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THE MIND OF EDWARD EVERETT

By

WILLIAM KENNETH CHRISTIAN

A THESIS

**Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Michigan
State College of Agriculture and Applied Science
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of English

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AN ABSTRACT

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Approved

Claude M. Newlin

The Mind of Edward Everett

The purpose of this study was to seek out and evaluate the ideas of Edward Everett on history, education, American literature, economics, and slavery.

Chapter One, "The Careers of Edward Everett," provides a biographical sketch, showing his careers as minister, teacher, editor, orator, politician, governor, ambassador, college president, Secretary of State, and writer.

Chapter Two, "History and Its Lessons," presents his views concerning American history. The Pilgrims created a refuge from Europe's religious and political tyrannies. The American Revolution was the "most momentous event" in history, and the Constitution, which "completed the great revolutionary movement," is the safe-guard of liberty. All history proved the greatness of the American heritage. In the drama of liberty the star-hero was George Washington.

Chapter Three, "Literature in America," discusses Everett's meagre literary comments. As editor of the North American Review, he vigorously defended American literature against British ridicule. Everett did not understand Emerson or anything connected with the transcendental movement. He had praise for Bryant, Longfellow, Whittier, Irving, and Cooper; he was aghast at Whitman. Everett's interest in his own oratory and political ambitions contributed to his lack of appreciation for contemporary literature.

Chapter Four, "The Champion of Education," concerns the ideas Everett expressed in support of education. He advocated teacher training, general education, and practical science. The popularization of knowledge aids the development of real learning. The press, free government, and Christianity are three great modern instruments for the extension of education and civilization.

Chapter Five, "The Voice of Wall Street," outlines his economic ideas. He held the conservative Whig view that property rights were the basis of civilization. In America everyone has an equal chance for economic advancement. The Declaration of Independence was the cause of the expansion and the economic development of the country. Everett argued for protective tariffs, trying to show that all the people would benefit from them. As governor of Massachusetts, he urged complete abolition of imprisonment for debt and wanted legal restrictions on banks.

Chapter Six, "Social Change, Slavery, and the Union," deals with Everett's views of social change and his attitude toward slavery. He believed optimistically that human progress was assured. He held the philosophic view that social welfare required the interaction and balance between conservative and progressive elements. He considered himself a conservative. Everett consistently offered the sentiment of Union as the antidote for the agitation over slavery. The true patriot worked "to merge in one comprehensive feeling all discordant sectional preferences." His position was a nebulous

idealism and he blindly maintained it until Confederate guns fired on Fort Sumter. Then he made his decision to support Lincoln and the Union completely and actively.

Chapter Seven, "Wasted Genius - An Evaluation," presents an explanation of Everett's failure to make a lasting mark in American history. As a man, he was a complex of vanity, dignity, extreme self-assurance, and boundless energy. His public utterance was overly polished and freighted with scholarship. Political ambition and the desire to be president dominated his entire life. But Everett lacked the courage to face the slavery issue and he did not possess the fighting, tough, resilient mind essential for political success.

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I wish to express my indebtedness to Professor Russel B. Nye, at whose suggestion I undertook this study, and to Professor Claude M. Newlin, whose constant encouragement and advice have contributed greatly to the completion of this project.

For continued encouragement, editorial assistance, and the typing of this manuscript, I am indebted more than I can say to my wife.

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PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to seek out and evaluate the ideas of Edward Everett on history, education, American literature, economics, and slavery. An effort also has been made to present evidence explaining why Everett did not fulfill his early brilliant promise and left no outstanding mark in American life.

Because Everett's literary remains are so vast, some practical limits have had to be set. His running observations on political conditions are ignored since they properly belong to a separate study of Everett as a politician. Only his reviews which directly concern American literature and history have been considered. His many newspaper articles have been ignored for two reasons. For years he contributed anonymous articles, letters, and editorials on politics, and these are part of his life as a politician. In preparing the bibliography for this thesis, I found the clues to many anonymous articles in his journals and was able to locate them in newspapers, but I know that additional research will reveal many more anonymous articles. The second reason is that most of the signed articles concern national and international politics. This study has also excluded consideration of Everett's rhetoric.

CHAPTER I

THE CAREERS OF EDWARD EVERETT

Probably no other eminent American of the nineteenth century enjoyed such fame in his lifetime and is so little known a century later as Edward Everett. This is strange, too, when we consider two important facts about Everett's career. First of all, the span of his public life extends from 1813 to 1865, a period of fifty-two years, during which Everett had not one but several "careers." He was successively clergyman, teacher, editor, orator, member of the House of Representatives, governor, ambassador, college president, Secretary of State, United States Senator, writer, and advocate of philanthropic and educational causes. Perhaps the one man of this time who came closest to such a diversified record was John Quincy Adams.

The other significant fact is the turbulence of the half century during which he lived. This was a time when American nationality was firmly established. The great westward migration went on steadily. The industrial revolution began to transform the appearance and character of some of the seaboard states, especially Everett's own Massachusetts. Immigrants from Europe poured into the coastal cities of the North. Projects of reform were advanced. Above all, slavery, with all its ethical, political, and economic implications, came to the fore as the dominant challenges of the period. All the tides of change seemed finally to find their focus in the issue of slavery. And Everett's life ended just a few months before the close of the War which

settled the political aspect of the slavery question.

The careers of Edward Everett, then, are part of a period of intense change in American life.

1. Education and Wanderjahre

Everett was born in Dorchester, Massachusetts, on April 11, 1794, the fourth of eight children. His father, Oliver Everett, was a liberal Congregational clergyman.¹ His mother was the daughter of Alexander Hill, a Boston merchant of some wealth.² In 1802 Oliver Everett died and the family moved to Boston.³

Everett's precocity early began to show itself. He had started school at the age of three.⁴ In 1804 he won a Franklin Medal for Reading,⁵ an interesting augury in that Benjamin Franklin was later to be one of Everett's oratorical subjects. About this time the boy was sent to a private school kept by Ezekial Webster, an older brother of Daniel Webster. When Ezekial became ill, Daniel Webster, then fresh from his law studies, temporarily taught in the school. "Thus began a friendship for young Everett," Frothingham points out, "which lasted nearly half a century, and left its mark upon the literature and politics of America."⁶

¹ Paul Revere Frothingham, Edward Everett, Orator and Statesman (Boston, 1925), p. 4.

² Ibid., p. 6.

³ Ibid., p. 5.

⁴ Ibid., p. 6.

⁵ Ibid., p. 8.

⁶ Ibid., p. 8.

The drive toward public speaking and oratory was early set. In 1805, at the age of eleven, he won another Franklin Medal, this time at the Boston Public Latin School "and delivered an English oration of his own composition."⁷ He also belonged to a declamation society,⁸ though he claimed later this did him no great good.⁸ He persuaded his mother to let him enter Phillips Academy at Exeter. "At this excellent school I revised all my former studies, and attended to some new ones. I improved my hand-writing and made some progress in speaking."⁹ He graduated in 1807, delivering his own Valedictory Latin address. Then,¹⁰ at thirteen, he became a freshman at Harvard.

Not much is known of Everett's college life. He seems to have shown a fondness for metaphysics; he discovered his remarkable memory which later enabled him to deliver two-hour orations without one single look at a manuscript; and his participation in a short-lived venture to launch a campus literary magazine showed editorial ability.¹¹ Upon graduation with the highest honors in 1811, Everett delivered the Valedictory English Oration. He also composed a class song which seemed to be¹² his first venture into poetry.

⁷ Frothingham, p. 8.

⁸ "Memoirs of Edward Everett," Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Series XVIII, 94.

⁹ Ibid., p. 95.

¹⁰ Frothingham, p. 9.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 13.

¹² Ibid., p. 14.

Now pressure was brought to bear upon him to turn him away from the study of the law which was his inclination. Dr. John T. Kirkland, Harvard's President, and Dr. J. S. Buckminster, the famous clergyman, were the chief persuaders. As a result, Everett continued at Harvard as a resident graduate and prepared for the ministry. During this time he served as a Latin tutor.

On August 27, 1812, he read a very elaborate poem entitled "American Poets" at the annual meeting of the Harvard Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa. Here Everett regrets the lack of poets in America. The aristocratic conditions of monarchy could produce poets but "Our plain Republics, with their homely modes" has so far failed. He pointed out that the towers of business were the chief mark of America:

And if the poet seek throughout our land
Where our famed turrets, towers and castles stand,
Show him each brick-kiln pile, whose aspect meets
The admiring gaze, in Boston's pompous streets.¹⁷

And these very "pompous streets" of Boston which he referred to satirically were later to become for him streets so well loved that he was a living example of Boston's assuredness and pomposity.

The poem is not, however, negative in theme. In fact, it is quite patriotic, with Everett pointing out American life as a source of in-

¹³ Frothingham, p. 15.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 18.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 16.

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spiration which would be used by later poets. The thing of historic note about this poem is the fervid expression in 1812 of a need for a purely American poetry.

When Everett received his Master of Arts degree in the Commencement of the summer of 1813, he was a very promising young man. At the Commencement he delivered an English oration entitled "On the
 19 Restoration of Greece." In the previous year the brilliant young clergyman, Dr. Buckminster, had suddenly died, leaving vacant the pulpit of the Brattle Street Congregational Church. Right after his graduation, Everett was asked to supply the pulpit for several Sundays.
 20 The Brattle Street Church "was unquestionably the largest and most fashionable in Boston at the time; and that meant the most critical
 21 and exacting."

On November 28, 1813, Everett was formally invited to become the
 22 pastor of the church. After about a month's hesitation he wrote his
 23 acceptance. Brattle Street was a Congregational Church and so it was necessary for an ecclesiastical council to pass upon Everett's fitness as a candidate. February 9, 1814, was the date of the ordination

¹⁸ See Appendix I for complete copy of "American Poets."

¹⁹ Frothingham, p. 18

²⁰ Ibid., p. 20.

²¹ Ibid., p. 22.

²² Ibid., p. 21.

²³ Ibid., p. 23.

and installation. At the ecclesiastical council which preceeded, the desire of conservative ministers that Everett be asked to give a profession of faith, was voted down, a statement of belief in the Apostles' creed being considered sufficient. Thus Everett was accepted and installed in a church which was a liberal leader in the developing religious controversy.²⁴ At twenty he was in the most desirable pulpit in Boston.

Just before his ordination Everett began his first book. A former Harvard graduate and Boston clergyman named George Bethune English had left the ministry and written a book entitled The Grounds of Christianity Examined.²⁵ The book created a furor. Everett determined to answer it and in October 1813 began to write a book in reply. The result, a five hundred page work called A Defence of Christianity, he completed in ten months.²⁶ Frothingham doubts that the book was necessary, for interest in the original attack waned. "Written long before the day of the Higher Criticism, it ceased long since to have any value except as a monument to the author's zeal and industry."²⁷

The intense labor which went into this book, at a time when Everett was preaching and looking after the affairs of a large church, brought on a nervous breakdown. So in the autumn of 1814 he went on a

²⁴ Frothingham, p. 24.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 28.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 28-9.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 30.

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trip with a friend to Maine and along the Kennebec river.

That same autumn Everett went on a trip to Washington. He carried a letter of introduction to Thomas Jefferson from John Adams. Among other things, John Adams wrote: "Mr Everet is respectable in every Vein; in Family fortune Station Genius Learning and Character."²⁹ Unfortunately Everett did not go as far as Monticello.³⁰ During the course of this journey, he met many of the great men of the country - Professor Silliman and President Dwight of Yale, Gouverneur Morris in New York, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Rufus King, Jeremiah Mason,³¹ Christopher Gore, and President Madison in Washington. Meeting the great was always a characteristic of a journey made by Everett.

In the latter part of 1814 Everett was offered the newly-established chair of Greek Literature at Harvard. With the offer came permission to spend two years in study in Europe. Everett hesitated a while and then accepted.³² At first glance it might seem odd that he should so lightly and early in life cast aside his profession and enter another. However the offer of further study in Europe could not help tempting a person of Everett's great intellectual abilities and inclinations. Van Wyck Brooks gives a simple and plausible defense.

²⁸ Frothingham, p. 30.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 31.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 31.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 32-3.

³² Ibid., p. 34.

"If he had abandoned, with little scruple, the career of the man of God, everyone knew that half the ministers were only men of God because the pulpit, which was highly honoured, also gave them time to read and write."³³ On April 12, 1815, Everett was inaugurated as Professor of Greek Literature, having resigned his pulpit only a month before. This was the day after he became twenty-one. And four days later he sailed for Europe in the company of George Ticknor.³⁴

What was to have been two years study and preparation for the Greek professorship turned out to be a stay in Europe of almost five years. The first two years he studied at the University of Göttingen; then, when Harvard extended his leave, he travelled around the continent and into Turkey and Greece, bringing his absence almost to five years.³⁵ Although this two-year leave was originally granted chiefly because of his health, at Göttingen Everett "usually passed from fourteen to sixteen hours every day, in attendance in the lecture room or preparation for it."³⁶ He apparently always had an unusual ability to concentrate. Here at Göttingen this tendency was disciplined and trained in the erudite tradition of the German universities. One result was a habit of scholarly exactness which was a dominant characteristic all the rest of his life.³⁷

³³ Van Wyck Brooks, Flowering of New England (New York, 1936), p. 75.

³⁴ Frothingham, pp. 34-5.

³⁵ Orie William Long, Literary Pioneers (Cambridge, 1935), p. 64.

³⁶ "Memoir," p. 98.

³⁷ For an example of the disciplined way in which Everett tried to organize his life, see Appendix II.

Göttingen opened to Everett an intellectual world not then available in America.

The subject to which Everett naturally devoted most of his attention was Greek under Disson; but there were lectures on modern history with Heeren, on civil law with Hugo, and private instruction in Hebrew and Arabic with Eichhorn. Moreover, he gave some time to the study of modern languages, particularly to perfecting his knowledge of the German language, literature, and philosophy. Shortly after his arrival he writes that he had engaged Eichhorn to give him two hours a week of instruction in German literature, and that he is looking into the works of Winckelmann. . . . But the study of Greek consumed the most of Everett's time . . .³⁸

During this period Everett and Ticknor had had an interview with Goethe, Everett not being too well impressed. But he became interested in the poet as a result of reading one of his plays.³⁹ So he read further and even wrote a review of Goethe's work which was published in the January 1817 North American Review and had "the distinction of being the first significant paper on Goethe in any American journal."⁴⁰⁴¹

On September 17, 1817, he was granted the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, apparently the first American ever to receive one from a German university.⁴² After this he continued the study of Greek and Italian in Paris.⁴³ In an autobiographical memoir he commented, "I enjoyed a great advantage in the pursuit of my studies, in a free access to the King's library."⁴⁴ Concerning the following winter, he

³⁸ Long, p. 65.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 68.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 67.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 68.

⁴² Ibid., p. 71.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 71.

⁴⁴ "Memoir," p. 98.

wrote: "I passed the winter months at Rome, occupied in the study of Roman antiquities. Almost every day, I went to the library of the Vatican. In the course of the winter, I made the acquaintance of the members of the Bonaparte family resident at Rome, and visited the mother of Napoleon, the princess Borghese his sister, Louis the ex-king of Holland, and Lucien; the latter frequently." ⁴⁵ These years of travel took him down into Greece and Turkey and up through the Balkans back to France and England. He neglected no opportunities to study. He neglected no social opportunities either, everywhere the doors opening whereby he could meet noted people. What had been true on the continent was also true in England. He enjoyed greatly his visit to ⁴⁶ Scott's home.

In October 1819 he arrived back in America, his wander years at an end. "Immediately on my return," he wrote, "I was urged from many quarters to preach. I did so first at my former church. Finding these calls to multiply greatly, and deeming it not strictly proper, while engaged in other pursuits, to continue those of my former profession, I determined at length to retire from it altogether, I preached ⁴⁷ for the last time in the summer of 1822."

2. Teaching and the Promise of Greatness

Upon landing in New York, Everett proceeded immediately to Cambridge to take up his duties as Greek Professor. "After being pre-

⁴⁵ "Memoir," p. 99.

⁴⁶ Frothingham, pp. 52-3.

⁴⁷ "Memoir," p. 101.

sented to kings, and having freely conversed with monarchs in the world of art and letters, he suddenly found himself face to face with a group of boys in a recitation-room whom he was expected to instruct⁴⁸ in the rudiments of an ancient language." The career as a teacher began. To it, Everett brought precocious gifts and his resulting influence upon the intellectual life of New England was great.

VanWyck Brooks, who points out that such a Harvard chair as the Greek Professorship was "almost as important as a seat in the Senate,"⁴⁹ writes, "There were several persons who suspected that Everett might be hollow. This was quite unjust. Everett was a little spoiled, perhaps. How could he not have been spoiled when President Kirkland said that he resembled the bust of Apollo? He was a little vain, but he was unquestionably gifted. He was a little ambitious, in every sense of the word; but he had his own way to make in the world . . . No one denied that he was conscientious. He was a helpful friend. Besides, his Greek was⁵⁰ really something to boast of . . ."

The most powerful tribute to Everett at this time comes from Emerson who was one of his pupils. It shows the tremendous promise of Everett as a young man.

⁴⁸ Frothingham, p. 61.

⁴⁹ Flowering, p. 74.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 75.

Germany had created criticism in vain for us until 1820, when Edward Everett returned from his five years in Europe, and brought to Cambridge his rich results, which no one was so fitted by natural grace and the splendor of his rhetoric to introduce and recommend. He made us for the first time acquainted with Wolff's theory of the Homeric writings, with the criticism of Heyne. The novelty of the learning lost nothing in the skill and genius of his relation and the rudest undergraduate found a new morning opened to him in the lecture-room of Harvard Hall.

There was an influence on the young people from the genius of Everett which was almost comparable to that of Pericles in Athens. He had an inspiration which did not go beyond his head, but which made him the master of elegance. . . . they will easily recall his radiant beauty of person, of a classic style, his heavy large eye, marble lids, which gave the impression of mass which the slightness of his form needed; sculptured lips; a voice of such rich tones, such precise and perfect utterance, that, although slightly nasal, it was the most mellow and beautiful and correct of all the instruments of the time. The word that he spoke, in the manner in which he spoke it, became current and classical in New England. . . . He had a great deal of special learning, and all his learning was available for purposes of the hour. It was all new learning, that wonderfully took and stimulated the young men. It was so coldly and weightily communicated from so commanding a platform . . . yet this learning instantly took the highest place to our imagination in our unoccupied American Parnassus. . . . In the lecture-room, he abstained from all ornament, and pleased himself with the play of detailing erudition in a style of perfect simplicity. In the pulpit (for he was then a clergyman) he made amends to himself and his auditor for the self-denial of the professor's chair, and, with an infantine simplicity still, of manner, he gave the reins to his florid, quaint and affluent fancy.⁵¹

Emerson goes on to say that this was an exhibition of rhetoric such as the country had never before seen, that it greatly stimulated the young men to remember anecdotes of Everett and to mimic him.⁵² "This was a triumph of Rhetoric. It was not the intellectual or the moral principles which he had to teach. It was not thoughts. When Massachusetts

⁵¹ "Life and Letters in New England," Lectures and Biographical Sketches (Boston, 1911), pp. 330-333.

⁵² Ibid., p. 333.

was full of his fame it was not contended that he had thrown any truths into circulation. But his power lay in the magic of form . . .⁵³

This judgment that Everett's influence was "a triumph of Rhetoric" was an evaluation of Emerson's old age, written about 1867.⁵⁴ What concerns us at the moment was Emerson's enthusiastic memory of the great stimulus Everett was to his students at Harvard. In 1822 Emerson wrote in his journal that Everett was "our Cicero."⁵⁵

One of the first achievements in an academic sense was the translation of Buttman's Greek grammar for classroom use. This translation of Everett's, which was even reprinted in England, shows the surging drive which was always present in the man.⁵⁶

During this period, invitations to preach came from far and wide, including one from the city of Washington. "Services in those days were held at the Capitol in the Chamber of the House of Representatives, preachers of different denominations, and from various parts of the country being heard. Everett preached on Sunday, February 13, 1820, and took the city by storm. The effect was magical. Cabinet members, Justices, Senators, and Congressmen were loud in their praises, covering the young man with their commendations, and writing to their friends about the wonderful discourse."⁵⁷ This success in Washington undoubtedly prepared Everett for the next break, the leaving of Harvard.

⁵³ "Life and Letters," p. 334.

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 572-3.

⁵⁵ Journals, I, 207.

⁵⁶ Frothingham, p. 62.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 65.

Also, at this time, Everett gave a course of lectures on "Anti-⁵⁸quities" in Boston, a series which proved very popular. These lectures helped contribute to the development of the lyceum movement, a fact which Emerson credits to him. "By a series of lectures largely and fashionably attended for two winters in Boston," Emerson noted, "he made a beginning of popular literary and miscellaneous lecturing, which in that region at least had important results. . . . I am quite certain that this purely literary influence was of the first importance to the American mind."⁵⁹

In 1820 a new career opened for Everett, but one naturally and closely allied to teaching. He was appointed editor of the North American Review, then a journal with a circulation of between 500 and 600. Within two years the circulation had increased to 2,500. It is the judgment of Mott that "Everett was the most successful of the Review's editors up to that time."⁶⁰

He contributed heavily himself, with a total of 116 articles over a forty-five year period.⁶¹ He introduced some new writers, including Caleb Cushing, W. H. Prescott, Nathaniel Bowditch, and Joseph G. Cogswell.⁶² "European literature, society, and politics occupied hundreds and eventually thousands of pages of the North American. Everett came

⁵⁸ Frothingham, p. 66.

⁵⁹ "Life and Letters," p. 335.

⁶⁰ A History of American Magazines, 1850-1865 (Cambridge, 1938), p. 227.

⁶¹ Mott, p. 227.

⁶² Ibid., p. 228.

to his editorship fresh from European travel and with his head full
⁶³of European ideas." The magazine seemed so European that some deri-
⁶⁴sively called it "the North Unamerican." There is evidence, though,
that Everett wanted to get out a journal that was definitely American.
On March 23, 1821, early in his editorship, he wrote to Professor
Silliman at New Haven, "I spare no pains to make it truly national in
its spirit, as far as that can be done, without sacrificing the per-
⁶⁵sonal independence of its supporters." Mott quotes a letter of Everett
to Jared Sparks in response to Sparks' complaint that the Review was
not sufficiently American. The points of defense given by Everett
seem to show a woeful lack of understanding of what was going on in
America. "1st. You cannot pour anything out of a vessel but what is
in it. I am obliged to depend on myself more than on any other person,
and I must write that which will run fastest. 2d. There is really a
dearth of American topics; the American books are too poor to praise,
and to abuse them will not do. 3d. The people round here, our most
numerous and oldest friends, have not the raging Americanism that
⁶⁶reigns in your quarter."

But we must look at the things actually to Everett's credit in
reflecting American life and thought at this time. He published art-
icles on internal improvements, called attention to work in American

⁶³ Mott, p. 228.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 229.

⁶⁵ "Everett Papers," New York City Historical Society.

⁶⁶ Mott, p. 229.

history and biography, and included articles on American science and
⁶⁷law. In the controversy with English periodicals over the question,
 "Who reads an American book?", Everett played an important part. Mott
 claims, "Perhaps the leading American magazine articles in the wordy
 war - which was at its height in 1819-20 - were those of Everett in
⁶⁸the North American." When he resigned in 1823 to enter politics, his
 period of editorship had given him "a public standing in this country
 and abroad. It brought him also into interesting touch with statesmen
⁶⁹and men of letters."

Everett was not content at this time. He seemed driven by a
 demon of restlessness. He had a dispute with the college authorities
 as to whether he, as a faculty member, could have special permission
⁷⁰to live in Boston instead of Cambridge. In an interesting letter to
 Judge Story, marked "Private," he wrote on April 13, 1821:

. . . From the first week of my return hither, I saw that
 our university . . . would furnish me little scope for the com-
 munications of the higher parts of ancient literature, and that
 a good grammatical driller, which I cannot consent to be, was
 wanted. But I find besides that the whole pursuit, and the du-
 ties it brings with it, are not respectable enough in the estima-
 tion they bring with them. . . .

In short, I die daily of a cramped spirit, fluttering and
 beating from side to side of a cage. I am not quite sure that I
 can break through its sides. I was twenty-seven years old two
 days ago, which, though something ancient to take a new start, is
 not, in our simple state of society where the servitude to forms

⁶⁷ Mott, pp. 230-1.

⁶⁸ A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850 (New York, 1930),
 p. 189.

⁶⁹ Frothingham, p. 68.

⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 71-4.

is moderate, a period wholly desperate. . . . He goes on to tell the people whom he has privately consulted, including Webster and the President of Harvard/ . . . During my period of law study, I should live on the 'North American Review,' which, if it do not fall off, will furnish me an ample support. . .

I would only add that I am actuated now by no motive of political ambition. I regard the high offices of our country as splendid burdens - hardly splendid; - and I am desirous of embracing the profession of the law, with a view of supporting myself by the laborious practice of it. I am fully aware that it is laborious, in all its ways, but labor has no terrors to me. ⁷¹

So Everett came back again in his own mind to the study of law, from which he had been persuaded to turn at the end of his undergraduate days. And he claimed in this letter that from the very beginning of his teaching at Harvard he saw the inadequacy of his position. Also, we may well ask ourselves if the careful denial of political ambition does not indicate that some thought had been given to it.

In the spring of 1822 Everett married Charlotte Gray Brooks, one ⁷² of the daughters of Peter Chardon Brooks, wealthy Boston merchant.

This was a most fortunate marriage for Everett. Although he would continue to write at times as though he had difficulties in supporting himself and his family, he actually had no more financial worries. And from now on he was assured an unquestioned standing in the right circles of Boston. The day following the wedding, Mr. Brooks wrote to his new son-in-law that "besides paying for the furniture for their future home, he would send them quarterly the interest at five per cent on \$20,000. . . ." ⁷³

⁷¹ Frothingham, pp. 70-1.

⁷² Ibid., p. 75.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 76.

When in the early 1820's the Greeks revolted and appealed to
 America for help in their fight for independence, Everett responded.⁷⁴
 He possessed first-hand information about the country and its leaders;
 he wrote an article for the North American Review; he awakened Web-
 ster's interest and supplied him with material; he tried to enlist⁷⁵
 the support of Secretary of State John Quincy Adams. Everett cher-
 ished the hope of being sent to Greece as a member of a special Amer-
 ican commission, but the government refused to take any such action.⁷⁶

Now occurred an opportunity which pushed Everett forward drama-
 tically into the light of national attention. He was invited to be
 the orator at the annual meeting of the Harvard Chapter of Phi Beta
 Kappa, on August 25, 1824. The occasion alone would give him a chance
 to speak out on national questions. But word came that Lafayette, who
 was arriving in New York the week before for a visit to America, would
 come directly to Harvard in order to attend commencement and the Phi
 Beta Kappa meeting.⁷⁷

Everett's theme - "The Circumstances Favorable to the Progress of
 Literature in America" - was patriotically suited to the day. The
 church in which the meeting was held was packed, and an electric ex-
 citement filled the air. Everett, with superb grace and beauty, set
 out to prove that a republican government is best adapted to encourage

⁷⁴ Frothingham, p. 76.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 77.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 80.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 82.

learning. At the climax of the oration, he turned to Lafayette and addressed to him an apostrophe of welcome. A deeply stirred audience⁷⁸ gave Everett a resounding ovation.

Frothingham writes: "But whatever may have been the momentary effect of the oration on others, its influence on the speaker's own career was lasting. So far as he himself was concerned, it marked the termination of a purely scholastic career, and saw him launched on the stormy waters of political existence."⁷⁹

Less than two months after this oration a convention of independent voters nominated Everett as a candidate for Congress from the Middlesex District. Everett immediately accepted, a fact which is in⁸⁰ interesting contrast to his former hesitations in accepting the call to the pulpit of the Brattle Street Church and the invitation to take the Greek Professorship at Harvard. In the brief campaign which followed, the tributes to Everett's abilities and qualities had the resounding ring of praise which he was to hear for the next four decades. A campaign broadside described him as "with a mind eminently gifted by Nature, enriched by learning, enlightened and liberalized by travel . . . ardent admirer and able defender of our National Rights, feelings, principles, and institutions."⁸¹

⁷⁸ Frothingham, pp. 82-6.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 86.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 87.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 88.

Everett was easily elected. But a problem developed at once with the Harvard authorities. Everett wanted to follow the precedent of John Quincy Adams, who had remained as a Professor of Rhetoric even while he filled the duties of United States Senator. But the university would not permit Everett to continue as Greek Professor and forced him to choose between the scholastic position and membership in the House of Representatives. Everett chose politics and paid back to Harvard \$5,300 which represented money advanced to him for travel and study abroad.⁸²

3. Politics and Oratory

According to his biographer, Everett was not well prepared to step into the arena of national politics. "He was counted the best Greek scholar of his day. But when it came to politics he had little but the 'gift of tongues' to recommend him. Up to the time of his election to Congress, we have his own word for it that he had never even cast a vote whether at a National or State election. . . . he was soon to experience the difference between a Phi Beta Kappa Oration and a speech in opposition to an amendment to the Constitution."⁸³

Everett served in the House of Representatives from 1825 to 1835, the longest period devoted to any one of his careers except that of oratory. In an autobiographical fragment he writes of the committees on which he served during this time: Foreign Affairs, Library and

⁸² Frothingham, pp. 89-91.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 94.

Public buildings, "the Panama mission," affairs of the Indians in Georgia, the Retrenchment Committee, "select Committee in favor of the Colonization Society," Committee to examine the Bank of the United States.⁸⁴ As Everett's own record shows he frequently wrote the majority or minority reports of these committees. It seems significant, too, that in the two autobiographical fragments he only briefly mentions speeches before the House, while he mentions by title and date many commemorative and lyceum addresses during this period. When he began to bring out the volumes of his Orations and Speeches, he carefully omitted any speeches given in the House of Representatives, or, later, during his brief term as Senator.

