book to Gaskell in typical fashion:

> My book is out and you will receive a copy in due course. My own share in the volume is as you will see, less than half, and nothing new. Of course the thing was not expected to make a noise, being a mere reprint, and although of course few works except possibly some few of Aristotle and Bacon contain anything to compare with the wisdom of this, still I am aware that it is in vain to expect proper appreciation in this world, and I have my doubts whether I shall fare much better in any other. You however will support me, I am sure, in my indifference to vulgar opinion.[44]

When Gaskell replied to Adams proposing to write a notice of Chapters of Erie for the Saturday Review, Adams was frankly thrilled. "The honor of a notice in the Saturday is greater than I could aspire to," he admitted,[45] and even though "public applause or criticism must be equally indifferent to us" there was still a "certain prickly sensation" which accompanied the possibility of such notice.[46]

Besides the responsibilities of teaching a subject he had to learn, reforming a University, and publishing his own writings, Adams carried on a vigorous social life in Boston. This centered around "The Club,"

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43. Chapters of Erie and Other Essays.

44. Letters, I, 215-216.

45. Ibid., 217.

46. Ibid., 218.

a group which never took a formal name, but which met once a month during the winter to dine and to enjoy each other's conversation. Founded in 1870, "The Club" included some of the most brilliant men in America: Henry and William James, William Dean Howells, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., Thomas Sergeant Perry, and Francis Parkman were members, and there were other equally distinguished members.[47]

In addition, he found in the home of Professor Gurney, the "one house at which I am intimate," an "oasis in this wilderness."[48] Adams may have visited this "oasis" for more than intellectual sustenance: Professor Gurney was tutoring his young sister-in-law, Marian Hooper, in the study of Greek. The charming Marian and Adams must have met there constantly, and on February 27, 1872, they announced their engagement.[49] There are no indications of his intentions in his published correspondence prior to the announcement of the event other than the guarded admission that he had "come out... as a social butterfly;"[50] but having presented his friends with a fait accompli, he hastened to submit a full report:

> Imprimis and to begin with, the young woman calls herself Marian Hooper, and belongs to a sort of clan as all Bostonians do. Through her mother, who

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47. The Letters of William James, II, 10. "The Club" resulted almost directly from President Eliot's attempt to bring to Harvard College men of intellectual distinction. Eliot had hired many of these men in his attempt to reform the university. Cf. Samuel Eliot Morison, op. cit., passim.

48. Letters, I, 209.

49. The Letters of Mrs. Henry Adams, 1865-1883, p.xv. Cf. also Brooks Adams, The Heritage of Henry Adams, p.7.

50. Letters, I, 222.

> is not living, she is half Sturgis, and Russel Sturgis of the Barings is a fourth cousin or thereabouts. Socially the match is supposed to be unexceptional. One of my congratulatory letters...describes my 'fiancee' to me as 'a charming blue'. She is certainly not handsome; nor would she be quite called plain, I think. She is twenty eight years old. She knows her own mind uncommon well. She does not talk very American. Her manners are quiet. She reads German--also Latin--also, I fear, a little Greek, but very little. She talks garrulously, but on the whole pretty sensibly. She is very open to instruction. We shall improve her. She dresses badly. She decidedly has humor and will appreciate our wit. She has enough money to be quite independent. She rules me as only American women rule men, and I cower before her. Lord! how she would lash me if she read the above description of her! 51

If "Clover," as her friends called her, read the letter, Adams must have taken his lashing gracefully; they were married July 1, 1872, "very quietly, without any company outside our immediate families."[52] Having taken a leave from Harvard, Adams and his bride left for a year in Europe. They returned to Boston late in the summer of 1873, bought a house at 91 Marlborough Street, and entered upon a unique social and intellectual life.[53] Adams returned to his duties in the University that fall.

His experiments in pedagogy were largely over when he returned to the classroom. Slowly, by dint of much labor, his grasp of the history of the period he was teaching tightened. And his three courses did not now demand the same intense preparation which they had required

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51. Ibid., 223.

52. Ibid., 224.

53. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.xl.

earlier.[54] Nevertheless, he worked--and complained--with his accustomed energy: he labored

> without seeing my modest establishment between nine in the morning and seven at night....Of course, the greater part of my time has to be passed at Cambridge, where I have more to do than ever, and am put to trumps to hold my own against my...st dents, who think me too severe, a reputation I am glad to foster. I find twelve hours a week in the lecture room too severe for my taste. 55

For all his complaining, Adams liked the pace. He even advised it for others--when he thought that was the advice they wanted most to hear.[56]

During the following long vacation, Adams and his wife built a small house in the country near Boston where they spent every summer until the death of Mrs. Adams. He loved the place, though he poked fun at it for the benefit of his friends in Wenlock Abbey:

> We are just beginning to build our log-hut in the woods. The mosquitoes are so thick that on hot, sunny days, they cast an agreeable flickering shade. I have ordered a suit of cinque cento armour to protect me from them. 57

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54. In the academic year 1873-1874 Adams taught the following courses: II General History of Europe--Tenth to the Sixteenth Century. 3 seniors, 63 juniors. III Medieval Institutions (Only for candidates for honors). Two theses required. 5 seniors, 7 juniors (plus 3 extra students). IV History of England to the Seventeenth Century (Constitutional and Legal). 20 seniors. See The Young Henry Adams, p.340.

55. Letters, I, 256.

56. See Adams' famous letter of advice to Lodge on shaping a career, in Letters, I, 227-228; cf. also ibid., pp.235-237 and pp.252-254.

57. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.60.

He warned the Gaskells that if they came over that they must "sleep on husks and eat Indian corn."[58]

After a relatively quiet summer, during which he was "reading hard for a new course in American Colonial history,"[59] Adams returned to 91 Marlborough Street. He had made arrangements to have one of his usual courses taken over by Ernest Young, a doctoral candidate, and he had taken on two new and important ones for himself: The Colonial History of America to 1789, and a graduate seminar in Anglo-Saxon law for Doctor of Philosophy candidates.[60] This latter instituted the "first history seminar in America."[61] His advanced students included Henry Cabot Lodge, James Laurence Laughlin, Edward Channing, Albert Bushnell Hart, and Henry Osborn Taylor, and to these men Adams devoted himself.

The whole idea of the seminar had grown out of Adams' acquaintance with such European historians as von Gneist, Stubbs, and Maine, men whom he had met on his wedding journey, and out of his work with Henry Cabot Lodge. In 1873, Adams had prescribed for Lodge

> a course of special study on the early English Law as exhibited in Anglo-Saxon and Norman sources, with a view to ascertaining and fixing the share that Germanic law had in forming the Common Law. [62]

Lodge had undertaken the study, despite the vast labors involved. Adams

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58. Ibid.

59. Letters, I, 260.

60. The Young Henry Adams, p.340.

61. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.xxxviii.

62. Letters, I, 265.

had already pointed out the size of the task, but once Lodge had committed himself to it, Adams gave him every evidence of his "active aid and sympathy." He had explained to Lodge exactly what he was trying to teach:

> I propose no more to the fellows who are kind enough to think my teaching worth their listening to--those of them I mean who take the thing in the spirit I offer it in--than to teach them how to do their work. The College chose to make me Professor of History--I don't know why, for I know no more history than my neighbors. And it pitchforked me into medieval history, of which I know nothing. But it makes little difference what one teaches; the great thing is to train scholars for work, and for that purpose there is no better field than medieval history to future historians. 63

Lodge had begun to work seriously on the subject and had written Adams for aid and counsel. Adams sent him notes, guided him, and again pointed out difficulties. Lodge was still determined to keep on with the study. Adams was now fully persuaded that he was serious:

> If you incline to keep on, then, your path is clear. Don't tell anyone the proposal I make....But polish up your language and on the 1st October, if you are ready to begin, establish yourself in my rooms at Wadsworth. 64

Seeing the possibilities of such work on a larger scale, Adams proposed to President Eliot to establish a class of doctoral candidates to carry on this type of work "at his own expense."[65]

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63. Ibid., 236.

64. Ibid., 251.

65. This assertion is made in The Young Henry Adams, p.215; but it is made without documentation. No materials relating to it are in Adams' published correspondence.

Adams did not expect his scholars to live by intellect alone. Lodge might be devoting all his energies to the things of the mind, but Adams realized that he had a wife to support at the same time. Once more, the teacher tendered his "active aid and sympathy"; he had already decided that he would have preferred a "rival assistant professor opposite him, whose business should be strictly limited to expressing opposite views,"[66] and in Henry Cabot Lodge he had found a man whose interpretations of American history differed markedly from his own. Adams decided to turn his course in colonial history over to Lodge and concentrate on a new course, History VI, the History of the United States from 1700 to 1840.[67] He had spoken to President Eliot about the matter, and finally written him a note requesting official approval of the arrangement: Adams put his case thus:

> I wish to establish a rival course to my own in United States History. Of the general propriety of creating rival courses in such a subject, I presume there can be no doubt. I know of no means so likely to stimulate both instructors and students, and to counteract, within its range, the inert atmosphere which now pervades the college, at least the portion with which I am best acquainted, to a greater extent than I have heretofore known. The precedent, merely as a precedent, is one which it is greatly in the interests of the College instruction to establish.
>
> I propose that Mr. Lodge should have a course in U. S. history coterminous with mine. His views being federalist and conservative, have as good a right to expression in the college as mine which tend to democracy and radicalism. The clash of opinions can hardly fail to stimulate inquiry among the students.....

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66. Education, pp.303-304.

67. The Young Henry Adams, pp.247, 341.

> As with courses II, III, IV, and VI, this new course belongs to my Adv. Professorship and is supported by it. The College will be put to no expense. For my own objects I wish to try this experiment in instruction in the hope that it may prove useful to the students and the College. 68

Adams was "responsible" for Lodge even to the point of personally paying his salary: he could do such things only because he was, as he admitted to his brother, on the "inside ring" of the university.[69]

Into his new course in American history Adams put vast labors. He desired, as he wrote to Gaskell, "to expose British tyranny and cruelty with a degree of patriotic fervor which...has rarely been equalled."[70] More seriously, he had worked until he was physically in a state of "nervousness and wretchedness,"[71] but with some measure of success; one of his students who had heard his course of lectures in History VI has written:

> Out of [this course] grew, beyond a doubt, not only his largest work, The History of The United States during the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison, but also his admirable studies of John Randolph and Albert Gallatin, and his Documents relating to New England Federalism. 72

A course of lectures which contained the germs of such a body of historical writing could not but be valuable.

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68. Henry Adams and His Friends, pp.30-31, p.77.

69. Letters, I, 212.

70. Ibid., 260.

71. Ibid., 304.

72. Lindsay Swift, "A Course in History at Harvard College in the Seventies," Proceedings, Massachusetts Historical Society, 52, 76.

In the midst of all his labor his original five-year term of appointment expired and he accepted re-appointment then for a similar term, but not without some searching of soul; he complained, as usual, to Gaskell:

> Another, the fifth year of professordom is expiring this week. I am balder, duller, more pedantic, and more lazy than ever....My fits of wrath and rebellion against the weaknesses and shortcomings of mankind are less violent than they were, though grumbling has become my favorite occupation. I have ceased to grow rapidly either in public esteem or in mental development. One year resembles another and if it weren't for occasional disturbing dreams of decay, disaster, or collapse, I should consider myself as having attained as much of Nirwana [sic] as a man of my race and temperament can expect to do. And opposite to this mere lump of walking vegetation, three thousand miles away, I dimly descry you prancing about as though ten years were but a day in your sight and youth grew younger by Act of Parliament. 73

Outwardly, Adams may have begun to settle down; but discontent was in the blood. His "fits of wrath and rebellion" against things which he did not like were still as vitriolic as ever, despite the pose of "decay." Only two months earlier he had reported on his current campaign "against the weaknesses and shortcomings of mankind:" in Boston he was

> preaching a crusade against Culture with a big C. I hope to excite the hatred of my entire community, every soul of whom adores that big C. I mean to irritate every one about me to frenzy by ridiculing all the idols of the University and declaring a university education to be a swindle. I have hopes of being turned out of my place in consequence, in which case I shall become a reformer and my fortune is made. 74

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73. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.66.

74. Letters, I, 272.

Despite the side-issues, irritations of life in Boston, and his little sallies into the realm of social reform, Adams devoted himself to "baking this batch of doctors of Philosophy."[75]

He had set for himself and his select group of scholars an immense task: he sought, through the investigation of early English history, to forge a link which might bind a remote democratic past to the democratic present;[76] and in this labor he enlisted the aid of his most gifted students. The result of this collaboration was a volume of Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law, the first full flowering of German scholarship in America. The book was composed of a treatise by Adams on "Anglo-Saxon Courts of Law" and the dissertations of his first three doctoral candidates: Henry Cabot Lodge, Ernest Young, and James L. Laughlin. He had driven these men to their work as hard as he could,[77] and at the same time he had given them every assistance that lay in his power. During the course

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75. Ibid., 202.

76. Adams did not arrive at this problem by a brilliant intuition, but by a slow and laborious study. One may best note the genesis of it in his own mind in the following reviews of historical writings which he wrote for the North American Review: "Freeman's Historical Essays," 114(January 1872), 193-199; "Maine's Village Communities," 114(January 1872), 196-199; "Freeman's History of the Norman Conquest," 118(January 1874), 176-191; "Sohm's Procedure de la Lex Salica," 118(April 1874), 416-435; "Coulange's Ancient City," 118(April 1874), 380-397; "Stubb's Constitutional History of England," 118(July 1874), 233-244; "Mühlenar's History of France," 118(October 1874), 442-447; "Maine's Early History of Institutions," 120(April 1875), 432-438; and "Green's Short History of the English People," 121(July 1875), 216-224. The most important of these, which led almost directly to the problem, was his review of Stubb's Constitutional History of England.

77. See Letters, I, 233, 261-262, and passim; especially the long series of letters to Henry Cabot Lodge during 1875-1876.

of the work he had given freely of his aid and sympathy, he had advised and corrected; and when it was completed, he had paid for the publication of the volume.[78] But Adams had his own reward. He confided to Gaskell:

> My book will be out, I hope, in about a month.... The book is fearfully learned. You cannot read it, and I advise you not to open it....It will cost me about four hundred pounds, very little of which I expect to get back except in my three students, whose work fills three-fourths of the volume. Their success is mine, and I make the investment for them, expecting to draw my profit from their success. [79]

Even though the book "is fearfully learned", Adams took quiet pride in the achievement of his scholars. Shortly after commencement day, when the men were presented the first Doctor's degrees Harvard ever awarded in history, Adams despatched a note of congratulations to Lodge:

> Nothing since I came to Cambridge has given me so much and so unalloyed satisfaction....I am pleased with my scholars and proud of them. They have shown qualities which I believe to be of the highest order....I believe that my scholars will compare favorably with any others, English, German, French, or Italian. I look with more hope on the future of the world as I see how good our material is....For once I have been in a state of absolute satisfaction for a whole day. [80]

For all the labor expended, Adams felt no sense of real achievement. He had dedicated the volume to President Eliot as the "fruit of his administration," but he had appended, in an "outburst of derision",[81] an epitaph slyly indicating his attitude towards Dry-as-Dust scholarship:

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78. Letters, I, 288.