One reason for these omissions might be the fact that one of his early speeches contained a reference to slavery that brought an instant reaction against him and haunted him the rest of his public life. The House was considering a proposed amendment to the Constitution which would prevent the election of the President and Vice-President devolving upon Congress; this was precipitated by the failure of the people in the 1824 election to give a clear majority to any one of the candidates.⁸⁵ Debate on this question went on for weeks. Everett was opposed, and he prepared a long, elaborate speech which in the delivery took almost three hours. The speech contained a good

⁸⁴

"Memoir," pp. 103-7.

⁸⁵

Frothingham, p. 99.

deal of "redundant and elaborate rhetoric." "Taken as a whole,"⁸⁶
 Frothingham says, "the speech was that of an extreme conservative."⁸⁷

The great error of judgment came in comments which Everett made about slavery. As Frothingham points out, Everett needed only to refer to slavery as the subject of the compromise back of the Constitution in stating his stand in opposition to any disturbance of that compromise.⁸⁸ But he went further and discussed slavery: he referred to a recent uprising of slaves in Haiti. He said that if there ever were "a servile insurrection at the South . . . there is no cause in which I would sooner buckle a knapsack on my back . . ."⁸⁹ Then, in a remark which might have been prompted by the egotism of the scholar, he revealed that in the Greek original the New Testament said, "Slaves obey your masters." The reaction against Everett for these words was⁹⁰ bitter and lasted for decades.

If his action here brought criticism, his actions relative to the Indians and their rights brought commendation. He strongly opposed an effort to move the Creek and Cherokee tribes west of the Mississippi.⁹¹ Everett was a strong supporter of Adams during the four years of his

⁸⁶ Frothingham, pp. 100-1.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 102.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 104.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 105.

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 106-8.

⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 109-10.

administration. When Jackson was elected in 1828, Everett realized it would make a great difference to him since he had had such cordial personal relations with the White House.⁹² The shift in political power caused Everett to determine to visit the western part of the country. In April 1829 he started on a trip which took him down the Mississippi to New Orleans and in three months' travel enabled him to see a great deal of the southwest.⁹³

During these years Everett delivered some of his greatest commemorative addresses: "The first Settlement of New England," at Plymouth, December 22, 1824; "The First Battles of the Revolutionary War," at Concord, April 19, 1825; "The Principle of the American Constitutions," at Cambridge, July 4, 1826; "Adams and Jefferson," a eulogy at Charlestown, August 1, 1826; "The History of Liberty," at Charlestown, July 4, 1828; "The Settlement of Massachusetts," at Charlestown, June 28, 1830; "The Seven Years War and the School of the Revolution," at Worcester, July 4, 1833; "The Battle of Lexington," at Lexington, April 20, 1835; and "The Battle of Bloody Brook," at Bloody Brook, September 30, 1835.⁹⁴

In 1827 Everett was elected to the Harvard Board of Overseers.⁹⁵ This was but one of several honors of this sort which he gained. He himself summarized those received up to 1830.⁹⁶

⁹² Frothingham, pp. 112-15.

⁹³ Ibid., pp. 96, 116.

⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 117-19.

⁹⁵ The texts of all these orations are to be found in Volume I of Orations and Speeches.

⁹⁶ Frothingham, p. 115.

. . . A few weeks ago I drafted an address on behalf of the Directors of the Bunker Hill Monument Association. Of this association I was one of the original members. I served two or three years as Secretary and devoted much time and labor to its objects.

While in Europe on the visit to Weimar, . . . [I] . . . received the compliment of a diploma of membership of the Geological Society of that place. I received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, on leaving Göttingen. I was elected, while abroad, a member of the American Antiquarian Society; and shortly after my return, a member of the American academy of Arts and Sciences, and the [Massachusetts] Historical Society. In 1824 I was elected a member of the Columbian Institute. A few years ago the Geographical Society at Paris chose me a corresponding member. Last year I was elected an honorary member of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics' Association. This year I have been elected a member of the French Society of Universal Statistics, and of the Historical Society of Michigan. ⁹⁷

During these years Everett again became restless, expressing his discontent at one time because of having to live in a boardinghouse in Washington, at another time because of separation from his children who could not well be brought to Washington during the times of Congressional sessions. ⁹⁸ In 1834 he announced that he would not be a candidate for reelection. ⁹⁹ Early in 1835 it became clear that Everett was considered the best candidate in the Whig party for Governor of Massachusetts. ¹⁰⁰

4. Governor

In his study of Massachusetts politics in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, Arthur B. Darling points out:

⁹⁷ "Mémoir," p. 105.

⁹⁸ Frothingham, pp. 120-5.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 125.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 126.

At the beginning of this period, Massachusetts was approaching a great economic development. At the end, it had been practically transformed from an agricultural and seafaring community into a manufacturing region. Cotton mills started in the early 'twenties had expanded into corporations with millions of invested capital controlled in the financial circles of Boston. By 1848 railroads spread out from Boston into all parts of the state, and connections had been made over the Berkshire Hills with the West. The free-trade principles of shipowning families had given way to the demand for protection. A new conservative class had risen from the ruins of the old. Daniel Webster, sensing that his constituents had been metamorphosed into manufacturers and railroad builders, had abandoned free-trade opinions. A different economic order had appeared, but conservative ideas still dominated business and social life. They were still most successful at the polls. Yet, as the wealth of Massachusetts concentrated under the direction of Bostonian financiers and urban interests grew more predominant, sounds of rural discontent rose higher.

A host of liberal movements sprang from the soil of agrarian districts and gained strength in fishing communities along the seacoast. . . . The period from the demise of the old Federalist party in 1824 to the birth of the new Free Soil party in 1848 was a time of seething unrest. It was an age of reform. From it, Massachusetts emerged into a new social order. ¹⁰¹

In November 1835 Everett was easily elected. He was a candidate of the Whig party and of the Anti-Masons as well, having consented to run on the Anti-Masonic ticket only if he had the Whig nomination too. ¹⁰² This created some difficulty because, once in office, he did not refuse to appoint Masons. ¹⁰³ Everett had also been nominated by the Whigs in such a maneuver of "the triumvirate, Webster, Edward Everett, and John Davis," to quote J. Q. Adams, as to ignore the wishes of Lieutenant Governor Samuel F. Armstrong. ¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Political Changes in Massachusetts 1824-48 (New Haven, 1925), pp. 2-3.

¹⁰² Frothingham, p. 128.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 135.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 129.

These were slight difficulties indeed compared to those resulting from remarks on slavery which Everett, for no apparently sound and immediate reason at all, interpolated in his inaugural address. He stated his regret over the recent agitation, emphasized the legality of slavery under the Constitution, and urged that the subject be no longer discussed. ¹⁰⁵ Frothingham calls these the "words of a wise and ¹⁰⁶ cautious conservatism." And it could be that these were words that most people in Boston and Massachusetts liked at that time, but they, like the speech in Congress, were sentences which furnished materials ¹⁰⁷ for bitter attacks for many years. Frothingham also points out that ¹⁰⁸ most of the "solid men" of Boston were with him in this. As anti-slavery sentiment waxed stronger in Massachusetts, Everett was placed by his own words on the extreme conservative side.

The most positive contribution of Everett as governor to the trends of change in Massachusetts came in his support of state education, especially the establishment of normal schools. He also recommended to the legislature and signed the bill which created the first state Board of Education. This Board at its first meeting chose Horace Mann as secretary. Everett, while he was governor, wrote the ¹⁰⁹ Board's annual reports.

¹⁰⁵ Address of His Excellency to the Two Branches of the Legislature (Boston, 1836), pp. 29-30.

¹⁰⁶ p. 133.

¹⁰⁷ Frothingham, p. 134.

¹⁰⁸ p. 134.

¹⁰⁹ Frothingham, pp. 135-9.

In the turbulence of state politics at this time, a reform question provided the pretext which defeated Everett when he ran for election the fifth time in 1839. Among the reforms being advocated was temperance. An effort had been made to set up a separate temper-
 110
 ance party. A bill was introduced into the legislature which would limit the sale of liquor to "quantities not less than fifteen gallons." This would obviously eliminate the sale of drinks over the bar in saloons. And Everett was convinced that this would be beneficial to
 111
 society. Bancroft, Democratic leader in Massachusetts,

was quick to perceive the opportunity Everett's foolish act gave him. What laborer could afford to buy his daily tot fifteen gallons at a time? Did the Whigs mean to restrict the pleasures of rum wholly to the moneyed class? In vain the Whigs might protest that prohibition was not a plank in their platform, for Everett's signature gave the bill an unmistakable Whig character, and the laboring classes saw it as Whig and nothing else. The election of 1839 turned primarily upon the liquor law . . .
 112

The year before Everett lost the governorship, he wrote of his services as governor and we can see what actions he considered as important. These seem to have been the reduction of the Common Law to a systematic code, efforts to further abolish capital punishment, extension of the railroads, support of silk culture in the state, preservation of public archives, strengthening of the militia, establishment of the Board of Education, undertaking of the Geological Survey,
 113
 and the appointment of Bank Commissioners.

110 Darling, Political Changes, p.239.

111 Ibid., p. 239.

112 Russel B. Nye, George Bancroft, Brahmin Rebel (Knopf, 1944), p. 121.

113 "Memoir," pp. 109-11.

Everett felt bitter about this defeat at the polls; especially was it humiliating since he lost by a single vote. And his brother
114
Alexander had publicly opposed him in this campaign. Everett made no public show of his feelings but quickly made plans for taking his family to Europe for an extended stay.

5. Ambassador

The rather abrupt departure for Europe was not wholly due to disappointment because of defeat at the polls. Mrs. Everett was in poor health and a warm climate had been recommended. So Italy was the destination. The family party landed at Havre early in July 1840 and
115
after many leisurely stops arrived at Florence in November. As usual, during this journey and later at Florence the Everetts moved in the very best society.

In a letter to his sister written on January 1, 1841 he expressed happiness at the news of the Whig victory in the fall elections. But he claimed to be completely uninterested in getting any office. This is contrary to what he had written to his good friend Winthrop a couple of months before. "My wish would be, if my friends at home desire my continuance in public life, to find employment abroad. . . . If I
116
am fit for anything, it is a diplomatic employment." That winter he wrote to his father-in-law, P. C. Brooks, specifically stating that
117
his preference would be the ambassadorship to England.

114 Frothingham, pp. 154-5.

115 Ibid., pp. 157-69.

116 Ibid., pp. 172-3.

117 Ibid., pp. 176-7.

Meanwhile Webster became Secretary of State in the new government, and Everett was nominated for Ambassador to Great Britain and his name submitted to the Senate. In the Senate there was strong opposition to Everett. This can be understood when we realize that England had abolished slavery in her domains and was actively engaged in suppressing the slave-trade. Any American Minister to England would have the job of protesting against the seizure of any American slaves and demanding suitable reparation. Southern slaveholders felt that the Ambassador should at least be a definite Southern sympathizer. And since they did not so classify Everett, they opposed him bitterly. Rufus Choate and Henry Clay were champions for Everett, and in the
118
final vote he was confirmed.

Definite news of his confirmation did not reach Everett in Naples until October 12. He started the long journey to England, arriving in
119
London some weeks later.

During his service in London Everett's social and intellectual gifts made him very popular. He came to know quite well leading literary people - Samuel Rogers, Macaulay, Sydney Smith, Henry Hallam,
120
Peel, Disraeli, Carlyle, and Wordsworth. In fact, Everett became so popular that he was accused of "being too English, an aristocrat, and
121
fond of ostentation."

¹¹⁸ Frothingham, pp. 183-5.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 185-7.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 190.

¹²¹ Beckles Willson, American Ambassadors to England 1785-1929 (New York, 1929), p. 234.

These social gifts were much needed at this particular time.

The former American ambassador had sent a parting note to the British government which was not at all tactful. There were several sources of friction - the questions relative to the slave-trade, and Maine boundary negotiations. Webster wanted Everett in London as someone
122
whom he could well trust.

Everett's industry showed itself in the way in which he took hold of this responsibility. His predecessor had left and there was no assistant to guide him or advise. Yet on the evening of his arrival, Everett read all the accumulated correspondence and the next day began
123
organizing his work. He seems to have possessed an instinct for the right social thing to do, for, even though he had no background in diplomacy, he made no blunders and proceeded tactfully with his work. His first written instructions from Webster were dated December 28,
124
1841, almost two months after his arrival in London.

These instructions, when received, were very verbose. Webster told him that this was "a very important crisis" and that "On the
125
boundary question you are well-informed." Webster, however, was arranging to negotiate the boundary question himself in Washington with Lord Ashburton as special commissioner.

¹²² Willson, pp. 229-30.

¹²³ Frothingham, p. 133.

¹²⁴ Willson, p. 230.

¹²⁵ Ibid., pp. 230-1.

In January 1843 Everett was offered the post as head of a diplomatic mission to China. Congress had made provision for such a mission. Webster urged him to accept. The rumor reached Everett's ears that this move was being made so that Webster could go to London as ambassador. Once before, during the first year of his ambassadorship, Everett had been approached in a private letter by Webster with the idea of shifting to the embassy in Paris so that Webster could go to London: Webster had explained that his position in Tyler's cabinet was not comfortable. This first suggestion of change Everett had firmly refused. Everett did not like the "trade" aspect of the mission to China, nor the idea of travelling to such a far place. His position was made uncomfortable by the fact that John Quincy Adams and President Tyler independently of each other wrote urging him to accept the mission. But Everett would not be persuaded.

The handling of the boundary question in Washington and the offer of the China mission seemed to have combined to bring criticism on Webster for the way in which he was treating Everett. And the facts of the situation are indeed very strange. The long friendship between the two was threatened. Everett's chief official duty seemed to be to argue cases of slave property which had been seized by the ships of the British Government. This he found very unpleasant. Everett did

¹²⁶ Frothingham, pp. 226-34.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 233.

¹²⁸ Ibid., pp. 234-7.

not appreciate being in the position of opposing England in her efforts to stop the slave trade. In December 1843 he wrote in an official dispatch:

. . . It is greatly to be wished that some law might be passed which would put an effectual stop to the employment of American capital and the participation of American citizens in a traffic condemned by religion and humanity and revolting to the public feeling of the American people. The strenuous resistance of the United States to the methods by which Great Britain has been so long endeavoring to suppress the trade in slaves, and the great expense to which our Government is put in sustaining a squadron on the coast of Africa, make it equally our duty and our interest to resort to every measure within our competence to put an effective stop to the nefarious traffic. ¹²⁹

In the election of 1844 the Whigs were defeated and this spelled the end of Everett's term as ambassador. After the new government took office in 1845 Everett wrote to the new Secretary of State asking to be informed of his wishes. He did not offer his resignation. He wanted very much to stay on and friends tried to make such an arrangement. But in July he received word that Louis McLane had been appointed to ¹³⁰ succeed him and would arrive in August. Many English friends expressed ¹³¹ the sincerest regrets at Everett's departure for home. On September 19, 1845, Everett and his family landed in Boston. The very next day he received a letter signed by all the members of the Harvard Corporation asking him to accept the Presidency of the University.

¹²⁹ Frothingham, pp. 235-6.

¹³⁰ Ibid., pp. 250-3.

¹³¹ Ibid., pp. 261-2.

6. President of Harvard

Now followed another period of hesitation. In 1828 he had been mentioned for president of the College. In a letter to Bancroft then he had explained why such a post could not appeal to a man of letters. "The office would give him no leisure and no liberty. A man would be in a hornet's nest."¹³² Even before he had left London word had come to Everett that he was to be offered the presidency. He wrote strongly against it to his father-in-law:

"I know college life well. The reality is very different from the outside. So far from being an eligible retreat for a man of literary tastes, it is a laborious and, what I think more of, a very anxious place. . . . No parent who has children of his own needs be told what it must be to be the head of a family of two hundred boys, all at the most troublesome and anxious age. You cannot do with them as you do with men. It is in the power of a thoughtless youth - his head perhaps inflamed with an extra glass of wine - to do deeds that plunge the whole institution into disorder."¹³³

But most friends wanted Everett to accept. Webster called and urged him to accept this as his destiny. Rather unwillingly, he finally¹³⁴ agreed.

On February 5, 1846, his nomination was approved by the Overseers. On April 30 the inauguration exercises were held in the same church auditorium where Everett years before had scored his first great triumph of oratory in the welcome to Lafayette.¹³⁵ Emerson was present to witness his former idol take office, and he recorded his reactions and impressions in some detail:

¹³² Frothingham, p. 266.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 268

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 269.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 271.

May 1, 1846. I was at Cambridge yesterday to see Everett inaugurated. His political brothers came as if to bring him to the convent door, and to grace with a sort of bitter courtesy his taking of the cowl. It is like the marriage of a girl; not until the wedding and the departure with her husband does it appear that she has actually and finally changed homes and connections and social caste. Webster I could so willingly have spared on this occasion. Everett was entitled to the entire field: and Webster came, who is his evil genius, and has done him incalculable harm by Everett's too much admiration of his iron nature; warped him from his true bias all these twenty years, and sent him cloud-hunting at Washington and London, to the ruin of all solid scholarship, and fatal diversion from the pursuit of his right prizes. It is in vain that Everett makes all these allusions to his public employment; he would fain deceive me and himself: he has never done anything therein, but has been, with whatever praises and titles and votes, a mere dangler and ornamental person. It is in vain for sugar to try to be salt. Well, this Webster must needs come into that house just at the moment when Everett was rising to make his inaugural speech. Of course, the whole genial current of feeling flowing toward him was arrested, and the old Titanic Earth-Son was alone seen. The house shook with new and prolonged applause, and Everett sat down, to give free course to the sentiment. . . .

Everett's grace and propriety were admirable through the day. Nature finished this man. He seems perfectly built, perfectly strong and whole; his eye, voice, hand exactly obey his thought. His quotations are a little trite, but saved by the beautiful modulation and falls of the recitation.

The satisfaction of men in his appointment is complete. Boston is contented because he is so creditable, safe and prudent, and the scholars because he is a scholar, and understands the business. . . .

. . . the complexion of these Cambridge feasts is not literary, but somewhat bronzed by the colors of Washington and Boston. The aspect is political, the speakers are political, and Cambridge plays a very pale and permitted part in its own halls. A man of letters - who was purely that - would not feel attracted, and would be as much out of place there as at the Brokers' Board.

. . . The close of Everett's inaugural discourse was chilling and melancholy. . . . 136

If the entrance of Webster just as Everett was to begin his inaugural address was a symbol of things to come, then it was appropriate. Unhappy days were ahead. And the chill that Emerson sensed in the address was apparently a reflection of Everett's own feelings.

One historian of Harvard writes: "The quixotic Everett came in for three years of torment, both to himself and to the school, when he took over in 1846. The students gave him the merry treatment: when he chided one of them for not using his kerchief, a waving of kerchiefs greeted him at chapel. They mocked his British airs with blue-tail-coat costumes. They staged a cockfight on Fast Day, and the cry of 'all women out of the Yard' went up when 'two females' were discovered being entertained in quarters."¹³⁷

Everett complained that he had not known the real condition of the college, but this does not seem quite accurate.¹³⁸ Certain it is, trouble with the students began the day after his arrival in Cambridge. It included "outrageous singing and uproar" at midnight, boyish pranks, attempted explosions, "beckoning to loose women," "incendiary outrages,"¹³⁹ and felonies. Hours and hours were spent in disciplinary action. Details of all sorts had to be handled by Everett.

In addition to the students who "proceeded to make his life a hell," Everett had difficulties with the faculty. He wanted them to attend daily chapel as an example to the students. The tutors seem to have agreed, but most of the professors stayed away. Everett then turned to the Corporation and asked for a law requiring daily chapel attendance by the professors. This request seems to have been very

¹³⁷ Charles A. Wagner, Harvard, Four Centuries and Freedom (New York, 1950), p. 114.

¹³⁸ Frothingham, p. 275.

¹³⁹ Ibid., pp. 277-81.

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quietly by-passed. "Everett conceived an intense dislike of everything that his predecessor had done, including the formal adoption of the Veritas arms and seal . . ."¹⁴¹ He wanted to restore what he considered "the true and historic seal of the College." He apparently did not realize that he was going to stir up heated opposition. The Corporation spent months in debate and only grudgingly voted in Everett's favor. The whole question seems to have grown out of his passion for accuracy in historical detail, this passion coming in opposition to the traditinally established seal.¹⁴² This incident of the seal shows a pettiness of temper and lack of proportion which was evident all through Everett's three unhappy years as college president.

Two lasting achievements occurred during this time. Mr. Abbott Lawrence gave the University \$50,000 to be used for a scientific school. This was the largest sum ever donated up to this time by a living benefactor. And Everett secured Louis Agassiz as Professor of Zoology and Geology in the new Lawrence Scientific School.¹⁴³

It was clear to Everett, even in 1847, that he would have to watch his health very carefully. His doctor warned him of the serious effects that worry would have. He knew then that he could not long continue in the Presidency.¹⁴⁴ This same summer his wife's health gave

¹⁴⁰ Frothingham, pp. 283-5.

¹⁴¹ Samuel Eliot Morison, Three Centuries of Harvard 1636-1936 (Cambridge, 1936), p. 279.

¹⁴² Frothingham, pp. 287-90.

¹⁴³ Ibid., pp. 290-1.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 293.

¹⁴⁵
 way. In December 1848 Everett wrote his letter of resignation, and
 the following month marked the end of his career as University Pres-
¹⁴⁶
 ident.

"Certain it is," writes a historian of Harvard, "that Everett
 will be remembered for the things he might have done rather than for
 those actually accomplished in his short term at the helm, though some
 historians still claim his teaching belonged with the best. Simpler
 men, without his elegance, seem to have overshadowed his high poten-
 tiality at every important turn. If it were not for Lincoln, whose
 masterful two-minute speech at Gettysburg was preceded by Everett's
 ponderous and boring two-hour address, he might be forgotten except
¹⁴⁷
 in the faithful chronicle of Harvard's own history."

On January 1, 1849, his father-in-law, Mr. Brooks, died, leaving
 a considerable fortune to be divided equally among his children. After
¹⁴⁸
 this, Everett had no financial worries.

7. Climax and Downfall

Everett recuperated at Sharon Springs, New York. His health
¹⁴⁹
 improved. For a time, he seems not to have been sure what he would do.

¹⁴⁵ Frothingham, p. 295.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 297.

¹⁴⁷ Wagner, p. 115.

¹⁴⁸ Frothingham, p. 295.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 303.

An offer to be President of the new University of the State of Missouri¹⁵⁰ he refused. Macaulay wrote inviting him to visit England. "I am quite sure that every American whom you have furnished with letters of recommendation will tell you that a line from you is the best passport into the best society of London. Even your patriotism ought to impel you to¹⁵¹ come over often, and to stay with us long." But such urging from his dear friend Macaulay did not persuade him. Winthrop and others urged¹⁵² him to run for Congress, but he refused.

He seems again to have taken up writing projects. He thought of writing a "Natural and Civil History of America." He thought of doing a history of Greece. And again he turned to the idea of a treatise on¹⁵³ International Law. None of these were carried through. But he did at this time edit Webster's speeches for publication and write a lengthy¹⁵⁴ memoir of his friend.

An event occurred which marred the Everett-Webster friendship. In 1850 Webster made his famous Seventh of March Speech. Reaction to the speech was instantaneous, the North accusing Webster of false-¹⁵⁵ dealing, calling him "a fallen star." "Solid men of Boston," however, sent a testimonial of approval to Webster. Leading Boston conserva-¹⁵⁶ tives signed, but not Everett. When Everett received the full text

¹⁵⁰ Frothingham, p. 303.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 302.

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 303.

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 308-9.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 309-10.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 315.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 316-17.

of his friend's speech, he studied it carefully and went through a period of struggle with his conscience but he could not approve it since he could not countenance the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. He wrote personally to Webster explaining why he could not approve. Everett was depressed by this event, but the friendship was
 157
 not broken.

In July 1850 Millard Fillmore became President on the death of Zachary Taylor. Webster was made Secretary of State in Fillmore's
 158
 cabinet. This led directly to Everett's reparticipation in diplomacy. In the autumn of 1850 Webster asked Everett to assist him in composing a letter to Hülsemann, the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires. The United States had sent an agent to Hungary to study events connected with a revolutionary movement headed by Kossuth. The Austrian government, offended by this move, had started a correspondence with the United States. This offered an opportunity "for a declaration of American
 159
 sentiment which was always popular with the mass of the people." Webster asked Everett to help compose such a letter. Everett prepared a draft which Webster, with some changes, released as America's answer to Austria. The letter as printed was boastful and "ultra-patriotic." And Everett claimed that Webster meant, as soon as he retired, to ex-
 160
 plain the part Everett played in the authorship.

157 Frothingham, pp. 317-20.

158 Ibid., p. 321.

159 Ibid.

160 Ibid., pp. 321-4.

In 1852 Webster tried but failed to gain the Whig nomination for the Presidency. This may have contributed to the serious ill-health which resulted in his death on October 24, 1852. Immediately on hearing the news, Everett composed a newspaper obituary on his life-long friend.¹⁶¹ At a memorial meeting in Faneuil Hall on the 27th Everett spoke in honor of Webster. As he left for this meeting, he received an invitation from President Fillmore to become Secretary of State, that position now vacant because of Webster's death.¹⁶²

Everett spent several days making up his mind. Finally, on October 30, he wired the President that he would accept.¹⁶³ The following Tuesday was Election Day and Pierce was elected, so Everett knew before he left Boston on November 4 that he could serve as Secretary of State only the four months left in the Whig tenure of office.¹⁶⁴

With the forcefulness and energy characteristic of him, Everett plunged into his duties on his arrival in Washington. He was asked at once by the President to prepare a letter to the Emperor of Japan to be taken by Commodore Perry who was soon to sail.¹⁶⁵ Everett also found it necessary to devote time to straightening up various matters in the State Department which Webster had handled clumsily.¹⁶⁶ The biggest business of diplomacy during this quarter concerned Cuba.

¹⁶¹ Frothingham, p. 326.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 327.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 328.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 331.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 331-2.

Expansionist Americans had long looked toward Cuba. Southerners had considered it as a natural field for the extension of slavery. In 1852 England and France proposed that the United States join them "in a joint agreement guaranteeing to the Spanish Government the undisturbed possession of Cuba."¹⁶⁷ This was to be a Tripartite Convention. On December 1, 1852, Everett wrote to the Comte de Sartiges, and this long communication was his reply to the two governments. Frothingham claims that this letter "became a great State document . . . to be quoted and to guide our national policy at a later period . . ."¹⁶⁸ The gist of the letter was that the United States did not covet Cuba but that it considered the condition of Cuba was entirely "an American Question." Everett sketched the long history of the United States' policy of no entangling alliances and declined the invitation to join in the proposed convention. The document was not released to the public until January 5th.¹⁶⁹ Then praise came from all sides.

This brief period was very successful for Everett. It increased his national prestige and was a pleasant antidote to the bitterness of the Harvard experience. "The fact of the matter was . . . that Everett was constantly mentioned at this time as the next Whig candidate for the Presidency."¹⁷⁰ The Whigs had met national defeat in 1852. This automatically cut short his term as Secretary of State, but before that

¹⁶⁷ Frothingham, p. 335.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 334-9.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 340.

brief time was up Everett had opportunity to continue on the national stage. In February 1853 he was elected by the Massachusetts legislature to the United States Senate. In every way he seemed fitted for the new position. He entered it after success in the State Department and long varied experience nationally and internationally. It seemed easily possible that he might be the 1856 Whig candidate for president.¹⁷¹

On taking his Senate seat March 4, 1853, Everett seemed to be in a natural position for moving into the White House. He became a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations and also the Committee on Territories.¹⁷² By the late fall of that year he seems to have been pleased with his political prospects.¹⁷³ But in January of 1854 trouble began. Stephen Douglas introduced the Kansas-Nebraska Bill into the Senate.

This bill repealed the Compromise of 1850 and reopened the whole explosive question of slavery. Everett was alarmed. In the Territorial Committee he opposed the bill. For a conservative this was an unhappy situation. Everything had been going smoothly, with no disrupting or emotional political issue. Everett recorded in his journal that a member of the Territorial Committee "intimated that one great object for which it [the Bill] was brought forward was 'to put me to the test.'¹⁷⁴ In the heated debates on the floor of the Senate Everett

¹⁷¹ Frothingham, p. 340.

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 341.

¹⁷³ Ibid., p. 342.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 345.

spoke against the bill, but only after he had sought advice from
¹⁷⁵
 political friends. He favored the Compromise of 1850, wished no
 change to be made in that arrangement, deplored the evils of slavery
 and expressed the hope that Providence would correct them in its own
¹⁷⁶
 good time. Frothingham defends the position taken in this speech as
¹⁷⁷
 due to Everett's being "a clergyman in politics." This is certainly
 a charitable view. Another equally valid view might be that Everett
¹⁷⁸
 took the position designed to hurt least politically.

The real trouble came later at the time for the vote on the bill.
 The vote was taken at daybreak after an all-night session of debate,
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 from which Everett had gone home ill at 3:30 A.M. There was an im-
 mediate clamor in the papers against those Senators who had "dodged"
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 voting. A letter of explanation released to the newspapers instead
¹⁸¹
 of clearing why Everett was absent seemed only to increase the abuse.
 Arthur High Clough is quoted by Frothingham as writing: "Everett's
 course has been pitiaibly timid and time-serving, and his political
 career may be considered finished - he wanted the Presidency, and
¹⁸²
 misses it by trying too hard for it." And Charles Francis Adams

¹⁷⁵ Frothingham, p. 345.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 348-9.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 349.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 350.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 350-1.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 353.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 354.

wrote to Sumner: "Your colleague has not bettered himself here by his last movement. He has entirely verified what I predicted of him to you the year of his election - stuff not good enough to wear in rainy weather, though bright enough in sunshine."¹⁸³

The situation was only made worse when Everett had a chance to try to redeem himself in the public view. A Remonstrance Address was drawn up and signed by over three thousand New England clergymen of all denominations.¹⁸⁴ Many eminent ministers were among the signers. The petition had arrived in Washington too late to be presented during the debate. Sumner was not asked to present it because of his extreme views. Though the document was late, Everett was asked to present it to the Senate. He apparently only looked hastily at the document before explaining to the Senate that the number of signers represented an overwhelming majority of New England ministers. He then read the Remonstrance "and a sensational and angry outburst was the result."¹⁸⁵ Those who opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and those who voted for it were equally angry. The clergy were vehemently criticized for preaching political sermons. And others complained that Everett was apologetic in presenting the petition.

His unhappy position Everett explained in a letter to Mrs. Henry Augustus Wise:

¹⁸³ Frothingham, p. 354.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 356.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 357.

Then, finally, the aspect of things in the political world is wholly changed since I agreed to come to the Senate; in fact the change has taken place within three months. There was then a fine field of usefulness, if not of distinction, open to me. Now the National Whig Party has ceased to exist - its conservative position in the non-slaveholding states is annihilated - and we have nothing in prospect, for the next three years, but anti-slavery agitation. This I cannot conscientiously join, for it leads inevitably toward the dissolution of the Union; but I cannot oppose it, for it is justly provoked by the attempt to repeal the Missouri Compromise; nor resist it - for it is sweeping all before it. Discouraging as the state of things is, I will stand my ground as long as the state of my health permits; but if I find that is really giving way - as I have too much reason to apprehend - I shall beat a retreat. ¹⁸⁶

Another move of Everett's at this time worked against him politically. Shortly after leaving the State Department he felt the time was ripe for revealing to the public his share in writing the famous Hülsemann letter while Webster was Secretary of State. He reasoned that his assistance in writing a famous diplomatic paper would help his political ambitions. Everett had his original draft of the Hülsemann letter and the public document, showing Webster's corrections and additions, printed together in a pamphlet. He sought friendly advice about releasing the pamphlet, but before much could be decided, the newspapers somehow got hold of the story and Everett was accused of "playing false to a ¹⁸⁷ dead friend."

This was more than Everett could take. He again consulted his doctor, and against the political advice of his friends, he resigned his seat as Senator. He was baffled and defeated. In eighteen months as Senator he went from "his highest pitch of popularity" to resignation

¹⁸⁶ Frothingham, p. 359.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 360.

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under fire. "The time had come for heroism, not for harmonizers:
for duty, not decorum. The need of the hour was for conscience, not
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for compromise."

Although in retirement, Everett still occupied himself with some
type of public activity. In January 1850 he had offered "his valuable
collection of State papers and other works [to the proposed Boston
Public Library]. This offer was the first relating to a considerable
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amount of library material." Everett considered himself the real
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founder of the Library. He served as President of the Board of Trus-
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tees from 1852 to 1864. In these years after leaving the Senate, he
became the active citizen. "Everett from this time on was the most
conspicuous private citizen of Boston. Dr. Holmes called him 'the
yardstick by which men are measured in Boston.' In his leisure he
found time to take up with renewed activity his correspondence with
193
friends abroad."

In 1855 the Mercantile Library Association of Boston asked him
to give the introductory lecture in their course for the 1855-56 sea-
son. He refused but later realized that 1856 would be the hundredth
anniversary of Washington's first visit to Boston. Then he wrote to
the Library Association, pointing out the coming anniversary and offer-
ing to speak on February 22 if the meeting were made a patriotic

188 Frothingham, pp. 361-2.

189 Ibid., p. 363.

190 Horace G. Wadlin, The Public Library of the City of Boston
(Boston, 1911), p. 13.

191 Frothingham, p. 364.

192 Ibid., p. 365.

193 Ibid.

194
occasion with the proceeds to go for some commemorative purpose.

The Library Association agreed and announced the projected special meeting. This brought forth invitations to speak on Washington in other parts of the country. Everett wrote to Richmond stating that he would give the Washington oration there if the proceeds would go to the Ladies Mount Vernon Association.¹⁹⁵ This Association had been formed some time before in an effort to raise the funds to buy Mount Vernon from private hands, restore it to its original state, and make it a public monument.

Within a month after the first delivery of the Washington oration in Boston Everett had given it in New Haven, New York (where he was given a two hour public reception), Baltimore, Richmond, Petersburg, Va., the University of Virginia, and Washington.¹⁹⁶ Thus started the round of repetitions of this speech. On this first trip Everett stopped over at Philadelphia where he visited for the first time Miss A. P. Cunningham, the invalid woman who had founded the Ladies Mount Vernon Association. He was greatly impressed by her vitality and promised to return later and give the oration in Philadelphia for the benefit of the Association.¹⁹⁷ Now he began to definitely arrange trips through the whole country to deliver the "Washington," the proceeds to go to saving Mount Vernon.

¹⁹⁴ Frothingham, pp. 373-4.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 374.

¹⁹⁶ Orations, IV, 5-6.

¹⁹⁷ Frothingham, p. 377.

Perhaps by coincidence or perhaps because Everett's mind was long trained to political possibilities, 1856, the year he started out in February to speak through the country on a non-political subject, was also a presidential year. Some people saw the political implications of such speech-making. On March 11, 1856, L. May, Jr. wrote to a friend:

. . . Edward Everett is travelling over the land, delivering his eulogy or Oration, ostensibly on G. Washington, but really on himself and his prospects for the next Presidency, or at least a place in Fillmore's cabinet! Everett is a poor, cold corpse walking about above ground, which hasn't found out yet that it is dead, and ought to be in its proper place - the grave of his own library. It is pitiable to see this old hack running round for votes. His chance is far inferior to what Daniel Webster's was - and we all know what that was. ¹⁹⁸

Whatever the motive may honestly have been, Everett was building up even a greater reputation for himself than he had formerly enjoyed.

The activity to support the Mount Vernon Association opened up another career for Everett. Robert Bonner, energetic publisher of the weekly New York Ledger, set out to get Everett as a contributor. Robert Bonner and P. T. Barnum were considered "the two most effective advertisers in America." ¹⁹⁹ One of Bonner's very effective methods was to pay phenomenal sums to his writers.

Bonner knew better than to approach the great man with offers of direct remuneration; but as an editor of many devices, he looked about for some effective indirect attack. Finally he found Everett's vulnerable heel in his presidency of the Mount Vernon Association. . . . when Bonner offered to donate \$10,000 to the cause

¹⁹⁸ Anti-Slavery May Papers, VI, Boston Public Library.

¹⁹⁹ Mott, A History of American Magazines 1850-1865 (Cambridge, 1938), p. 15.

if Everett would contribute a short article to the Ledger every week for a year, the celebrity was captured. Everett took a month to think it over - and yielded. But many good people were shocked by the idea of their paragon's appearing in a story-paper alongside Mrs. Southworth and Sylvanus Cobb. . . . 200

Mount Vernon and the Washington oration started Everett in newspaper writing again. He had during his early political life written much anonymously. Now he wrote under his own name. He started the weekly series in November 1858 and finished it a year later. He called the series "The Mount Vernon Papers" and under that title they were published in book form in 1860. But once started in newspaper writing Everett did not stop. He continued his writing for the Ledger except that his contributions were on a monthly basis and the financial arrangements were made directly with him. He was paid a year in advance.
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8. Years of Redemption

Circumstances had destroyed Everett's hopes of being a presidential candidate in 1856. The Whig Party continued to disintegrate, and 1860 saw a new alignment of political forces in the country. The Democratic Party meeting in Charleston, South Carolina, split. The faction of Southern States nominated John C. Breckenridge. The other delegates nominated Stephen A. Douglas. The Republicans, meeting in Chicago, put forth a surprise candidate in Abraham Lincoln. Some of the leaders of the old Whig Party met at Baltimore, called

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Mott, pp. 23-24.

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See opening pages of Everett's journals, Everett Papers, 179-184.

themselves the Constitutional Union Party. This was a very respectable group of conservative old men. They hoped to save the Union by a bold appeal to patriotic sentiment. John Bell of Tennessee was nominated for the presidency and Edward Everett for the vice-presidency.

For Everett this was a bitter pill. To be second in place! He had sent instructions asking to have his name withdrawn as a candidate since preliminary discussion somewhat favored him for the first place. But in the confusion of the convention it was not made clear that he directed himself the withdrawal of his name. So, when he was proposed for the second place on the ticket, he was given the nomination by
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 acclamation. Everett spent several perplexed weeks before he reluc-
 203
 tantly accepted the vice-presidential nomination. When the ballots were counted, not only was the little known Lincoln from the west
 204
 elected, but the Union Party had garnered only 39 electoral votes.

The actual division of the country over the question of slavery had now come, the thing long dreaded by Everett. And he did not feel that Lincoln was equal to the occasion. On February 15, 1861, he wrote in his journal: "The President-elect is making a zigzag progress to Washington . . . He is evidently a person of very inferior cast of
 205
 character, wholly unequal to the crisis." On April 7 Everett in Washington met Lincoln after a service at church. "His manner and appearance were better than I expected to find them, and particularly

202 Frothingham, pp. 407-10.

203 Ibid., p. 411.

204 Ibid., p. 412.

205 Ibid., p. 414.

206
 courteous toward me." Later that month when news came of the firing
 on Fort Sumter, Everett wrote that since he disapproved the course of
 the Secessionists more than that of the Republicans, he had no choice
 207
 now but to support the government.

The "path of duty" for Everett was not a supine agreement with
 the party in power but active support of the government, especially
 the contribution of Everett's greatest gift - oratory. On April 27th
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 Everett spoke at a flag-raising at Chester Square in Boston. On May
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 8th he spoke in behalf of the families of volunteers in Roxbury, Mass.
 On July 4 he spoke at the Academy of Music in New York on "The Ques-
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 tions of the Day." Frothingham points out that this speech did not
 have "the usual Everett embroidery." The address was a straightfor-
 ward, logical structure, in which he reviewed carefully and disproved
 211
 the claims involved in the doctrine of the right of secession.
 Everett Also prepared another address called "The Causes and Conduct
 of the War," which he delivered sixty times beginning at Boston in
 October, 1861. He gave this speech as far west as Dubuque and in the
 212
 principal cities of the north. If we look at the peroration of this
 speech, we can sense the fervor that Everett put into his efforts to
 support the war effort of the national government.

206
 Frothingham, pp. 415.

207
 Ibid.

208
Orations, IV, 326.

209
 Ibid., p. 330.

210
 Ibid., p. 345.

211
 Frothingham, pp. 422-4.

212
 Ibid., p. 425.

. . . that any man, not a maniac nor a lunatic, can seriously believe that the paths of prosperity in a country like ours can lead through the bloody gates of treason and rebellion, that anarchy and chaos can conduce to the growth of a family of republics, and an internecine secular war among ourselves give us strength and well-being at home or influence abroad, is almost enough to make one despair of virtue, freedom, and reason, and take refuge in blind chance, brute force, and stolid scepticism.

But it cannot, it shall not be. This glorious national fabric shall not be allowed to crumble into dishonorable fragments. This seamless garment of Union, which enfolds the States like a holy Providence, shall not be permitted to be torn in tatters by traitorous hands. No, a thousand times no! Rise, loyal millions of the country! hasten to the defence of the menaced Union! . . . Come with your strong hands, come with your cunning hands; come with your swords, come with your knitting - needles; come with your purses, your voices, your pens, your types, your prayers; come one, come all, to the rescue of the country! ²¹³

In late October 1861 Everett was asked by Seward to come to Washington to discuss some public business. Seward sounded him out on the possibility of his being one of a group of men to visit England and Europe to influence public opinion favorably to the North. At later times, too, Everett was asked to present his views, Lincoln once telling him that he was "one of the Cabinet Council."²¹⁴ The next year he was strongly urged to go to Europe to represent the government in a sort of unofficial capacity. Some weeks were spent in specific discussion of details. Everett and Lincoln conferred about it. Finally on September 23, 1861, Everett wrote to Seward the conditions under which he would be willing to undertake the unofficial mission, the chief condition being the provision of a sufficient expense account to permit Everett to adequately return hospitalities that would be

²¹³ Orations, IV, 488-9.

²¹⁴ Frothingham, p. 432.

shown him by influential and governmental people. Shortly after, however, Everett declined because he felt there was nothing he could do of significance which was not already being done through regular
²¹⁵
 diplomatic channels.

Speeches of various types supporting the government continued. When the Union Club was formed in Boston in 1863, Everett was elected
²¹⁶
 president. But the last great triumph of his career came when Everett was invited to be the orator of the day at the dedication of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg in November 1863.
²¹⁷
 Lincoln was invited to make a few remarks. All of Everett's culture and experience and polish went into the formal, two hour address which he prepared and
²¹⁸
 delivered on this occasion.

It is a great irony that at this moment, apparently on an occasion when the circumstances would stamp his words indelibly in the pages of history, Lincoln should speak for two minutes following Everett and simply wipe out the memory of the great orator's words. Everett was almost seventy years old when he spoke at Gettysburg. He gave the type of oration for which he was famous and which was expected of him. Everett seems to have quickly realized that what Lincoln said in his few remarks went directly to the heart of the occasion. For the very next day he wrote to Lincoln saying that he wished he had

²¹⁵ Frothingham, pp. 442-8.

²¹⁶ Ibid., p. 450.

²¹⁷ Ibid., p. 451.

²¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 453-7.

been able to state the theme of the day as well in two hours as
 219
 Lincoln had done in two minutes. There is also evidence that he spoke
 this tribute directly to Lincoln right after his speech had been giv-
 220
 en. Certain it is that the aristocratic dislike of Lincoln which
 Everett had a few years before was now gone, and Everett was keen
 enough to grasp the value of what Lincoln had said and big enough to
 acknowledge it.

When Lincoln ran for reelection in 1864, Everett not only sup-
 ported Lincoln but was a Presidential Elector at large on the Repub-
 221
 lican ticket. He had supported Lincoln despite the abuse and sarcasm
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 aimed at the President by his neighbors on Beacon Hill. Everett spoke
 in favor of Lincoln's reelection at Faneuil Hall on October 19, 1864,
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 calling his address "The Duty of Supporting the Government." Froth-
 ingham says, "Thus the last Presidential election of Everett's life-
 time came and went. It was the most momentous with which he had ever
 been connected, and he was not only on the winning side, but he was
 on the side at last of progress, development, enlightenment, justice,
 224
 freedom, and reform."

Frothingham goes on to say that Everett had redeemed "the some-
 225
 what cautious choices" of his earlier life. Others, too, shared such

219 Frothingham, p. 458

220 William E. Barton, Lincoln at Gettysburg (New York, 1950),
 pp. 166, 176, 182.

221 Frothingham, p. 462.

222 Ibid., p. 460.

223 Orations, IV, 698.

224 p. 464.

225 Ibid.

a view. Bancroft declared that from the very nature of the man when the Civil War crisis arose, "there was but one direction in which he could move."²²⁶ Bryant wrote: ". . . when the rebellion broke out, he emancipated himself at once from all such [conservative] tendencies of his mind. He embraced the war in defence of the Union with all its consequences and all its risks. . . . he recognized the great necessity of the time . . . His example and his words had an immense effect throughout the country, both upon the wavering, and upon those who, like himself, were conservative. . . ." Whittier wrote:

In that brief period [since outbreak of the Civil War] crowded as it is with a whole life-work of consecration to the union, freedom and glory of his country, he not only commanded respect and reverence, but concentrated upon himself in a most remarkable degree the love of all loyal and generous hearts. . . . But Edward Everett did more than this; he laid on the altar not only his time, talents and culture, but his pride of opinion, his long-cherished views of policy, his personal and political predilections and prejudices, his constitutional fastidiousness of conservatism, and the carefully elaborated symmetry of his public reputation. With a rare and noble magnanimity, he met without hesitation, the demand of the great occasion. . . .²²⁸

As part of his public effort at this time, Everett supported various relief projects. He was active in the East Tennessee Refugee Relief.²²⁹ His last public appearance was in behalf of the Savannah²³⁰ sufferers. He spoke at Faneuil Hall on January 9, 1865. He went home

²²⁶ The New York Ledger, January 18, 1865.

²²⁷ Everett Papers 247, bound volume of clippings.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Everett Papers 37, box of correspondence concerning the East Tennessee Refugee Relief.

²³⁰ Frothingham, p. 469.

ill and for two days was unable to make an entry in his journal. Then on January 12 he wrote that he had just managed to escape pneumonia, and he commented, "What a waste of time is not illness!"²³¹ Early the following morning Everett died.²³²

That Sunday Lincoln was just returning from a religious service when the news of Everett's death reached the White House. Lincoln ordered the Secretary of State to announce the news to the people of the country, to have flags on government buildings flown at half-mast and to have military salutes fired in Everett's honor the following day.

All of this as a sincere gesture and mark of honor Lincoln saw as proper and fitting. His thought, however, ran that day to what in the long and lavishly praised career of Everett might be basic and enduring. To Brooks that evening he said, "Now, you are a loyal New Englander, - loyal to New England, - what great work of Everett's do you remember?" Brooks was forced to say he could not recall any. . . . And Brooks's later account proceeded:

Not receiving satisfaction, he said, looking around the room in his half-comical fashion, as if afraid of being overheard, "Now, do you know, I think Edward Everett was very much overrated. He hasn't left any enduring monument. . . ." ²³³

While Lincoln speculated on Everett's place in history, Boston prepared to bury her illustrious dead. The Common Council of the City of Boston held a special memorial meeting in Faneuil Hall on January 18. It was claimed that "since the death of Mr. Webster no such general and profound manifestations of sorrow had been exhibited."²³⁴ The

²³¹ Frothingham, p. 470.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Carl Sandburg, Abraham Lincoln, the War Years (New York, 1939), IV, 115.

²³⁴ Frothingham, p. 471.

funeral cortege and services the next day were very impressive. A²³⁵ special funeral march was written for the occasion. So the great citizen of Boston, the man of many careers who had been active in public life for over fifty years, was laid to rest.

And the question remains, what did Everett achieve? Certainly no one oration of his left a mark in the American memory. None of his literary efforts is now read. His varied positions of public service assure him a place in the history books, but it is a minor position indeed compared to the praise and adulation heaped upon him during his lifetime. One biography of Everett has been written. But no study has been made of the ideas which he poured forth in silvered cadence, in polished and elegant periods. Perhaps in the survey of his ideas we may see better where he belongs. For no man could have a public record like Everett's without being at least representative of some segment of American thought.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY AND ITS LESSONS

Edward Everett grew up when the Revolution was fresh in men's minds. Some participants in it still survived. Yet obviously all that generation would soon be gone. Some effort must be made to keep the memory of the Revolution alive.

On July 4, 1826, Everett declared: "The age of commemoration is at hand. The voice of our fathers' blood begins to cry to us from beneath the soil which it moistened. Time is bringing forward, in their proper relief, the men and the deeds of that high-souled day."¹ Briefly put, that states the general purpose of most of the commemorative addresses which marked Everett's long career. Again, and again, he strove to put "in their proper relief" the men and events of American history.

Most of Everett's literary productions concern history. This is chiefly due to his being for so many years a popular orator for historical festivals. His historical writings fall into three categories: first, the dozens of commemorative orations; second, the several biographical sketches, including the biography of Washington; and third, the magazine and newspaper articles touching on history.

¹

"Principle of the American Constitutions," Orations, I, 109.

1. American Historiography in the Early Nineteenth Century

John Spencer Bassett points out that, "The Revolutionary War gave our historians new motives for writing."² This great event needed to be recorded and to be popularly told. The post-Revolutionary period of history writing seems to have been dominated by three groups of writers. First, there were those who wrote about the Revolution itself, or some phase of it. Then, there were those who wrote state histories. Finally, there were historians who attempted to write general histories of the United States.³ Everett was chiefly interested in the Revolution and in the life and character of Washington.

Those who had been leading actors in the Revolution felt that a history of the times was wanting. The early decades of the Republic had not produced a real historian. John Adams complained, "Can you account for the apathy, the antipathy of this nation to their own history? Is there not a repugnance to the thought of looking back? While thousands of frivolous novels are read with eagerness and got by heart, the history of our own native country, is not only neglected, but despised and abhorred."⁴

Even though a ready-made and exciting theme lay at hand, the conditions were not yet right for much literary expression. The lack of a strong literary tradition, the immaturity of American society,

² Cambridge History of American Literature (New York, 1943), II, 104.

³ Ibid., pp. 104-7.

⁴ Quoted in Michael Kraus, A History of American History (New York, 1937), p. 163.

the unusual economic opportunities and the problems of establishing national existence were factors combining to discourage serious historical writing.⁵ Everett did much to help correct the condition about which Adams complained.

William Tudor, an early editor of the North American Review,⁶ "popularized among the elite an eagerness for historical research." This journal gave much attention to history for many decades. "More than any other force," Kraus says, "the Review stirred the slow stream of intellectual life to a swift-flowing current whose sparkling waters refreshed spirits long laden with dust."⁷ In the pages of the North American Everett reviewed historical works by Bancroft, Butler, and others. As a critic he helped to shape opinions toward our historians and our writing of history. Consideration of a few of his reviews of historical works will reveal some of his attitudes toward the writing of history.

In 1823 Everett reviewed Frederick Butler's three-volume History of the United States.⁸ "In a historical work," Everett wrote, "the materials made use of are of course of greater importance, than in almost any other species of composition."⁹ In the preface the author had promised a list of "numerous authorities," but the list of authorities at the end of the third volume is so short that Everett reproduces it, pointing out that one book was listed three different

⁵ Cambridge History, II, 106-7.

⁶ Kraus, p. 169.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ "Butler's History of the United States," North American Review, XVI, (Jan. 1823), 156-63.

⁹ "Butler's History," 157.

10
times. "Our readers will begin to judge by this time into what hands
the subscribers to this history of the United States have fallen."¹¹

Everett considers the book, its contents and style, in sentences
biting with irony. He points out that the author's stated purpose
is to show the governing power of God in establishing "his church in
this wilderness."¹²

It may be easily conceived that a history, which is intended to contain a complete course of natural theology, must take a tolerably wide range, and our author accordingly begins with the departure of the Jews from Egypt, about fifteen centuries before our Lord. Not contented with this seasonable beginning, he soon goes back to the origin of navigation, where his style, his knowledge of antiquity, and his arrangement of facts are so finely displayed, that we will treat our readers with a sentence. 'A spirit of commerce and naval enterprise commenced with the Phoenicians and Egyptians, as early as two thousand years before Christ; this opened the way for the Egyptian colony, which Cadmus led into Greece; where, in about three hundred years after, it (?) led to the expedition of the Argonauts to Chelchos, (?) in quest of the golden fleece; which opened the way for the commerce of Greece. . . .'

In the same discriminating style he speaks of the discovery of America. . . . This is followed by a sentence, which, being in Italics, we suppose contains an important truth, but which we are unable either to construe, parse, or understand: - 'The coincident circumstances attending this wonderful adventure, are worthy of notice; may serve to illustrate the great plan of Infinite Wisdom, in opening a high way into the west and into the east about the same time. The first to prepare an asylum for his afflicted, persecuted church, and the other to furnish means to support and protect her in her remote retreat.'

One is sometimes able to judge of a writer's most familiar occupation by his figurative language and the objects from which his metaphors are drawn. We should suppose our author to have been a toll-gatherer or a turnpike man, did not his title page inform us he is a master of arts. . . . The Italics, are our author's own fancy, in this, as in our other citations. . . .¹³

¹⁰ "Butler's History," 157-8.

¹¹ Ibid., p.158.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., p.158-9. Everett used brackets around the question marks.

Everett proceeds for a few more pages to rip any scholarly pretence from the book. "It is one of the most notable productions of the catchpenny school of literature, that hath lately appeared."¹⁴ But the "most serious charge" against the book as history is "impertinent allusions to the divine providence of God, appeals far too frequent to his name and councils, and unauthorized reference to his immediate interference. It is not in this way, that his glory is promoted or his ways to man vindicated. This is not a theme so easily treated. . . . To multiply commonplace ascriptions and repeat, on every extraordinary event, that it was an immediate interposition of the Most High . . . is conclusive evidence of nothing but bad taste."¹⁵

A discussion of the providence of God "on proper occasions, by the proper persons"¹⁶ Everett did feel was right. He did believe in the providence of God, as we shall see later, and he considered himself a proper person to discuss it. And when he discussed God's providence it was not in the style of Cotton Mather or of Butler, Mather's spiritual descendant. He discussed it as a grand theme that gave spiritual meaning to the general plan of history.

Everett's national feeling is expressed in the opening paragraphs of a review of the Life of Richard Henry Lee.¹⁷ He discusses the

¹⁴ "Butler's History," 162.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ "Memoir of Richard Henry Lee," North American Review, XXII (April, 1826), 373-400.

tendency of Americans toward "State partiality," which he claims is

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"both honorable and natural."

. . . when we boast of our great revolutionary characters, we boast of them, not so much as Americans, but as citizens of the commonwealth to which we belong. Destroy the local tie, which binds together the people of each State, and the Union would not survive a day. . . . The Union, comparatively speaking, is the metaphysical and theoretical thing. . . . Its operation is occasionally sharp and harsh; it wants the feeling of age. But the States, at least the thirteen States, come home in a different way to the hearts of their citizens. They are not metaphysical, they are historical beings. ¹⁹

It is now the function of the true patriot to promote an appreciation of the heroes of all the other states. "Every man was essential.

20

Every one, who served his country, did it precious service."

Among the conspicuous works about revolutionary heroes, this memoir "deserves very honorable mention." Everett spends seventeen

21

pages summarizing the life of Lee as presented in the book. He presents a straightforward sketch of Lee's career. "The literary execution of the work is, upon the whole, highly respectable . . . ,"

Everett felt, but "Of the typographical execution little can be said

22

in commendation." American history must not only be accurately written, and well written, he felt, but also decently published.

He goes on to praise the author for having deposited all the manuscript correspondence of Lee in the Philadelphia library. "The

¹⁸ "Richard Henry Lee," 373-4.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 374.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 375.

²¹ Ibid., p. 380-97.

²² Ibid., p. 398.

history of our Revolution and constitutional organization is yet to be written. [The date of this is April 1826.] Nothing but materials have been published on this unparalleled theme. And many more materials must yet be given to the world, and perhaps another generation elapse, before the history can be written."²³ Everett clearly understood this scholarly phase of the problem, for he went on to say: "The archives at Washington must be explored; those of the several states thoroughly searched; and the treasures, which are scattered about in the families of revolutionary worthies, must be given to the world. The latter is quite as important a preliminary as either of the others. The history of the Revolution is in the letters of the great men who²⁴ shone in it."

In the October 1826 issue of the Review Everett has a discussion²⁵ of a history of the United States published at Göttingen. He sharpened his pen for attack and in his opening paragraph disposed of the book.

This work, as far as its historical contents go, is a meagre compilation from Ebeling's Geography and History of North America. Its object is, to present the most unfavorable picture, which can possibly be borne out by a semblance of facts, of the origin, progress, and present state of the American institutions. In the earlier periods of our history, for obvious reasons, more impartiality is observed, or rather the libel is in those portions of the book composed with less relish. The author throws in his red

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"Richard Henry Lee," 398.

²⁴

Ibid., p. 399.

²⁵

"History of Democracy in the United States," North American Review, XXIII (Oct. 1826), 304-14.

pepper as he proceeds; till at last, not merely the seasoning but the entire composition of his dish, is borrowed from the hottest pages of Turreau, Bristed, Felix Beaujour, and other gentlemen of that cast. The performance is wholly destitute of merit, even of that of being tolerably well composed, with a reference to the object in view; for with all the curiosity, with which scandal is almost sure to be read, we would defy Sir Benjamin Backbite himself, to read any one chapter in this work, without a yawn. It possesses none of the sturdy, heart of oak defamation of the Quarterly; none of Blackwood's flippant insolence; none of the romancing calumny of the French libellers; but is a tame imitation of the Baron Von Fürstenwärrther and the excellent Messrs Schmidt and Gall. In a word, it is the most narcotic lampoon we ever read.²⁶

This shows that Everett, elegant gentleman that he was, and proper too, knew how to slash out in a critical attack. No essential point about the book as a whole remains for comment, and for the rest of the review Everett writes as the critic of Europe.

When Bancroft's first volume of his History of the United States appeared, Everett gave it full praise. He claimed it was essential to point out "that the work of Mr. Bancroft is one of the ablest of the class, which has for years appeared in the English language; that it compares advantageously with the standard British historians; that as far as it goes, it does such justice to its noble subject, as to supersede the necessity of any future work of the same kind; and if completed as commenced, will unquestionably forever be regarded both as an American and as an English classic."²⁷

Everett makes much of the point that a satisfying history of a country must be written by a native. "None but a native can easily

²⁶ "History of Democracy," 304.

²⁷ "Bancroft's History of the United States," North American Review, XL (Jan. 1835), 99-122.

acquire that accurate knowledge of localities, which give life and
²⁸
 distinctness to narration." Only a native can have sufficient feeling for the "passion" of his theme. "The writer who would produce a classical history, must carry his heart to the task. While learning instructs and judgment guides him, a lofty patriotism must take possession of his soul."
²⁹

This does not mean that history should become panegyric, as is often the case. "It is too much the fault of historical writers, that, having been struck with the importance of some subject of history, and having for that reason, taken in hand to treat, they become over-partial to their theme, exaggerate its importance or merits; and thus pursue the narration, through volumes of strained interpretation,
³⁰
 flattery, and suppression." Or one may undertake to write in a completely unfriendly spirit. In either case, the partiality is wrong.