79. Ibid., 288. Each of Adams' three students attained some measure of success: Lodge went on to a distinguished career in the Senate; Young and Laughlin both became professors in Harvard.

80. Ibid., 292-293.

81. Education, p.388.

His chest
Emmanuelus Scipio
Brother Barbarissus
Valerius Flaccus
Aulus Fabius ab Urso
Emil. Lepidus Ib
Socrates. [22]

III

In spite of the vast labors which put into the grooming of his select group of scholars, he was still faced with the larger group of undergraduates, who had neither the interest nor the ability to follow their teacher's example. He found them "lazy but not bad fellows," and he seemed to "get along with them as well as anyone does."[23] In his letters to his friends he did not dwell on his privileged life with scholars: he had more important matters to discuss with friends. But his teaching nevertheless made deep impressions on many of his students. Those of them who afterwards wrote of him did so in a uniformly laudatory, not to say extravagant vein.[24]

Allen's love for paradox and his resolute irreverance for "Culture with a big C" delighted his students. One of them had once asked,"How

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22. Essays I, Delle-Donne Ion, p.495.

23. Letters, I, 202.

24. Cf., e. g., the following accounts: Percy Holmes, In Appreciation of Henry Allen; the Intellectual Life of Henry Allen, pp.178-179; Charles Hubbell, "Henry Allen and Some of His Students," Swarthmore Alumni Bulletin, Massachusetts Historical Society, 65, 201-210; Dialogy Shire, op. cit., pp. 69-77; and "Henry Allen Again," New York Times, June 15, 1919.

were the Popes elected in the eleventh century?" and he must have been but slightly illuminated by Adams' quick retort: "Pretty much as it pleased God."[85] When another student felt impelled to defend the reputation of John Adams, Henry disagreed: "You know, gentlemen, John Adams was a demagogue."[86] For "mere facts" he had always expressed a "profound contempt."[87] He asserted that "profound contempt" even in the classroom: "One fact or a thousand, that makes no difference."[88] He often reminded his students that "I am a professor of history in Harvard College, but I rejoice that I never remember a date."[89]

To his students he appeared as the height of dignity and frankness. "There was no closing of eyes in slumber when Henry Adams was in command," one of them recorded. "All was wholly unacademic; no formality, no rigidity, no professional pose."[90] On occasion he could come to the aid of his students quickly and dramatically: the historian Channing testifies to that. Adams had assigned him a problem, and after a month of investigation, he came to class prepared to make his report.

> Fully primed and quaking in my shoes, I stood up to read my report when the door opened and in walked

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85. Samuel Eliot Morison, Three Centuries of Harvard College, pp. 348-349; and The Development of Harvard University, since the Inauguration of President Eliot; 1869-1929, p.156.

86. Ibid., p.350.

87. Education, p.279.

88. Quoted by Henry Osborn Taylor, "The Education of Henry Adams," Atlantic Monthly, 122(October 1918), 490.

89. Ibid., 491.

90. Lindsay Swift, op. cit., 74.

> President Eliot with a stranger, an Englishman. Adams uncoiled his legs, arose to his full length of about five foot three, greeted the Englishman warmly, gave him a seat, and President Eliot departed. Then Adams without a blush said, 'I will conclude my remarks on the career of Simon de Mountfort,' of whom he had never mentioned a word. But he proceeded with so much learning that the Englishman was amazed and so was I. And Adams forgot all about my lecture, for which I was duly grateful. 91

His students must have appreciated such a demonstration; clearly, within certain limits, most adequately appreciated by Channing himself, such "remarks" must have come within the province of "active aid and sympathy."

In his classroom, his students found him "original, unexpected, and even explosive" with a "genius for starting men to think." He attacked problems directly; his mind liked "to walk straight up to its object and assert or deny something that it takes for a fact."[92] Even his dullest students must have sensed that he enjoyed his immense intellectual labors, for while he read "Waitz, von Maurer, Sohm and other Germans,...and searched many times the whole collection of Anglo-Saxon laws, and ploughed through twenty-five thousand pages of charters and capitularies in medieval Latin,"[93] throughout all this work, "Adams was like a colt in tall clover."[94]

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91. Emerton in Samuel Eliot Morison, The Development of Harvard University since the Inauguration of President Eliot, 1869-1929, p.154.

92. J. Laurence Laughlin, "Some Recollections of Henry Adams," Scribner's Magazine, 69(May 1921), 579.

93. Ibid., 580.

94. Ibid.

He did not permit his friendliness towards his students to degenerate into intimacy except in very special cases, and even in his seminars he smoked cigars and "sipped his vintage sherry serenely aware that such privileges were not for students."[95] Despite his aloofness, however, his students liked him; one of them recorded in his diary: "Adams I think I like more than any other instructor....He despises as I do the barren accumulation of knowledge."[96] As teacher, Adams influenced his students "almost in spite of himself,"and judging by his results, he was able to fashion some of them after his own image.

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95. Cited in The Young Henry Adams, p.216, from Edward Betten's printed letter to Thomas F. Taylor, "Two Great Teachers," in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

96. Henry Osborn Taylor, op. cit., 496.

Chapter III

Review and Reform

In Boston, in the year 1776, a group of young professional men founded and supported a periodical known as the Monthly Anthology, an enterprise which formed for them a diverting avocation. Their weekly dinners of "widgeon and teal," "very good claret, without ice," "segars" and "much pleasant talk and good humor" amply repaid them for the slight deficits that the magazine perpetually earned.[1] Out of this casually planted seed stemmed one of the most influential magazines in America during the nineteenth century, the North American Review. From its inception down to the opening of the twentieth century the Review had been served by a succession of illustrious men. Jared Sparks, Edward Everett, John Gorham Palfrey, and James Russell Lowell had been its editors; men like Motley, Holmes, Arthur Hugh Clough, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., Asa Gray, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry W. Longfellow had been among its contributors.

But despite this array of talent, the Review had had its troubles; in 1848 one of its contemporary magazines termed it "torpid and respectable"[2] and a year later, another Boston journal went out of its way to

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1. Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, II, 10; Frank Luther Mott, "One Hundred and Twenty Years," North American Review, 240(June 1935), 144. Hereinafter referred to as "One Hundred and Twenty Years."

2. "One Hundred and Twenty Years," p.159. So termed by the Boston Literary World.

be insulting:

> The N. A. is a slow-coach, yet it certainly goes ahead....As we look in at the coach windows at the present time...the passengers seem to have been taking a social nap, and the driver probably held up, not to disturb their slumbers. Europe is on fire, and questions of moment are welding hot in our own country, yet this North American Review is either admiring the tails of tenth-rate comets, or sprinkling a little Attic salt without any pepper on a dish of cucumbers. [3]

Clearly then, an organ devoted almost exclusively to the genteel tradition did not satisfy everyone, even in Boston. Some men of literary acumen prened themselves on the fact that they would not write for such a journal: Thoreau boasted that he had never written for it, and added that he thought it a "venerable cobweb."[4] The very pages of the Review were "ophthalmologically vile" as late as 1854,[5] and as the decade closed, these pages were filled more and more frequently with the writings of "unknown and fifth-rate men."[6] It continued to lose popularity and prestige through the war years--so much so, in fact, that when James Russell Lowell turned over the editorial chair to Professor Gurney, he was forced to admit that "the Review was at a standstill."[7] Under Gurney's inept hand circulation plummetted to "three or four hundred copies;"[8] fifty years earlier it had published thirty- two hundred.[9]

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3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., 160.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., 161.

7. Ibid., 163.

8. Ibid., 165.

9. Ibid., 152.

Osgood, the owner, appealed to Eliot for aid, and Eliot, searching for the man to rescue the publication, chose Henry Adams.

II

When Adams came to Harvard College as Assistant Professor of History, teaching was only half his work. With the professorship he took the North American Review and became its "avowed editor,"[10] but not without many misgivings.[11] He took the Review "as a last resource, since no one else could be found, and at a moment when it was very doubtful whether the publishers would not decide to drop it at once."[12] Having made up his mind to accept the joint responsibility of teacher and editor, he threw his amazing energy into both tasks. The former we have described at sufficient length already; the story of Adams' work on the Review is another saga of his strength and ability.

Adams had written to Gaskell that he had not finally accepted the proposal made by President Eliot until his return home from Europe in the fall of 1870.[13] But he had evidently tacitly accepted it during the preceding spring, for by then he had asked Carl Schurz for a political article "on the part of the North American Review."[14]

He was aware that if he failed to rejuvenate the magazine, "it must

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10. Letters, I, 194.

11. Ibid., 193.

12. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.53.

13. See Letters, I, 193; and cf. p.135.

14. Ibid., 197.

die,"[15] so Adams began at the beginning. He went to James R. Osgood, the publisher, and persuaded him to "change in many ways the business management"[16] of the journal, for [illegible] existing need of the magazine was money. Adams' predecessors had raised the rate of pay to contributors of established reputation from $3.50 to $5.00 per page,[17] but this was still $5.00 less than other journals were paying,[18] and many authors were not content to take half their pay in faded glory from the North American. Adams would not ask them to. As soon as his first number of the Review appeared, in January, 1871, Adams wrote to Charles Eliot Norton, who had preceded him as editor:

> The first and vital problem is the financial one, and it is now demonstrated that mere literary success will not solve this, though without literary success there is no chance of reaching up to the problem at all. Articles enough, and good enough, I can get, but a page of advertisements would offer me more attractions than the cleverest page of criticism I ever saw. [19]

To one man, from whom he had particularly desired an article, Adams had explained his plight as editor:

> Money we have not much of, but I will pay...the best the publishers will put [illegible]....I must make the Review pay for itself before it can be very generous, but if it is successful I will [illegible] the rates. [20]

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15. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.53.

16. Ibid.

17. "One Hundred and Twenty Years," 160.

18. Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, III, 16-17.

19. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.54.

20. Ibid., p.46.

Adams' first ambition was to make the Review pay for itself.

Until he took the helm, the magazine had emphasized history. Many of the editors had been specialists in that field, and they had had help from such men as Parkman, Fiske, and Charles Kendall Adams.[21] Henry, faced by stringent fiscal problems, sought other and more profitable subjects. Naturally enough, he chose politics, and especially, political reform. The possibilities of this subject seemed fresh and limitless to him, and in view of activities in Washington, an organ of protest was sorely needed. Protest came easily to Adams.

In November of 1870, Adams made his "flock" of students "wait for their historical fodder" while he went to New York "to a political gathering of members of the press."[22] The object of this meeting was political reform. The Republican party had seen the railroad scandals blast the reputation of President Grant; it had been further weakened by the disclosures of the Credit Mobilier affair. State and municipal governments reeked of corruption after the fashion of Boss Tweed and the Tammany Ring in New York. "The people along with the politicians...were wallowing in corruption and enjoying the feeling of the ooze."[23] Reform must be had. The problem for the Republicans was how to achieve reform and still, in the face of such wholesale corruption, retain power and office. This was the problem faced by members of the press who foregathered in New York in December, 1870.

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21. "One Hundred and Twenty Years," 164.

22. Letters, I, 199.

23. Claude G. Bowers, op. cit., p.282.

They all agreed that reform was the only way the party could save itself: the question now became where reform should begin. In federal politics, two fields immediately presented themselves: revenue reform and civil service reform. The meeting in New York, Adams reported,

> decided that the two measures should be advocated together and that for the present our agitation should be restricted...to these two issues, although there are others ready to be taken up in case of further success. 24

The group in New York was composed solely of Republicans:"no democrats were asked and it was understood that the democratic influence was to be held quite outside."[25] But all those in attendance at the meeting were aware that with corruption so deeply entrenched, reform must be forced upon the Republican party as a whole. As a lever to force self-purification on the party, it was proposed to split the party and set up an independent reform movement and to hold a separate convention the next summer. This was to be done only "as a threat over the party,"[26] in case it should reject the doctrines of reform.

The "members of the press" had no illusions about the purity of the Republican administration; Adams reported to Jacob Dolson Cox:

> The tone of the meeting was one of indifference and contempt for the administration, which was scarcely mentioned at all. We considered it as out of the field--broken down--and our only doubt was whether it was best to break the party down too, or to put it on its good behavior. 27

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24. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.50.

25. Ibid., p.49.

26. Ibid., p.50.

27. Ibid., p.50.

Adams made his trip to New York serve two purposes: he was genuinely interested in reform and the fate of the Republican party--and he sought a "message" for his tottering Review. When he returned to Boston Adams knew exactly what course the journal would take under his guidance.

III

Adams set his new course at once. David A. Wells had resigned from the Treasury Department, to the obvious relief of President Grant. Adams had known Wells long and intimately;[28] he knew his attitudes towards Grant's administration. He wrote him asking for an article for the North American Review, and added: "You had better make up your mind to do it at once."[29] Wells promised to comply.[30]

Adams turned next to Jacob Dolson Cox, who, under the circumstances, was ripe for an article on reform: he had just resigned from the Cabinet of President Grant when the President had lent his support to the notorious McGarrahan case. Cox had not only resigned, he had called in the press and given them the correspondence with the President which led to his resignation. The results shocked a nation nearly impervious to shock. It was openly charged that Cox had been driven from the Cabinet because of his hostility to open theft.[31] In an age of corruption, Cox

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28. Letters, I, 149, 152, 153, 157, 162, and 163.

29. John Eliot Alden, "Henry Adams as Editor: A Group of Unpublished Letters Written to David A. Wells," New England Quarterly, 11 (March 1938), 147.

30. This article appeared as "The Meaning of Revenue Reform," North American Review, 113(July 1871), 104-153.

31. Claude G. Bowers, op. cit., pp.327-330.

had set his face against it, and his political doom was sealed.

In the midst of this agitation, Adams appealed to Cox for

> a statement on your part of the true principles of reform based on your experience in office...to appear with it in my hand at the outset of my editorial career is of decisive consequence to me. 32.

Any article from Cox on such a question was sure to be explosive--and even oddly out of place in the moribund pages of the North American: Adams knew this and assured Cox that "the publishers promise to back me up." Once again, having taken a stand, Adams had no intention of hiding his light; he promised Cox that he would "advertise the article all over the country." The Henry Adams of the 70's was strikingly consistent with the Adams of the 60's; he still desired to break glass, and Cox on reform was surely more efficient at the job than Adams on Captain John Smith.

But Adams did not rest with merely one explosive article. He sought,in the abundance of materials at his hand, for others. Since 1869, New York City and much of the State had been under the control of the Tweed Ring. Something of the scope of the operations of this gang of thieves may be gathered from an account of their depredations later published in the Review:

> By midsummer of 1870 the percentage of graft which the Ring extracted from public contractors [in New York City] had been stepped up to eighty-five percent. By the fall of 1871 the Ring was generally credited with the theft of twenty million dollars. The greatest single source of gain was the courthouse, which was planned in 1858 to cost not more than two hundred and fifty thousand dollars and which swallowed up more than eight million dollars without reaching

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32. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.40.