Everett then proceeds to explain what he feels the true, the classical, historian does.

But the classical historian, in composing the history of his own country, rises above either passion; and devotes himself to his great work, both sine ira and sine studio. He is elevated above both, by the generous conception, which he forms of his province; one of the most noble in the world of mind. He is the instrument of Providence, to award to good men, who in times past have served or adorned his native land, their just meed of praise. Perhaps, in their own times they were undervalued. Party prejudice

²⁸ "Bancroft's History," 100.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 101.

was unjust to their merits; fortune did not smile upon their efforts; - they struggled nobly, but without success, against events too strong for their mastery . . . or they did all they could, all that man could do in their time, in their position, - but it was imperfect, it was a beginning . . . The faithful, the generous, the learned, the enthusiastic historian comes, and does them justice. He rises above party, and can see the worth of great men, who could not see the worth of each other. . . . and where the fabric of national prosperity stands, in all its fair and absolute proportions, consolidated by years, and as venerable as firm, he points out the enduring zeal, the open-handed liberality, the fortitude, and the heroism, with which, in the day of small beginnings, the first foundations were laid. None but the heart of a native can accomplish this; no other can take up the theme, with that religious fondness which is required.³¹

The classical historian attempts to do historic justice, awarding good men, and attempting to move above the level of petty prejudices and ill feeling. As a native he can do this best because he is patriotically concerned. Everett goes on to illustrate this by using Roger Williams as an example. A native historian would present Williams as "a truly great man, in advance of his times." The foreign historian would take Williams just as he finds him portrayed in popular sources; he would not be prompted by the passion of patriotism to ask, ". . . was not injustice done this great man?"³²

Everett compares the way in which other historians have handled the life and character of Roger Williams with that of Bancroft.³³ He shows that Williams has been treated in a prejudiced manner or the significance of his ideas and position passed over and ignored.

³¹ "Bancroft's History," 101-2.

³² Ibid., p. 102.

³³ Ibid., pp. 103-9.

Mr. Bancroft goes differently to work. He perceives in the toleration principle of Williams a jewel, like the great Portuguese diamond, of inestimable value, which had till lately been sadly obscured, under the unsightly exterior and sordid crust of party prejudice and sectarian controversy. Carefully drawing to his aid, the numerous and respectable commentators of the present and former days, he nevertheless goes to the fountain-heads of authority, and derives his account of Roger Williams from the colony records, from the journal of Governor Winthrop, from the work of John Cotton, and the letters and other writings of Williams himself.³⁴

Bancroft is praised for his attempt to give historic justice and for his diligence in research. Everett goes on to praise the philosophical spirit that marks his pages.³⁵ (The one defect which seems apparent is a diffuseness of style and "an occasional want of precision in the use of language.")³⁶

There are two characteristics of the historian which are important - a certain extravagance in writing, and a deep love of truth.

The man who cannot singly and conscientiously, with his whole heart, make his oblation on the altar of truth, is no historian. He does not know what history means. He is not prepared to engage in its first labors, its lowest drudgery, if anything pertaining to truth can be called drudgery. No: it is nothing but a religious, a superstitious reverence for truth, which will give a man courage to steer his way through conflicting statements, to select, to condense, and to generalize. . . . He only who loves, who idolizes truth, can discriminate and compare truth. The extravagance which we plead for is that of the sound, the well-balanced, the well-instructed, and conscientious mind, warmed and exalted by love of its theme. It is the extravagance which runs through all the great and generous works of Providence and man . . . This extravagance, or enthusiasm, if it ended here, would of course be a weakness; but with the qualifications already stated, guided by judgment, checked by a sound philosophy and an intelligent criticism, taught by patient study, it is an indispensable ingredient in the historian's character.³⁷

³⁴ "Bancroft's History," 107.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 115.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 116.

Animation is essential in the writing of history.

For after all, the page of history is the dead letter. Describe as accurately as you will, - narrate facts, - pourtray [sic] characters, - sketch scenery, - and how far inferior is the impression made upon the mind to that produced by actual presence and inspiration; - to the seeing of the eye and the hearing of the ear. To fill up this mighty interval between the two kinds of impression is the province of the master; so to narrate the fact as to make you the witnesses of the occurrence; so to describe the spot, as to spread out its map before the imagination . . . This cannot be done by a timid adherence to what is erroneously called truth; - erroneously, because that representation cannot be true, which inadequately and imperfectly reproduces the original. ³⁸

History clearly is an art. By the use of words the historian is to make the past vivid, moving, true, and significant, as the painter makes the past colorful and life-like. Everett must have had some such analogy in mind when he wrote that the historian in order "to awaken the illustrious dead into an immortality of fame, must so describe them, as to produce as nearly as possible on the reader's mind, the effect of an actual presence."³⁹

Everett describes the actual position and effect of the historian as sufficient evidence in itself of the responsibility of his task.

From time to time, letters flourish in some favored spot, and every branch of knowledge, - and among others, the historical, - is cultivated. The annals of the past are then searched out and recorded, by gifted minds; either of the world at large, or of great periods of its duration, or of great states and confederacies, or of single countries. The power and skill of the historian will often decide from that time forward, how much shall be familiarly read and known of the people he describes. If his work is successfully composed, it will go down to after times, taking

³⁸

Bancroft's History," 116-17.

³⁹

Ibid., p117.

the place of the mass of contemporary and occasional pamphlets, and superseding ponderous tomes of more learned antiquarian collections.⁴⁰

In a letter written to Bancroft, Everett summed up his feeling that the History made the American past vivid and alive.

You have written a work that will last as long as the memory of America lasts; and which will instantly take its place among the classics of our language. It is full of learning, information, common sense, and philosophy; full of taste and eloquence, full of life and power. You give us not wretched pasteboard men, not a sort of chronological table, with the dates written out at length, after the manner of most historians: but you give us real, individual, living men and women with their passions, interests, and peculiarities.⁴¹

A person cannot help wondering if this emphasis on "extravagance," enthusiasm, vividness, is not connected with the elocutionary mannerisms that marked Everett's oratorical style. Certainly what he describes as necessary extravagance in the historian is a general equivalent to the studied use of gestures and the ornate language of his own rhetoric.

In October 1850 Everett reviewed the second volume of The Works⁴² of John Adams, edited by Charles Francis Adams, and discussed the question of having a son or a grandson as biographer and editor of a great man. "It is for many reasons desirable that important family papers should be prepared for publication by a person who brings a family interest to the task. . . . He alone is likely, by aid of the family traditions, thoroughly to understand the subject in all its⁴³ bearings; - to perform the duty with delicacy and intelligence."

⁴⁰ "Bancroft's History," 119.

⁴¹ Quoted in Kraus, p. 230.

⁴² "The Works of John Adams," North American Review, LXXI (Oct. 1850), 407-45.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 408.

He then raises the question whether it would be preferable to have the son or the grandson edit such a work. In most cases, Everett felt that the grandson would be preferable. The additional time lapse of a generation would make for more accurate judgment. "We are too apt to see contemporary characters and transactions, as infants do surrounding objects, - all on the same plane. . . . The great man of the day sometimes turns out afterwards to have been only a great man ⁴⁴ for the day."

Since a portion of the volume under review contains the diary of John Adams, Everett makes some observations about the keeping of diaries. He poses the question: "How far is it right for an individual to record the events of the day, and his own speculations upon them, with a probable view to posthumous publication, or at least taking the risk of such publication." ⁴⁵ A diary can give permanence to temporary impressions and false judgments of character, and it can violate confidences. On such moral grounds, diaries are condemned, but Everett ⁴⁶ feels that this reasoning is false. The keeper of a diary should be protected against being misquoted or misused just as a conversationalist has such protection. "One of the objections against diaries is, that they tend to check the freedom of social converse, by the fear of having every unguarded word caught up by the journalist. But why

⁴⁴ "Works of John Adams," 409.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 411.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

should the license of the talker be respected and protected more than that of the diarist?"⁴⁷ Everett's conclusion is that, regardless of the arguments advanced against the abuse of diaries, they are a major source of historical information.⁴⁸

The editorial work done by Charles Francis Adams won the thanks of Everett, and he concluded the review by stating: "Regarding the present volume as a fair specimen of the work, we are confident that it will prove a contribution to the materials of American history, not second in importance and interest to any of the great publications with which it is most obviously to be compared."⁴⁹

In January of 1850, the same year in which this review of Adams' diary was published, Everett offered to the projected Boston Public Library "his valuable collection of State papers and other works. This offer was the first relating to a considerable amount of literary material."⁵⁰ Everett not only discussed in theory the desirability of having original source material published, but he was public spirited enough to assist in making such material generally available. His first gift to the Boston Public Library was of about one thousand volumes dealing with American civilization and political history.⁵¹

⁴⁷ "Works of John Adams," 412.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 413.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 445.

⁵⁰ Wadlin, p. 13.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 20.

Everett was always the friend of scholarship, and especially of historical scholarship. He gave at various times research assistance⁵² to Motley, Prescott, and Bancroft.

George Bancroft discussed Everett in relation to historical writing in a eulogy of Everett written for the New York Ledger.

It is equally vain to wish, that he had devoted his powers to the completion of some special elaborate work. . . . It is not **certain**, that he would have been one of the first of historians; those of his writings which come nearest to history, such as his life of Webster and his life of Washington, are by no means his best. No one could have painted action in more vivid colors; but of the three qualities which are needed by historians, he had not a sufficient perception of how bad men can be, of that evil in human nature which theologians call depravity. Neither was he accustomed sufficiently to consider events as subordinate to law. The other requisite, which is to perceive that after all there is something in man greater than himself, he had in an eminent degree; and this perception he turned brilliantly to account in his addresses.⁵³

Bancroft, as the successful practicing historian, could look at his friend and see the shortcomings. But Everett, busy with one career after another, driven by a demon of energy, entertained the idea of writing history all his life.

2. Plans and Projects for the Writing of History

In a letter to his brother Alexander, written from Göttingen on November 11, 1815, Everett discussed some of his ideas about writing history. He wrote that he felt "a historical work had many advantages⁵⁴ over every other species of writing." Since a man who would make writing his business must learn to work "by hours and seasons," some form

⁵² Frothingham, p. 309.

⁵³ January 18, 1865.

⁵⁴ Everett Papers 1, box of letters.

of writing which involves "matters of calculation" is important.⁵⁵ "History seems the most eligible, being a union of research and speculation and affording scope to a good deal of practical philosophy."

He proceeds in his letter to tell his brother that at various times he has thought of writing three different kinds of history - of America, of the Church, and of the Jews. "The first is difficult; the second a question of too much ordinary controversy; the third not quite dignified enough, besides sharing the objection of the second. Not much can be done with topics of this nature, till a very different mode of philosophizing is introduced into England and America. So long as the rules of evidence are professedly suspended, with respect to any subject, it is vain to reason, to object, to inquire."⁵⁶

These comments are revealing. A history of the Jews he felt was "not quite dignified enough." This is the conservative side of Everett showing itself. The blanket objection to a religious history is that "rules of evidence" are usually suspended in such works and they lack objectivity. The brilliant young Everett does not see any challenge here, any incentive to produce a pioneering work; instead it is a reason for no action.

Everett then went on in this same letter to discuss a historical subject which he declared was fresh. He asked Alexander what he thought of an Arabian history. He felt that it could start with Mahomet or the

⁵⁵ Everett Papers 1, box of letters.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

rise of Mahometanism and come down to the present day. He marshals various reasons for undertaking an Arabian history:

This is in the first place a very curious portion of history, being unexampled in the light of the world, for the magnitude of the events, compared with the little time in which they were effected, and the rapidity of their succession. It is important in the connection with the Modern European system, that may be supposed to have been affected powerfully by the crusades; and the influence of the Arabian literature on the provencal, would also lead to useful observations and inquiries upon the character of the middle age literature, and the formation of the Modern languages. Mohammedanism would be a rich topic for Philosophical remarks and comparisons; and is a subject I imagine as yet not placed in a true light: at least the cant of Theologians about it, cannot be better expressed than by a word used a good deal here, umbawenlief. ⁵⁷

We can see clearly that Göttingen was opening and expanding Everett's mind, helping him to see possible causal relations between events, movements, and periods in history. It would also look as though Everett were going to develop out of the narrow range of Puritanical Christian thought which automatically damned Islamic culture. But Everett was later to slip into the ready-made system of prejudices about other cultures as he progressively rose in his political career. It remained for Everett's pupil Emerson to break through the accustomed barriers and speak out the first clear words of appreciation in America for other cultures of the world.

On September 27, 1827 Everett wrote to William Simmons of Boston who had asked for a suggested course of reading: "I have named but one or two books on American history because we are yet in want of classical writers on that subject. But the Young American cannot

begin too soon to read the historical works relative to his own coun-
try."⁵⁸

Evidently the idea of writing an American history grew in his mind over the years, for he made the following entry in his journal on November 29, 1838:

Plan of a Natural and Civil History of America

Part I. A complete description of the geography, geology, minerology, botany and zoology in all their branches, - of the American continents.

Part II. The aborigines in every aspect.

Part III. Discovery, colonization and history to the present time.⁵⁹

Apparently Everett never went beyond such a notation as a record of his thinking. But it does show us that he thought of history as much more than a military and political record. He saw the native cultures as the background for colonial history. And he was keenly aware of the natural sciences.

Before Everett left London, Macaulay wrote to him and asked:

"Why should not you undertake to give us a history of the United States, such as might become classical and be in every English as well as in every American library? In some way or other you will, I hope, keep us mindful of you till we see you again, as surely we shall."⁶⁰

But even urging from his very dear friend Macaulay did not bring any desired results from Everett.

⁵⁸ Everett Papers 61, letterbook.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 152, journal.

⁶⁰ Frothingham, p. 308.

The following idea concerning Greece was entered in his journal:

"December 24, 1846. Purchased Grote's History of Greece for myself. It has been one of my day-dreams to write a history of Greece; but, 61
alas, I am destined to pass away and leave no permanent memorial."

A totally different subject of history Everett gave serious consideration to, a subject which combines his early interest in law with his liking for politics. "October 8, 1849. Were my health better and my mind free from some of the heaviest sorrows and most cutting cares of life, I think I should make a serious beginning on a 62
general treatise upon the Law of Nations."

A few years later Everett again mentioned this subject in a letter to Daniel Webster dated February 18, 1852.

I have yours of the 16th alluding to "a Social History of Rome" as in preparation by me. I am much obliged to you for your kind intention to refer to it; but there is no foundation for the report. At an earlier period of my life, when I was foraging in all directions, I turned my thoughts to the history of Rome, and used to speak of it as a desideratum. But I soon fell upon other tracks. -

My opus magnum, that is to be, is the modern law of nations. For this I have read and collected a good deal, but my life is wearing away with little definitely brought to pass. 63

This opus magnum apparently did not grow beyond some notes and the 64
collection of source material. The modern law of nations was a subject for which Everett was well fitted by both temperament and experience. He had already, some years before, published the series

61 Everett Papers 165, journal.

62 Ibid., 168, journal.

63 Ibid., 28, box of letters.

64 Ibid., 219, bound volume, and 222, bound notebook.

of letters to Lord Canning on diplomatic relations with the United States. His service as Ambassador to England established his abilities in this field. His wide reading of history and his scholarly habit of mind are additional factors which would have aided such a project.

In one form or other, such a history never left his mind. On September 22, 1860 he wrote in his journal:

Gave the best part of the day to an article on "War" for the New York Ledger. An exhaustive essay on that subject would be extremely valuable, to contain a history of war among the nations more ancient than the Greeks - among the Greeks and Romans - the Barbarians - the Crusaders - the modern Orientals, - the nations of modern Europe, - and the savage races generally; - a Philosophy of War, what precisely it aims to effect and does effect; and then its morality [,] how far it is an Institution, how far an abuse and a crime. ⁶⁵

We know that Everett had the careful scholar's approach to writing, desiring whenever possible to deal with original source material. Beyond that there is little direct evidence to show how Everett would write history. In a letter of December 26, 1826, to Dr. S. G. Howe he commented on a history of the Greek Revolution which Dr. Howe contemplated writing.

. . . The idea of such a book strikes me very favorably. Your opportunities of personal observation have been and will continue to be great. . . . In executing the work I should recommend to act upon the principle, which usually guides the pen in recording the lives of great and illustrious individuals. While you relate nothing but the Truth, you are not bound to dwell on every disadvantageous detail. You can often lead to be inferred, that the frailties of human nature and political society have existed among the Greeks, in the course of this Revolution, and you will doubtless act with caution in putting reasons and justifications into the mouths of those, who make no allowances and are always on the side of power and oppression. ⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Everett Papers 179, journal.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 60, letterbook.

In a letter of January 3, 1827 to I. T. Austin, we read:

With regard to the expediency of writing and publishing at this time the account of that part of Mr. Genny's life which covers the period of our most embittered party contentions . . . If you publish a history of those days in the spirit of those days, that is taking as decided a part as in acting. You awaken the passions which time and the change of events have to a considerable degree put to rest. . . . Another consideration is that a history of those times now introduced into Mr. G.'s biography would have the effect of making his reputation a permanent matter of party feeling. . . . In the biography of a man like Mr. Genny, his own letters are a vital part both for amusement and instruction. Mr. Jefferson very correctly observed that the history of the Revolution was wrapped up in the letters of the Revolutionary Patriots. I would not be parsimonious with them. ⁶⁷

Everett definitely wanted the historical writer to keep in mind the position of "great and illustrious individuals" and to be sparing in the use of "every disadvantageous detail." The assumption here is that history should magnify virtue and greatness. And historical periods of very bitter feeling are best forgotten. Everett clearly did not believe in the careful, balanced re-creation of a period of history even though he did believe, as previously shown, in rescuing individuals like Roger Williams from the unjust verdict of their times.

This idea, that history should teach the lessons of virtue, and apply them if possible to the present, is brought out in a letter written to T. I. Wharton of Philadelphia on August 10, 1827.

I received a day or two ago a copy of the oration pronounced by you on the 4th of July. . . . I beg leave to make you my hearty acknowledgments. You have treated a noble but a trite theme, with equal originality and success; and have turned the anniversary to account, by exchanging those lofty and abstract declamations, with which 4th of July orations are apt to abound for the practical application of the doctrines of the Great Day to things and questions and men that possess immediate and paramount interest to the Nation. ⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Everett Papers 60, letterbook.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 61, letterbook.

Everett felt keenly about the uses of historic occasions to inculcate practical lessons from history. On October 15, 1853, he wrote to Charles Sumner and commented on a speech Sumner gave at Plymouth: "I thought it hardly fair in you to make a free-soil speech on such an occasion . . . Our patriotic celebrations will be broken up, and we shall all get to hate each other . . . if we turn every occasion into a party channel."⁶⁹

History too furnished a point of unity, for it was the one thing which all citizens, regardless of political party, shared in common. So he warned Sumner not to break up patriotic celebrations, for then a point of social unity would be lost. This use of history motivated much of Everett's handling of Washington.

In an address entitled "The Boyhood and Youth of Franklin," delivered November 17, 1829, before the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in Boston, Everett made the following statement about biography: "In no way can lessons of discretion, perseverance, temperance, and fortitude be so well inculcated as in the historical delineation of an honorable career. This is especially the case when the young are apt to be addressed. Ethical and didactic writing of every kind is apt to be read with impatience and weariness by those who most need instruction; but biography is universally fascinating."⁷⁰

Everett made many biographical speeches, sketching the lives of prominent fellow citizens and delineating those qualities of character

⁶⁹ Sumner Ms., Houghton Library, Harvard University.

⁷⁰ Orations, II, 1.

for which they should be remembered. On at least ten occasions he⁷¹
delivered eulogies before the Massachusetts Historical Society.

In 1855 he prepared a memoir of Peter Chardon Brooks, his father-in-law, for publication in Hunt's Merchants Magazine. In the opening paragraphs he comments on biography.

History and biography for the most part record the lives only of those who have attained military, political, or literary distinction; or who, in any other career, have passed through extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune. The unostentatious routine of private life, although in the aggregate more important to the welfare of the community, cannot, from its nature, figure in the public annals. It is true that historians have lately perceived how important a part of the history of a people consists of a comparative account of its industrial pursuits, condition, education, and manners, at different periods. . . . But such accounts relate to the sum total of society, and do not carry with them a narrative of individual life and character.

But the names of men who distinguished themselves, while they lived, for the possession, in an eminent degree, of those qualities of character, which mainly contribute to the success of private life and to the public stability, - of men who, without dazzling talents, have been exemplary in all the personal and social relations, and enjoyed the affection, respect, and confidence of those around them, - ought not to be allowed to perish. Their example is more valuable to the majority of readers, than that of illustrious heroes, statesmen, and writers . . .⁷²

With this introduction Everett then proceeded to recount, with very few details, the life of Mr. Brooks and to delineate fully the qualities of character he possessed, especially those which contributed to his enormous business success.

⁷¹ See bibliography for listing.

⁷² "Peter Chardon Brooks," Orations, III, 255-6.

The two chief biographical works of Everett were the lengthy
 memoir of Webster, first published in 1851⁷³ and again in 1903,⁷⁴ and
 the small, one-volume biography of Washington.⁷⁵

The Memoir of Daniel Webster is a nine-chapter account of Webster's career up to the time he was made Secretary of State. Everett opens the first chapter by explaining the plan of the edition and the basis of selection for arriving at the contents. The account itself follows a rather obvious and easy chronological pattern, beginning with the origins of the Webster family in Scotland and a simple genealogical background. The scholarship is shown in the quotation of letters and original sources and the strong factual emphasis. Considering the long and deep friendship that existed between Everett and Webster, it is somewhat surprising that the writing is largely straightforward and factual. Everett did not let his rhetoric get in the way of his subject.

He tries to help the reader understand the social conditions during Webster's lifetime. For example, the following remark about the significance of a college education: "In truth, a college education was a far different affair fifty years ago from what it has since become, by the multiplication of collegiate institutions, and the establishment of public funds in aid of those who need assistance. It constituted a
 person at once a member of an intellectual aristocracy."⁷⁶

⁷³ In Webster, Works (Boston, 1851).

⁷⁴ Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster, National Edition (Boston, 1903).

⁷⁵ The Life of George Washington (New York, 1860).

⁷⁶ Writings and Speeches of Webster, I, 15.

The first two pages of the second chapter are devoted to a summary of Jefferson's political philosophy in relation to practical party politics at the time when Webster as a young lawyer first became interested in politics.⁷⁷

Everett does more than try to provide a sufficient background. He functions as the interpretative historian in evaluating events.

As the repeal of the Orders in Council was nearly simultaneous with the declaration of war, the delay of a few weeks might have led to an amicable adjustment. Whatever regret on the score of humanity this circumstance may now inspire, the war must be looked upon, in reviewing the past, as a great chapter in the progress of the country, which could not be passed over. When we reflect on the influence of the conflict, in its general results, upon the national character; its importance as a demonstration to the belligerent powers of the world that the rights of neutrals must be protected; and more especially, when we consider the position among the nations of the earth which the United States have been enabled to take, in consequence of the capacity for naval achievement which the war displayed, we shall readily acknowledge it to be a part of that great training by which the country was prepared to take the station which she now occupies.⁷⁸

Such comments as these, as well as the clearly created background of conditions, help to make this biographical sketch interesting and readable.

The style, too, is helpful. There are some formal touches, such as "the writer" and the constant use of "Mr. Webster," but these are reflections of current conventions. I have already mentioned that Everett did not decorate the writing here with any rhetorical devices. He shows an ability to be very straightforward, as, for instance, in his comment on a diplomatic move by the British government. "This

⁷⁷ Writings and Speeches of Webster, I, 24-5.

⁷⁸ Ibid., I, pp. 27-8.

step on the part of the British government was as bold as it was wise. It met the difficulty in the face. It justly assumed the existence of a corresponding spirit of conciliation on the part of the United States, and of a desire to bring matters to a practical result. It was bold, because it was the last expedient for an amicable adjustment, and because its failure must necessarily lead to very serious and immediate consequences."⁷⁹

Although Everett felt, as we have seen before, that the historian and biographer should overlook "disadvantageous" personal facts about an individual, in this biographical sketch Everett is neither too extremely laudatory nor too critical. For example, though President Jackson was a political opponent of Everett's, references to Jackson here are without bitter prejudice. In fact, at times Jackson receives praise. "General Jackson was brought into power by a somewhat ill-compacted alliance between his original friends and a portion of the friends of the other candidates of 1824. . . . There is reason to suppose that General Jackson, who, though his policy tended greatly to impair the strength of the Union, was in feeling a warm Unionist."⁸⁰ In relating Jackson's reaction to the nullification crisis in South Carolina, Everett wrote: "This decisive act roused the hero of New Orleans from the vigilant repose with which he had watched the coming storm."⁸¹

⁷⁹ Writings and Speeches of Webster, I, 118.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 95.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 98.

Everett's Life of George Washington is a shorter biography than the Webster. It was originally written at the suggestion of Macaulay⁸² for the Encyclopaedia Britannica. In the preface Everett acknowledges his debt "to the great national works [on Washington] of Marshall,⁸³ Sparks, and Irving." And he further explains, "The purpose for which the memoir was written will, I trust, sufficiently account for the necessary condensation of the narrative; for the omission of many facts of importance, and for the superficial statement of others; as also for the occasional mention of what is familiar to every American, but which⁸⁴ may need explanation for the European reader."

Chapter one begins with the birth, parentage, and genealogy of Washington, the customary chronological development. But even in the recounting of the genealogy, Washington is lauded. "The genealogy of George Washington is a matter of greater importance to the memory of his ancestors than to his own; he throws back far greater glory than⁸⁵ he can inherit." Attention is given to clarifying social conditions, such as an explanation of the usual means of education in the southern colonies at the time of Washington's boyhood, but this is scant because⁸⁶ of the necessity for brevity evident throughout.

There always seems, however, to be sufficient room for the praise of Washington. After pointing out his "neatness, method, skill in the use of figures," Everett proceeds:

⁸² Washington, p. iii.

⁸³ Ibid., p. iv.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. v. For his English readers he defines his use of the word "squatters," p. 43, as "settlers without title are called in the United States."

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 26.

⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 29-30.

According to still existing traditions, he evinced in his boyhood the military taste, which seems to have been hereditary in his family. The self-elected but willingly obeyed leader of his comrades, he formed them into companies for their juvenile battles. His early repute for veracity and justice, with his athletic prowess beyond his years, made him the chosen umpire of their disputes. He wrestled, leaped, ran, threw the bar, and rode with the foremost. A spot is still pointed out, where, in his boyhood, he threw a stone across the Rappahannoc; he was proverbially strong of arm; in manhood he had one of the largest hands ever seen; and he was through life a bold and graceful horseman.⁸⁷

And the praise of Washington seems to cover every possible phase of his life.

. . . an experienced practitioner in the Western courts pronounced in after-years, that of all the surveys which had come within his knowledge, those of Washington could alone be depended upon.⁸⁸

. . . This dangerous errand was undertaken by Washington through an unsettled wilderness, infested by savages, at a season of the year when the huntsman in his log cabin shrinks from the storm; and this not by a penniless adventurer, taking desperate risks for promotion and bread; but by a young man allied by blood and connected by friendship with the most influential families in the colony, possessed of property in his own right, with large presumptive expectations. In this his first official service, undertaken under these circumstances, he displayed the courage, the presence of mind, the fortitude, the endurance, the humanity (on a small scale indeed, but at the risk of his life, in preserving that of the treacherous savage), which, throughout his career, never failed to mark his conduct.⁸⁹

In just this manner, again and again through the book, the greatness of Washington is emphasized.

Then, finally, the last fifteen pages of the volume are devoted to a kind of summary of Washington's chief traits of character, including a comparison with Napoleon, and ending with this glowing sentence:

⁸⁷ Washington, pp. 31-2.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 48.

⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 65-6.

"In the possession of that mysterious quality of character, manifested in a long life of unambitious service, which, called by whatever name, inspires the confidence, commands the respect, and wins the affection of contemporaries, and grows upon the admiration of successive generations, forming a standard to which the merit of other men is referred, and a living proof that pure patriotism is not a delusion, nor virtue an empty name, no one of the sons of men has equalled GEORGE WASHINGTON."⁹⁰

This steady adulation of Washington, so vitally important to Everett, is the factor which today makes the biography of so little value. If Everett could have shown the same restraint in use of language and the nice balance between personal facts and social milieu in writing of Washington as he did when writing of Webster, the Washington biography might be worth reading.

3. Geography and American History

On December 22, 1824, Everett delivered an oration at Plymouth at the commemoration of the first settlement in New England. There is, appropriately enough, comment in this oration about the effect of geography on national history.

In the midst of an elaborate exordium, which customarily began with a statement of his unworthiness to deal with the subject, he speaks of the rapid growth of American civilization:

A continent, for the first time, effectually explored; a vast ocean, traversed by men, women, and children, voluntarily exiling themselves from the fairest portions of the Old World; and a great nation growing up, in the space of two centuries, on the foundations

so perilously laid by this feeble band - point me to the record or to the tradition of any thing that can enter into competition with it! It is the language, not of exaggeration, but of truth and soberness, to say that there is nothing in the accounts of Phoenician, of Grecian, or of Roman colonization, that can stand in the comparison. ⁹¹

The allusions here to other civilizations are typical of the constant reference made to history in the orations. No listener or reader could ever escape Everett's historical learning.

He points out that the Pilgrims conceived a "grand" design, "even appalling," for creating a refuge from religious and political tyranny in Europe. "They achieved not that alone, but they have opened a wide ⁹² asylum to all the victims of oppression throughout the world."