> completion. The aggregate of the fraudulent bills certified by the Ring's members, sitting as a special board of audit, on the single day of April 5, 1870, was nearly fifteen and three quarter million dollars; and of this more than fourteen millions was sheer plunder. For the remainder of 1870 the total of fraudulent bills was twelve million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and for 1871 it was three million four hundred thousand dollars. 33

When the accumulated corruption burst upon the public, "decent opinion was stirred to the depths"[34] and under the leadership of Samuel J. Tilden, reform measures were initiated. The moment the clean-up was started, Adams wrote to Tilden:

> I am desirous of placing on record...an account of the Tammany frauds and their history, given by a person whose authority is decisive....An account, therefore, of the...frauds and their detections, of the struggle of Tammany to maintain itself after the discovery, and of the means by which it was overthrown, and finally an expression of opinion as to the proper means of preventing such evils in the future, seems to me to be required. 35

Adams was out to bolster his Review, to make it readable and saleable, and to make it politically influential. Political muckraking seemed to offer the shortest road to his goal. James Russell Lowell, watching

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33. C. F. Wingate, "An Episode in Municipal Government," North American Review, 121(1875), 137-138. See below note 35. Cf. Allen Nevins, op. cit., pp.135-136.

34. Allen Nevins, op. cit., p.137.

35. Henry Adams and His Friends, pp.55-56. Tilden did not comply with this request, so Adams must have asked his brother, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., to write up the story, because it appeared in the North American Review for October, 1874, and January, July, and October, 1875, as "An Episode in Municipal Government," in four parts. This is explained by W. C. Ford in these words: "C. F. Wingate, who had supplied some of the material and to whom Adams characteristically gave full credit...." "Charles Francis Adams, Jr.", P. A. A., I, 50.

Adams drive the "torpid and respectable" "Old North" through the slime of political corruption, commented approvingly that "Adams was out to make the old teakettle think it was a steam engine."[36]

Meanwhile, Adams's earlier article on "The New York Gold Conspiracy" which had been published in the Westminster Review produced repercussions. The "men of Erie" had discovered the authorship of the offensive article and sought revenge. Adams reported on his precarious position to Gaskell:

> I have been in New York...and besides a public dinner there, have been concocting our new attack on the men of Erie in the next number of my Review. They have now found out that I wrote the Westminster article, and New York will soon be too hot for me.... Libel suits are looming ahead. There is going to be a very lively scrimmage in which someone will be hurt. We are in dead earnest on our side and our trains are laid far and near. Pray that we may not be under! [37]

Adams did more than report to Gaskell: believing in the precept that the best defense is a good offense, he began an immediate frontal attack on the "men of Erie." The next issue of the Review spread the scandal of Erie before its readers. Charles Francis Adams, Jr. devoted fifty-one pages to a minute examination of the machinations by which the "men of Erie" gained control of the Albany and Susquehanna Railroad.[38] In pedestrian prose, the article anatomized blatant fraud. It condemned the

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33. "One Hundred and Twenty Years," p.164.

37. Letters, I, 202.

38. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., "An Erie Raid," North American Review, 112(April 1871), 240-281. This essay was reprinted in A Chapter of Erie and Other Essays, pp.135-191. Citations are from the magazine edition.

management of the Erie system and the courts which it had corrupted. With masterly restraint Charles noted that the New York courts, on occasion, "and in the surprisingly brief period of fifteen minutes" could

> go through all the forms and make all the inquiries necessary to satisfy the judicial mind in regard to so trifling a matter as the receivership of some one hundred and fifty miles of railroad, involving millions of capital. 39

When a corrupt judiciary is capable of such flagrant breach of principle,

> It is wholly unnecessary to criticise....[This] reflects the highest credit and energy of all concerned: it speaks volumes. The law's delay is an ill of which the citizens of New York, certainly, have no cause to complain. 40

Charles never raised his voice: stroke by stroke he laid bare the tissue of lies and thefts by which the men of Erie had built their empire. To have ranted and done dull legal reform would have involved asserting the obvious. He closed his case on the same low tone; he cited plain unvarnished fact: the courts of the state of New York had seen fit to award the Erie system "some one hundred and fifty miles of railroad, involving millions of capital" for the total sum of ninety two thousand dollars![41]

What Charles had done to the management of the Erie System, Albert Stickney proceeded to do to David Dudley Field, the lawyer who had acted as legalcounsel for Fisk throughout his "raid" on the Albany and

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39. Ibid., 257.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid., 301.

Susquehanna.[42] Once more every sordid detail of the Erie Raid was presented, this time as an impeachment of Field's part in it. Again, in pedestrian prose, every page cried fraud. Field was openly accused of complicity and conspiracy to defraud:

> This particular 'conspiracy' did not spring Minerva-like from the brain of Mr. James Fisk. Mr. David Dudley Field, for one, helped to devise it. Mr. David Dudley Field, for one, did execute it. [43]

Even in prone prose one does not lightly accuse the leading member of the New York bar of devising and executing barefaced fraud. But Stickney, under the prodding of Adams, could be even more explicit. He made two specific charges:

> first, that Mr. Field has, in Mr. Fisk and Mr. Gould, clients notoriously bad men, who have robbed and are now robbing other men of their property; and second, that Mr. Field, as their counsel, has aided them in so doing. [44]

Stickney did not stop with accusing Mr. David Dudley Field: he went on to indict "The Police Commissioners of the City of Albany" for their part in the "raid" and all the New York Judiciary which Field had used as tools by wielding the influence of Fisk and Gould.[45] The "Old North" article did indeed give Mr. Field some measure of approbation; it credited him with one of the "most glorious inventions of the nineteenth

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42. Albert Stickney, "Lawyer and Client," North American Review, 112(April 1871), 382-421.

43. Ibid., 419.

44. Ibid., 385.

45. Ibid., 401ff.

century," "that of obtaining process of court without evidence and executing process of court without having it."[46] Clearly, the Review, in Adams' hands, could rightfully think of itself as a "steam engine." Open accusation of fraud brought against such powerful and unscrupulous men as Fisk and Gould involved no small hazard, and Adams was acutely aware of it. Mr. Field brought pressure against the Westminster Review, but its editor refused to retract the article. Then pressure was put on the North American Review and Adams could report to Gaskell that

> we are getting ourselves into a tight place. One of these days I expect to find my head cracked by something harder than a newspaper leader. 47

Fortunately, Adams' head was never cracked, but under his guidance the Review managed to "break glass," even in England. One of Adams' English friends, Frank Lawley, had taken to

> puffing the Review violently, if not altogether learnedly, in the Telegraph....His latest [article] describes the N. A. R. as having "sprung into existence," a fact which sounds queerly in this benighted land, where the periodical has been hitherto considered as a species of medieval relic, handed down as a sacred trust from the times of our remotest ancestors. He selects, two, for especial praise, the two poorest articles in the number. Not that I object....so long as the trumpet is blown, it matters little what the tune is. 48

If Adams did not achieve his dream of making the Review a truly effective political organ, he had unquestionably demonstrated its power to educate public opinion.

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46. Ibid., 406.

47. Letters, I, 210.

48. Ibid., 219.

Realizing that in politics he had a rich vein, Adams proceeded to mine it vigorously. He had kept after David A. Wells for "an authoritative announcement of our proper policy" and had suggested that he "make it as strong as you can."[49] Adams must have been somewhat disappointed with the results of Wells' effort: even for a North American article it was extremely dull prose, and Wells had further befogged his style by including a mass of statistical tables.[50] For those readers who had the persistence to wade through his article, Wells sounded what was by now the dominant tone of the Review:

> It remains for the government to decide whether it will continue its devotion to established abuses, and renew its sneers at reform, or whether it will vigorously apply such intelligence as it has at its command, and recognize the fact that...reform means its own salvation. [51]

Adams found that Wells' effort was the best he could get for the July number of the Review. He sandwiched it in between articles on "The Genesis of Species" and "The Exploration of Palestine" and complained, with more than usual justification, to Gaskell that the issue was "very dull."[52]

Despite his personal disappointment Adams stuck to his reform campaign. The October issue, prepared in the spring, carried on the struggle with an article by Charles Nordhoff on "The Misgovernment of New York,--A Remedy Suggested." Again corruption was anatomized. Again

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49. James Elliot Alden, op. cit., p.144.

50. David A. Wells, "The Meaning of Revenue Reform," North American Review, 113(July 1871), 101-153.

51. Ibid., 153.

52. Letters, I, 211.

the moral of reform was published. And again the article was intolerably dull. Adams had decided that he needed a rest. He had foreseen that his "political labor" and reform struggles would be "at an end" early in the spring.[53] On July 5, 1871, he "knocked off editing and professing" and turned westward, to spend the summer in long conversations with Clarence King.[54]

Before he left, Adams had made one more attempt to get a sound article on reform for the Review. He had written to Carl Schurz, the rebel Republican from Missouri,[55] even before he took over the editorial chair, for an article on the reform movement on the west.[56] Schurz had pleaded the press of business as an excuse for not contributing himself; but Adams continued to pursue the matter. In order to relieve Schurz of as much labor as possible, Adams made him an unprecedented proposition:

> If you will send me your rough draft, as elaborate as time will allow, or your notes and general directions, I will put the article into shape and return it to you in manuscript for correction and improvement....Nothing would please me better than to write at your dictation at any time, but my own professional work is not a little exacting of time, and I want as much of yours as you can spare. 57

Once more Schurz sent his regrets. Again Adams refused to be put off.

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53. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.55.

54. Letters, I, 212.

55. Claude Moore Fuess, Carl Schurz; Reformer, pp.178-185.

56. Letters, I, 197.

57. Ibid., 207.

He admitted, with unusual candor; "I am so earnest in my wish to bring your influence to bear on our friends here that I can leave nothing untried in order to effect it."[58] Adams wanted Schurz to express himself on reform, not only for the importance of his name in the Review, but "politically speaking, in view of the coming presidential question,"[59] he wanted Schurz to take a definite stand. Schurz steadfastly refused to become entangled. Adams dropped the matter in disgust, and his editorial interest in domestic politics lapsed for the ensuing two years.

On his return from his Western jaunt, Adams took up the double burden of "editing and professing" and shortly added another: matrimony. It appeared to be too much of a load, so Adams made a choice. To Gaskell, he wrote: "I give up the N. A. R. on my marriage. Whether I resume it or not on my return, I don't know."[60] While Adams was making his wedding journey through Europe in 1872-1873, Thomas Sergeant Perry edited three numbers of the Review,[61] but when the Adamses returned to America, "bobbing up on this side the ocean like a couple of enthusiastic soap bubbles,"[62] Henry decided that he would take on the magazine once more: "The North American Review comes into my hands only after the first of January" of 1874.[63] Adams made a futile effort to reassert the erring

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58. Ibid., 210.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid., 226.

61. Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, II, 240.

62. Letters, I, 255.

63. Ibid., 257.

need for reform in an article in the first issue:[64] he succeeded in iterating his plea that

> the great difficulty in the way, and it is an almost insurmountable one, is to teach our people that any reform is needed; and...that such reform is not to be gained by magic or slight of hand, but by genuine hard work.[65]

Nobody paid any attention to the harpings of the "Old North" on reform. Politics continued to be "very deep in the mud."[66] Occasionally, Adams found himself able to "delight in the barbaric simplicity of our legislators,"[67] but more serious reflection, and the disdain of the general public for his reform program, made it "harder to laugh at the badness of our government which is desperate; not so much corrupt as incompetent, enough to make one a dervish for life."[68]

Once Adams decided that the public could not be educated to political reform, he settled down to making the Review as competent a journal as possible, with as little cost to his own energies as he could manage. He secured as an assistant editor one of his own graduate students, Henry Cabot Lodge, and turned over to him much of the detail work of carrying on the Review.[69] He issued very specific instructions to his assistant,

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64. Henry V. Poor, "The Currency and Finance of the United States," North American Review, 118(January 1874), 82-140.

65. Ibid., 139.

66. Letters, I, 239.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid., 289.

69. Henry Adams and His Friends, passim; Letters, I, 238-286, passim.

and watched so closely over all the affairs of the journal that he came to have a reputation for being "dictatorial."[70] This reputation he earned honestly: on one occasion, receiving an article by "an eminent local historian and antiquary," he directed Lodge to "go over it and strike out all superfluous words."[71] On another occasion, he instructed Lodge to inform a particularly stubborn contributor that "the editor reserves to himself in all cases and rigidly exercises, the right to strike out or modify expressions which he deems too strong."[72] But even with the aid of Lodge, Adams continued to bear most of the burden; he specifically admonished Lodge to "put all that is disagreeable on my shoulders."[73] He told Lodge where to send books for review[74] and how many pages to allow each contributor. Once he threatened to make Lodge edit a whole issue by himself,[75] but apparently he concluded that such a task must be an imposition on the younger man. But all the work he poured on his assistant was not unrewarded; under the exacting tutelage of his master Lodge learned to write. Adams lectured him on style[76] and thoroughly grounded him in editorial technique. Moreover, when someone

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70. "One Hundred and Twenty Years," 165.

71. Letters, I, 205.

72. Ibid., 277.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid., 264.

75. Ibid., 267.

76. Ibid., 261, 271, 284-285.

approval of any aspect of the Review, Adams shared the honor with Lodge:

> I have just received a letter from Prof. Whitney, an extract from which will please you, especially as you come in for a good share of the credit.... 'There have come notes to me from several distinguished English scholars (one from Darwin himself) expressing much satisfaction with the criticism of Muller in the July number. The recent number is an excellent one and its book-notices seem to me rather beyond what one sees anywhere else.' 77

Despite the consistent assistance which Lodge was able to give him, Adams was forced to work at top speed all the time, and by the spring of 1878 he was again becoming deplorably weary. His contributors were "all behaving like the devil"[78] and the pressing financial problems of the Review kept Adams in constant terror "lest it should die on my hands and go to some Jew."[79] He was faced always with a "dreary waste of examination books" from his students, "a mass of correspondence" or the "problem of raising money" for the Review--and all the time he worried about becoming "what of all things I despise, a Boston prig." It was no wonder that he felt compelled to warn Lodge that he had "worked off into criticism" no little of the "nervousness and wretchedness" which beset him. "Don't be alarmed at it," he counseled.[80]

One of the most important contributing factors to the "nervousness and wretchedness" of the spring of 1878 was Adams' work on the centennial number of the North American Review which had appeared in January.

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77. Ibid., 235.

78. Ibid., 238.

79. Ibid., 237.

80. Ibid.

it was a brilliant summary of American achievement in the fields of religion, politics, science, economics, law and education. The entire two hundred and twenty-eight pages of the issue were given over to six essays, the usual book notices being omitted for want of space. Adams desired for the centennial number a scientific survey of American civilization for the purpose of predicting its future lines of development. Early in August he outlined his plan to Simon Newcomb:

> I propose to issue next January a centennial number of the North American Review, to contain six articles of forty pages each on the movement of American thought in Religion, Politics, Literature, Law, Science, and Economy, that is, physical growth. The object is to ascertain whether and to what degree Americans should feel satisfaction or disappointment at the result of a century's activity....Without self-glorification or fault finding, a short analysis of our methods and our station in the world ought to be valuable. [31]

He further explained his project to Daniel Colit Gilman, president of the newly founded Johns Hopkins University, when he requested an article which would "review the movement of American thought during the last century."[32] The plan of the entire issue was to "measure the progress of our country by the only standard which I know of worth calling to mankind, its thought."[33] Adams did not prescribe to his carefully selected contributors the mode of treatment for each subject, but he did indicate to Gilman something of the path he would like him to take; he asked him to discuss

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31. Henry Adams and His Friends, pp.68-69.

32. Ibid., p.73.

33. Holt W. Stull, "Henry Adams and the Johns Hopkins University," New England Quarterly, 11(September 1938), 633.

> The American conception of education...as shown in her efforts during the last century; the changes in that conception, if any; the strong and weak points of her ideal and its realization; and the degree of influence which may be justly claimed for it, on Europe; finally the prospect for the future; these views combined make a subject of the highest interest and permanent value. [34]

Taken together, Adams sought in these six essays to discover the laws of development of the American mind; he searched for "some basis of faith in general principles, some theory of progress of civilization which is outside and above all temporary questions of policy."[35]

The centennial issue did not, however, depict a uniform progress in these six branches of American thought. Close readers should have been sobered by the enumerated obstacles in the path of genuine progress. J. L. Diman, in his review of American religion, asserted that "American Christianity has been 'discharged' in a moral and practical rather than in a scientific and theological development;"[36] or in other words, he saw a great increase in practical morality, but a great decline in faith and apologetics. Government had changed hands from statesmen of the highest order to politicians of the lowest: "The political machinery...has been refined and perfected until it totally defeats the popular will, and has produced a kind of despair in regard to any effort to recover that of which the people have been robbed."[37] Political

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34. Ibid., 477.

35. Letters, I, 303.

36. J. L. Diman, "Religion in America, 1770-1776," North American Review, 122(January 1876), 43.

37. William Graham Sumner, "Politics in America, 1776-1876," North American Review, 122(January 1876), 67.

economy had fared little better in the same time: "We are the only people who with a light heart have trusted to the energy of growth to insure us against the effect of present mistakes" because we are still able to squander our natural resources.[88] Gilman found that education and the diffusion of knowledge had gone on at an amazing rate on the lower levels, but he found too that "the student of American education can hardly fail to be disenchanted by a comparison of our system of higher instruction with those of Europe; he must acknowledge that, in intermediate instruction, we are far behind what we know to be requisite, and that in primary schools we lose, from one cause and another, much time and force."[89] Pure science languished in America while technology and the practical arts developed rapidly.[90] Only on the subject of American law did the observer feel free to assert unqualified progress: he found that law had become "more simple, more humane, more adaptive"[91] and concluded that

> the pathway which American law has pursued is one upon which we can turn our eyes with feelings of no little pride; and if the progress of our national jurisprudence has not always been in precisely

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88. Charles F. Dunbar, "Economic Science in America, 1776-1876," North American Review, 122(January 1876), 101.

89. Daniel Coit Gilman, "Education in America, 1776-1876," North American Review, 122(January 1876), 227.

90. Simon Newcomb, "Abstract Science in America, 1776-1876," North American Review, 122(January 1876), 122.

91. G. T. Bisphem, "Law in America, 1776-1876," North American Review, 122(January 1876), 101.

> the right direction, it has not wandered far from the way, and has certainly been no laggard. 92

Adams must have disagreed with many of the conclusions reached by his contributors to the centennial number, but he could not but be proud of the issue as a whole. Oddly enough, there is no mention of a sense of achievement in any of his correspondence at the time.

IV

Besides being a centennial year for his Review and for the nation, 1876 was a presidential election year, a matter of infinite interest and import to Adams. He dived headlong into politics, dragging his Review after him. The liberal reform element of the Republican party had lain nearly dormant since their meeting in New York in 1870, acting independently to keep the party in power and at the same time pressing reform measures within the party. By 1876 reform had become a matter of such moment that the entire presidential canvass hinged on it.[93] The North American Review was largely responsible for joining the issue: for nearly two years it had been instrumental in inciting the Republicans to action. At the death of Sumner in 1874 and the appearance of that "nonentity" George Boutwell as head of the party, Adams was stirred to wrath.[94] The first two issues of the 1874 North American had

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92. Ibid.

93. Allen Nevins, op. cit., p.314.

94. Letters, I, 259.

something of the air of a family magazine,[95] but the consistent and vitriolic attacks on Boutwell succeeded in placing the journal in the vanguard of the reform movement.

Adams was astute enough to realize that articles in a journal like the North American would be ineffectual in a fight with entrenched corruption. Seeking a wider audience, he and some of his friends entered into negotiations to purchase the Boston Advertiser, and he commanded Lodge to join the syndicate in a most peremptory "Private and Conf." note:

> You must...join us. How much money will you put in? Each share is $5000....I shall count on you for one. Please telegraph assent. 96

For some reason the plan came to nought, but the nucleus of independents which Adams formed under the ostensible leadership of Carl Schurz continued to gain influence.

Adams told much of the story of his political activities to his friend Gaskell; he had, he wrote,

> started a new party of dimensions not absolutely gigantic. Since then nothing very startling has occurred. But my new party thrives. It consisted then, I think, of four men. Now it has more than that. It would not surprise me if I had as many as forty coadjutors. We felt so happy about our future success that we had a demonstration in New York, which, as it was originated, hatched, and generally brought into life by me as a result of six months incubation, I may call mine. As it may amuse you to follow my devious and underground ways, I send you a report of our proceedings...the

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95. They contained articles by Brooks, Charles Francis, Jr., and Henry Adams.

96. Letters, I, 202.

> newspapers began to assume that the object of our 'new party' was to make my father President next year. And in fact I believe this to be Schurz's most earnest wish and hope, but as practically it was no part of my plan, and I am much afraid that we shall shipwreck on that rock. Nevertheless we shall go ahead and you need not be surprised to hear that we have entered ourselves with ethical rebukes by some new secure failure or enabled it to nothing for their feebleness, or have not ally effected a brilliant coup, brought our man in as President, and are the rulers of forty million people. Such is the chaotic condition of our politics that any if these results is possible....It indicates that our whole political fabric is out of joint and running wild, but so it is. My scheme is to organize a party of the centre and to support the party which accepts our influence most completely. But I doubt whether we can absolutely overthrow both parties as many of our ardent friends seem almost inclined to try. 97

The heart of Adams' plan was to organize a group which should control the balance of power between the two parties. It was a daring scheme, and he executed it well. He had organized the meeting in New York,[98] and when Hayes won a victory in Ohio, Adams almost concluded that the Independents had achieved control of politics. Adams knew that such an independent group could control the election. But Adams was unable to control his friends. Schurz wanted Charles Francis Adams, Sr., to run as the Independent candidate for the presidency, and when the elder Adams failed to show enthusiasm for the office, Schurz bolted from the Independent party and lent his support to the Republican candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes.[99]

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97. Henry Adams and His Friends, pp.66-67.

98. See his instructions to Schurz regarding this meeting in Letters, I, 273-277.

99. Joseph Schafer, Carl Schurz: Militant Liberal, pp.207-211.

The Wells episode was not without irony for Henry. Schurz had been his creature. He had gone so far as to bring pressure to bear on the corporation of Harvard College to grant Schurz an honorary degree, thinking that it would weld him more securely to the Independents.[100] When Schurz fled to the safety of the Republican party machine, Adams expressed his own thoughts on the subject in a letter of consolation to Lodge:

> Console yourself about politics. You are indeed the one who has the best right to complain, for you had the most trouble in forming that rope of sand, the Independent party. I cannot help laughing to think how, after all our labor and after we had by main force created a party for Schurz to lead, he himself, without a word or a single effort to keep his party together, kicked us over in his haste to jump back to the Republicans. If he had taken the least pains to hold his friends together, I feel sure we could have spoken with effect. I, for one, would have been glad to join in any combined action, whichever way the majority decided. And in that case, Schurz's voice would not now be isolated and shrill. Well! We knew what he was! I am not angry with him, but of course his leadership is at an end. The leader who treats his followers in that way is a mere will-o'-the-wisp. I hope he will get his cabinet office, and I hope he will forget that we ever worked to make him our leader, independent of party. He can hereafter buy power only by devotion to party, and further connection with us could not help him and would be fatal to us. Don't be disheartened by the excesses of party spirit. [101]

Adams had more than ample cause for his disappointment. He had driven himself and his protege almost to the breaking point in pursuit of politics, and his extremely heavy correspondence of the time shows half a

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100. Letters, I, 202.

101. Ibid., 205-206.

dozen matters which constantly demanded attention. The North American Review had to be maintained, and this alone entailed a voluminous correspondence and endless hours of detail work. In addition, he was bringing out at this time the dissertations submitted by his doctoral candidates, along with his own essay on Anglo-Saxon Law. The teaching of new courses at Harvard required hours of close reading and the most arduous research.

It was true that the Review had become much stronger under his guidance, both intellectually and financially, but Adams had been forced to recognize that it was still incapable of breaking political machines so long as the public continued to be completely indifferent. Sadly, he was forced to admit that the machine system in politics would outlive him:

> I am satisfied that the machine can't be smashed this time. As I feared, we have ourselves saved it by a foolish attempt to run it, which we shall never succeed in. The...machine will outlive me, and that being the case, I prefer to leave this greatest of American problems to shrewder heads than mine. When the day comes on which it will be considered as disgraceful to be seen in a caucus as to be seen in a gambling house or brothel, then my interest will wake up again and legitimate politics will get a new birth. 102.

Direct political action in the contest between Hayes and Tilden seemed out of the question to Adams--there was so little to choose from between the two candidates. The pressure for reform exerted by the Independents had forced both parties to nominate men of nominal integrity, though

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102. Ibid., 290.

neither of them was a man of political or moral stature. Many persons felt as though the "worst scrags of American politics had been churned and emptied" during the campaign, and that neither Hayes nor Tilden "really deserved the presidency."[103] Nevertheless, Adams still retained the editorial chair of a journal, and one month before the election, he used his position to deliver a scathing attack on the character of American politics.[104] Working together,[105] Charles and Henry asserted flatly that the conduct of the campaign thus far on the part of both parties, was, for the average voter, "an insult to his intelligence."[106] They asserted flatly that the present campaign made a "farce" of government.[107] And after a long and carefully documented review of both candidates and both political machines, the brothers advised the Independents "to overcome the tendency of our political system to corruption." In order to do this, "the relationship between the party system and the constitutional system must be reversed."[108]

Moreover, Adams opened the North American to other articles similarly emphatic on the subject of contemporary politics. H. V. Boynton's

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103. Allen Nevins, op. cit., p.317.

104. "The Independents in the Campaign," North American Review, 123 (October 1876), 426-437.

105. Letters, I, 207.

106. "The Independents in the Campaign," North American Review, 123 (October 1876), 436.

107. Ibid., 441.

108. Ibid., 433-434.

article on "The Whiskey Ring"[109] exposed the scandalous revenue frauds of the Republican administration, and even indicted the President.[110] Adams himself longed to "add a page" to Boynton's essay pointing up "the political moral,"[111] but decided to have Boynton himself do it, "in the strongest possible language."[112] Boynton acted on Adams' instructions:

> The machine, without regard to the party, is corrupt. It commands either the active assistance or the silence of nearly all politicians. And these silent men are...the worst enemies of the republic. They make it safe to defraud. They render it practically impossible to overthrow corruptionists. They would resent an accusation of participation in any of this robbery, yet they are accessories, one and all. The machine of party is opposed to pure government. To those who control it reform is death. Not till the people rise...and strike these political usurpers down, will reform become possible. And it will remain impossible so long as the voters of the country tolerate public men who, for the sake of party, rally to the defense of its political thieves. [113]

Adams assented to every thought in Boynton's article.

Two more political articles completed the pre-election bill-of-fare for readers of the North American: Charles and his colleague, C. F. Wingate published the last of their "Lessons in Municipal Government," this one on "The Shattering of the Tweed Ring." In this article they

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109. H. V. Boynton, "The Whiskey Ring," North American Review, 122 (October 1875), 305-347.

110. Ibid., 335.

111. Letters, I, 216.

112. Ibid., 207. The italics are Adams'.

113. H. V. Boynton, op. cit., 327.

gave in full perspective the shocking story of the activities of the "Ring" in New York.[114] William H. Trescott in "The Southern Question" added fuel to the flames by calling on the federal government to stop trying to legislate social reform for the South.[115] All in all, the entire October number of the North American Review was unique: it required no particularly astute mind to recognize that. Even publishers could. Even Adams' publisher could. When the issue appeared, it bore on the title page a "Publisher's Notice" signed by James R. Osgood:

> The editors of the 'North American Review' having retired from its management on account of a difference of opinion with the proprietors as to the political character of the number, the proprietors, rather than cause an indefinite delay in publication, have allowed the number to retain the form which had been given to it, without, however, committing the Review to the opinions expressed therein. 116

But even before the issue appeared, Adams had written an explanation of the whole affair to Gaskell. As usual in his letters to Wendell Abbey, he adopted a light tone:

> I must have my little say, and I have devoted the whole October number of the North American to a review of the [political] field. The result is sickening. But I consider my October number a historical monument, and am going to avail myself of a trifling disagreement with the publishers to

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114. C. F. Wingate and Charles Francis Adams, Jr., "An Episode in Municipal Government," North American Review, 123(October 1876), 302-425.

115. William H. Trescott, "The Southern Question," North American Review, 123(October 1876), 280.

116. North American Review, 123(October 1876).

> throw off that load...and get rid of my editorial duties, leaving my monument behind me. [117]

Adams was preparing the way for his break with Boston.

V

Since Adams had begun teaching American history at Harvard in 1874, he had carried on his researches with a growing passion. His critical notices of major European historical works and his acquaintance with major European historians served to whet his interest and develop his method. As his dissatisfaction with politics and pedagogy increased, he turned more and more to his historical studies. At the height of the Hayes-Tilden controversy he told Lodge that he planned to let "others rush into the fray. I shall read history."[118] Read it he did.

Sometime in the winter of 1876-1877, Adams began devoting most of his energies "to the arrangement of a great mass of papers which have accidentally come under my hands,"[119] and which he thought might give him "some years' work and exercise a good deal of influence on my future movements."[120] These were the papers of Albert Gallatin, Jefferson's great Secretary of the Treasury. With such an important piece of historical work on his hands, Adams' latent desire to free himself from

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117. Letters, I, 301.

118. Ibid., 306. See also Adams' letters to various historians during 1876 in Henry Adams and His Friends, pp.71-85.

119. Ibid., 306; cf. also 309.

120. Ibid.

the burden of teaching now came to the surface. His classes were becoming more and more irksome to him, and in the fall of 1876, he made up his mind to leave teaching at the end of the school year. This decision he communicated to Bothell:

> For my sins, I am becoming popular in my old age. My classes are very large, one of them is near seventy in number. As I detest large classes I am much disgusted at this, and I have become foul and abusive in my language to them, hoping to drive them away. But I think it more likely that I shall be driven away myself....I shall try the experiment of passing a winter in Washington, searching archives. I regard my university work as essentially done. All the influence I can exercise has been exercised. The end of it is mere railing at the idleness of a university education. [121]

By June of 1877 he was comforted under his "cloak of historical" and was satisfied that "literature offers higher prizes than politics."[122] At the end of June he left the university and bolted for Washington, his favorite city. He had no desire ever to return there.

Six months after he left teaching, his old friend Gilman asked him to lecture at Johns Hopkins on his experiences as a teacher. Adams' refusal was somewhat brusque; it indicated that he had put that part of his past definitely behind him:

> I confess I would rather not talk about my experiences as a teacher. They satisfied me so completely that teaching is and always must be empirical if not empirical, however it be successful, that I was glad to find an excuse for abandoning any will ideas I might have had of creating a satisfactory

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121. Ibid.