The rest of the world, though nominally divided into three continents, in reality consists of but one. Europe, Asia, and Africa are separated by no natural barriers which it has not been easy, in every age, for an ambitious invader to pass. The consequence has been, on the whole, unfavorable to social progress. The extent of country inhabited, or rather infested, by barbarous tribes, has always far outweighed the civilized portions. More than once, in the history of the world, refinement, learning, arts, laws, and religion, with the wealth and prosperity they have created, have been utterly swept away, and the hands turned back on the dial-plate of time, in consequence of the irruption of savage hordes into civilized regions. . . . Till an ocean interposes its mighty barrier, no region is secure from foreign violence. ⁹³

The nations who have been able longest to maintain their independence have been those assisted by "lofty mountains, wide rivers, or the surrounding sea." In these three united continents there was no place where a people could undertake a great experiment in human ⁹⁴ improvement with any prospect of success.

⁹¹ "First Settlement of New England," Orations, I, 46.

⁹² Ibid., p. 57

⁹³ Ibid., p. 50.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 51.

Up to this point in history the most important results to America coming from "seclusion behind the mighty veil of waters" have been political. This isolation has given time to put down political foundations, continue settlement, and win independence. But there are deeper implications to this exclusion. "In every noble, in every true acceptance, it implies, not merely an American government, but an American character and an American feeling. To the formation of these, nothing will more powerfully contribute than our geographical separation from other parts of the world."⁹⁵ While there is constant struggle "by intrigue and bloodshed" in the Old World to gain control of a little territory,⁹⁶ American commerce peacefully encircles the globe.

. . . the true principle of American policy, to which the whole spirit of our system, not less than the geographical features of the country, invites us, is separation from Europe. Next to UNION AT HOME, which ought to be called, not so much the essential condition of our national existence as our existence itself, separation from all other countries is the great principle by which we are to prosper. . . . and we shall rise or decline in strength, improvement, and prosperity, as we obey or violate this principle. This is the voice of Nature, which did not in vain disjoin our continent from the Old World; nor reserve it beyond the ocean, for fifty years, only that it might become a common receptacle for the exploded principles, the degenerate examples, and the remediless corruptions of older states. This is the voice of our history, which traces everything excellent in our character and prosperous in our fortunes to dissent, non-conformity, departure, resistance, and independence.⁹⁷

This passage illustrates many ideas that appear again in Everett's discourses. The idea of separation from Europe as a key to our prosperity is part of a strain of patriotism that appears in many forms

⁹⁵ "First Settlement of New England," Orations, I, 52.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 53.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

in the speeches. The idea of Union, emphasized here in 1824, was a theme apparently never out of Everett's sight, for it is a bond of consistency which runs through his whole public life and which we shall have to examine in more detail later. And a third idea worth comment is the degeneracy of Europe which led to the dissent and non-conformity so important in our history. This may only be the negative side of the coin of patriotism, but it is an idea Everett used more than once.

But nature gave more than the protection of distance to the young American nation. Everett asserted that "The qualities of our climate and soil enter largely, in other ways, into that natural basis on which our prosperity and our freedom have been reared. It is these which distinguish the smiling aspect of our busy, thriving villages from the lucrative desolation of the sugar islands and all the wide-spread miseries of the colonial system of modern Europe, as it has existed, beyond the barrier of these mighty oceans, in the unvisited, unprotected, and un-⁹⁸avenged recesses of either India." And Everett does not miss the opportunity to make a favorable comparison with his beloved New England. "The compact numbers and the strength, the general intelligence and the aptitude for the arts of high civilization, which, since the world began, were never exhibited beneath the sultry line, have been the pre-⁹⁹cious product of this iron-bound coast."

⁹⁸ Orations, I, 61.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 62.

4. Colonial Experience and American Independence

From his study of American history Everett was convinced that the early experience in war of the American colonies prepared them for the time when they revolted against the mother country. On the 4th of July 1853, he spoke at Worcester and the published version of this address is entitled "The Seven Years' War and the School of the Revolution."¹⁰⁰

In the early part of his address he again emphasizes the theme of the preservation of the Union, calling it "the great and prevailing principle in our political system."¹⁰¹ This was the time when Jackson was beginning his second term in the White House and Everett commented on the cordial feeling extended to the President by men of all parties during his recent tour of the New England states.¹⁰² Everett appealed to the great patriots of the past who by their lives created the Union of the States. "They gather," he said, "in saddened majesty around us, and adjure us, by their returning agonies and re-opening wounds, not to permit our feuds and dissensions to destroy the value of that birth-right which they purchased with their precious lives."¹⁰³

Everett states emphatically: "A revolution like ours is a most momentous event in human affairs. History does not furnish its parallel."¹⁰⁴ We should not, however, permit the significance of the Revolution to lead us to consider England a sort of natural enemy, because

¹⁰⁰ Orations, I, 377-401.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 380.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 379.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 381.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

the Revolution was preceded by the Seven Years' War when England and
 the colonies fought together under "united banners" in a common cause.¹⁰⁵
 Americans should remember "the civil and military education which the
country had received in the earlier fortunes of the colonies; the great
praeparatio libertatis, which had fitted out our fathers to reap the
 harvest of independence on bloody fields, and to secure and establish
 it by those wise institutions, in which the only safe enjoyment of
 freedom resides."¹⁰⁶

This theme had not, he thought, been given adequate attention,
 even though there has been stress on the civil struggle with the mother
 country and the stirring effect of this in awakening men to a sense of
 their rights. He felt that "the peculiar and extraordinary concurrence
 of facts in the military history of the colonies, the manner in which
 the moving causes of the revolution are interwoven with the great in-
 cidents of the previous wars, deserve a particular development."¹⁰⁷

The colonists would never seriously entertain the idea of revolt
 as long as France controlled Canada. One of the strong ties binding
 the colonies to the crown was the fear of Canada and her Indian allies.
 The first plan of colonial confederation was advanced in 1754 because
 of this fear of a common foe.¹⁰⁸ The war with France ended with a vic-
 tory for Britain and her colonies, but it had a strange irony. "As

¹⁰⁵ Orations, I, 383.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 384.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 385.

Wolfe died in the moment of triumph, so the power of England on this continent received its death-blow in the event that destroyed its rival."¹⁰⁹

The removal of the fear of the French had a wonderful effect on the colonists. They no longer need just maintain a foothold on the coast, now they could advance their frontiers. "A political miracle was wrought; the mountains sunk, the valleys rose, and the portals¹¹⁰ of the west were burst asunder."

The colonists had no immediate thought of exerting their strength for independence once France no longer threatened. But the idea of¹¹¹ "independency" was suggested to a few.

The subversion of this power required, or was thought to require, a new colonial system. Its principles were few and simple. An army was to be stationed, and a revenue raised, in America. . . . the colonists were to be kept down and the French kept out. The policy was ingenious and plausible; it wanted but one thing for its successful operation; but that want was fatal. It needed to be put to practice among men who would submit to it. It would have done exceedingly well in the new Canadian conquests; but it was wholly out of place among the descendants of the Pilgrims and the Puritans.¹¹²

So victory bred the policies which forced the increased thought of independence. In the fight against the French the colonists received training "in the strictest school of British military discipline and¹¹³ conduct." And we must not forget that France itself was prepared by¹¹⁴ the event to become our later ally.

¹⁰⁹ Orations, I, 386.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 387.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 387-8.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 395.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

5. The Operation of Providence in History

Everett believed that God worked in human history using human individuals as his channels. He spoke frequently of the way Providence operated. "The physical creation began with light;" he said, "the intellectual and moral creation begins with light also. Chosen servants of Providence are raised up to speak the word; power is given to religious or political reformers to pronounce the decree; it spreads like the elemental beam, by the thousand channels of intelligence, from mind to mind, and a new race is created." ¹¹⁵ Cincinnatus and Epaminondas are two examples of individuals raised up as instruments of Providence. "A single bold word, heroic exploit, or generous sacrifice, at the fortunate crisis, kindles the latent faculties of a whole population, and turns them from beasts of burden into men; excites to intense action and sympathetic counsel millions of awakened minds, and leads ¹¹⁶ them forth to the contest."

The men who serve history in key positions are not always adequately recognized or rewarded at the time. "Thus Providence, which has ends innumerable to answer, in the conduct of the physical and intellectual, as of the moral world, sometimes permits the great discoverers fully to enjoy their fame, sometimes to catch but a glimpse of the extent of their achievements, and sometimes sends them, dejected and broken-hearted, to the grave, unconscious of the great importance of their own discoveries, and not merely under-valued by their contemporaries, but by themselves." ¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ "Education Favorable to Liberty, Knowledge and Morals," Orations, I, 607.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 608.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 621.

In quite a real sense, then, the historian's devotion to truth and his desire to present history in the light of justice, help to clarify the ways of Providence, at least to the extent of correct interpretations. "When a great event is to be brought about," Everett declares, "in the order of Providence, the first thing which arrests the attention of the student of its history, in after times, is the appearance of the fitting instrument for its accomplishment." He gives James Otis as an example of such an instrument of Providence.

Everett shared with his spiritual forebears of New England a theological view of the purpose of the founding of colonies in the New World. "Although the continent of America, when discovered by the Europeans, was in the possession of the native tribes, it was obviously the purpose of Providence that it should become the abode of civilization, the arts, and Christianity." This purpose of Providence, he further explains, clearly cannot be carried out except through emigration from Europe. "This is doubly necessary, not only as being the only process adequate to produce the desired end, but in order to effect another great purpose in the order of Providence, namely, the establishment of a place of refuge for the victims of persecution, and the opening of a new field of action, where principles of improvement and of liberty could be developed, without the restraints imposed on the work of reform, by long-established and inveterate abuses."

¹¹⁸ "The Seven Years' War the School of the Revolution," Orations, I, 388.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ "The Battle of Bloody Brook," Orations, I, 636.

Providence works through realistic channels in attaining its ends. "The age of miracles is past; the emigrants must be brought hither, and sustained here, by the usual motives and impulses which operate on the minds of men. . . . The arm of spiritual persecution must drive out the suffering Puritan in search of a place of rest."¹²¹

This idea of the influence of Providence is used by him at times as though it were just an embellishment of his oratory. For example, in speaking at a Municipal Dinner in Faneuil Hall on July 4, 1853, he said:

I trust, sir, that the Fourth of July will ever continue to be celebrated as it has been today, understandingly as well as enthusiastically; because it furnishes at once the most instructive and glorious illustration of the union of the two great principles of STABILITY and PROGRESS, on which our independence was originally founded; on which our prosperity, at the present date, rests as upon its corner-stone; and by whose cordial alliance and joint-working alone, the great designs of Providence in reference to our beloved country can be fulfilled.¹²²

On an earlier occasion Everett spoke at the opening of the railroad from Boston to Springfield. He spoke of the geographical difficulties of trade between Boston and the interior of the state, difficulties overcome by the completion of the railroad. "That, sir, is the problem which Providence has committed to us, and I desire to be grateful that we live to witness its solution. It is a law of our moral natures, that the great boons of life are to be obtained by a strenuous contest with natural difficulties."¹²³ And a few moments

¹²¹ "The Battle of Bloody Brook," Orations, I, 637.

¹²² "Stability and Progress," Orations, III, 225.

¹²³ "Opening of the Railroad to Springfield," Orations, II, 366-7.

after stating this moral principle, he came again to the theme of Providence and the individual. ". . . and I rejoice that the same Providence which deepens the channels of the rivers, and lifts the blue summits of the mountains to the sky, has given to man those inventive faculties, and that capacity for the creative arts, by which he is enabled to wind his way through the hills, to span with his proud arches the impetuous current. . . ." ¹²⁴

When we recall that Everett had previously stated in the North American Review that a discussion of the Providence of God was right "on proper occasions, by the proper persons," we may conclude that he did take such a mystic principle seriously, but that at times he spoke as a popular minister might and used the idea out of sheer habit.

6. Liberty, the Key to History

In his "Eulogy on LaFayette" Everett speaks of "a leading principle" in history. ¹²⁵ "There is at every great era of the history of the world, a leading principle, which gives direction to the fortunes of nations and the characters of distinguished men. This principle, in our own time, is that of the action and reaction upon each other of Europe and America, for the advancement of free institutions and the promotion of rational liberty." ¹²⁶

¹²⁴ "Opening of the Railroad to Springfield," Orations, II, 367.

¹²⁵ Orations, I, 460-524.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 461.

Speaking at the Plymouth Festival commemorating the landing of the Pilgrims, held on August 1, 1853, Everett spoke thus of the principle of liberty: "There are two master ideas, greatest of the spiritual inmates enthroned in the mind of man, the only ideas, comparatively speaking, which deserve a name among men, springs of all the grand beneficent movements of modern times, by whose influence the settlement of New England may be rationally explained. You have anticipated me, descendants of the Pilgrims, these great ideas are GOD and LIBERTY. It was these that inspired our fathers: by these that their weakness was clothed with power, that their simplicity was transmuted to wisdom; by these that the great miracle of their enterprise was wrought."¹²⁷

That he considered this the basic social principle and the chief concern of civilized communities he clearly stated on August 25, 1835. "Although liberty, strictly speaking," he said, "is only one of the objects for which men have united themselves in civil societies, it is so intimately connected with all the others, and everything else is so worthless when liberty is taken away, that its preservation may be considered, humanly speaking, the great object of life in civilized communities."¹²⁸

One of Everett's speeches is entitled "The History of Liberty," and if we look at the main ideas in his discussion we can see how he applied this idea of liberty as an interpretative key to human history.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ "The Pilgrim Fathers," Orations, III, 239.

¹²⁸ "Education Favorable to Liberty," Orations, I, 602.

¹²⁹ Orations, I, 150-72. This oration was delivered at Charlestown on July 4, 1828.

At first he makes the comment that not all chapters of history are equally important. "History, as it has often been written, is the genealogy of princes, - the field-book of conquerors; and the fortunes of our fellow-men have been treated only so far as they have been affected by the influence of the great masters and destroyers of our race. Such history is, I will not say a worthless study . . .
¹³⁰
 But it is a melancholy study . . ." And such a melancholy study disheartens the real lovers of liberty. "But the history of Liberty, - the history of men struggling to be free, - the history of men who have acquired, and are exercising their freedom, - the history of those great movements in the world, by which liberty has been established and perpetuated, forms a subject which we cannot contemplate too closely. This is the real history of man, - of the human family,
¹³¹
 - of rational, immortal beings."

In applying this principle, Everett looks first at Greece and Rome. These nations had "bright examples of public virtue," but nowhere an extensive region blessed by the institutions of liberty. They came "surprisingly near" to the truth but fell short in practice. They were able to establish popular government in some single cities, "but for want of the representative principle, they could not
¹³²
 extend these institutions over a large and populous country." This

¹³⁰ Orations, I, 151.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid., p. 152.

want was fatal because the liberty of single free cities could be easily destroyed. And Everett concludes that in the ancient world liberty "was a speculation of the philosopher, and an experiment of the patriot; but not an established state of society."¹³³

The middle ages was not a hopeful period. Some "petty republics of Italy" tried to gain freedom. "But the remedy of bloody civil wars between neighboring cities, was plainly more disastrous than the disease of subjection."¹³⁴

In more recent centuries conditions were more hopeful. "At length, a new era seemed to begin." Things which seemed to augur a new era were the art of printing, the fall of Constantinople, the religious reformation, and the spirit of adventure among the maritime nations. " . . . the signs of the times seemed to augur a great political regeneration."¹³⁵ But a new institution grew up in Europe which took away the power of the great barons, "the sole check on the despotism of the monarch which the feudal system provided."¹³⁶ This new system was standing armies - "in other words, a military force, organized and paid to support the king on his throne, and retain the people in their subjection."¹³⁷ So standing armies sealed the fate of freedom in Europe and left no hope, in Everett's view, of governmental institutions founded on such a principle.

¹³³ Orations, I, 152.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

He goes on to recount the long efforts of Columbus to gain aid for his projected voyage across the Atlantic. When he describes the sailing of the three ships under the command of Columbus, he comments: "With this humble instrumentality did it please Providence to prepare the theatre for those events by which a new dispensation of liberty was to be communicated to man. . . . The discovery of America has taken place under the auspices of the government most disposed for maritime adventure . . . But it was not from the same quarter that the elements of liberty could be introduced into the new world. Causes, upon which I need not dwell, made it impossible that the great political reform should go forth from Spain. For this object, a new train of incidents
138
was preparing in another quarter."

Only England, of all the modern European states, has made any
139
real advances in freedom. Over several centuries persecuted peoples from England and other parts of Europe were driven to America. "In this way, a fair representation of whatsoever was most valuable in European character - the resolute industry of one nation, the inventive skill and curious arts of another, the courage, conscience, principle, self-denial of all - was winnowed out, by the policy of the prevailing governments, as a precious seed wherewith to plant the American
140
soil." By a strange series of simultaneous events, America became "The
141
great asylum of suffering virtue and oppressed humanity."

138 Orations, I, 157.

139 Ibid., p. 158.

140 Ibid., p. 159.

141 Ibid.

Everett points out certain developments in our history which particularly aided the growth of liberty. One was the fact that Europeans of many different kinds came to America. "Had we been the unmixed descendants of any one nation of Europe, we should have retained a moral and intellectual dependence on that nation, even after the dissolution of our political connection had taken place."¹⁴² The qualities of the Anglo-Saxon character were dominant but the colonists had traits from most of the other European countries.

A "leading incident" in our early history was the simple way in which representative government grew up in the colonies. The English government did not plan such a development nor did philosophical statesmen urge it. Representative assemblies grew up by accident. "At this early period, and in this simple, unpretending manner, was introduced to the world that greatest discovery in political science, or political practice, a representative republican system."¹⁴³

The liberty found in the institution of representative government was safeguarded by the framers of the Constitution. They rejected the notion of hereditary monarchy as essential to the executive. They rejected a privileged, hereditary nobility as necessary for social stability. They rejected one centralized point of political power; instead they divided powers and functions between the states and the federal government. In doing this, the framers of the Constitution

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Orations, I, 161.

¹⁴³

Ibid., p. 162.

" . . . completed the great revolutionary movement . . . perfected that mature organization of a free system, destined, as we trust, to stand forever, as the exemplar of popular government. Thus was discharged the duty of our fathers to themselves, to the country, and to the world."¹⁴⁴

The effect of the American example was instantly felt in Europe, especially in France. There may be some fluctuation in the forward-movement of liberty, but nothing can really impede it. Everett declares, "There is an element of popular strength abroad in the world, stronger than forms and institutions, and daily growing in power. A public opinion of a new kind has arisen among men - the opinion of the civilized world. Springing into existence on the shores of our own continent, it has grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength; till now, this moral giant, like that of the ancient poet, marches along the earth and across the ocean, but his front is among the stars."¹⁴⁵

To prove his point about the new power of public opinion, Everett claims that in one generation three revolutions have broken out under the influence of public opinion. These are the revolutions in France,¹⁴⁶ the Spanish colonies in America, and Greece. So Everett saw the modern history of liberty keyed to the principle of representative government and through the force of public opinion awakening nations and peoples suffering under some form of despotism.

¹⁴⁴ Orations, I, 167.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 168.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 168-9.

7. Political Organization,

"the most momentous practical question."

"The most momentous practical question" concerns the foundation on which a government shall be built. On July 4, 1826, Everett spoke at Cambridge on the subject "Principle of the American Constitutions" and attempted to answer this question. His discussion begins with a sweeping patriotic tribute, declaring that ". . . the various addresses, petitions, and appeals, the correspondence, the resolutions, the legislative and popular debates, from 1764 to the declaration of independence, present a maturity of political wisdom, a strength of argument, a gravity of style, a manly eloquence, and a moral courage, of which unquestionably the modern world affords no other example." All political reforms and revolutions prior to the Declaration of Independence were mere palliatives.

Of all temporal concerns, the political organization of a people is the most important. Until our federal and state constitutions were established, force was the only answer to this need. "The right of the strongest," Everett explains, "was the only footing on which the governments of the ancient and modern nations were in fact placed; and the only effect of the theorists was, to disguise the simple and startling doctrine of the right of the strongest, by various mystical or popular fictions, which in no degree altered its real nature."

¹⁴⁷ Orations, I, 103-31.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 108.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 111.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 112.

Two versions of this doctrine form the bases of the two great political parties in England. The tories claim that the real foundation of government is "divine right" - "Though the delicate ears of the age are flattered by the milder term ¹⁵¹legitimacy." The whigs trace the foundation of government back to an "original contract" - "but of this contract, the existing organization was the record and the evidence, and ¹⁵²the obligation was perpetually binding."

Everett is willing to accept "in a merely speculative sense" that everything exists by the divine will, and, as a general sentiment, this is an exalting idea. He feels that it is a misuse of language and a false liberality to state that "... the form of government is matter of original compact with the people; that my ancestors, ages ago, agreed that they and their posterity, to the end of time, should give up to a certain line of princes the rule of the state; that nothing but extreme necessity, a necessity which it is treasonable even to attempt to define beforehand, justifies a departure from this compact, in which no provision is made that the will of the majority ¹⁵³should prevail" Whichever label you use, at the root of those two so-called opposing theories is the doctrine of force. "The doctrine of the divine right gives to the ruler authority to sustain himself against the people, not merely because resistance is unlawful,

¹⁵¹ Orations, I, 112.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 113.

but because it is sacrilegious. The doctrine of the compact denounces every attempted change in the reigning line as a breach of faith, and as such also not only treasonable, but immoral.¹⁵⁴ A conflict is settled by force and then the winning party uses either one of these doctrines to justify itself.

Every major government on earth except that of the United States is "at this moment" supported by a standing army. Men have expressed their horror at the excesses of the mob, as witnessed in the case of the French Revolution. But the force of the mob is indeed terrible "when to all its native terrors it adds the force of a frightful permanence" and "a regular organization" in the guise of a mercenary army.¹⁵⁵

The British Parliament was "a great step in the progress of popular rights" and helped advance the idea of representative government.¹⁵⁶ The organization of the federal constitution meant the creation of "a family of states, associated in a confederate Union, which, if any thing human is entitled to that name, may be called a perfect form of government."¹⁵⁷

As a true believer in the democratic process, Everett had previously stated his deep faith in people.

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Orations, I, 113-14.

¹⁵⁵

Ibid., pp. 114-15.

¹⁵⁶

Ibid., p. 118.

¹⁵⁷

Ibid., p. 119.

. . . the people always conquer. They always must conquer. Armies may be defeated, kings may be overthrown, and new dynasties imposed, by foreign arms, on an ignorant and slavish race, that care not in what language the covenant of their subjection runs, nor in whose name the deed of their barter and sale is made out. But the people never invade; and, when they rise against the invader, are never subdued. If they are driven from the plains, they fly to the mountains. Steep rocks and everlasting hills are their castles; the tangled, pathless thicket their palisado, and nature, God, is their ally. . . . [God] never gave, and never will give, a final triumph over a virtuous and gallant people, resolved to be free.¹⁵⁸

. . . the great maxim of constitutional governments [is] that the voice of the people is the voice of God.¹⁵⁹

Through equality the beneficial principle of representative government is put into operation. "The principle of all other governments is monopoly, exclusion, favor."¹⁶⁰

Everett opposed rather vehemently Burke's idea that when you talked about the "people" you meant a "legal fiction" like any other "corporation." Everett felt that everything in man which makes for his natural sociability supports the idea of the "people."

All the social sympathies and sentiments of our nature give it strength. Are all the relations of ancestry, posterity, and fellow-citizenship; all the veneration and love bound up in the name of Country; the delight, the enthusiasm, with which we seek out, after the lapse of generations and ages, the traces of our fathers' bravery or wisdom; are these all "a legal fiction?" Is it a legal fiction that moistens the eye of the solitary traveller, when he meets a countryman in a foreign land? Is it a "common agreement" that gives its meaning to my mother tongue, and enables me to speak to the hearts of my kindred men beyond the rivers and beyond the mountains?¹⁶¹

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Orations, I, 95.

¹⁵⁹

Ibid., p. 97.

¹⁶⁰

Ibid., p. 119.

¹⁶¹

Ibid., p. 121.

The mutual dependence of people, both individuals and groups, in a nation is a law of nature. He declares that ". . . political society exists by the law of nature. Man is formed for it; every man has an equal right to its privileges; and to be deprived of them, under what-
162
ever pretence, is so far to be reduced to slavery."

These were good words to speak in 1826, and they helped to make Everett popular, to help him along in his political ambitions. But we know that, at this time in his career, when Everett said "man" and "every man," he really meant "white man." It was on the application of the principle of equality, about which he spoke so beautifully and movingly, that his political career was wrecked. Perhaps this is always true of a conservative - that the discrepancy with progressive principles does not become apparent until a problem of application arises.

The right of suffrage is so precious to us that we would sacrifice our lives to maintain it. "To condemn men to live under an arbitrary government" would be to deny them the "satisfaction which nature designed should flow from those principles within us . . ."
163

Everett felt that "great and positive improvements" were to come from the development of the republican form of government. The first result would be to make wars less frequent or perhaps stop them altogether.
164
"Republics, we are told, indeed, are ambitious - a seemingly

162 Orations, I, 122.

163 Ibid., p. 123.

164 Ibid.

wise remark, devoid of meaning. Man - man is ambitious; and the question is, Where will his ambition be most likely to drive his country into war; in a monarchy, where the ruler has but to 'cry havoc, and let slip the dogs of war,' or in a republic, where he must get a vote of a strong majority of the nation? Let history furnish the answer." ¹⁶⁵ Everett turns back to history and shows how much it is a record of various families instead of the human family, of the ambition of rulers and conquerors, of the petty civil wars. He states his conviction that under a system like ours a war of "ambition and aggrandisement" could not take place. In 1826 this seemed like sound doctrine. By 1850, when the first collected volume of his orations was republished, Everett added a footnote of qualification to this idea - "I am sorry to say that the events of the last few years in this ¹⁶⁶ country have done much to discredit this opinion."

Another great benefit from the establishment of republican government in America is the extension of political rights to so many people. Whereas formerly, by monarchical decree, colonization was forbidden beyond the Alleghanies, now a republican government opens all this territory to multitudes of people. In fact, Everett felt that the Declaration of Independence has done more in fifty years to extend the area of civilization "than would have been done in five centuries ¹⁶⁷ of continued colonial subjection."

¹⁶⁵ Orations, I, 124.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 126.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 127.

Then, too, we must take into account the influence that "an example of successful popular government" will have upon the other nations and people of the world. In spite of some negative effect from the excesses of the French Revolution, "popular government is rapidly gaining in the world."¹⁶⁸ We may look upon the free republics of Central and South America as results of the influence of our own republican government.

Through the force of example we can fulfill our historic destiny. "The greatest engine of moral power known to human affairs, is an organized, prosperous state. All that man, in his individual capacity, can do . . . is as nothing, compared with the collective, perpetuated influence on human affairs and human happiness, of a well-constituted, powerful commonwealth."¹⁶⁹ The way the Declaration of Independence itself came into being is of historic import. The idea of independence was calmly "deliberated in parliamentary rule, like an ordinary political question. Henceforward let us despair of nothing desirable for humanity, merely because it is unheard of, in the former history of man."¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ Orations, I, 128.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 129.

¹⁷⁰ "Memoir of Richard Henry Lee," 377.

8. England, "the most favored abode of liberty."

Our forefathers brought with them from England the necessary "habits and principles" for what they set out to achieve. Of all the nations of Europe, England is "the most favored abode of liberty; the only part of Europe, where, for any length of time, constitutional liberty can be said to have a stable existence." ¹⁷¹ Along with America, England thus holds a special position in history.

"What American," Everett asks, "does not feel proud that his fathers were the countrymen of Bacon, of Newton, and of Locke?" ¹⁷² And we cannot forget that Burke and Chatham championed the struggle of the colonies for independence. "The pride I take in my own country makes me respect that from which we are sprung. In touching the soil of England, I seem to return, like a descendant, to the old family seat." ¹⁷³ Everett claims not to be "the panegyrist of England." He is not impressed by the array of the nobility and the accoutrements of the monarchy. What he feels is the sentimental love for the "cradle" of ¹⁷⁴ the free principles inherited by his forefathers.

Everett's interest in England led him to make some interesting observations. He wrote two noted articles in the North American Review commenting on the waves of revolution and reform sweeping Europe. Since he believed that the example of the United States

¹⁷¹ "First Settlement of New England," Orations, I, 63.

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 64.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 65.

was stimulating oppressed peoples everywhere, his opinions of reform in Europe, and especially England, the "abode of liberty," take on added significance as showing how he felt contemporary history was moving.

In "The Prospect of Reform in Europe," Everett makes the observation that people always consider that the age they live in is the most extraordinary and exciting. "But after all due allowance is made for this exaggeration, we cannot but feel that the history of the civilized world, since the year 1775, has been marked with the most wonderful incidents."¹⁷⁵ History is so very complex, with causes going back generations to their origins and effects that will not be apparent fully for generations still to come, that "we can fully comprehend but a small part even of contemporary movements."¹⁷⁶

Everett surveys the way in which all the nations of Europe are arming; the threat of war is imminent. The war of opinion, predicted in 1823 and 1826 by Canning, seems to have started.¹⁷⁷ Everett says that the people of Poland, for example, are of opinion they should be independent. All through Europe, conflicting opinions are back of the war threat.¹⁷⁸ Though there are many local grievances, this is the "great war of opinion," called by Canning "the struggle between the aristocratic and the democratic principle. This circumstance

¹⁷⁵ "The Prospect of Reform in Europe," North American Review, XXXIII (July 1831), 154.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 156.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 157.

presents at once the most hopeful and the most alarming features of
the contest. This consideration makes it a common cause on each side. ¹⁷⁹

To read the events of Europe in terms of a struggle between aristocracy and democracy is "of appalling significance." Reason can accept only one object for the origin of political communities - "the welfare of their members, - of the greatest possible majority of their members."
¹⁸⁰

In Everett's eyes the aristocratic position is the position of force, even though it may be cloaked in the dogma of divine right. He reminds his reader of "the irreverent proposition of Frederic the Great, who said, that he had observed, that the Lord was always the ally of the strongest party."
¹⁸¹ The intermingling of Church and State under the feudal system created a system of interlocking dependencies which perpetuated force. The idea of an hereditary nobility and the principle of primogeniture caused "this abusive system" to be "interwoven with all the relations of life."
¹⁸²

Everett goes on to designate what he considers the abusive elements of the aristocratic system. He is convinced that the absurdity of an hereditary monarchy will in time be felt. He feels, too, that an hereditary House of Lords is "founded on the most flagrant abuse."
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¹⁷⁹ "The Prospect of Reform in Europe," 159.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 160.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 161.