122. Ibid.

> method of pedagogy. The only advice to my scholars who succeeded me in my branches of instruction was: 'Whatever else you do, never neglect trying a new experiment every year.' It was a confession of failure, and all the more because it was intended to stimulate the instructor rather than the student. 128

Thus the man who had spent six years editing an important magazine, teaching brilliantly, and bringing standards of American scholarship to new heights looked back on his labors and branded them failure.

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128. Helt W. Stull, op. cit., 637.

CHAPTER IV

Adams left Boston and Harvard College to indulge his taste in Washington, politics and history. He knew well the weight of traditions, and he knew that he bore the weight of two: back-bay Brahminism and Adams-family history. On the whole, he found the former more difficult to bear:

> Wasn't it...Gurney [he asked Godkin] who was addressed on his arrival at Alexandria Bay by a : 'You come from Boston, Sir, I presume.' For twenty-five years, more or less, I have been trying to persuade people that I don't come from Boston.... I might as well try to prove that I am an ornithorhynchus of the siluroid civilization. If I stood on Fifth Avenue in front of the Brunswick Hotel, and in a state of obvious inebriety hugged and kissed every pretty woman that passed, they would only say that I was a cold Beacon Street aristocrat, and read the New York Nation regularly. 1

For Henry, Washington and history offered the easiest, and what he would have called the most "amusing," escape from oppressive tradition. After resigning from Harvard and the North American Review, he had retired to the comforts of Beverly Farms for the summer. In the ninth of November, he and his wife arrived in Washington, and took up residence at the former home of William Wilson Corcoran, the famous "yellow house" of that famous philanthropist.[2] With an ample fortune, much leisure, and the best social connections, Adams began to live in the manner which he followed for the rest of his life. His letters show an

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1. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.110.

2. Ibid., p.5f.

obvious delight in the city itself, and in the social life which it afforded him:

> This is the only place in American where society amuses me, or where life offers variety. Here, too, I can fancy that we are of use in the world, for we distinctly occupy a niche which ought to be filled. ...One of these days this will be a very great city if nothing happens to it. Even now it is a beautiful one. 3

His enthusiasm for the city seldom waned for long. For him, Florence and Nice were "frankly bête" beside Washington,[4] and it is safe to assume that the first eight years of Adams' residence at the capital--until the death of his wife--were the happiest years of his life.

Mrs. Adams did much to heighten the pleasure which her husband found in Washington's society. Possessed of charming manners and brilliant conversation, she created a home which attracted people who were interesting and amusing to Henry. At the end of his first winter in the city, Adams could report to Gaskell on an unusually pleasant tone:

> Of ourselves...I can...give only pleasant news. We have had a very cheerful winter in Washington.... My wife has helped me...and we have found everyone friendly and ready to amuse us and to be amused. Our little dinners of six and eight were as pleasant as any I ever was at, even in London. 4

The "little dinners" which Adams gave became, in time, the epitome of Washington's social life. Scholars, politicians, statesmen, royalty, and diplomats were consistently in attendance. "Would you know our company?" Henry asked Gaskell; and then he proceeded to enumerate the roll

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3. Letters, I, 302.

4. Ibid., 340.

of the "rich, eminent, and witty" who formed the company.[5] At the end of a relatively short time, Adams' life had settled down to a daily routine of "five hours of work, a little society, a friend or two sometimes to dinner, and more rarely a dinner out, but never an evening."[6] His life had become "perfectly happy,"[7] and in a rare burst of intimate confidence, he communicated his *j'ai de vivre* to Gaskell:

> We are all of the Early and Dear type....We are luxuriously wasted by utterly trifles. We are not enough for Clubs. We are good-natured. I assure you, it is like a dream of the golden age.[8]

Between the years 1877 and 1883, "the Adamses enjoyed a "social and intellectual life such as few marriages know."[9]

One of the things which made [illegible] source of endless pleasure to Henry was his "club", the "Five of Hearts." This was an informal group composed of Mr. and Mrs. John Hay, Mr. and Mrs. Adams, and most probably, Clarence King, which met more or less regularly for tea on the afternoons when all of them were in Washington.[10] They had a fine service and stationery monogrammed to lend the name a measure of quaint authority.[11] The club was the [illegible] of a [illegible] intimacy.

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5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, 310.

7. *Ibid.*, 348.

8. *Ibid.*, 391.

9. *Henry Adams and His Friends*, xxii.

10. *Letters*, I, 375, and note.

11. L. Bennett, "Five of Hearts," *Scholastic*, 81(March 11, 1893), 7. Cf. also *Henry Adams and His Friends*, xxiii.

...Adams had probably first met Hay when the latter came to Washington in 1861 as private secretary to President Lincoln, and by 1870 the two men had formed a very close friendship.[12] Hay had married the daughter of a wealthy and politically influential Cleveland, and he had come to Washington to enjoy something of the same sort of life Adams had. Their friendship for Hay dated from their meeting in Wyoming in 1871, and the dramatically mutual sympathy and understanding both experienced then continued to deepen into an extraordinary companionship.[13] With such a group in which to enjoy himself, Adams could expand or restrict his social life at will. He had little to fear from dullness.

II

Mere social amenities and social pleasures, however, were not what Adams desired from his residence in Washington. His primary reason for making his home in the nation's capital was to bring himself close to the sources which he willed to use in the preparation of his projected history. His intensive reading while teaching at Harvard had given him an excellent foundation in American history--a foundation superimposed upon a family tradition which was in itself synonymous with American history. When the collection papers were placed in his hands, the whole mass of his historical interest acquired a focus, a center for values,

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12. William Roscoe Thayer, The Life and Letters of John Hay, II, 54.

13. Letters, I, 311 and 355.

and he began his research into the history of the publication of Howe's Jefferson.

One of the by-products of his reading appeared in the public in the closing weeks of 1877: just before Christmas he published his Boston Public Library in Year England Imprints, 1640-1700. There was no fanfare either over the preparation or the public sale of the volume. To Lodge he wrote quite simply that "My volume is now in print, all but the index....It should be out before Christmas;"[12] and a few weeks later he again wrote Thurlow Lodge for a review of the work. The review Lodge thought "really excellent" and "left nothing to be desired."[13] The collection was exactly what Howe's title led it: Documents; and when the publishers put his name on the title of the book, he objected. He explained his reasons to Lodge:

> I have kept myself out of the book, as far as possible, I think it got as well that I should keep out of the notices. I have even had the binding altered so as to take my name off the back where it was put, contrary to my express order....As there is nothing of mine in it but the preface and the index, it is ridiculous to put my name on the back like an author's. 13

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14. Ibid., 302. There may be in existence other letters pertaining to the editing and publication of this volume, but they are not yet printed. For some reason not clearly apparent, there are extremely few of Adams' letters which were written between the time he rising to from Harvard and the time he was firmly established in Washington, a matter of some eighteen months. Doubtless, the plan of the New England Historicalism was conceived and executed during this time.

13. Ibid., 303.

13. Ibid., 303-304.

Adams need not be criticized for an immodest modesty: he had gathered together certain documents relating to and illustrating one of the incidents in the political life of his grandfather, John Quincy Adams. Henry refused to accept the accolade of author for the work of compiler.

Even as the Documents appeared, Adams was hard at work on the mass of Gallatin papers. His researches extended much beyond the bounds of the papers entrusted to him by the son of Jefferson's Secretary of the Treasury. Before Adams left Boston, he had written to various historians for information, often complaining that certain papers which he wanted were "not among those presented to the Antiquarian Society" and constantly worrying about the possible destruction of his sources.[17] Adams' queries addressed to Lewis Henry Morgan are typical of the breadth of his investigations into the life of Gallatin: writing to the foremost ethnologist in America, Adams wanted to know

> what I ought to say about his ethnological and philological studies of Indian races and languages. What has been the value of his work? What is its merit in regard to plan and execution? How far is it now authority and in actual use? [18]

In January of 1878 Adams reported that the "Gallatin goes bravely on. I have just finished the whiskey rebellion,"[19] and by the first of February he told Lodge: "I am getting on tolerably well and have finished a first draft of my biography of Gallatin down to 1801."[20] All through

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17. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.82.

18. Ibid., pp.87-88.

19. Letters, I, 304.

20. Ibid., 305.

the winter Adams continued to work, pursuing his subject into whatever fields it might lead him. He needed no outward compulsion to keep him to his task:

> To do justice to Gallatin was a labor of love. After long study of the prominent figures in our history, I am more than ever convinced that for combination of ability, integrity, knowledge, unselfishness, and social fitness, Mr. Gallatin has no equal. He was the most fully and perfectly equipped statesman we can show. Other men, as I take hold of them, are soft in some spots and rough in others. Gallatin never gave way in my hand or seemed unfinished. That he made mistakes I can see, but even in his blunders he was respectable. 21

His enthusiasm carried him through the bleak winter, and by spring, preparing to summer in Beverly Farms, he felt that a "large part of Gallatin" was "completed."[22] Judging himself by past performances, he expected to have the whole work ready for publication in one more year. Adams must have stuck to his self-imposed schedule with some rigidity, for in February of 1879 he was reading page proof on the Life, and in the spring, the results of his labors appeared to the public.[23] The work consisted of three huge volumes of the Writings of Albert Gallatin with a fourth volume of almost seven hundred pages devoted to his Life. As editor, Adams showed great restraint: he published the Writings without annotations, feeling that they were sufficiently well done to stand by themselves.[24] The Life showed equal restraint; and in marked contrast

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21. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.123.

22. Letters, I, 305.

23. Ibid., 312.

24. Cf. James T. Adams, Henry Adams, p.152.

to the "romantic" historical and biographical writing of the time, exhibited great balance and a nice sense of proportion. Adams refused completely to obtrude his own predilections upon his readers. He made no attempt to overshadow his subject.

His method was not without its shortcomings. His detachment and restraint permitted little delineation of the personality of Gallatin and left the man outlined in a book--heroic in stature, but not alive.

This work, like all of Adams' literary work, made no spectacular entry into the world. Such reviews as it received were mostly civil, and quite frequently they were written by Adams' personal friends. Henry Cabot Lodge wrote a notice for the International Review which Adams thought "very well done,"[25] and most of the other reviewers dealt kindly, if shortly, with his work.

There was one curiously hostile review, made doubly curious by its appearance in the pages of the Nation, which was then edited by one of Adams' closest friends, Edwin Lawrence Godkin. This anonymous attack was made in two parts. In the first,[26] the reviewer asserted that Adams' work on the writings and life of Gallatin was done by a man who did not understand the task he had undertaken. The work was "superficial" to the reviewer, and fell "little short of being an outrage both on Albert Gallatin and on everyone who wishes to know anything about him."[27] He

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25. Letters, I, 311.

26. "Albert Gallatin," The Nation, 21(August 21, 1875), 122.

27. Ibid.

complained of the type faces used by the printer on the preparation of the volume, and of its format, and charged that the Life by itself had the appearance of a "volume of a cyclopedia." Even the size of the book disturbed this critic: "It measures ten inches by six, and weighs nearly four pounds."[29] Gallatin, of course, spoke French as a native language and often wrote to his friends in that tongue, so when Adams edited his writings, he felt no compulsion to translate the letters for the benefit of ignorant readers. At this too, the critic took umbrage: the Life, he whined, "bristles with letters in French which seem to say, as plainly as if in words, that the book is not for general readers."[30] Oddly enough, when the reviewer returned to his attack the next week, his own review bristled with quotations from the work, mostly in untranslated French.[31]

But even a critic capable of such cavils could not but recognize the talent which went into the composition of the book. He was forced to conclude that "Mr. Adams work is a great deal better than Mr. Gallatin's,"[31] and that when Adams himself "emerged from the mass" of original materials and took up the narrative, he produced "first-class historical work" to which it would be very difficult "to find anything superior...in the many recent volumes devoted to American, or...to any

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29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. "Albert Gallatin, II," The Nation, 23(August 31, 1876), 141-142.

31. "Albert Gallatin," The Nation, 23(August 31, 1876), 139.

other history."[32]

The review excited much interest, and though Adams would never admit it, the criticism nettled him. When his friend Godkin asked him in a letter about the identity of the critic, Adams replied somewhat acidly:

> You are the fourth person who has asked me 'for particulars' to tell you what I thought about the Nation's review of Gallatin. Apparently there is some mystery about that document. If there is, I don't want to know it and do want not to know it; but the instant it has merits for reasons for knowing N's opinion about it, it is clear that I would be a great ass to tell it. Confidence for confidence! I don't propose to dance to other people's music. So if anyone else asks you what I think about the notice, you just tell him that I'm not yet quite a fool, and that I don't think anything about it. [33]

If Adams could be bitter about such loose criticism, he could also respond to praise with humility. James Russell Lowell had written him a note of congratulations on the Gallatin and Adams replied:

> I am touched by your kindness to my poor ponderous Life of Gallatin. It is my one ewe lamb or prize ox. No one has ever read it, or ever will, but perhaps some centuries hence, antiquaries will use it. The Iconoclasts may give it a use. [34]

Underneath the facade which he built between himself and the public, Adams maintained a passionate interest in Gallatin, not as "one ewe lamb or prize ox," but as a philosophical statesman. To Lodge, who

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32. "Albert Gallatin, II," The Nation, 20(August 28, 1875), 145.

33. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.37.

34. Ibid., p.101.

took a less elevated view of Gallatin, likening himself with candor:

> In my mind, the moral of his life lies a little deeper than party politics and I have twisted here and there rather to suggest than to assert it. The inevitable isolation and disillusionment of a really strong mind--one that combines force and clearness--is to me the romance and tragedy of statesmanship. The politician who goes to his grave with a protesting his own limitations, is not a picturesque figure; he is only an unfit. That old beggar who was an emperor somewhere, called on his death-bed on his weeping friends: 'Have I not acted my part well?'; that is very picturesque. Gallatin was greater, because he could add 'All reflective power when he found out what vanity it was; and yet became neither a cynic nor a transcendental philosopher. [37]

Here lies the root of the [illegible] philosopher [illegible] the historian. [illegible] was, [illegible] personal [illegible] for the course which [illegible]. He knew the value of political power better than any of the politicians with whom he came in contact. They looked on it, consciously or unconsciously, as an end in itself; Adams saw political power as a means. He recognized its corrupting influence when obtained; and when he saw Gallatin spurn power for its own sake and still maintain a humble philosophical position, Adams felt an instinctive admiration and sympathy.

There can be little doubt that the problem of political power was uppermost in Adams' mind throughout the composition of his Life of Gallatin. For even as he was working on the Gallatin, Adams examined the problem in another form, this time utilizing not biography but the novel to set forth his views on the subject. He published Democracy:

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37. Letters, I, 314.

An American Novel. The story of the writing and publication of _Democracy_ is a complex one, for Adams kept the matter strictly secret and within the limits of the "Five of Hearts."[36] In the spring of 1879 he sent to Henry Holt the manuscript of that book "with a view to its publication and with the most strenuous injunctions regarding the secrecy of its authorship."[37] Holt read it, accepted it "at once," and published it without revealing the identity of the author to any except "one or two men" in his office.[38] Of Adams' intimates, only a handful knew the authorship, and these too were pledged to the strictest secrecy; a pledge which Adams enforced, and with which he threatened some who were too weak to restrain their temptation to divulge what came to be sensational information. For _Democracy_ became something of a nine days' wonder, not at first in America, but in England; and when Americans in England began bringing it home with them, it became known to "virtually all cultivated people."[39] It was no wonder. Drawing on the contemporary Washington political scene, Adams flayed the pursuit of political power for its own sake as practiced by the local politicians. The study of Gallatin's life had brought into historical perspective the low

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36. _Henry Adams and His Friends_, p.xliv.

37. Henry Holt, "Publisher's Foreword," _Democracy: An American Novel_, p.iv; Henry Holt, _Garrulities of an Octogenarian Editor_, pp. 136-137; Edmund Wilson, "Novel of Henry Adams: _Democracy_," _New Republic_, 41(October 14, 1925), 203.

38. Henry Holt, _Garrulities of an Octogenarian Editor_, pp.136-137.

39. Henry Holt, "Publisher's Foreword," _Democracy: An American Novel_, p.v.

opinions of politics which Adams had formed from his observations of Grantism, and he now hated with a passion those who sought only power, and who had not the most remote conception of how it should be used when once attained. Watching Grant's administration had made Adams sick, and the exposures of municipal frauds had done little to improve his temper. Like his own heroine, Adams had gone to Washington

> to see with her own eyes the action of primary forces; to touch with her own hand the massive machinery of society; to measure with her own mind the capacity of the motive power. She was bent upon getting to the heart of the great American mystery of democracy and government. 40

The "primary forces" which she and Adams both sought led them to that unbelievable thing, a senator, a powerful senator, whose

> audacity...would have seemed sublime if she had felt sure that he knew the difference between a lie and the truth; but the more she saw of him, the surer she was that his courage was pure moral paralysis, and that he talked about virtue and vice as a man talks about red and green; he did not see them as she saw them; if left to choose for himself he would have nothing to guide him. Was it politics that had caused this atrophy of the moral senses by disuse? 41

A senator, Adams wrote, was a man "who betrayed the highest trusts which could be placed in him," and who was often "in public office by means of a successful fraud...when in justice he should be in a state's prison."[42]

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40. Henry Adams, Democracy: An American Novel, p.10.

41. Ibid., p.303.

42. Ibid., p.387. Even in later life, Adams' contempt for mere power-seekers was undiminished: "One day, when Adams was pleading with a cabinet officer for patience and tact in dealing with representatives, the secretary impatiently broke out: 'You can't use tact with a Congressman! A Congressman is a hog! You must take a stick and hit him on the

Even in a slight novel such thoughts are apt to be shocking; but when such characters are obviously drawn from life, and when the prototypes are Rutherford B. Hayes and James G. Blaine, they are apt to disturb the public.[43] Adams delighted in disturbing the public. It aroused him, and it might possibly do some good.

The one thing that Adams did not want was that the public should know the identity of the author of Democracy. Within the confines of the "Five of Hearts" it made an excellent joke; but when others who knew hinted at their knowledge to the general public, Adams rose in wrath. E. L. Godkin was one of these, and as soon as he heard of the matter, Adams wrote him of his "grievance":

> It is simply that you have said you know who wrote Democracy, but that you were pledged not to tell. Are we wrong in thinking that you were pledged to absolute silence, and that this remark might have seriously embarrassed us? [44]

Adams was man enough to realize that the revelation of the author would be no "very heinous crime," but he did point out to Godkin that his

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shout.' Adams knew far too little, compared with the secretary, to contradict him, though he thought the phrase somewhat hers....But he knew a shorter way of silencing criticism. He had but to ask: 'If a Congressman is a hog, what is a Senator?' This innocent question, put in a candid spirit, mystified any executive officer that ever sat a week in his office. Even Adams admitted that Senators passed belief.... Great leaders, like Conkling and Sumner, could not be ridiculed; they were more grotesque than mimicry could make them....The most troublesome task of...reform...was that of bringing the Senate back to decency." Education, p.231.

43. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.xlv. Cf. The Letters of Mrs. Henry Adams, pp.316, 317 and note, and 320.

44. Ibid., pp.103-104.

violation of his pledge "kill away" him considerably.[45]

Clemens had written the book to have his say on power-politicians: he had published it secretly for his own satisfaction. Have he did it did. The public caught the author's identity avidly; and at various times it was attributed by, among others, Mrs. Ida C. Hoyt, Clarence King, E. L. Godkin, W. D. Howells, and other talented writers.[46] Clemens himself added to the confusion when he appeared briefly in person on the steps of George Somerset.[47] The joke provided so much amusement for him that he refused to explain it: in 1897 he wrote to Henry Walt again asking him to publish a "twenty-five-cent edition of the scandalous libel."[48] The continued sales of the book pleased Clemens, and when people accompanied smiles began to call the volume to their own, Clemens' joy knew no bounds.[49] The whole business contributed much to his happiness during his years in Washington.

Although he had come to do this purely for enjoyment; he had begun to write a biography of Joan of Arc. By July 1, 1895 he was "buried to death by accumulating the proofs of a very dull book about

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45. Ibid.

46. Ibid., p.192.

47. Kaplan, 7, 272.

48. Mark Twain and His Friends, p.193. The original edition of the novel is 84 pages. In fact there are five printings in this twenty-five-cent edition. Other printings and editions appeared in 1898, 1899, 1925, plus three different ones in England.

49. Kaplan, 7, 271, 272, 347, 348, and Mark Twain and His Friends, p.193-195.

John Randolph"[50] for Houghton Mifflin's "American Statesmen Series," a volume which he had actually written at least a year earlier.[51] By the end of 1882, the book was published, and as usual, Lodge reviewed it.[52] Even though Lodge gave it a kind notice, Adams disliked the book. He disliked the book because he disliked the man who was its subject. The fault of the volume, Adams wrote to Hay, lay in his

> enforced obligation to take that lunatic monkey [Randolph] au sérieux. I want to print some of his letters and those of his friends, too, in order to show, [illegible] obliged to treat him as though he were respectable.[53]

Admitting the fault only heightened his contempt for both the book and the man. When it appeared in print, Adams apologized to Hay:

> My John Randolph is just coming into the world. As you know, [illegible] a sort of [illegible], a kind of illegitimate brat.... I never bring one into the world without a sense of shame....This particular brat is the [illegible] I [illegible] begotten, and the only one I never wish to see again.... Don't read him, should you happen [illegible] him. [illegible] him gently and let him go.[54]

The volume was unsympathetic to Randolph, a partisan in the [illegible] [illegible] it [illegible] of his life. Like "Mr. J. Q. [illegible]" before him, [illegible] "capacity for expressing contempt" was used only

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50. Letters, I, [illegible].

51. See his letter to [illegible] of July [illegible], 1881 in Henry Adams and His Friends, p.[illegible].

52. Letters, I, [illegible].

53. Ibid., [illegible].

54. Ibid., [illegible].

by his right to fulfil."[55] Sympathetic and partisan it was; but it was also a brilliantly etched portrait of an erratic and evil genius. Compared with the Randolph, the Gallatin was pure Beveridge. Adams' treatment of the Southern politicians showed the effects of his careful reading of such writers as Horace Walpole and Junius: he made no open attack on Randolph, but even the dullest reader was forced to see the moral evil of the man.

The very moment that he completed the first draft of his study of Randolph, he began to write a study of Aaron Burr.[56] As soon as he had begun to collect materials for his history, Adams had been attracted by the historical riddle which Burr presented. He had written Lodge in 1880 that his collection of materials was "enormous" and that "Burr alone is good for a volume;"[57] and by 1882, he had sent that volume to Houghton for inclusion in the "American Statesmen Series." When Houghton declined to accept the volume, Henry was furious. To Hay, he poured out his ire:

> Houghton declines to print Aaron Burr because Aaron wasn't a "Statesman." Let him say that, for a damned bookseller. He should live a while at Washington and know our real statesmen. So

Belied in his desire to publish the Burr, Henry was undecided as to what

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55. Henry Adams, John Randolph, p.141.

56. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.103.

57. Letters, I, 375.

58. Ibid., 411.

to do with the manuscript.[59] It was never printed, and popular tradition has it that Adams buried it along with his private journals and much of his correspondence after the death of his wife. The curious reader may perhaps receive a tantalizing glimpse of the book from the suppressed sketch which appeared later in the History.[60]

Buried in his research, and disappointed about the sales, Adams remembered the fun he had had with his novel. He decided to write another, and he must have been working on it throughout 1883 and 1884.[61] As he wrote it, he decided on a little "experiment."

> He wanted to test how much the success of a book depends on pushing--how far a book can make its own publicity. He didn't want Esther advertised or... even announced to the press. Of course, he took the risks himself. [62]

The results of the experiment, as Adams himself noted, were "nil."[63] Holt had been issuing a "Leisure Hour Novel Series" in paper covers at twenty-five cents per volume. In 1884, attempting to recover something of the market for clothbound books, he announced four titles in a new group, "The American Novel Series," of which Adams' Esther was to be number three.[64]

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59. Ibid., 344.

60. Cf. Adams' curious letter to that unusual woman, Mrs. Mary Elliot Dwight Farnham, in Henry Adams and His Friends, p.6-8.

61. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.128-129.

62. Henry Holt, Garrulities of an Octogenarian Editor, p.136.

63. Ibid.

64. Robert D. Spiller, "Bibliographical Note," Esther, p.xviii. The other volumes in the series were: A Letter Home [by Colin], Diary of the Conversion of Ethel Howe, related by herself; The Leaves, [illegible letter]; and the anonymous Stratford-by-the-Sea.

Holt apparently carried out his end of the agreement not to "push" the book, for none of the leading New York papers of the time even listed its receipt. In the advertisements of the whole series in the New York Times and the New York Tribune, mention of Esther is altogether omitted. Only Publisher's Weekly noted the appearance of the book, for on May 14, 1904, it made the following comment:

> Chapman, Frances Steen. Esther; a Novel. N. Y., H. Holt & Co., 1904. 2 p. 350p. 8.(American Novel Ser., no.8) cl., $1.
>
> Quite unconventional in plot, characters, and development, Esther is a New York girl of good social position, who has been educated in an unusual manner. She has been taught no religious belief, and has been allowed perfect independence in choosing her friends and arranging her life. She is a fine artist, and her studio is the lounging place of several notable men. One of them, an episcopal clergyman, loves her, and is after a struggle accepted by her. The story shows their mutual unfitness for each other--neither being willing to make any concession of opinions--and the final rupture of their engagement. 65

This brief and single notice in a trade journal did not make for rapid sales. An unadvertised book written by a man who was totally unknown not unexpectedly fell still-born from the presses. The records of the Holt company show that of one thousand copies printed on February 1, 1904, only 501 were sold the first year, and that in the next decade only twenty-three copies were sold, mostly as remainders. The other copies were destroyed.[66] Despite the negligible sales of the novel, Adams loved it: if his books were his "brats", he adored his Esther

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65. Cited in Ibid., p.xxiv.

66. Ibid., pp.v.

quite as much as he detested his Dunciad.

However, Adams did not let his disappointment disturb the experiment. In a letter of questionable date,[67] Adams made an attempt to bolster Holt's failing courage:

> The experiment has barely begun. Two years from now it will be time enough to think about 'scrapping it up', as you suggest. Don't get impatient. Remember that authors, if not publishers, have to look many years ahead and yet sometimes miss their mark. Five years, at least, is necessary for me to get ready for pushing things. [68]

At the end of another year, somewhat short of his "five years, at least," Adams' patience expired and he was "ready for pushing things" himself. He confessed to Holt:

> My experiment has failed. The failure is disgusting because it leaves the author as deluded as ever to go. So far as I know, not a man, woman, or child has ever read or heard of Esther; but then I never have met one who has mentioned any other of the series. So far as my knowledge goes, no literary test has ever been tried on them. My inference is that American reads nothing--advertised or not--except magazines. [69]

Having damned the reading public in America, Adams turned to the British, but in order to vary the experiment abroad, he decided "to test the value of English Criticism."[70] To do this, Adams was forced to abandon his no-advertising strategy. Realizing that the venture would not likely prove

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67. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.130., note 1.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid., p.132.

70. Ibid., p.137.

profitable to publish how, by means of the entire financial obligation of the enterprise, Melville was grateful to Holt, in an attempt to protect the publisher from any possible loss, that he would let him have "any required sum in advance"; this, despite Henry's insistence that he consider the matter of "only trifling importance."[71]

The scheme for testing "the value of English criticism" was finally abandoned; but Melville never lost his attachment for the book: seven years later, having survived the depths of personal tragedy and sought escape in the islands of the South Pacific, he could assert that he cared more

> for mine than, or any dear pages of rather than for the whole history, including gas and influence; so much more, indeed, that I would not let anyone read the story for fear the reader should prefer it. [72]

His love for the book rested in part on intimately personal experience.

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71. Ibid., p.139. The extent of Melville's life just drew heavily on the few letters to Holt which are available, and form the only accurate sources from which he may draw the history of the publication of both his novels. It is not to be supposed that this is his liability secret ("All I ask is that... the secret of authorship is to remain entirely between him and me."), but we are left to speculate as to what prompted Melville to write--writing notes with neither heading nor signature. Holt himself has offered some explanation for the missing correspondence which throws light on Melville's "mind & morals": "As I write, tantalizing recollections of our correspondence come upon me--tantalizing because its secrecy prevented its being kept with other letters where it would naturally be found after so many years, and I realize that it was by no means entitled to preservation....But it's too bad about those letters! I have found a few, but not the important ones. One reason why they were hidden away with such care that they can't be found is that they were in a handwriting recognizable as mine or it could be seen, and that would thereupon be a tell-tale key to my own secret. Another reason was...the impossibility, on account of my incapacity, of adequately realizing greatness while one is growing up with it." Henry Holt, _op. cit._ p.139-140.

72. _Letters_, I, 128.

he had written it in the strictest secrecy, not sharing the composition with the "Lily of Beauty" or even with his wife, probably because of its autobiographical significance. Luther, the heroine of the book, is obviously based on Mrs. Adams, and as Professor Miller suggests,

> It would stretch to an unlikely extreme the supposition of a really total fumbling and withdrawal in which Adams encompassed and reduced in the person of Esther any of the traits which he found in the women he knew best. That is a source for the creation of Esther is, by the sheer logic of circumstances, Marian Langdon [Adams]. [72]

But beyond the enigmatic Marian Adams the source of Esther, it is dangerous to go.[73]

The subject matter of this particular book is, however, really more important than the sources from which its principal characters are derived. Here, for the first time, is the most vital problem in human experience: the problem of religious faith. Like his own Esther, Adams never arrived at a satisfactory solution. The gap between the spiritual and material must still, for want of a better term, be spiritual. Adams, from this time onward, was torn between "the Dynamo and the Virgin,"[74] between the things of the mind and the things of the spirit. The trail from Esther to the Virgin of Chartres Cathedral is straight, but it is treacherous. And it is through such a difficult path that Adams

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72. Robert M. Miller, op. cit., p.vii.