¹⁸³ Ibid., p. 163.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

"By the same test of principle [the right of the people to elect], we should arrive at the same conclusion, in respect to an established Church, the law of primogeniture, and all antiquated, unequal, and abusive corporate monopolies, in civil or ecclesiastical, public or private affairs." And he continues

The liberal party are those who are of a contrary opinion on all these points. They maintain, that all Government is intended for the good of the people; and ought to be organized to that end alone. They accordingly consider the deliberate and well ascertained will of the people, as the rightful directory of the Government; and they hold it to be proved by experience, that this will can be ascertained in no other way, than that of an equal representation of the people, convened in legislative assemblies, elected for short periods. . . . They accordingly hold that, in the long run, the people acting through representatives of their own choice, are the best judges of their own interests; and that all good government consequently resolves itself into an equal representative system.

Two governments seem safest from the present waves of upsetting reform - Russia and the United States. And both are safe for the same reason: they do not contain any appreciable number of disaffected people. But the conditions in England are "highly critical." Cf England, Everett writes, "It has long been the boast that her Constitution is mixed. Perhaps it will be found, on an impartial analysis, that this supposed mixture is a state of transition from the pure absolutism of the Stuarts to a pure representative Government, toward which since 1688, the Constitution has been struggling. But it is plain, that a pure representative Government cannot exist, where two of the great estates of the realm are hereditary."

185 "Prospect of Reform in Europe," 164.

186 Ibid.

187 Ibid., p. 167.

Popular feeling in England is intense. If more people owned property in England, there would be greater interest in preserving the peace and a change to an elective government might be made without a struggle. Also, if more people owned property, these changes could be easily debated and the crown even dispensed with by law.

"But the extreme inequality of fortunes gives an ominous character¹⁸⁸ to the contest. There are too many who have nothing to lose."

Pending in Parliament was a bill to change the basis of representation in Commons. "It appears to us, that it is what it has been declared to be, by the most eminent of those who have opposed it in Parliament: a Revolution; a great change, carrying within itself a pledge of further change."¹⁸⁹ Everett agrees with the reformers, that¹⁹⁰ an honest geographical system of representation be worked out. If this reform is carried through, and the ancient abuses in the system of representation are removed, we cannot expect the House of Lords, the Church, and the crown to be unaffected.

There is no way of stopping the present tide of reform in government which is affecting all the nations of Europe. "Right or wrong," Everett believes, "beneficial or pernicious, it is impossible to persuade the mass of the people of any community, that the system, which gives them an equal voice in the Government of the country, is not the best. Governments and ministries may persuade themselves,

¹⁸⁸ "Prospect of Reform in Europe," 168.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 169.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 169-72.

but they cannot persuade the people that they are their own foes."¹⁹¹
 The example of the United States will aid reform in England because it i
 is an example "from a kindred source." The impetus to our system of
 equal representation came from the stream of English liberty. Now we
 have proven the efficacy of equal representation; it is "a noon-day
 reality" and will in turn affect the cause of reform in England.¹⁹²

In a second article Everett declared that the whole question of
 a reform in the government of England is an American question.¹⁹³ This
 is true not only because of commercial relations but because British
 colonies surround the United States. England also "now claims the
 right to interfere in every great question of international politics,
 whoever may be the more immediate parties. . . . We shall have occa-
 sion, in the course of our remarks, to express the opinion, that, with
 the adoption of the proposed new principle of organization in the
 British Government, this extensive interference in foreign politics
 will both from necessity and of choice cease."¹⁹⁴

Part of the plan of reform proposed a modification of the colo-
 nial system to permit some representation of British colonies in Par-
 liament. This idea of representation for her colonies is an inevi-
 table reform in Everett's opinion. "The American Revolution is a

¹⁹¹ "Prospect of Reform in Europe," 176.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ "Reform in England," North American Review, XXXIV (Jan. 1832),

23. ¹⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 25.

standing demonstration, that British Colonies must be represented or become independent, whenever the popular feeling is awakened on the subject. England brings up her children to a notion of rights and liberties, which makes them awkward subjects of arbitrary power."¹⁹⁵

The real difficulty arrives when a colony is fit to be represented, for then it is usually fit to be independent. "The colonial system, with or without representation, never was intended for free, intelligent communities, of the kindred of the mother country. It suits infant plantations, remote and conquered savage or semi-civilized tribes, and military posts like Malta and Gibraltar, which are rather garrisons than Colonies."¹⁹⁶

Everett proceeds to examine the proposed representation for the colonies, and to show that it is to a great extent a false and absurd proposal. This is especially true of representation for British India, the government of which is a military despotism. "Represent whom?" he asks. "The native population? Why, they have no political rights to represent or protect. Represent the army which holds them in submission? . . . If any body in India needs representation, it is the poor natives."¹⁹⁷ The colonies of British America are ready for representation¹⁹⁸ but they are also fit for independence.

One of the benefits of reform in England would be to change her relationship with other countries; she would become weaker abroad and

¹⁹⁵

"Reform in England," 47.

¹⁹⁶

Ibid.

¹⁹⁷

Ibid., p. 48.

¹⁹⁸

Ibid., pp. 48-9.

199

stronger at home. The reason for this would be the change from extension of the empire to improvement of conditions at home.

If we wish to stop the cycle of wars recurring every thirty years, then we must give "full development to the representative principle.

This will cut off the great source of wars, the personal passions of those in power." 200

Everett is hopeful that this is possible. He says that if England and France thoroughly bring the representative principle into their governments, their influence, plus that of the United States, 201 would prove sufficient to put an end to war.

9. Faults of the New England Forefathers

Just as Everett could point out abuses in the English system of government and society, so also he realized some of the weaknesses in the founders of New England. This fact is important because as a popular speaker on commemorative occasions, he would be tempted to pass over the weaknesses and deal only with the triumphs. That Everett did not do this is proof of his intellectual integrity.

On June 28, 1830, Everett delivered an address entitled "The Settlement of Massachusetts" before the Charlestown Lyceum; the occasion was the two hundredth anniversary of the arrival of Governor Winthrop. 202 In discussing the founding of Massachusetts, he brings up certain points which pose the questions as to how we should judge our forefathers. Everett discussed the removal by the Puritans of the

199 "Reform in England, " 50.

200 Ibid., p. 52.

201 Ibid., p. 53.

202 Orations, I, 215-45.

charter for Massachusetts. The colonists brought the charter along with them. "This was the turning point in the destiny of New England." ²⁰³ This step was considered legally doubtful, but a few years later it was submitted to vote by the company and approved.

Two motives led to the colonization of New England. First was "commercial adventure." "Without the direction given by this spirit to the minds of men, and the information brought home by fishing and trading vessels, the attempt would probably have never been made to establish a colony." ²⁰⁴ The second reason was "the spring of all that is truly great in human affairs, the conservative and redeeming principle of our natures, - I mean the self-sacrificing enthusiasm of our forefathers, ²⁰⁵ sacrificing present ease for a great end." We notice that Everett has a modern sound in his reading of history when he places the economic motive first and the religious second.

In judging the founders of New England, we should take into account the age in which their work was done. And we should look to results. "Men who have been connected with the establishment of great institutions ought to be judged by the general result of their work. We judge of St. Peter's by the grandeur of the elevation and the majesty of the dome, not by the flaws in the stone of which the walls ²⁰⁶ are built."

²⁰³

Orations, I, 228.

²⁰⁴

Ibid., p. 233.

²⁰⁵

Ibid.,

²⁰⁶

Ibid., p. 235.

The men and women who left the tyranny of England and came to New England were not perfect. "They were imperfect, they had faults, they committed errors. But they laid the foundations of the state of things which we enjoy - of political and religious freedom; of public and private prosperity; of a great, thriving, well-organized republic. What more could they have done, What more could any men do? . . . But let us not, meantime, nourished as we are out of the abundance which they, needy and suffering themselves, transmitted to us, deride their bigotry, which turned trifles into consequences, or wonder at their zeal, which made great sacrifices for small inducements."²⁰⁷

Everett not only asks for understanding in this way but he goes on to show that in some ways the Puritans were the moral superiors of present-day Americans. He discusses the modern treatment of the Indians and the proposition that they may be ejected from their land as though they had no right to it. "I do not recollect that, in a single instance, our fathers claimed the right to eject a native population."²⁰⁸ Contrasted with this is the modern notion that a State charter gives the right of sovereignty and Indians have only the right of occupancy, by the permission of white men. And Everett adds that the Indian leaders who oppose this modern notion "in their official papers, written by themselves, plead for their rights in better English than that of the high officers of the Government, who plead against them."²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷ Orations, I, 236-7.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

Such comparisons and arguments based upon them are unrealistic. Instead, an age and the people who lived in it must be judged by the standards of that age. He asserts

But I protest against bringing the actions of men, in one age, to the standard of another, in things that depend on the state of civilization and public sentiment throughout the world. Try our fathers by the only fair test, the standard of the age in which they lived; and I believe that they admit a very good defence, even on the point where they are supposed to be most vulnerable - that of religious freedom. I do not pretend that they were governed by an enlightened spirit of toleration. Such a spirit, actuating a large community, made up of men of one mind, and possessing absolute power to compel the few dissenters to conform, is not so common, even at the present day, as may be thought. . . . With all the puritanical austerity, and - what is much more to be deplored - the intolerance of dissent, which are chargeable to our fathers, they secured, and we are indebted to them for, two great principles, without which all the candor and kindness we may express toward opponents, go but a short step towards religious freedom. One of these is the independence of each individual church; the other, the separation of church and state. 210

In other discussions too, at different times in his career, Everett brought out the faults of the Puritans, each time asking that they be judged in terms of their age. This is an example of Everett's application of his idea that the historian should seek to give a just interpretation of history.

10. Social Necessity for Monuments

Everett had the true historian's interest in wishing to preserve the past for the light and instruction of the future. This interest showed itself in two ways - the collection of original source material and the building of monuments to perpetuate great men.

In reviewing Flint's Geography and History of the Western States, Everett ends with the suggestion that an association of booksellers publish a complete collection of American historians. "It ought to contain," he explains, "in a regular series, both the original works and the subsequent compilations; beginning with such productions as Captain Smith's History of Virginia, Winthrop's Journal, and Prince's Chronology . . . to works written since the declaration of independence and at the present day. A complete collection of charters and patents should form a part of the plan. The want of such a collection is severely felt."²¹¹

In a review of Sparks' Life and Writings of Washington he said that a standard edition of Washington was a matter of national importance. Washington "must speak directly to posterity from the printed page. This impress of his mind and character must be perpetuated in the volumes of his works, for the guidance of all succeeding generations."²¹² Patriotism and scholarship combine to make the publication of source material an imperative.

²¹¹ North American Review, XXVIII (Jan. 1829), 102.

²¹² Ibid., XLVII (Oct. 1838), 320.

The full glory of a nation's past is, however, best preserved in monuments to its heroes and its great events. "The age of commemoration is at hand. The voice of our fathers' blood begins to cry to us from beneath the soil which it moistened. Time is bringing forward, in their proper relief, the men and the deeds of that high-souled day."²¹³

In September 1827 a circular was issued calling upon graduates of Harvard to contribute toward the erection of a "suitable monument"²¹⁴ in honor of John Harvard, founder of the University. The circular tells how a few graduates happened to conceive of the idea in the course of a social conversation. Everett was elected secretary of the group.

He had previously been active in the Bunker Hill Monument Association.²¹⁵ Then, in 1859, a statue of Daniel Webster by Powers was erected in Boston. Everett had been a member of the Committee of One Hundred on the Webster Memorial. He not only gave a dedicatory address, but, when the statue was severely criticized, wrote in its defense.²¹⁶ We have already considered the great amount of time and energy which Everett put into his efforts with the Mount Vernon Association. Thus, over the years he was associated with one monument project after another.

²¹³ "Principle of the American Constitutions," Orations, I, 109.

²¹⁴ Ibid., p. 185.

²¹⁵ Frothingham, p. 88.

²¹⁶ A Defence of Power's Statue of Webster (Boston, 1859).

Harper's Weekly in its issue of February 11, 1860, had an editorial entitled "About Monuments." It pointed out that the American was too busy to be much interested in monuments, that the people of Boston permitted the Bunker Hill Monument to stand year after year half finished, that the purchase of Mount Vernon might not have been consummated for many years except for the efforts of Everett. Then it continued:

The truth is that the genius of our people does not incline them to monuments or commemorative statues. The countenances of our greatest men are familiar to every body every where in the coarse lithograph likenesses that hang upon the walls of tavern bar-rooms and other places of popular resort. Besides, we grow such enormous annual crops of great men!

But to continue. Mr. Everett has issued proposals for another monument, as President of an association to erect a memorial on Lexington Green. He is supported by a body of Vice-Presidents from every part of the country, gentlemen of . . . phenomenal respectability. The address to the citizens of the United States, signed by Mr. Everett, and evidently written by him, explains the grounds of the national appeal . . . Lexington Green is the spot upon which armed resistance was first regularly made to the arms of Britain and the war began. Therefore it is a national spot . . . ²¹⁷

Mount Vernon was not the only historical memorial which to Everett might function as a rallying point for patriotic citizens as the virus of sectionalism took deeper hold upon the country. Now Lexington Green must become a national memorial. Statues and monuments were a fetish with him. Through them the evils of division might be warded off.

On May 28, 1833, speaking at Faneuil Hall at a meeting called to consider means for the completion of the Bunker Hill Monument, Everett gave his arguments in favor of such monuments. He takes

his stand upon the simple philosophical premise that the thing which does good is to be approved. This, of course, requires a definition of "good" and Everett supplies a proper definition.

Does a railroad or canal do good? Answer, Yes. And how? It facilitates intercourse, opens markets, and increases the wealth of the country. But what is this good for? Why, individuals prosper and get rich. And what good does that do? Is mere wealth, as an ultimate end, - gold and silver, without an inquiry as to their use, - are these a good? Certainly not. . . . But as men grow rich, they live better. Is there any good in this, stopping here? Is mere animal life - feeding, working, and sleeping like an ox - entitled to be called good? Certainly not. . . . There is no good in the mere animal life, except that it is the physical basis of that higher moral existence, which resides in the soul, the heart, the mind, the conscience; in good principles, good feelings, and the good actions . . . Now, sir, I say that generous and patriotic sentiments . . . are good, - good, humanly speaking, of the highest order. It is good to have them, good to encourage them, good to honor them, good to commemorate them . . .²¹⁸

People may claim that books will properly commemorate the past. But Everett contends, books cannot give the living sense of the past which a monument or statue can. "Can the dead letter of history present you the glowing lineaments of your Washington, as he looks down upon you from that wall, or reproduce to you his majestic form in the
219
chiselled marble?"

We might regret that so much of Everett's energy went into projects for monuments. We could wish that he had given time to supporting more efforts for the collection of source material for the scholar. But the driving energy of the man made social outlets a necessity and the monument fetish helped serve this need.

²¹⁸ "The Bunker Hill Monument," Orations, I, 358.

²¹⁹ Ibid., p. 361.

11. The Veneration of Washington

One of the last times Edward Everett's father made a public appearance was on February 22, 1800, when he gave an oration in memory of Washington in the Dorchester Church. Without doubt the most famous oration of Everett's was his speech on "The Character of Washington." It does not matter to us whether or not there is more than interesting coincidence between these two facts. What we cannot overlook is the veneration of Washington.

We have already considered the biography of Washington. There are other writings and speeches which deal directly with him. In the four volumes of Orations there are six separate speeches dealing with Washington. In the North American Review he contributed two reviews of lives of Washington. Of the Mount Vernon Papers, thirty-six in number, eleven directly concern the life of Washington. But this is not all; references abound in the orations.

²²⁰ Frothingham, p. 5.

²²¹ Vol. I- "The Youth of Washington" (July 4, 1835)
 Vol. III- "The Birthday of Washington" (Feb. 22, 1851)
 "Dedication of Crawford's Washington" (Feb. 22, 1858)
 "Presentation of the Cane of Washington" (Feb. 22, 1858)
 "Washington Abroad and at Home" (July 5, 1858)
 Vol. IV- "The Character of Washington" (Feb. 22, 1856)

²²² "Sparks' Life and Writings of Washington," XLVII (Oct. 1838)
 "Guizot's Washington," LI (July 1840)

²²³ Nos. 9, 10, 12- "Washington's Diary"
 14- "The Fourth of March, 1789"
 17- "Lord Erskine's Testimony to Washington"
 24- "Another Volume of Washington's Diary"
 25, 26- "Washington's Southern Tour"
 36, 37, 38- "Seven Critical Occasions and Incidents in
 the Life of Washington"

The famous oration on "The Character of Washington" was given
²²⁴ twenty-one times during 1856, and ²²⁵ 137 times from 1857 to 1860.

Everett gave this around the country in order to assist the Mount Vernon Association.

The qualities of character which Everett saw in Washington are the essence of conservatism. Washington was "a well-balanced character," "grave, sober," possessing, Everett said, "the unpopular
²²⁶ qualities."

. . . Such a virtue, for instance, is prudence, which, according to the stern Roman satirist, disarms Fortune of her power. Consummate prudence marked the life and conduct of Washington. But, in the inverted estimate of the world, prudence receives no applause, excites no admiration, wins no love. We sometimes almost hate it for the restraints which it imposes upon the endearing weaknesses and generous follies of a warm and kindly nature.

Justice is another of the great kingly virtues of life; the governments of men, the government of God on high, rest upon it. Justice was personified in Washington; it was the law of his life. But justice is not a quality that fascinates the imagination of men. Moralists inculcate it, all men exact it in their dealings when it promotes their interest; the Athenians, at the height of their refinement, grew tired of it, in the person of Aristides, and banished it.

Modesty is a lovely trait, which sets the last seal to a truly great character . . .

Common sense was eminently a characteristic of Washington . . . Few qualities of character in those who influence the fortunes of nations are so conducive both to stability and progress. But it is a quality which takes no hold of the imagination; it inspires no enthusiasm, it wins no favor; it is well if it stands its grounds against the plausible absurdities, the hollow pretences, the stupendous impostures of the day. ²²⁷

²²⁴ Everett Papers 200, bound first draft of Washington oration.

²²⁵ Ibid., 201, bound volume of the Washington oration.

²²⁶ "The Character of Washington," Orations, IV, 38.

²²⁷ Ibid.

These observations show a keen insight but the qualities here listed are strangely those of Everett himself. They are not the qualities of boldness, or revolution, of foresight, or of vision. They are status quo qualities. They conveniently reinforce Everett's whole philosophy of politics and society.

Everett felt that "unobtrusive" as these chief qualities of Washington were, they are the real mark of "sterling greatness." "To complain of the character of Washington that it is destitute of brilliant qualities, is to complain of a circle that it has no salient points and no sharp angles in its circumference . . ."

As he proceeds, Everett, like many succeeding politicians, seems indirectly to identify himself with Washington by advancing even more vague generalities. Washington was raised up as part of the design of Providence. This was to provide "a living example" to show that governments are best conducted "by men of sound moral principle" who follow "the one plain and straight path of public and private virtue."

He calls upon the "citizens of the country" to show their appreciation of Washington by following "his example and his counsels." This can best be done if we observe the maxims in his "last testament of affection" - the Farewell Address.

²²⁸ Orations, IV, 39.

²²⁹ Ibid., pp. 40-1.

²³⁰ Ibid., p. 41.

Of all the exhortations which it contains, I scarcely need say to you that none are so emphatically uttered, none so anxiously uttered, as those which enjoin the preservation of the Union of these States. On this, under Providence, it depends in the judgment of Washington whether the people of America shall follow the Old World example, and be broken up into a group of independent military powers, wasted by eternal border wars, feeding the ambition of petty sovereigns on the life-blood of wasted principalities, - a custom-house on the bank of every river, a fortress on every frontier hill, a pirate lurking in the recesses of every bay, - or whether they shall continue to constitute a confederate republic, the most extensive, the most powerful, the most prosperous in the long line of ages. No one can read the Farewell Address without feeling that this was the thought and this the care which lay nearest and heaviest upon that noble heart; and if - which Heaven forbid - the day shall ever arrive when his parting counsels on that head shall be forgotten, on that day, come it soon or come it late, it may as mournfully as truly be said, that Washington has lived in vain. ²³¹

This advice does not come from a merely great character. Washington "is not an isolated fact in History;" on the contrary he is "a dispensation of Providence for good." ²³² And higher tribute Everett could not give.

Everett apparently was aware of the fact that his use of the Farewell Address and the repeated eulogy of Washington was somewhat like the soul-saving exhortations of a revivalist with his fervent appeals to sacred Scripture. On July 5, 1858, he attended a dinner in Boston, given by the Young Men's Democratic Club. Speaking in response to a toast, he said:

Sir, I linger, but you I am sure will not think too long, on these solemn and affectionate appeals, which seem, after a lapse of two generations, to come sounding to us like an oracle

²³¹

Orations, IV, 49-50.

²³²

Ibid., p. 50.

of wisdom and love from the sacred shades of Mount Vernon. It has ceased to be a popular strain; but I willingly accept the unpopularity. I know that "Union-saving," as it is derisively called, is treated in some quarters with real or affected contempt. I am content to share in the ridicule which attaches to that anxiety for the preservation of the Union, which prompted one sixth part of Washington's farewell address. ²³³

In this same speech Everett gave a definition of statesmanship which reveals the conservative character of his mind and the consequent real significance in his thinking of the "sober" qualities in the character of Washington. "Statesmanship, as it was understood in my younger days, that is, the study of the foreign relations of the country, its defences, naval and military, its currency and finances, its internal improvements, its great industrial interests, and the relations of the government to the Indian tribes, has nearly become an obsolete idea, and our political life has assumed almost exclusively the form of sectional agitation." ²³⁴ This listing of the elements of statesmanship closely reflects Everett's own public life but seems completely lacking in an understanding of the great reform movements in the country. He makes no mention of social problems or the increasingly important question of labor. His only references to economic problems are "currency and finances" and "great industrial interests."

This definition was given in 1858. And Emerson, in commenting on the Fugitive Slave Law, had written in his journal back in 1851, "The state stands for property, and the slave, as the highest kind

²³³ "The Fourth of July," Orations, III, 641.

²³⁴ Ibid., p. 637.

of property, is fitly made the question between the party of light
 235
 and the party of darkness." Everett's fear of the slavery question,
 the meaning of which was clear to Emerson and other liberal minds many
 years before, perhaps is part of the reason why he seems to have care-
 fully excluded social questions from this definition.

We cannot assume that Everett was dissimulating when he so used
 the materials of Washington's life and character in his speeches. The
 references to Washington are so numerous, so consistent, and so ob-
 viously genuine that the veneration of Washington must have been real.

Here are some entries from Everett's journal:

February 26, 1836

Read a considerable portion of the tenth volume of Washing-
 ton's Works. A lesson for small politicians like me. He had the
 same troubles, disgusts and cares: - was tormented with the feuds
 of his associates (Jefferson and Hamilton) and slandered for small
 matters, - his style of bowing at his parties.

February 27, 1836

I finished the tenth volume of Washington's Works. His char-
 acter seems the perfection of the Prudent Man. He had no imagina-
 tion, and but little warmth of feeling: - at least as far as can
 be inferred from these papers. 236

Washington - "the perfection of the Prudent Man!" This was a right
 observation to be made by a governor of Massachusetts and a leading
 citizen of Boston.

235 Journals, VIII, 242.

236 Everett Papers 148, journal.

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE IN AMERICA

In 1835 Everett copied into his journal a reference to himself from the London Athenaeum of January 3, 1835. The Athenaeum said: "Some of the best prose writers in America are not properly authors. The pen of Danl. Webster unmatched like his oratory, for strength and fire: - of Edward Everett the eloquent, the learned, the admired (perhaps altogether the most accomplished and gifted man that has ever¹ risen in America) . . ."

If this seems like an extravagant statement, it is because we underestimate how well known Everett was. During the decade of the 1820's alone he had had more than thirteen of his orations published in booklet form, one of them going into four editions. He had served a period as editor of the North American Review, and during the decade of the twenties he contributed eighty-three reviews to that publication. These were published anonymously but yet the authorship was many times known and they helped to establish his reputation.

In spite of the devotion to politics, Everett thought of himself as a literary man. In 1838 he wrote in his journal on November 20: "In the evening delivered my lecture on the Northmen, before the Warren Street Chapel institution. This I propose shall be my last appearance. I leave the business to younger men; and resolve to

¹ Everett Papers 147, journal.

devote what time I can spare from business to some permanent effort
of a literary character."² The interest in literature seems to have
increased. He wrote to Dr. Warren on June 22, 1848, while he was
still president of Harvard: "No two years of my life were ever so
completely lost, in reference to my literary pursuits and the culti-
vation of my own mind."³ The following year, April 18, 1849, he wrote
in a similar vein to Webster: "I have therefore no expectation but
to pass the rest of my life in the care of my family and the cultiva-
tion of those literary tastes, which I have at all times cherished."⁴

1. Movements in American Literature

Sometimes the War of 1812 is called a Second War of Independence because it clearly established the independent sovereignty of the former thirteen colonies. But, whatever the political implications, the psychological results of that war were important. Nationalism was stimulated.

The country was youthful, and a psychological romanticism swept through the American mind. It expressed itself partly in the American System which advocated all kinds of exciting internal improvements. The possibility of challenging improvements in transportation was appealing. The realism of the eighteenth century, with its dark view of human nature, gave way to the liberalism of Unitarian thought, and some people went even beyond this and scaled the heights of transcendentalism.

² Everett Papers 152, journal.

³ Ibid., 25, box of letters.

⁴ Ibid.

Transcendentalism and liberalism were the dominant movements in New England during Everett's lifetime. And, as we shall see later, Everett did have some sympathy with the liberal development in New England. He probably would have had more liberal sympathies if his political ambitions and entanglements were not constantly tripping him up.

With Emerson, the chief exponent of the transcendental movement, Everett had no intellectual sympathy. There is nothing in Everett's journals to indicate that he ever really understood what the transcendentalists were concerned with. In fact, the references to literature and to specific authors are disappointingly brief and few in the journals. What evidence there is, tends to show that Everett was practically untouched by the new movements of his own time.

His conservative attitude is well expressed in a letter he wrote to J. B. Lieb of Philadelphia on October 6, 1828. At this time Everett was serving as temporary editor of the North American Review while Sparks was in Europe, and he wrote to Mr. Lieb returning an article submitted for publication.

I know little of Shelley but what I have gathered from the English Reviews and your own and at the risk of giving you a mean opinion of my Philosophy and Independence, I fear I must ask to be excused from inserting the article. . . . [He points out that he is only temporary editor]. . . . In the next place I am in some matters of literary taste (tho' in little else) an old school-man. If I have any taste for English poetry, it is formed on a study of Pope, Dryden, Milton, and Shakespeare. Shelley has evidently high poetical genius and that is a great thing for a poet: but it is not Poetry. Poetry is an art and has its rules founded on reason and experience and not to be violated with impunity. When I like as I do passionately some of the New Poetry; it is not for its peculiarities; but in spite of them. Lastly if it be true, as has been charged and is not denied by you, that Shelley was an Atheist

tho' I am not a man to denounce, abuse, and persecute Atheists, yet I would not willingly contribute, nor would you on second thought, I am sure to give currency to productions in which he inculcated his disbelief in the subjection of the Universe to the moral government of its Author. Such a disbelief is as fatal to true poetical inspiration as to devout feeling and practical morality, and ought to be exploded as a heresy in taste as well as in opinion. ⁵

The emphasis here on rules for the art of poetry is an echo of the statements we have already considered concerning the "classic" historian. Actually, three ideas expressed in this letter were obstacles to Everett's understanding of the chief movement of thought in New England during his own lifetime - the belief in classical literary rules; the "devout feeling" which to Everett meant that the basic tenets of religion were reasonable and not subject to questioning; and the "practical morality," a phrase which reflects the caution of a rising politician.

The practical set of Everett's mind seems to have so blinded him that later when American writers are making an effort to use psychological symbolism and explore beneath the surface of life, his reaction is complete misunderstanding. The prodigy who had amazed the faculty at Harvard as a youth, clearly did not develop in depth and discernment as the years of his public career progressed. On March 23, 1860, he entered this in his journal: "Sat up late last evening reading Hawthorne's new novel, the 'Marble Faun,' a very extraordinary and as it seems to me very silly book as far as the story goes." ⁶

⁵ Everett Papers 63, letterbook.

⁶ Ibid., 179, journal.

The successive references made to Elsie Venner show his distaste for this effort of his good friend Holmes.

March 10, 1861

Read in the evening a hundred pages in Elsie Venner. I understand its heroine is of a compound nature human and rattlesnake - as Hawthorne's hero is human and marble faun: - and this in both cases not figuratively but physiologically and actually. When I hear such insipid extravagance lauded as efforts of genius I feel how far I am behind the times.

March 11, 1861

More of Elsie Venner: - very unwholesome reading as it seems to me.

March 13, 1861

Finished Elsie Venner. There is vast ability in it of various kinds, but I cannot but think it extravagantly unnatural and a very unwholesome kind of reading. That the circumstance that Elsie's mother was killed by the bite of a rattlesnake before her child was born should inspire Elsie with a congenital horror of rattlesnakes may be conceivable; that it should give her the temper and disposition of those reptiles and their supposed power of fascination does not follow from the premises.⁷

A final bit of evidence showing that Everett's mind was not open to new ideas or new modes of literary expression is seen in a journal reference to Whitman, made on September 18, 1860. "The filthy sheet in New York (Saturday Ev'g Press) is conducted by a club, the character of which may be estimated by the fact that Walt Whitman is its leader."⁸

2. Literary War with England

Everett loved England. Speaking before the British Association for the Promotion of Science in 1842, he said: "We worship at the same altars, we reverence the same canonized names, as you. The

⁷ Everett Papers 180, journal.

⁸ Ibid., 179, journal.

great modern names of your literary Pantheon - the Addisons, Johnsons, and Goldsmiths, of the last century, the Scotts and Byrons of this -
⁹
 are not more familiar to you than to us." Even though he was speaking as the American Ambassador on this occasion, there is not a doubt of his sincerity in expressing these sentiments. Yet, for many years Everett, in various articles in the North American Review, fought the stigmatism of inferiority in the question, "Who reads an American book?" In the course of conducting that defense he played a prominent part in the literary war with England.

He expressed the opinion in one article that the early love for France and England grew up in this country and was fostered by the
¹⁰
 alignment of American political parties. When party spirit became less bitter, these feelings waned. A condition existed for some time in which England and America had mutual admirers in the other country motivated by political expediency. Remove the political cause, he explains, and the admiration ceases. "Meantime, we, who like all honest people, wish to be thought and spoken well of in the world, and are sorely perplexed with this pitiless pelting from all quarters, are too apt, it may be, to generalize on the subject, and to suppose that there is a systematic and organized hostility to us in England, when perhaps the symptoms which seem to indicate such an hostility may
¹¹
 be more easily accounted for."

⁹ Orations, II, 429.

¹⁰ "Mr. Walsh's Appeal," North American Review, X (April, 1820)335.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 337.

In attempting to account for this, Everett asks what country does "please and satisfy" the people who travel through it. An Englishman who travels on the continent runs into all kinds of difficulties. A Frenchman visiting in London runs into things, including London fog,¹² which make him wish he were at home.

What shows the real spirit of a country is the home life of the people, and the traveller is usually cut off from these scenes.¹³ Also, if he is not unusually fair-minded, he will enjoy finding fault. "It shows originality to find fault, and wit to detect ridiculous faults; and who would lose the credit of being original or witty, for want of finding or making a few imperfections in a foreign land? In a word we have given up the idea of ever seeing a book of travels with any pretensions to merit or authority, which would satisfy those most concerned with it."¹⁴ Everett says that he came to this conclusion when he learned that Madame de Stael's book on Germany had horrified the Germans.

He feels that the desire to ridicule or appear witty and the personal opposition of the unknown writers in the English reviews are the cause of the hostility rather than any such policy on the part of the British government. There is also an inherited animosity on the part of some of the English people resulting from the American Revolution.

¹² "Mr. Walsh's Appeal," 337.

¹³ Ibid., p. 338.

¹⁴ Ibid.

"Such a spirit resides in the old families, in the church, in the hereditary political parties . . . "

The book of Mr. Walsh's being here considered was a defense of the United States against the attacks of the British press. Everett comments on the fact that some Americans have resented this book written in their own defense, claiming that America has been calumniated only by the illiterate. But this is not true; America has been misrepresented "by the highest political and literary authority."

Everett proceeds to illustrate the care with which Walsh has tried to refute untrue stories about America, and then asks if this is not fair. "To deny this, seems to us to be carrying the blessed doctrine of peace-making to a somewhat generous extent."

Everett not only defends Walsh's book against criticism at home, but he sets forth clearly his reasoning in his several defenses of America against British attack. He writes that

. . . we are quite unable to comprehend why the duty of forbearance is to begin with us. At whatever point of our history you choose to begin, whether at the expulsion of the puritans from England, at the oppression of the early settlers, at the revolutionary war, or since the peace of 1814, English princes, ministers, and authors, have ever been the assailants, and we apprehend it to be quite fair that we should meet their charges. Let them, when we have done this, see to the duty of putting a stop to the war of recrimination. Moreover, England stands, or claims to stand on the vantage ground. She is the old, the powerful, the rich, the wise, and the polite combatant; and we, she will have it, are not only young, but weak, poor, ignorant,

¹⁵ "Mr. Walsh's Appeal," 340.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 341.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 344.

and barbarous. . . . The duty of forbearance, of listening without reply, and of leaving it to calumny to refute itself, does not belong to us. It is not only lawful for us, but it is our bounden duty to repel it; and we should deserve the abuse which has been heaped upon us, were we so insensible to the value of national reputation as to leave it unrefuted, and, where occasion offers, unreturned. 18

In February 1821 the New London Monthly Magazine printed an article entitled "On the complaints in America against the British Press." Everett wrote an article in reply in which he stated that the "laws of reviewing" place some small restraints on the cruelty involved, explaining that "it is permitted under the names of remark, stricture, observation, and reply, to mix up a good share of heterogeneous materials, and to make tolerably free use of that particular figure of speech, which the gods call misrepresentation, but for
19
which the plain spoken men have invented a shorter name."

The English article in question was written to review Mr. Walsh's book. The anonymous English writer claims that the Walsh book was unnecessary. Americans ought not to become angry at "a little harmless pleasantry." In reply to this, Everett asked if "vain Americans" should consider Lord Grey and Mr. Canning as "makers and venders of
20
caricatures." A second point made by the English article is that the most effective weapon of defense is silence and that Americans ought
21
to be dignified enough as a nation to be quiet. The article also

18 "Mr. Walsh's Appeal," 349.

19 "England and America," North American Review, XIII (July, 1821), 20.

20 Ibid., p. 26.

21 Ibid., p. 28.

attacks the poor English used by Americans. Everett feels that this is ridiculous. He proceeds to show that almost all books current in America had their origin in England and so asks, "How is it possible²² then that we should not speak good English?" The very nature of American political institutions makes some Americanisms inevitable, such as "congressional," and "presidential." And the criticism of Joel Barlow's vocabulary is decidedly unfair since American reviewers²³ themselves rejected his Columbiad.

The English article attacks the American vanity as taking pride in the future of the United States. Everett points out that England's pride is in her past, and he affirms the American pride in the²⁴ future. Everett considers this difference in national vanity very interesting, and the American position healthy. "What our nation has been, and, to a good degree, what it is," he writes, "are beyond our control. To our fathers' glory we contributed nothing . . . But what²⁵ our children and posterity will be depends mainly on us."

Everett is able to see values in the English character and nation. "England, moreover, has a tower of strength, a great depository of moral and physical power, in her numerous orderly, intelligent, middling class, which the corruptions, that exist in the two extremes of society, have as yet scarcely touched. And ages we trust

²² "England and America," 31.

²³ Ibid., pp. 29, 33.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 37.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 40.

will pass by, before the happy abodes of this virtuous community, will feel the overwhelming power of political and moral degeneracy and corruption. We wish this for the sake of humanity, order, and peace abroad, of which the English character is certainly the great assurance.²⁶ This attitude, apparently sincere, helps give a tone of restraint to the entire review. And this restraint is maintained even when he answers another charge, namely that we should never make a speech for freedom so long as we maintain slaves. "Now we certainly shall not allow ourselves to be betrayed into a defence of slavery either by taunts from abroad, or the desire of favor at home. No one defends it, no one approves it."²⁷ The English argument here is ridiculous, he feels, because the English colonies permit slaves.

In another review Everett tries to state, as he sees it, the difficulty of the foreign traveller who writes a book. "He lands among us, falls into some circle, good or bad, as the case may be, hears them speak in strong terms of their party adversaries, is able to make none of that secret qualification, which the citizens of the same community make for each other amidst all their railings, and so is often lead away to be-rate honest people, who are far from deserving it, especially at his hands."²⁸ Quite innocently an otherwise amiable author can misjudge Americans or even make gross misstatements

²⁶ "England and America," 42.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ "Views of Society and Manners in America," North American Review, XIV (Jan., 1822), 16.

of fact. Everett shows how the author of Views of Society and Manners in America has been led into such errors. Then he states his judgment of the whole book. "The work is in fact an eulogium on our country and its character; a panegyric of the warmest cast. The discreet citizen will place it before him as the model, toward which he should strive to bring his country, rather than as a tablet of actual perfections, of which in every case he has now a right to²⁹ boast."

Two years later, in 1824, Everett wrote another review of an American travel book written by an Englishman. This time he was not³⁰ amiably disposed toward the subject. At the first appearance of Faux's book, Everett was inclined to ignore it as being just another³¹ cheap attempt to "pander to the taste for American calumny." The only reason now for any notice is that this "trash" has become the subject of an article in the Quarterly Review.

Everett asserts that the Quarterly Review has a very ingenious system for misrepresenting authors whose works attack America. The system is this - "to pick up a sorry fellow, call him a gentleman, a man of intelligence, and of observation, or if he be downright doltish and barbarian, pronounce him a straight forward, plain spoken, honest creature; and, thus prepared, proceed to quote his ribaldry . . ."³²

²⁹ "Views of Society and Manners in America," 19.

³⁰ "Faux's Memorable Days in America," North American Review, XIX (July, 1824), 92-125.

³¹ Ibid., p. 93.

³² Ibid., p. 95.

As if this misrepresentation were not enough, the Review goes a step further and places responsibility for whatever they say in an article upon "our honest, intelligent traveller, who went to America full of admiration for the country."³³ Because of this building up of such a false authority, there is no apparent limit to the calumny which can be seriously produced for readers.

To destroy any serious consideration of the Faux book, Everett proceeds to take several incidents in it and discuss them in detail, proving the impossibility of the incident portrayed. One such preposterous incident involved the assertion that navigators on the Mississippi River would steal as many as twenty sheep a night from farmers along the river.

This silly trash is copied by the Quarterly Reviewer, who is a perfect gudgeon when America is to be abused. He forgot that flocks of sheep so large and numerous, that ten or twenty at once can be frequently stolen from them, do not agree very well with the representation, which he himself gives us of the 'population now thinly spread over the immense vale of the Mississippi, before the forests and cane breaks are cleared away, the dismal cypress swamps drained, and the rotten bottoms, and rank prairies are reclaimed from their stagnant and putrid water.' He forgets, too, that frequently stealing ten or twenty sheep at a time is a practice, which accords but ill with the keenness and mercenary thrift, which he uniformly ascribes to the American character. Where are these semicivilized savages, the owners of the sheep, while 'ten or twenty at a time are frequently stolen?' Where are their rifles, which according to him they are so prompt to use? Who does not perceive, that the whole is a pure fiction, not only not true, but impossible . . .³⁴

³³ "Faux's Memorable Days in America," 95.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 97.

In discussing another impossible incident, Everett states his purpose in this fashion: "Now we intend on this occasion to show to the dullest observer, not the want of principle of these wretched vagabonds who infest our country, but the disingenuousness and fraud³⁵ of the Reviewer who quotes them." The incident is fundamentally simple. In a southern town a slave had been killed by a white man. Several days after the murder the body is discovered. Faux, the traveller, happens along in time to witness the jury of inquiry looking at the newly-discovered body. He hears only the conversation of the jury members at this time; a certain Kelly is discussed as someone to be questioned. Faux immediately jumps to the conclusion that Kelly is guilty and so should be punished; he writes a letter to a newspaper in the next town. Then, without getting any additional facts or inquiring as to the outcome, Faux goes on his way and, later, in his book makes unjust statements about the course of justice in America. "The enlightened editor of the Quarterly may tell us," Everett declares, "when he next writes on America, whether he would have had the reputed murderer hung without any process, or tried for murder without ascertaining that there had been a murder, or, finally, what should have been done?"³⁶

Apparently one of the charges made much of in the British review was Faux's "monstrous fabrication" that huge dogs were trained to hunt

³⁵ "Faux's Memorable Days in America," 101.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 102.

down Negroes. Apparently charges had been made frequently about the existence of slavery in America and the conditions of the slaves.

Everett answers this in the enumerative, decisive style of a debater.

We accordingly repeat what we stated in a former number, and what we shall reiterate, whenever we have occasion to notice the calumnies of the British ultra press on this subject. First, that slavery in America is a British institution, established by British laws, and for the benefit of British traders. Secondly, that the American colonists early made attempts to prevent the further introduction of slaves, which attempts were resisted and defeated by the English ministers at the instigation of English traders. So well known was this, that Mr. Burke, in his speech on the conciliation of America, recognizes 'her refusal to deal any more in the inhuman traffic of the negro slaves, as one of the causes of her quarrel with England.' Thirdly, a generation before the slave trade was abolished by the British parliament, it was abolished in several of the American states, and eighteen years before its abolition by Great Britain, the provision was made for its abolition throughout America in the year 1808. In addition to these facts, we may add, that America has set to England the example of the only effectual measure of destroying this traffic, that of declaring it to be piracy; and, finally, that the amelioration of the condition of the British slaves in the West Indies is owing to the example of North American masters. 37

This manner of turning the argument back against the person advancing it is Everett's method in this particular article. He writes like a debater, like a fencer who parries the thrust of his opponent and then lunges forward to attack. In these reviews written to defend American institutions and prestige Everett shows an ability of argument which is not apparent in any of his speeches until after the outbreak of the Civil War when Everett took to the stump to rally public support behind Lincoln and the government.

This accusation about slavery in America was upsetting to him and he pressed the attack home. "It is a solemn truth," he contends,

"that more men are at this moment held in slavery by English power, and English laws, than by all the rest of the world together. This would be nearly true, were we to understand slavery in the literal sense of the word. When we extend it farther, and make it include . . . being deprived of all the rights, which make liberty worth having, and in this connexion reflect on the British empire in the East, it will appear incontestibly, that the English nation has sinned and is sinning as deeply against the cause of human freedom, as the most heinous despotism, of which the memory exists."³⁸ To give greater force to this charge, Everett refers to an article on India in the very issue of the Quarterly Review which had the review of Faux's book.

The English writer apologizes for the British actions in India as a blunder. This explanation Everett castigates as absurd. To disfranchise "sixty or eighty millions of men" who were "reduced from owners in fee simple to tenants" in order to provide a steady and permanent fixed income for the home government is hardly a blunder! "India is far off, little known, little cared for, by the political inquirer . . . From the information, however, that is before the world, we have no scruple in asserting, that the British administration of that quarter of the globe has been guilty, every year of its existence, of more oppression, fraud, tyranny, robbery, and murder, than can be laid to the charge of Bonaparte in his whole career."³⁹

³⁸ "Faux's Memorable Days in America," 108.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 109.

Yet, while these conditions exist, England lauds her own self for her services to liberty and heaps abuse on America.

Another point of attack on America in the Review concerned religion in this country. The article claimed that the government completely ignored religion and that it was a fatal mistake not to have an established church. Everett asks if the writer is entirely ignorant⁴⁰ of the American state and federal constitutions. He points out that in England the River Tweed is the boundary line for the authority of the two national religions of Great Britain, not to mention the third in Ireland. Everett asks if there is some special virtue⁴¹ in this legalized spiritual conflict and confusion.

He is disturbed also by the Review's statement that the whole American nation is irreligious. In first reaction to this, he declares, "The American government may be exceedingly irreligious, and in consequence exceedingly immoral, but the infamous vices of its members, we thank Heaven, have not yet become the scandal of the civilized world . . ."⁴² Lest this seem just personal and petty on his part, Everett quickly makes a case against the Review's supporting statement that Americans are much given to natural religion and reject revelation. He lists the prominent English writers and thinkers who have upheld such religious opinions. He rejects the idea

⁴⁰ "Faux's Memorable Days in America," 114.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 115.

⁴² Ibid., p. 116.

that it was "a few perverted geniuses in France, in the fever of the revolution" who were the "apostles of infidelity" in the modern world.⁴³
 This "is an entirely false impression, for modern infidelity was taught in England. There have been more distinguished writers in that country against Christianity, than in all others together."⁴⁴ Even the origins of the ideas of "infidelity" of the modern German writers on religion may be traced to the English.⁴⁵

Everett may be qualified to participate actively in such literary warfare but he does not relish it. He says that Americans "are weary of these travellers and their critics. This calling of hard names and saying harsh things is not a work we are used to, nor one in which we take pleasure. Every body sees how easy it would be to draw the most frightful pictures of English society, and more than retaliate all that even their imaginations can devise against us. We engage, out of authentic English works, to find a parallel for every tale of barbarity, vice, and misery, which can be collected from the most faithless and gossiping traveller in this country. As American citizens, we have had provocation enough, and temptation enough to do this."⁴⁶

England is much loved in this country since it is the ancestral home of most Americans. It is a responsibility of such journals as the Quarterly Review to ask themselves whether or not they want to turn American good will toward England into bitterness.⁴⁷

⁴³ "Faux's Memorable Days in America," 116.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 117.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 122.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 123.

The tone of a later review is friendlier, and although critical, Everett avoids the slashing attack. He felt that Captain Basil Hall deserved thanks for the avoidance of personality in his two volumes of travels in America.⁴⁸ But there are things to be noted in Hall's book which, Everett felt, had to bear comment.

He first objected to Hall's complaint that wherever he went in America people wanted to show him the objects of local interest and curiosity.⁴⁹ Everett undertakes to show that this is a misunderstanding and fails to show appreciation for the sacrifice of time of his various hosts. Captain Hall was also perplexed by the way in which "Americans constantly themselves praised what they called him to examine."⁵⁰ In discussing this, Everett seems not to understand the point or to accept it as a valid comment on American manners. He declares, "The truth is, Captain Hall evidently mistook his own feelings, and came to this country with principles and opinions utterly incapacitating him from receiving favorable impressions of it."⁵¹ This statement, and some which follow, show that Everett could be petty in his criticism. For instance he feels that Hall's "remarks about the weather are equally ungracious and querimonious."⁵² He also felt that Hall's writing was slovenly and contained examples of bad grammar.⁵³

⁴⁸ "Captain Hall's Travels," North American Review, XXIX (Oct., 1829), 522.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 523.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 526.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 527.

⁵² Ibid., p. 532.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 534.

Such topics as these for consideration in a review do not seem worth the effort. They are trite and insignificant compared with the ideas Everett discussed in other articles.

In 1832 Mrs. Trollope published her Domestic Manners of the Americans and in the following year a review by Everett appeared. He undertook to belittle Mrs. Trollope's book by reviewing it simultaneously and comparing it with a travel book by a German who spent several years in England and soundly berated the English character and culture.⁵⁴ "His book, without having the least reference to America,⁵⁵ is the best possible answer to Mrs. Trollope."

The approach here then is novel. One prejudiced book is to be used to offset the other. Everett quotes at length the summary comment on the English character made by Prince Muscau, adding that this ought to have been a lesson to those English critics who were going to review Mrs. Trollope's book.⁵⁶ This method of quoting from the German writer enables Everett to attack more forcibly and is an application of the very method he had accused the Quarterly Review of using, i.e., setting up a false authority and then using that authority as a means of criticism. Everett recognizes the unfairness of the German writer and this seems to add to the effectiveness of using him in writing for an American audience.

⁵⁴

"Prince Pückler Muscau and Mrs. Trollope," North American Review, XXXVI (Jan., 1833), 1-48.

⁵⁵

Ibid., p. 1.

⁵⁶

Ibid., p. 5.

The parallels brought out between the two books are startling. In some ways it looks as though they had been written according to the same plan. Mrs. Trollope criticizes the uncouth manners and dress of men attending the theater in Cincinnati. The German Prince has a strikingly similar passage about the theater manners as he claimed to have found them in London.⁵⁷

Everett undertakes to reply to many of the misconceptions about America. He also defends American speech and usage.⁵⁸ The chief fault, however, is that which has marked so many books by Englishmen about America. "Some of Mrs. Trollope's strictures are well merited; and would perhaps have done good, and entitled her to our gratitude, had they carried with them the appearance of being well meant. The great defect of the work is, that it is throughout conceived in bitterness and ill-nature, evidently indicative of personal disappointment."⁵⁹

This article which was the last in Everett's personal literary war with England, lacked some of the vindictiveness found in previous reviews. His points were as well taken and as clearly made but his language lacked the name-calling quality. Perhaps, as he had stated in his review of *Faux* a few years before, he was getting tired of "these travellers and their critics."

⁵⁷ "Prince Muscau and Trollope," 5-8.

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 14-19.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 38.

3. Circumstances Favorable to the Progress of Literature in America

In 1812 Everett had read his poem on "American Poets" at the
⁶⁰
 annual meeting of the Harvard Phi Beta Kappa. He had there expressed
 his confidence that American poets would turn to the themes found a-
 round them in their own country. In 1824⁶¹ Everett was invited to de-
 liver the oration at the annual meeting of the Harvard Phi Beta Kappa,
 and his address attracted such attention that it started his political
⁶¹
 career.

The topic of this oration was "The Circumstances Favorable to the
 Progress of Literature in America." Three main points form the focus
 of Everett's discussion. First, the development of literature in Amer-
⁶²
 ica is affected by the new form of government in the country. Second,
 a condition peculiarly suited to encourage literary progress is "the
 extension of one government, one language, and, substantially, one
⁶³
 character, over so vast a space as the United States of America."
 Third, the country is growing "with a rapidity hitherto without exam-
⁶⁴
 ple in the world." Consideration of the ideas he used to support
 these main points will show us the patriotic spirit which he exempli-
 fied again and again, and the simple level of the ideas he presented.

⁶⁰ Frothingham, p. 15.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 86.

⁶² Orations, I, 12.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 27.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 34.

America offers a fresh and original condition for the encouragement of literature. He points out that "a uniform and complete representative system, organized by a written constitution of government, and unaccompanied by a powerful hereditary element, is original in this country."⁶⁵ Despotism is unfavorable to intellectual progress. Public honors and trusts may now in this country exert a direct stimulating influence "on the largest mass of men, with the smallest possible deductions."⁶⁶ Here for the first time the popular will operates in a nation.

"I am persuaded," Everett declares, "that, mainly, in this equitable diffusion of rights and privileges lies the secret of the astonishing development of intellectual energy in this country."⁶⁷ The nature of this country is to seek out talent and give it an opportunity. "These little local republics" (the democratic town meetings) train the character and the mind. People are encouraged to "read, and think, and form judgments on important subjects."⁶⁸ The conditions bring together capacity and opportunity. "The village school-house and the village church are the monuments of our republicanism; to read, to write, and to discuss grave affairs in their primary assemblies, are licentious practices of our democracy."⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Orations, I, 12.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 13.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 14.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 15.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

The criticism is made that in our country the frequent elections and the consequent recurrent political excitement is "unfriendly to learning," since this overemphasizes political ambition. Everett feels that this is a natural stage in the development of the country. The first necessity is that a country be organized and that its political foundations be secured. "In the early stages of society, when there is a scanty population, its entire force is required for administration and defence. We are receding from this stage, but have not yet reached, although we are rapidly approaching, that in which a crowded population produces a large amount of cultivated talent, not needed for the services of the state."⁷⁰

In Europe "for ten centuries" men have been trained in the idea that government and war were the only noble callings. Since free government would not labor under this idea, it should be more favorable to intellectual development. This follows a natural law because God distributes genius among a whole people with an "impartial providence." A "false organization" of society consigns many men of ability to permanent obscurity. A democratic society is founded in this principle of nature.

Everett declares that we cannot foresee the direction of the development of literature in America.

Literature is but a more perfect communication of man with man, and mind with mind. It is the judgment, the memory, the imagination; discoursing, recording, or musing aloud, upon the materials drawn from the great storehouse of observation, or fashioned out of them by the creative powers of the mind. It is the outward

expression of the intellectual man; or, if not this, it is poor imitation. What, therefore, affects, the man, affects the literature; and it may be assumed, as certain, that the peculiarity of our political institutions will be represented in the character of our intellectual pursuits. Government, war, commerce, manners, and the stage of social progress, are reflected in the literature of a country. No precedent exists, to teach us what direction the mind will most decidedly take, under the strong excitements to action above described . . . ⁷¹

In this wordy passage we read the theme of the entire oration. It is not a very profound idea, nor is it supported by evidence of great depth of insight.

"The greatest efforts of human genius," Everett says, "have been made where the nearest approach to free institutions has taken place."⁷² When political liberty first appeared in Greece, we see Homer. When liberty declined in Greece, then literature too declined.⁷³

The extension of liberty in this country over such a large geographic area will have a great effect. "Hitherto, in the main, the world has seen but two forms of political government - free governments in small states, and arbitrary governments in large ones."⁷⁴ It has thus never been possible to see what the literary effects could be of a free society covering a wide area.

Now the printing press has given a wide extension to literature. This advantage is greatly offset by "the multiplicity of languages" in the modern world. The literatures of neighboring countries "are comparative strangers to each other."⁷⁵ Latin had formerly helped to

⁷¹ Orations, I, 20.

⁷² Ibid., p. 23.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 25.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 27.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 29.

prevent this and form a communion of understanding between scholars. Translations cannot effectively overcome this condition because they are generally inferior to the originals.⁷⁶ The wide extent of this country, and the development of a vast republic where the people speak the same language, will prevent the same condition here as in Europe and will make for "a new era" in "the intellectual world."⁷⁷

4. Poetry and Science

On August 16, 1837, Everett delivered a Commencement Day address before the Adelpic Union Society of Williams College. The title of the address is "Superior and Popular Education." In it Everett discusses the conditions necessary for the flowering of genius. He claims that in the modern world few great minds had a training which would seem favorable to the development of their genius. "Of the great men who form the glory of English literature," he says, "not one, I think, was so situated as to enjoy the best advantages for education which his country, at the time, afforded; least of all was this the case with the greatest of them, - Shakespeare."⁷⁸

From his study of the literary masters of the human race, Everett feels that no matter how high they rose, with more favorable education they might have risen higher. And with more education, they would have had higher standards of morality. "I can sometimes behold the soil of the world upon their snow-white robes, and the rust of human

⁷⁶ Orations, I, 31.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 33.

⁷⁸ Orations, II, 213.

passion upon the glittering edge of their wit." ⁷⁹ Even Shakespeare at times suffered from a lack of moral restraint; he and others might "by a happier course of life and education" have been redeemed from ⁸⁰ their faults.

This idea is introductory to consideration of how much an age affects the development of genius. In the course of discussing this, Everett advances some interesting ideas about science and poetry. "I am aware," he says, "that it is a prevalent notion, that, to some efforts of genius, an advanced state of civilization is unfriendly; that the infancy of science is more congenial to a state of poetry; and that, in general, the period of critical learning is unfavorable to the development of strongly-marked original talent. I am inclined, ⁸¹ however, to believe that this is a mistaken notion . . ." He feels that it is unfounded and "degrading" to contend that an age of limited ⁸² knowledge is more favorable to "the exercise of original genius." Truth is the great inspirer of the mind. "I do not mean that there is no beauty in poetical language founded on scientific error; that it is not, for instance, consistent with poetry to speak of the rising sun, or the arch of heaven." ⁸³ These sensible images are very pleasing. "From the imperfection of human language, it will, perhaps, always be necessary to describe many things in the material, and still

⁷⁹ Orations, II, 214.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

more in the moral and metaphysical world, under similitudes which fall
⁸⁴
 greatly beneath their reality." He proceeds to quote three passages,
 one each from Shakespeare, Spenser, and Milton, and to show that, con-
 sidering each separately, it is beneath the dignity of the subject in
 the light of present-day knowledge; but, at the same time, these images
 are "poetical and pleasing." Because they are pleasing, they will be
 acceptable in poetry no matter how much science develops.

"But what I maintain is this; that, as knowledge extends, the
 range of all imagery is enlarged, poetical language is drawn from a
 larger circle, and, what is far more important, that the conception
⁸⁵
 kindles by the contemplation of higher objects." Astronomy can fur-
 nish us illustrations of this idea. All the great poets down through
 Milton got their images of the heavens from the same basic concepts
 of astronomy.

"Now, I cannot but think that, when the sublime discoveries of
 modern astronomy shall have become as thoroughly wrought into the
 vocabulary and the intelligence of the community as the humble and
 erroneous conceptions of the ancients, the great and creative minds
⁸⁶
 will derive from them a vastly grander range of poetical illustration"
 By the study of astronomy alone, literature should be greatly ennobled.
 In reference to poetry, this would be more than an exaltation of poetic
 imagery. "The ideas formed of divine wisdom and power, of infinite

⁸⁴ Orations, II, 216.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 217.

space, of stupendous magnitude and force, and of the grandeur and harmony of the material universe, are among the highest materials of thought, and the most prolific elements of poetical conception."⁸⁷ Science will transform the subject matter as well as affect the language symbols.

To illustrate his point, Everett goes back to Paradise Lost, reminding his listeners that in it "there is a struggle between the old and new philosophy. The telescope was known, but had not yet revolutionized the science of astronomy."⁸⁸ He quotes a long passage from the poem and declares that all the imagery in the passage is "borrowed from the lowest order of the wonders unfolded by the telescope."⁸⁹ If Milton could have known more of astronomy, Everett is certain that he would have had even brighter visions of truth. "He would have awaked to a new existence, in the light of such a philosophy."⁹⁰

The sublimity of Milton, however, gives us only glimpses of great truths.⁹¹ "It may be that, at some advanced stage of human science, the contemplative and pious genius will be enabled to lift the veil which now hangs between spirit and sense."⁹² If at some time the mind can

⁸⁷ Orations, II, 217.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 218.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 219.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid., p. 220.

penetrate the "mysterious temple of the Infinite," then all the arts⁹³ and all branches of knowledge "will speak with new voices."