73. Cf. Katherine Simonds, "The Tragedy of Mrs. Henry Adams," New England Quarterly, 9(December, 1936), 534-550. Miss Simonds publishes details about Adams' characters and other documentary parallels but the results are not always convincing.

74. See Education, pp.379-380.

thought. The whole of his life from this point forward was directed to the search for an adequate philosophical position, to a solution to the problem of faith--and his failure in that search he never reconciled himself.[70]

II

Henry Adams had gone to Washington not to write novels, but to write an historical study of the early years of the nation, and those tales and short historical works which he produced between 1870 and 1880 were merely "outriders" for the first two volumes of his more important work.[71] He had gone to the capital where there he was "partially allowed or aided to do all the historical work" he pleased.[72] Despite his social obligations and his journalistic activities, the history occupied the central place in his thoughts. His work on the Gallatin papers had led him directly into the study of Jefferson's administration, and accepting the year 1800 as a good starting point, Adams plunged into his studies. Completing the Gallatin in late, 1877, brought materials for his history abroad. His reasons, he explained to James Russell Lowell:

> I want to tell the whole truth, in regard to England, France, and Spain, in a "History of the United States ...." which I have been for years collecting materials for. [73]

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70. See his letter of February 27, 1915, to Henry Osborn Taylor in Henry Adams and His Friends, pp. 670-672. Cf. also T. C. Blegen, "Henry Adams; Twice Into the Arena," Minn. Review, 2(Winter, 1960), 71.

71. Letters, I, 215.

72. Ibid., 218.

73. Henry Adams and His Friends, 103.

Desiring to tell the whole story of the diplomacy of the period, Adams felt it necessary to begin by examining the original sources so far as possible. He had, through his social connections, gained access to the archives of the United States,[30] and had studied exhaustively the documents there which pertained to his period. Not relying on state papers only, he had drawn upon the facilities of his alma mater for more general sources. His letters to Justin Winsor, Harvard's librarian, indicate something of the breadth of Adams' researches, and something too of his technique:

> I have undertaken to write a history of the United States during the administration of Jefferson and Madison. Some four or five years of preliminary work have at last brought me to the point of beginning on the American manuscripts of the time. The collection at Cambridge is far the largest I can find. It will evidently take about a year's time if carefully examined, and I cannot return to my professorship and live in Cambridge for the sole purpose of reading old Boston Federalisms, the mere idea being already as much as I can bear fully claim to enjoy. My request is that you would kindly allow me to consult the files at home, as time is my expense as my valuation of a time so you may think best....My wish is to begin with the files in full and then ... to be left without disturbance .... My notion is that a small installment of the or seven volumes would be all I should require.....If you conclude...that my request cannot be properly granted, much as I shall regret it I cannot say that I should have any ground of complaint. I sue in forma pauperis, which is equivalent to saying--after the manner of historians. [31]

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30. For an account of Adams' work in the American archives see Max I. Baym, "Henry Adams and Henry Gibson," New England Quarterly, 17(September 1944), 440-447; and Letters, I, 300.

31. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.138-139.

At the end of six months of poring over the files of the *American*, Adams was disappointed, but still voracious. He began to look for books which would give him the information the newspapers had failed to supply. Again he turned to the facilities of Harvard:

> I return today the box of newspapers for a new load. It is astonishing how very little information is to be found in them. I want to learn all I can about the social and economical condition of the country in 1800. Can you send me a few books on the subject in the cabinet but with the newspaper volumes? I want the Memoirs of Lindley Murray by Himself. New York. 1827. John Fitch's Biography by Westcott... Golden's Life of Pickering....There is, I believe, a History or Memoir about the Middlesex Canal which I want to see; and I want to find out how much banking capital there was in the U. S. in 1800, and how it was managed. I want a strictly accurate account of the state of education and the practice of medicine. I want a good portrait of that date, if such a thing existed, for I cannot find one which seems to me even tolerable, from a literary or logical point of view. [32]

Even in bed, while buried in a welter of facts, and wondering whether or not there was a steam engine in the United States in 1800,[33] Adams' mind had begun the process of historical synthesis:

> My impression is that America in 1800 was not far from the condition of England under Alfred the Great; that the conservative spirit was intensely strong in the respectable classes, and that there was not only indifference but actual aggressive repression towards innovation; the mental attitude of good society looks to me surprisingly medieval. [34]

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32. *Letters*, I, 329.

33. *Ibid.*, 330.

34. *Ibid.*

But historical synthesis ranked as [illegible] formal William Jones termed "inward-looking brain facts," and in part it of these [illegible] doubtless. When Daniel Coit Gilman wrote a book on James Monroe, Adams examined it closely and then wrote to the author:

> I...want to know where you found (p. 29) that Mr. [illegible] was. Was she [illegible] daughter, etc. I have hitherto [illegible] to find a little fun anything in this [illegible] publication which contained a statement of any of the [illegible] Mrs. Adams's name to it. [illegible]

This part of Adams's character, it is clear, was not new. As early as 1870 his friend Crowell knew that he would be going to Europe in the near future. The mission, he warned him, was not social, "for [illegible] diplomatic correspondence of the three [illegible] [France, England, and Prussia], in regard to [illegible]...was long [illegible]."[26] As a diplomatic envoy abroad, Adams was to be upon the doors of the foreign offices involved. Armed with letters of introduction from the American State Department, Adams was in London early in the summer of 1870.[27]

He was true to his purpose in Europe. Undeterred by the temptations of a social life which delighted him, he plunged into his work. July and August, Adams spent in the Rolls Office in London, handling himself to the originality of the historical document, and finding that "[illegible] thumbs the records gloomily."[28] As the fall of the

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26. Henry Adams and His Friends, p. 180.

27. Letters, I, 57.

28. Ibid., 312, and Henry Adams and His Friends, [illegible].

29. Letters, I, 310.

[illegible] both in France, [illegible] to time either. "My [illegible] in the English archives [illegible] successful," he wrote to Lodge, "and I [illegible] beginning to [illegible] both into the French papers, which Spain is perceptible for [illegible]."[29] To his friends in London, who [illegible] himself as "[illegible] in the dust-heaps" of Simancas--but in reality [illegible] at his post. [illegible] to be [illegible] for his trip to Spain. The old [illegible] Lowell, James Russell Lowell, had been American Minister to Spain since 1877, and whose [illegible] was [illegible]. A copy of introduction, and in the midst of his work in the French archives, Adams set about Spanish and read through "[illegible] plays and novels" in [illegible].[30] The Lowell [illegible] they might [illegible] through the way for him in Spain, Adams [illegible] to tell his friend what he desired:

> The papers I want from the Spanish [illegible] long [illegible] the time of [illegible]. [illegible] various heads, although it had to [illegible] rules in order to [illegible]. At Madrid I should [illegible] to read [illegible] where I think I could [illegible] all the correspondence of the Spanish Ministers in Washington during [illegible] Probably I should [illegible] to [illegible] formal information of [illegible] Spain [illegible] Also I want to see the correspondence between France and Spain relating to [illegible] Mexico.[31]

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29. Ibid., 71a.

30. The [illegible] and His Friends, [illegible].

31. Ibid., p.[illegible].

While Lowell prepared his way in Spain, Ticknor in Paris lovingly hurried by his French masterpiece. Employing his work there near the end of September, he mailed for a few days, and then left for Spain.

His first impression of Madrid was pleasant: he found it "altogether the cleanest and most handsome capital I ever saw,"[80] and the people a lively new lot. By his first impression, Spain was highly "picturesque" and the Spanish nothing more than "fried fish."[81] His work in the archives left him no idle hours, and all around of the public provincial towns, and by the end of his stay he proved to have his Spanish well-in-hand. Madrid, with its "magnificent Plaza and Puerta del Sol crowded with a motley" brought forth only an exhibition of delight.[82]

After a month in Spain, Ticknor had read his manuscript three times, trying together the materials he had already acquired: he was "still hard at work" and explained to Lodge about the pleasures of living abroad. To Gallatin he wrote: "I am hard at work and must do my work thoroughly, for I don't mean to come to Europe again if I can help it."[83] He expected to be finished with his examination of the French State papers in early February, though the sheer bulk of the materials involved made it doubtful. In fact, as a note to Lodge shows, a "horrible cr

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80. Letters, I, 216.

81. Ibid.

82. See his letter to Gallatin written from Aranjuez on November 21, 1816, in Ibid., 216-217.

83. Ibid., 216.

84. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.63.

papers and books to digest" before leaving for London, and the fact that he did arrive in London on his schedule shows how rapidly he must have worked. In England, after he had "seen everything" in the French Archives, he spent all his days

> at the British Museum looking over transcripts, I am terrified at what is there. There lots of time, but intolerable. This will take me a month, working from 11 till 4 every day. Then I must return to the Record Office and complete my work there ....I hope to get my papers from Prince and Quincy where Lowell is busying himself for me. I must then go to work with my own pen. [37]

His labors in London were in "an ungrateful soil," but as a true son of Massachusetts, Adams forced even an ungrateful soil to yield fruit. By spring his materials were "gradually getting into shape,"[38] and by midsummer of 1916 he felt that he had finished his preliminary work with sources. In July he wrote to Lodge:

> My work is done, at least so far as it will be done. I have made a very full study of English politics from 1801 to 1815, and have got my authorities in order. My Spanish papers have mostly arrived. The French documents are, I hope, coming, although I am still nervous about them. My material is enormous, and I now fear that the task of compression will be painful....If it proves a dull story, I will condense, but it is mildly interesting, at least to me--which is not quite the same thing as interesting the public. [39]

As Adams approached the close of these preliminary researches he became meditative and reflective regarding his work. He would, he said,

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37. Letters, I, 340.

38. Ibid., 338.

39. Ibid., 335.

"foresee a good history" if he had "health and life to [illegible] five years" and if "nothing happens to my collections of materials."[100] He designed to make "as short an [illegible] of his history, but the end of his researches and [illegible] the task of the actual writing would [illegible] his ability. He felt himself [illegible] old, and feared that by [illegible] "some rash event to be avoided," though he was forced to acknowledge that "my writing in this form [illegible] be dull reading."[101] On the other hand, he did "enjoy [illegible]" the actual investigations and even "nothing little anecdotes of [illegible] here & there" brought him pleasure.[102] But his stern character forced him to subordinate an almost [illegible] sense of [illegible] to the task before him; he had found that happiness in this life, so far as it depended on himself, was possible "only by being always busily occupied upon objects that are worth doing"; and for Adams, the writing of history was a satisfactory occupation.[103]

Adams' [illegible] of government to work was complete. Returning to Washington in the fall of 1880, he began writing immediately and at a rapid pace. He had written the first draft of "two whole volumes in exactly two months,"[104] and political events in America had [illegible] the

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100. Ibid., 599.

101. Ibid.

102. Ibid., 599.

103. Ibid., 591.

104. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.iii.

the pleasure of new publishment.[105] He fell once more into his routine of writing, riding, and modest society, and he found this part of his life "all I want." To his most intimate friend he communicated his unusual joi de vivre:

> Just at present...life seems so real and enjoyable as ever. Indeed, if I felt a perfect confidence that my history would be what I would like to make it, this part of my life--from forty to fifty--would be all I want. There is a summer-like repose about it; a self-contained, irresponsible, devil-may-care indifference to the future as it looks to younger eyes; a feeling that the world is made, and one can rest on it till it becomes necessary to go to bed for ever; in short, an edition princes de la Paix, with a first class French binding, which only a Duke, or a very rich Earl of ancient foundation, could feel at twenty-five. [106]

Turning from his reflections on the writing of history, he continued to struggle with his own "little historical riddle," trying to give it "shape and cohesion."[107] His work was now slow and methodical, "moving on space," as he reported to Lodge. In the end of January, 1887, he submitted a progress report to one of his friends:

> I am putting in Blaine's department and the close of my first four years, the easiest quarter of my time. I care only to see whether the result is readable. As yet I have not even put it together

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105. James G. Blaine, Secretary of State, had been absent pursuing "Rest" (see Henry Adams and His Friends, pp.110-111) and on this day Chester Arthur forced Blaine from his office, which returned to his work in the archives of the State Department. Blaine was the only man who drew out more than epithets from Adams: Blaine was his bête noir and Adams even stooped to calling him a "snob."

106. Letters, I, 351.

107. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.120.

> [illegible], but I [illegible]
> [illegible], without [illegible] being [illegible].108

Two months later the first of his volumes was [illegible] "[illegible] well,"109 and his letters indicate that his opinions concerning the character of his principal figures were changing still. He had not been early sympathetic to Jefferson, Madison and Monroe. When he came to deal with them as men, he found that he was "incessantly forced to devise excuses and apologies" for their actions, and often felt that "no excuse will avail."110 The more closely he examined the history of the first fifteen years of the century, the less sympathetic he became:

> I am at times almost sorry that I ever undertook to write their history, for they appear like mere grasshoppers kicking and squealing in the middle of the Mississippi River. There is no possibility of reconciling their theories with their acts, or their extraordinary foreign policy with dignity. They were carried along on a stream which floated them....without much regard for themselves. 111

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108. *Letters*, I, 77.

109. *Ibid.*, 778.

110. *Henry Adams and His Friends*, p.130.

111. *Ibid.*, p.130. Adams' *History* has been frequently criticized for a supposed "bias" against the Jeffersonian tradition, a "bias" it is suggested, which was part of his family's tradition. It should be noted, however, that Adams' sympathy for Hamilton and his particular brand of statesmanship is no more marked than his sympathy for the actions of the Jeffersonians. As early as 1876, [illegible] Adams [illegible] to Lodge his attitude toward Hamilton: "You do not...expect me to acquiesce entirely in your view of A[lexander] H[amilton]. I can hardly call in the reasons of my own lack of aversion to him. That it is not without its explanation, for I inherit feelings of a very different sort towards Jefferson, Pickering, [illegible] and the legion of other life-long enemies whom my ambitious precursors made. I dislike Hamilton because I always feel the adventurer in him. The very causes of your admiration are the cause of my distrust; [illegible] really ready to support [illegible] highly distrusted [illegible]. From the first to the last [illegible]

But despite his sickness, he tried to keep at his writing. In January of 1833 he was "printing out history with more or less steadiness" and looking forward to publishing "two volumes in June." A year later he wrote a significant note to Dashiell:

> Yesterday [? Prior my last] I received a proof sheet of the first volume of my history. I hope to get it completely printed off & first edition for my own use. When I am ready, I shall republish and publish two volumes at once. Perhaps I may read that point in the year '37. I edit to thinking this book readable, but to you it would be awfully dull reading. You are now writing for a critical & intelligent million; & I cannot stop to think what England will read. [112]

In another letter, the second volume was in type, "partly for safety, partly to compare the advantages of a first edition with the facility."[113] To this he followed the principle of taking a long draft, and like this, Adams derived more from his small printing than the profits from a serious first edition. Printed with extra-wide margins to provide space for criticisms and corrections, these private copies

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wrote, I read always the most likely mis kind of edited rubbish, nor do I know any more serious and startling illustrations of this than the conclusion of that strange paper explaining his motives for accepting Burr's challenge. I think, says he, the principles of duelling, & the facility to be in future useful in those crises of our public affairs which are likely to happen, would probably be inseparable from a conformity with [my] wishes in this particular.' What should you or I say if our great-grandchildren had left us these words as a political legacy? I think we should not have so high a moral standard as I think these gentlemen for leaving us. And I confess I think these words alone justify all John Adams' distrust of Hamilton. Future political crises all through Hamilton's life were always in his mind also to make him commander-in-chief, and his first and last written words show the [illegible] theory of life." Adams, I, 304.

112. Ibid., 306-307.

113. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.174.

to individuals like John Hay, George W. Craft and Cecil Spring Rice, requesting them to make their suggestions and return the volume to him.[114] While his friends read and commented on the first two volumes, Adams continued to write. But the summer heat made concentration on his task difficult; by the middle of July he wrote to his close friend, Theodore Dwight:[115]

> I am sorry to say that I find it almost impossible to resume historical work. The muscles seem to refuse all response to the will. For two months I have done nothing, and the antipathy increases. [116]

Throughout the summer his "aridity" continued. In August he complained that "history is always with me,"[117] but after his return to Washington in October he began to work more easily. He was at the White Im provement "every day or two," and leading a "quiet and very retired life."[118] Political upheavals no longer disturbed him; his historical work, he had decided, should go on "as quietly under Mr. Cleveland as under Mr.

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114. The Letters of Henry Adams, p.314. Cf. also Henry Adams and His Friends, pp.110-111. For Adams' intimacy with Cecil Spring Rice at this time see The Letters and Friendship of Sir Cecil Spring Rice, I, 50-52. Somewhat brash, and at times overbearing in his corrections of these two volumes has ever been found.

115. Theodore Wellington Dwight (1846-1917), a scholar at this time, was a frequent visitor at the Adams house. For several years after Mrs. Adams' death he was a kind of companion as well as secretary to Henry. At this time he was living in the Adams house in Washington to keep their establishment running smoothly while they spent the summer at Beverly Farms.

116. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.159.

117. Ibid.

118. Ibid., p.159.

brother."[118] For the first time in his life, Adams could look into the near future with some degree of confidence. The problem of his career was settled, for the present at least. He was a historian with a major work in hand. He had a home established and an intimate circle of friendships. Politics no longer drew him so irresistibly as before. He was calm, and he was as content as he had ever hoped to be. His contentment was not to last. On Sunday morning, December 6, 1885, Henry returned from a walk to find his wife unconscious. She had taken some of the poisonous solids which she used to prepare photographic plates, and never regained consciousness. Her funeral was even more private than her wedding had been, and she was buried in Rock Creek Cemetery under the simplest of headstones.[120]

III

The shocking death of Mrs. Adams left Henry prostrate. To the scores of friends who extended their sympathy Adams could offer only silence. His old friend George Bancroft sent his sympathy, and to him Adams addressed a brief reply: "Your note goes to my heart. You must forgive me for being silent. I can endure, but I cannot talk."[121] In the weeks immediately following his loss he tried "to think of nothing

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118. Letters, I, 338.

120. Katherine Stimpson, op. cit., pp.341-342.

121. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.157.

but how to make the days pass,"[199] and all of his friends were faced with the difficult decision of writing him condolences or keeping silent themselves. John Hay spoke for many when he wrote to Adams:

> I can neither talk to you nor keep silent. The darkness in which you walk has its shadow for me also. I said your wife would love me this way other two. I came to Washington because you were there. And now this goodly fellowship is broken up forever. I cannot force on a man like you the commonplaces of consolence. In the presence of a sorrow like yours it is little for your friends to say that they love you and sympathize with you--but it is all anybody can say. Everything else is mere words. [200]

Those who felt they must write; did so some of them multiple. To Holmes he wrote:

> Your kind letter touches me so closely that I hesitate to thank you for it; fearing that if I do it would seem as if I will never have courage to open it again. You will not expect me to say anything. All my words is a mere mockery; and you, as physician and as poet, know that the effort to say it, if not something like the effort to express, is at least painful. I can only thank you, and I do it with all my heart. [201]

Hay to Adams, who had had all of his experiences, and the appropriately feared for Adams' health after the blow, he offered reassurances:

> Never fear for me. I have had happiness enough to carry me over many years of misery; and even in my worst grief when I have found myself struggling with bad thoughts. One has to live until all have had other experiences as crushing. The other was that

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199. To E. L. Godkin, 7 Jan 1886, Godkin Papers, Harvard. Adams' second wife had died in June, 1885. Ibid.

200. William Roscoe Thayer, The Life and Letters of John Hay, II, 59-60.

201. Henry Adams to Oliver Wendell Holmes, 7 Jan 1886.

> at least I had got out of life all the pleasure it
> had to give. I admit that fate has at last smashed
> the life out of me; but for twelve years I had every-
> thing I most wanted on earth. I know that the worst
> is still to come; but so long as my will is able,
> I shall try to keep my place.[125]

The thing which Adams feared most was publicity, but his extreme secrecy regarding this event has served only to keep the whole matter in a state of mystery and speculation. This secrecy of the reasons for Mrs. Adams' death has led some writers into some flights of [illegible] without establishing anything of importance.[126] The bare facts are these: on April 13, 1885, Dr. Robert William Hooper, Marian Adams' father, had died. She had been intensely attached to him,[127] and his death had left her deeply afflicted. To prevent [illegible] from becoming a curtain of myth, it is necessary to refer to the death certificate. According to this, Marian Adams died at 1607 H Street on December 6, 1885, of "heart paralysis" induced by an "overdose of cyanide of potassium," which was "self-administered."[128] The death of Mrs. Adams, then, was less

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[125] Ibid.

[126] A particularly indirect allusion to the death of Mrs. Henry Adams was the sketch by Allen Johnson in the Dictionary of American Biography, I, 71. The most lurid of the far-fetched conclusions which have been made from totally incomplete sources are Oscar Cargill, Intellectual America: Ideas on the March, pp. 501-520. Professor Cargill, by selecting only fitting or coloring the facts, and by supplying his own "freudian" interpretations to such facts as he finds, has concluded that Henry Adams is guilty of a kind of psychological murder or murder-by-suggestion, because the heroine of Adams' Esther was based on Mrs. Adams.

[127] See The Letters of Mrs. Henry Adams, ed. by Ward Thoron, pp. [illegible].

[128] This document is cited by Katherine Simonds, op. cit., [illegible].

itself, from the Virgin to the Dynamo, like a simple case of suicide, resulting from a nervous breakdown brought on by the strain and grief of the last illness and death of her father. To try to express this fact is as futile as the hunt for her hidden motives.

Fifty years earlier, Henry had been present at the birth of his sister in Italy. He had his first encounter with death, and the record which he made of that encounter much later in life indicates the intensity of his revulsion:

> The first serious consciousness of Nature's gesture --her attitude towards life--took form in a shock, a shiver, a nightmare, an intensity of force. For the first time, the surge-machinery of the senses collapsed; the human mind felt itself stripped naked, vibrating in a void of shapeless energies, with resistless mass, colliding, crushing, wasting, and destroying what these same energies had created and labored from eternity to perfect. Society became fantastic, a vision of grey ruins with a mocking light of blood; and its so-called thought merged in the mere sense of life, and pleasure in the sense. The usual analogues of social relations became evident artifices. Criticism was primitive the best; religion was the most human; but the idea that any personal deity could find pleasure...in torturing a poor woman, by accident, with a physical horror known to man only in perverted and diseased conditions, could not be held for a moment. For pure blasphemy, it made pure atheism a comfort. God might be, as the Church said, a Sadist-Nero, but He could not be taken from us. [19]

From this reaction at the death of a sister, we may draw our own conclusions as to the force of the blow caused by the death of his wife. Adams himself remained forever silent on it. One of the most articulate men of his age, Henry was dumb in the face of death.

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19. Education, pp.308-309.

Seeking escape, Adams turned to travel, and he turned in a direction which would not be filled with haunting memories of his wife. With John LaFarge he went on a five month tour of Japan, and there he secluded himself in the oriental concept of Nirvana.[169] By the time he returned to America he had in his own mind the idea of the monument he wished for his wife's grave. He wanted something entirely original, something that would symbolize "the essentence, intellectually, of the Ineffable."[170] Having given to Saint-Gaudens his idea and a commission to carry it out, Adams turned once more to the east and to the Pacific. He refused to see the monument while it was unfinished. On his return to Washington in 1908[171] he went to the studio and saw it, and his first glimpse brought to his lips the Athenodian phrase around which he had created Esther: "Sicenle eterne with a weeper bird" "Lord's-eternal life consists in certain end."[172] The figure seated in a contemplation of life and the hereafter pleased him.[173] It would puzzle the American public, but as Adams explained to the sculptor, the seated "man to...be left a question, not to give an answer; and the man who endures will be left to eternity, like the sphinx and the Buddha."[174]

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169. Katherine Simonds, op. cit., 370.

170. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.xliii [illegible] pp.xxxviii-xlvii.

171. Letters, II, 6.

172. Katherine Simonds, op. cit., p.[illegible]; [illegible]; A Novel, p.[illegible].

173. An excellent picture of this statue may be seen in The Letters of Mrs. Henry Adams, ed. by Ward Thoron, facing page 472.

174. Henry Adams and His Friends, p.[illegible].

The death of Marian Lloyd [illegible] in Hugh's life. [illegible] life in the past, and to develop those eccentricities which [illegible] throughout his life. "The present," he wrote, had become "positively repulsive; and the past alone seems real."[136] He assumed his pose of pessimism, a pose not entirely synthetic, but which served to hide his true feelings, and which colored the rest of his life. Death had thrust itself into Hugh's world, and he spent the rest of his life seeking a philosophy which would account for its existence in a rational manner.

Explicit, Deo gratias

Liber primus scriptori plebis pollae!

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136. Ibid., p.161. Cf. The Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring Rice, I, 30-31, and 77-78.

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1856

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1857

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1859

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1860

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May 9, dated Venice, April 11 and 13
June 1, dated Bologna, April 16, 17, and Florence, April 23
July 6, dated Rome, May 29
July 10, dated Palermo, June 9
July 15, dated Naples, June 15
[James Truslow Adams lists one letter for June 29. None appears in the Advertiser for that date. Letters, I, 59, footnote, omits the letter from Rome. The letters published July 10 and 13 were reprinted with annotations in the American Historical Review, 25 (January, 1920), 241-255.]

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December 7, dated December 4 (See Letters, I, 65)
December 10, dated December 7
December 13, dated December 10
December 20, dated December 17
December 27, dated December 22

1861

"Letters from Washington," in the Boston Daily Advertiser:
January 1, dated December 28, 1860
January 11, dated January 7, 1861
January 15, dated January 11
January 16, dated January 13
January 18, dated January 14
January 22, dated January 18
January 24, dated January 21
January 26, dated January 23
February 2, dated January 31
February 6, dated February 4
February 8, dated February 5
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1861 (Cont'd)

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Friday, June 21, "American Topics in England," dated London, Saturday, June 8 Two letters were printed under this heading. Only the second, "From another Correspondent," is attributed to him by Charles I. Glicksberg, "Henry Adams and the Civil War," Americana, 33 (October, 1939), 443ff.

Friday, June 28, "Interesting from England," dated London, Saturday, June 15

Thursday, July 4, "Affairs at London," dated London, Saturday, June 22

Monday, July 15, "From London," dated London, Saturday, June 29

Friday, July 19, "Affairs in London," dated London, Saturday, July 6

Friday, July 26 fragment , "The American War," dated London, Saturday, July 13

Friday, August 2, "From London," dated London, Saturday, July 20

Monday, August 12, "Affairs in England," dated London, Saturday, July 27

Thursday, August 15, "Affairs in England," dated London, Saturday, August 3

Saturday, August 24, "From London," dated London, Saturday, August, 10

Friday, September 6, "American Questions in England," dated London, Saturday, August 24

Saturday, September 14, "From London," dated London, Saturday, August 31

Tuesday, September 24, "From London," dated London, Saturday, September 7

Thursday, September 26, "From London," dated London, Saturday, September 14

Tuesday, October 8, "Matters at London," dated London, Saturday, September 21

Sunday, October 13, "A Trip to Leamington," dated Leamington, Friday, September 27

Sunday, October 20, dated Glasgow, Friday, October 4

Monday, October 28, "From London," dated London, Saturday, October 12

Saturday, November 2, "Secession Intrigues in England," dated London, Saturday, October 19

Thursday, November 7, "Affairs in England," dated London, Saturday, October 26, and Sunday, October 20

Monday, November 18, "The Attitude of England," dated London, Saturday, November 2

Friday, November 22, "The American Question," dated London, Saturday, November 9

Saturday, November 30, "Important from England," dated London, Saturday, November 16

Monday, December 9, "The Affair of the 'Nashville,'" dated London, Saturday, November 23
Thursday, December 19, "England and America," dated London, Saturday, November 30
Wednesday, December 25, "The War Panic in England," dated London, Saturday, December 7
Monday, December 30, "The Anglo-American Issue," dated London, Saturday, December 14

1862

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Saturday, January 4, "Important from London," dated London, Saturday, December 21, 1861
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1863

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1870

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1874 (Cont'd)

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1876

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1876 (Cont'd)

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[The following additional ascriptions are made by Cushing in his Index to the North American Review:

1. "Denison's Letters and other Writings," vol. 114, p. 426.
2. "Dr. Clarke's Sex in Education," vol. 118
3. "Clarke's Building of a Brain," vol. 123, p. 468.
4. "Frothingham's Transcendentalism," vol. 123, p. 468. (See Letters, I, 282)
5. "Lathrop's Study of Howthorne," vol. 123, p. 478.
6. Review of Vol. II, Stubbs' Constitutional History, vol. 123, pp. 161-165.

With the exception of Item 2, all of these are crossed out in Henry Adams' copy of the Index in the Massachusetts Historical Society. The review of Denison was by Gaskell. See Letters, I, 226. It is quite unlikely that Item 3 is by Henry Adams. As he was not responsible for getting out the January, 1874, issue, he would hardly have been tempted by Clarke's book. He was moved, however, to write a review of Freeman for that issue. See Letters, I, 257. Also crossed out is a review of Tichnor's Life, Letters and Journals; but that is clearly an error. See Letters, I, 286, 287. The authorship of the review of Lathrop's book was a closely guarded secret. Possibly Adams was its author. See allusion to the review in Letters, I, 289.]

1877

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1880

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1881

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1882

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1884

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1885

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1888

History of the United States of America during the First Administration of James Madison, 1809-1813, privately printed, Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, University Press, 1888. Six copies only.

1889

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1890

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1891

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1. "Primitive Rights of Women"
2. "Captain John Smith"
3. "Harvard College, 1786-1787"
4. "Napoleon At St. Domingo"
5. "The Bank of England Restriction"
6. "The Declaration of Paris, 1861"
7. "The Legal Tender Act"
8. "The New York Gold Conspiracy"
9. "The Session, 1869-1870"

1893

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1895

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1896

"Recognition of Cuban Independence," printed as Senate Report No. 1160 of the 54 Cong., 2d Sess., December 21, 1896, and submitted to the Senate by Senator Don Cameron.

1901

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1904

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1907

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1908

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1910

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1912

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1915

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1918

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1919

The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma, with an Introduction by Brooks Adams, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1919. Republished 1920.

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The Heritage of Henry Adams, by Brooks Adams
The Tendency of History, by Henry Adams
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1919 (Cont'd)

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1920

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