"The greatest of the elevation of the poet's mind, and of the refinement of the age in which he lives, is the distinctness, power,⁹⁴ and purity, with which he conceives the spiritual world." Homer's⁹⁵ poetry does not have "a ray of pure spiritual illumination." The spiritual world of Virgil was not superior but it possessed "a decorum and grace which form the appropriate counterpart of the Homeric grossness."⁹⁶ In Dante we first see the "dawn of a spiritual day" in spite of "the shadows of superstition."⁹⁷ "In 'Paradise Lost' we feel⁹⁸ as if we were admitted to the outer courts of the Infinite." These illustrations show the effect of the progressive development of knowledge and spiritual understanding upon the mind of the poet.

Everett believes in "continued progress in the intellectual world" and as a consequence he looks to some great poem in the future which will do what Milton failed to achieve in Paradise Regained. He said: "Should a poet of loftier muse than Milton hereafter appear, or, to speak more reverently, when the Milton of a better age shall arise, there is yet remaining one subject worthy of his powers, - the counterpart of 'Paradise Lost.' In the conception of this subject by Milton,

⁹³ Orations, II, 220.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 221.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

then mature in the experience of his great poem, we have the highest
 human judgment, that this is the one remaining theme." ⁹⁹ Everett even
 expresses the hope that the time is not far distant when "another
 Milton" will so detach himself from the passions of the world as to
 be able to "address himself to this only remaining theme of a great
 Christian epic." ¹⁰⁰

5. Opinions of Emerson

In the brief and simple reactions of Everett recorded in his
 journal we can see his unfolding opinion of Emerson. On August 8,
 1830, he wrote: "Mr. R. W. Emerson preached all day; in the forenoon
 on Conscience in the afternoon on Gentleness; exceedingly well both
 as to manner and matter." ¹⁰¹ So we begin with full approval as is be-
 fitting between Harvard men.

The next references came in 1837, the year following the publi-
 cation of Emerson's Nature. On February 19: "I finished reading
 Mr. Furness observations on the New Testament and ran over Mr. Emer-
 son's little book called Nature. The rest of the day Botta." ¹⁰² Then
 on March 7: "Mr. R. W. Emerson delivered a lecture on the national
 traits of the English character. After lecture he sat an hour with
 us." ¹⁰³ If Everett was greatly upset or even impressed by anything in

⁹⁹ Orations, II, 223.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 224.

¹⁰¹ Everett Papers 143, journal.

¹⁰² Ibid., 149, journal.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

Nature, he did not take the trouble to make a note of it. It is possible that he was too absorbed in his own career as governor to give much thought to Emerson's little book.

On August 31 he wrote: "At eleven I took the Lt. Gov. to Cambridge to attend the Phi Beta Kappa exercises. The oration by Mr. Waldo Emerson was in the New Platonic Style. After the public exercises we had a pleasant dinner. I gave as a toast after some allusions to Edward and Charles Emerson a compliment to the Orator and his deceased brethren." ¹⁰⁴ The address that Emerson gave this day was "The American Scholar." Apparently no idea in it was worth mention.

But in the next year, 1838, the comments become critical. On July 15 Emerson delivered the famous "Divinity School Address." There now could be no doubt what Emerson thought of traditional religion. On Sunday, August 9, Everett recorded: "Went to church all day. Dr. Parkman preached, and dined with us. Intensely scandalized at Mr. Emerson's course. It appears to me that Mr. Emerson in denying (if he does so) all separate identity destroys all the principles of thinking [,] judging and acting: - all evidence - all experience [,] all moral laws formed upon the observed relations of things." ¹⁰⁵

This time to be sure Emerson's ideas have made an impression. The sweeping philosophical indictment here set down seems like the reaction of an outraged clergyman. While Everett had given up the pulpit as a profession, he still could react like a proper parson.

¹⁰⁴ Everett Papers 150, journal.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 151, journal.

The comments made during the following six weeks are less harsh but still not approving. Sunday, August 12: "Attended church all day. Mr. Waldo Emerson preached, with great ingenuity and beauty, but in a style so wrapped up in mysticism as to be nearly unintelligible." Then on September 2: "Great excitement is produced these days by a discourse delivered by Mr. R. W. Emerson to the graduating class of divinity college entirely in the strain of Carlyle. - It seems to me pure Pantheism or Atheism but in an elevated and tender strain." Finally on September 6: "Stay at home in the morning the first time for several days. At 2 went to Medford to dine with the family. Mr. Brooks and his son and three other sons and daughters with their wives and husbands: - 14. Dr. and Mrs. Palfrey and family took tea with us. The discourse at table was somewhat on Mr. Emerson's late productions which meet with little favor. - They no doubt contain brilliant and profitable thoughts mingled with much unintelligible nonsense." When the conservative and wealthy of Boston gathered, they found the heresy of Emerson's thought something not to be favored. And Governor Everett belonged to the conservative and wealthy.

That Everett believed Emerson denied the essentials of Christianity is evident in two later references. On January 27, 1855, Everett wrote to Mrs. Charles Eames and in the course of the letter

106

Everett Papers 151, journal.

107

Ibid.

108

Ibid.

said: "R. W. Emerson delivered an anti-slavery lecture here this week. He says the reason why the North is so pro-slavery is to be sought in the prevailing skepticism and want of faith! Cool this for a man who gave up the pulpit because he did not believe in the miraculous accounts of Christianity, and has since attained the transcendental height of denying the personality of God." On Sunday, December 23, 1860, Everett wrote in his journal: "Attended church all day; Mr. Ellis officiated. He made an allusion to Mr. R. W. Emerson's late essay on religion, having if I understood him previously alluded to him as a person not believing in a personal God. He spoke of Mr. E. as a "Wise" and kind Gentile. The Psalmist does not accord the epithet wise to him who 'hath said in his heart there is no God.'" ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰

The years definitely brought Everett no understanding of Emerson and his thought. When Everett was asked to speak at the Fiftieth Anniversary of Graduation, held in Harvard Hall on July 17, 1861, he remarked about the growth of an American literature. "Indeed," he said, "of native original literature there was scarce anything sixty years ago." ¹¹¹ Then he went on to mention Harvard's contribution to this development. "The time would fail me for an exhaustive enumeration; but may we not, as sons of Harvard, reflect with honest pride, that, out of eight capital writers of history who have appeared in the United States within the last half-century, taking them in the

¹⁰⁹ Everett Papers 30, box of letters.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 179, journal.

¹¹¹ "Fiftieth Anniversary of Graduation," Orations, IV, 428.

order of their published works, - Irving, Sparks, Prescott, Bancroft, Hildreth, Godwin, Palfrey, and Motley, - . . . six have been sent from
 112
 these halls . . ." Significant in Everett's remarks is the omission of any reference to Emerson, who not only had graduated from Harvard, but had been one of Everett's pupils there.

6. Bryant, the Nestor of American Poets

In 1864 a public tribute to William Cullen Bryant was planned in New York. George Bancroft was a leading spirit in this project, and he invited Everett to attend and participate. Everett could not attend, but on October 25 wrote a letter to Bancroft which was intended to be read at the meeting. The letter said:

I deeply regret that I cannot be with you on the evening of the 5th, to join you in doing honor to the Nestor of our American poets. . . .

Having myself touched the goal of three score years and ten, but a few months earlier than Mr. Bryant, I can, better than some of you youngsters, enter into the sentiment of the tribute which you are paying to him.

I have through life been a great lover of Mr. Bryant's poetry. My admiration of it began in early youth, with his first productions, and is one of the juvenile tastes, which after years and severer habits of thought have confirmed and strengthened.

I particularly enjoy Mr. Bryant's poetry, because I can understand it. It is probably a sign that I am somewhat behind the age, that I have but little relish for elaborate obscurity in literature, of which you find it difficult to study out the meaning, and are not sure that you have hit upon it, at last. This is too much the character of the most popular poetry of the modern English school.

On the contrary, our noble poetical trio, Bryant, Longfellow, and Whittier, are easily intelligible. They touch the finest chords of taste and feeling, but they never strain at effect. This, it seems to me, is the highest merit, in every department of literature, and in poetry it is well called Inspiration. Surprise,

conceit, strange combinations of imagery and expression, may be successfully managed, but it is a merit of an inferior kind. The truly beautiful, pathetic, and sublime, is always simple and natural, and marked by a certain severe unconsciousness of effort. This is the character of Mr. Bryant's poetry. ¹¹³

This letter reflects the Greek scholar in Everett. His giving the title of "Nestor" to Bryant is the orator seeking an apt label. And the statement of esthetic judgment is Greek. "The truly beautiful, pathetic, and sublime, is always simple and natural, and marked by a certain severe unconsciousness of effort." The very adjectives, "beautiful, pathetic, and sublime," reflect the classic standard.

We have already seen that in the case of Hawthorne's Marble Faun and Holmes' Elsie Venner Everett was uneasy when confronted with the efforts to probe into the subconscious and deal with psychological truths. Here the same idea appears in the statement - "I have but little relish for elaborate obscurity in literature." The three American poets who most please him - Bryant, Longfellow, and Whittier - do so because they have the simplicity and directness which is also characteristic of Greek art.

7. Washington Irving

Everett wrote three reviews of Washington Irving's books for the North American Review and gave two short addresses in tribute to him. ¹¹⁴
He considered Irving "the Nestor of the prose-writers of America."

¹¹³ Everett Papers 212, bound volume.

¹¹⁴ Orations, IV, 248.

In these two addresses there are some evaluative opinions of Irving and his work. The Knickerbocker's History of New York was, Everett felt, the happiest work of its kind in our language. "It would seem cynical to subject a work of this kind to an austere commentary . . . But . . . while this kind of humorous writing fits well with the joyous temperament of youth . . . it is still, in my opinion, better adapted for a jeu d'esprit in a magazine than for a work of considerable compass. To travesty an entire history seems to me a mistaken effort of ingenuity . . ."

Everett comments on the often-made comparison between Irving and Addison: ". . . there is no great resemblance between them, except that they both write in a simple, unaffected style, remote from the tiresome stateliness of Johnson and Gibbon." Only as miscellaneous essayists can they be compared, and on this point "Irving exceeds Addison in versatility and range, quite as much as Addison exceeds Irving in the far less important quality of classical tincture; while as a great national historian, our countryman reaped laurels in a field which Addison never entered."

As an historian, Irving "has enriched the literature of the country with two first-class historical works, [the lives of Columbus and Washington] which, . . . are . . . in general interest, second to no contemporary works in that department of literature."

115 Orations, IV, 249.

116 Ibid., p. 251.

117 Ibid., p. 252.

118 Ibid., p. 248.

These comments all taken from a memoriam speech after the death of Irving are of no great moment. Everett's other speech on Irving was at a public celebration of the birthday of Irving, held in New York City, April 3, 1860. In this speech Everett discussed Irving's services in first starting an American literature after the war of independence. "It tended," he said, "to foster a nationality of the purest and noblest kind, - a nationality of mind." By his publication of The Sketch Book Irving had reversed the question, "Who reads an American book?" so that it came to read, "Who does not read an American book?"

In 1822 Everett had a higher opinion of Irving's Knickerbocker's History of New York than he indicated in his later oration already quoted. When reviewing Bracebridge Hall, Everett referred to the previous productions of Irving. Knickerbocker's History was "a book of unwearying pleasantry, which, instead of flashing out as English and American humor is wont, from time to time, with long and dull intervals, is kept up with a true French vivacity from beginning to end; a book which, if it have a fault, has only that of being too pleasant, too sustained a tissue of merriment and ridicule." Irving also wrote in a style of "remarkable chastity" and at a time when our political conflicts with England were arousing her journalists against us.

119 "Birthday of Washington Irving," Orations, IV, 257.

120 Ibid., p. 260

121 "Bracebridge Hall," North American Review, XV (July, 1822).

122 Ibid., pp. 206-7.

Although The Sketch Book was well received in England, Everett felt it was "inferior to the author's earlier writings." The reasons¹²³ for this are the lack of originality and the choice of its subjects.

Everett is not sure how to classify Bracebridge Hall. Because the people who are subjects of most of the sketches bear a relationship to each other and because the wedding is a kind of denouement,¹²⁴ the book might "perhaps, be called a novel in disguise." But since the plot is so subordinate, it is properly classed as a book of essays." . . . as a series of essays and sketches on English rural life and manners, we may venture to put it in comparison with anything else of the kind in English literature, for accuracy and fidelity of observation, for spirit of description, for a certain peculiar sly pleasantry, like the very happiest touches of the Addisonian school,¹²⁵ and for uncommon simplicity and purity of style."

Having delivered himself of this full praise, Everett raises a point of criticism which shows his extreme sensitivity on any matter of national pride. He objects to a statement of Irving's in the preface to the book: "It has been a matter of marvel at least to the European part of my readers, that a man from the wilds of America¹²⁶ should express himself in tolerable English." Everett feels that such a statement implies that even some Americans might hold such an idea. And the fact that America has already produced such literary

¹²³ "Bracebridge Hall," 208.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 209.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Quoted in "Bracebridge Hall," p. 210.

documents as Franklin's letters on electricity, political treatises, and Jefferson's Notes on Virginia is sufficient evidence that no
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 apology, direct or indirect, is needed.

The subject matter of Bracebridge Hall is new to Irving since he has so far appeared as an American writer. Now he appears as "the observer of English life and manners," trying to write like an Englishman. This effort has led, Everett feels, to Irving's missing the opportunity of commenting with sympathy on English life and manners. Irving "should at least have acted on the principle, announced in his preface as that on which his interest in England rested. A well educated American, kindly received in good company in England, and capable of expressing in writing the associations and the emotions, with which he beholds the panorama of a life in many respects new . . . might surely be called upon to produce a work of a strongly marked original character. We know not the individual, who could have done
 128
 it better than Mr. Irving." A true patriot sees his native country in the best perspective when he is abroad. Irving's book would have been much better if he had observed and written about the English as
 129
 a sensitive American.

The separate stories and sketches bring out varied comment. Dolph Heyliger "is of the true Knickerbocker and Rip Van Winkle school, though not equal to the best efforts of the author, in the same

127 "Bracebridge Hall," 210-11.

128 Ibid., pp. 212-13.

129 Ibid., p. 214.

department." ¹³⁰ The use of alchemy in the Student of Salamanca is trite. ¹³¹

In Annette Delarbre, "the description of Annette in her state of madness is quite equal to the best things of the kind, contained in our literature." ¹³² In fact, most of the stories are to be commended as unusually pleasant, "replete with that half suppressed irony and gentle wit, which form the charm of a considerable portion of the Spectator." ¹³³

Thirteen years later Everett next reviewed a book by Irving. In the meantime Irving had published Tales of a Traveller, Life of Columbus, Conquest of Granada, and the Alhambra. The particular book being reviewed this time by Everett was A Tour on the Prairies. Because of the books written since the review of Bracebridge Hall, we are not surprised to find Everett starting with a sweeping judgment. "We regard Washington Irving as the best living writer of English prose. Let those who doubt the correctness of this opinion name his superior. . . . He unites the various qualities of a perfect manner of writing . . . His style is sprightly, pointed, easy, correct, and expressive, without being too studiously guarded against the opposite faults. It is without affectation, parade, or labor." ¹³⁴

In praising Irving for having "a perfect style," Everett does not mean to praise "mere manner." It is not a skillful use of words alone. "Mr. Irving writes well, because he thinks well; because his

¹³⁰ "Bracebridge Hall," 215.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 216.

¹³² Ibid., p. 218.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 222.

¹³⁴ "A Tour on the Prairies," North American Review, XLI (July, 1835), 1.

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ideas are just, clear, and definite." His sentences are not pompous or affected because the man is not. "There is no overloading with ornament, because with the eye of an artist, he sees when he has got
 136
 enough . . ."

In spite of all the praise given to Irving, full justice has not yet been done him, Everett contends. Irving can be easily compared with any English writer of this generation, except Scott. He is the equal of Goldsmith except in poetry and drama, yet he surpasses Goldsmith in history because of his Life of Columbus. Irving has an exceedingly wide range. "From Mr. Irving we have the humors of contemporary politics and every-day life in America, - the traditionary peculiarities of the Dutch founders of New-York, - the nicest shades of the school of English manners of the last century, - the chivalry of the middle ages in Spain, - the glittering visions of Moorish Romance, - a large cycle of sentimental creations founded on the invariable experience, - the pathetic sameness, - of the human heart, - and lastly, the whole unhackneyed freshness of the West . . . This is Mr.
 137
 Irving's range, and in every part of it he is equally at home." In writing history Irving weighs questions "in the scales of a golden criticism." When he writes of long-past events in the Alhambra, the life and color of that time is brought vividly into the present consciousness of the reader.
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135 "A Tour on the Prairies," 3.

136 Ibid.

137 Ibid., pp. 4-5.

138 Ibid., p. 5.

Everett feels it is difficult to classify A Tour on the Prairies.

It cannot be classed as a novel because it lacks a plot, and it is not a romance because the incidents are true. "It is a sort of sentimental journey, a romantic excursion . . ."¹³⁹ This seems a hazy classification, and the further statement of definition does not help much either. Everett calls it "a creation of Mr. Irving's mind," showing¹⁴⁰ what "taste and genius" can do in working with the material of others. To show clearly how wonderfully Irving had improved his material, Everett quotes parallel passages from the Tour and Lieutenant Wheelock's journal.

The writer of genius can transform any material, Everett claims. "No matter how remote the region. With one bound of the imagination, he is there, and his reader with him, at once familiarized and at home. No matter how novel and uncouth the scenery, in a single chapter, it is like the village, where we were born. . . . This is the characteristic of the great masters, - of Shakespeare and Scott, - shared in greater¹⁴¹ or less degree, by every man of genius and taste." And this creative power of the poet or writer does not depend upon "ruined castles and¹⁴² crumbling abbeys" for its inspiration.

Recognizing this power of genius, Everett's deepest wish is that it be applied to American themes. "For ourselves, we wish for nothing so ardently, as that the literature of the country should be the

¹³⁹

"A Tour on the Prairies," 5.

¹⁴⁰

Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁴¹

Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁴²

Ibid.

indigenous growth of the soil; indigenous in its topics, associations and spirit, - not for patriotic reasons merely, but on principles of art and taste."¹⁴³ Irving is now to be thanked, after producing proud sketches of English life, for turning his attention to the prairie and making it "into classical land." And this skilled dealing with an American theme is a chief value of A Tour on the Prairies.

The following year, 1836, Irving published Astoria. Everett was reading it on November 14 and entered the following comment in his journal: "I began upon Irving's Astoria and read through the first volume of it with great pleasure. It is somewhat of an anomalous production. Neither purely historical nor mainly imaginative but something of both. There is a little too much of Geoffrey Crayon in the narrative; while the dry matter of fact at times contrasts too sharply with the ornate execution."¹⁴⁴ This mixed and largely negative reaction is quite in contrast to the lavish commendation of Irving in the review we have just considered.

And the review which Everett did write of Astoria is in decided contrast with that of A Tour on the Prairies.¹⁴⁵ There are no fine generalizations here about the superior merits of Irving's writing. It is almost as if Everett would like to avoid the subject. He starts by characterizing the present age as "the age of plunder" in which the leading nations were attempting to seize new-found lands. This

¹⁴³ "A Tour on the Prairies," 14.

¹⁴⁴ Everett Papers 149, journal.

¹⁴⁵ "Irving's Astoria," North American Review, XLIV (Jan. 1837), 200-37.

has led to many injustices and the enslaving of many people. Chief among the plundering nations is Great Britain. (Everett was not missing an opportunity to express his nationalism.) All this is by way of showing how the United States and England became interested
 146
 in the mouth of the Columbia River. After this lengthy, and at times passionate introduction, Everett begins to tell his readers about the book.

There is only one brief comment on the writing. "The whole work," Everett says, "bears the impress of Mr. Irving's taste. A great variety of somewhat discordant materials is brought into a consistent whole, of which the parts have a due reference to each other; and some sketches of life and traits of humor come fresh from the pen
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 of Geoffrey Crayon." This is damnation by faint praise. The avoidance of reference to Irving's other books and to his literary reputation helps to convey the weight of disappointment which Everett felt about the book. Perhaps the disappointment was increased by the fact that so short a time before he had hailed Irving for turning to an
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 American theme again in writing about the prairies.

146 "Irving's Astoria," 200-3.

147 Ibid., p. 205.

148 How closely Everett related his sense of nationalism with literature may be seen in extracts from a letter about Cooper written on September 23, 1851. It is apparently the only comment of any length about him:

" . . . The works of Mr. Cooper have adorned and elevated our literature. There is nothing more purely American, in the highest sense of the word, than several of them. In his department he is facile princeps. He wrote too much to write every thing equally well; but his abundance flowed out of a full original mind, and his rapidity and variety bespoke a resolute and manly consciousness of power. . . .

"With much about him that was intensely national, we have but one

8. Oratory and Style

Since oratory was the main avenue of expression for Everett, we face a natural question when we wonder what concept he had of the orator. The question may be easy to ask, but there is little material to serve as a direct answer. Everett was a practicing orator, not a dabbler or a teacher. He did not write about rhetoric as his contemporary John Quincy Adams did. In a few scattered remarks, however, we get a slight idea of his theory.

In commenting on Webster's speech of July 4, 1851, at the laying of the corner-stone of the addition to the capitol at Washington, Everett wrote: "It belongs . . . to a species of oratory neither forensic, nor parliamentary, nor academical; and which might perhaps conveniently enough be described by the epithet . . . the patriotic. These addresses are strongly discriminated from the forensic and the parliamentary class of speeches, in being from the nature of the case more elaborately prepared. The public taste in a highly cultivated community would not admit, in a performance of this kind, those

other writer . . . [Washington Irving]. . . as widely known abroad. Many of Cooper's works were not only read at every fireside in England, but were translated into every language of the European continent.

"He owed a part of his inspiration to the magnificent nature which surrounded him: to the lakes, and forests, and Indian traditions, and border life of your great State. It would have been as difficult to create Leatherstocking any where out of New York, or some State closely resembling it, as to create Don Quixote out of Spain. To have trained and possessed Fenimore Cooper will be, - is already, - with justice, one of your greatest boasts."

New York Public Library, Miscellaneous Papers.

marks of extemporaneous execution, which it not only tolerates, but
 admires, in the unpremeditated efforts of the senate and the bar."¹⁴⁹

We might uncharitably say that in claiming there was a type of oratory which could be called patriotic Everett was describing a type to fit his own most effective kind of speech. But such a judgment would be unfair because at least during the early part of the nineteenth century the patriotic or historical address was of social and political significance. Since social necessity will determine the types of speech in a culture, he is here recognizing a type of oratory peculiarly American.

In a general summation of the qualities of Webster's oratory, Everett set forth briefly some key ideas. "The Orator who would do justice to a great theme or a great occasion must thoroughly study and understand the subject . . ."¹⁵⁰ This is a familiar generalization of classic rhetoric which emphasized careful preparation of the speaker. He goes on to say that "if possible" the address should be written down beforehand. "He must entirely possess himself beforehand of the main things which he wishes to say, and then throw himself upon the excitement of the moment and the sympathy of the audience."¹⁵¹ The excitement felt by the speaker in contact with his audience stimulates his memory and "all that the orator has seen, read, heard, or felt" is drawn upon to furnish images and examples for the illustration of

¹⁴⁹ Speeches of Webster, I, 61.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 62.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

his ideas. "The cold and premeditated text will no longer suffice for the glowing thought. The stately, balanced phrase gives place to some abrupt, graphic expression, that rushes unbidden to his¹⁵² lips." Everett felt that the vivid, well-stocked memory was perhaps the greatest asset of the orator; he illustrated this idea by references to Webster. In his own case, the apparently endless supply of references to classical subjects and to history proves the rich stock of material upon which he could draw. We see too that Everett did not feel that advance preparation should be absolute. On the contrary the orator should be able to adapt his speech to a particular audience situation. Such ideas are in the classical rhetorical tradition.

The oration holds a high place in the history and literature of a people, Everett felt. "The political history of a country is, in¹⁵³ a good degree, the history of its eminent men." Taking this premise as a starting-point in a review of Henry Clay's speeches, he argued for the collection and printing of the speeches of our prominent men. (This was nine years before the publication of his own first volume of orations.) The speeches he felt were an integral part of the "action of the age" and would enable people to study and see "the¹⁵⁴ general result of the wondrously complicated political machine."

¹⁵² Speeches of Webster, I, 62.

¹⁵³ "Speeches of Henry Clay," North American Review, XXV (Oct. 1827), 427.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

Modern political conditions have changed the significance of oratory. "We are well aware, that one great reason for the poverty of the parliamentary eloquence of earlier days is to be sought in political causes. There can be no eloquence in discussion, where there is no independence of decision within doors, and no power of public sentiment without. The growth of parliamentary eloquence in England has kept pace with the march of free principles in the country. . . ."¹⁵⁵ The eloquence of Burke shows his knowledge that his speeches, although delivered in Parliament, would be read by a wider audience;¹⁵⁶ they were thus designed to affect public opinion. Two important factors in addition are the improvement in the reporting of speeches and the development of faster printing.¹⁵⁷

This review of Henry Clay's speeches says very little about Clay as an orator. Everett feels that he is "one of the most eminent of American orators."¹⁵⁸ He can find no trace of meticulous advance preparation. Apparently none of Clay's speeches were written down before delivery and there is little evidence of later revision. For these reasons "they contain few single passages likely to be quoted as prominent specimens of oratorical declamation."¹⁵⁹

Some years later Everett reviewed the two volumes of Webster's Speeches and Forensic Arguments. Here we have the same paucity of

¹⁵⁵ "Speeches of Henry Clay," 428.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 429.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 442.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 445.

comment on the oration as a form of literature or on rhetoric. Everett begins with a premise that reflects his strongly optimistic view of life. ". . . such is the present lofty state of civilization, so much mind is in high and constant action, that without going out of the circle of the English language, there is annually laid before the reading world, some one production at least, that may be called classical; something equal to the works of the first class of any age."¹⁶⁰ It is our reverence for antiquity which makes us reluctant to put such a high value on a contemporary production.¹⁶¹

The reader is prepared for the comment on Webster's two volumes. Everett says that "we may gather from it the most satisfactory illustration of the opulence of modern literature, in which treasures like these can make their appearance without being regarded as phenomena."¹⁶² What greater critical tribute from one friend to another than to have the ex-Greek Professor from Harvard attest that his personal friend and political mentor spoke in a vein equal to the best of classic oratory!

Everett evidently feels keenly about the ability of the modern age to produce work of classical quality. "Let us not be mistaken," he continues, "We are not scoffers at the ancients; on the contrary, we are of the humblest, but of the most enthusiastic worshippers at their venerable shrine. But do not let us sacrifice reason and common

¹⁶⁰ "Webster's Speeches," North American Review, XLI (July, 1835), 231.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 232.

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 233.

sense; do not let us vilify the age in which we live; do not let us
 be insensible of the progress of the human mind."¹⁶³ The age helps
 greatly to make the orator since he is a man of talent and ambition
 who is called upon to play some part in public action.¹⁶⁴ Eloquence in
 the British Parliament and the American Congress would be a credit
 to the greatest masters of rhetoric of ancient Greece and Rome.¹⁶⁵
 Some of Webster's speeches equal in quality the best given in the
 British Parliament or delivered by the classic orators of ancient
 times.

Everett's remarks on style are as scanty as those on rhetoric.
 On July 7, 1828, he wrote a letter to the son of a friend, a boy at-
 tending a boarding school in Northampton. In this we see a statement
 of what a basic writing style should be.

My dear William,

I received some time ago your letter of 19th June, and was
 much obliged to you for writing me again so soon. I hardly ex-
 pected it knowing that you cannot have much leisure to write;
 that when you do write you must naturally prefer to write to your
 father and mother; as indeed it is your duty to do; and knowing
 besides all this that boys of your age are not very fond of writ-
 ing. The reason I suppose is that they do not know how to fill
 up their letters; - they think they must make a formal matter of
 it, and they do not know what to say. And yet the same boys, if
 they were in company with a friend instead of having to write to
 him would find no difficulty in talking as fast and as long as
 he would hear them. Now the great beauty of a letter; I mean a
 familiar letter is to have it run along just like the conversa-
 tion of intelligent people; and if boys or men either would write
 as they talk, they would find no difficulty in filling up their
 letters. . . .¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ "Webster's Speeches," 234.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 235.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 239.

¹⁶⁶ Everett Papers 62, letterbook.

This idea of a simple conversational style in letter writing Everett himself practiced all his life. His letters do not have the embellishments or formalisms found in his speeches. This letter is also interesting because, being written in 1828, it shows that Everett then had in mind the value of a natural and simple style.

In 1850 the two volumes of his Orations which had been published up to that time, were reprinted. In writing the "Preface to the Second Edition," he discussed and defended his own style. "In revising the earlier compositions in this collection for the present edition," he writes, "I have applied the pruning-knife freely to the style.

This operation might have been carried still farther with advantage; for I feel them to be still deficient in that simplicity which is the first merit in writings of this class." He goes on to relate that

when he was in college the authors most admired and imitated were Johnson, Gibbon, and Burke. The stately antithesis and magnificent devices of such men easily degenerate in the hands of a youthful admirer.

Everett asks the reader's indulgence for the lack of condensation in the orations. He explains that all the occasions for the speeches were of "a popular character." A terse expression is necessary for the "graver business occasions of life."

167 Orations, I, vii.

168 Ibid.

169 Ibid., viii.

Everett undertakes to defend himself against the charge of being "too strongly eulogistic" in his patriotic speeches. "On this point I can only plead that every thing said by me, to which this objection may be supposed to apply, has been said in good faith." He lists the reasons leading him to this position as: his five years' residence in Europe, especially his travels in Greece; the renewed force of the old regime in Italy, France and Germany; and still doubtful acceptance in England of liberal ideals and principles; the "tone of unfriendliness and disparagement towards the United States" found then in leading literary and political journals. The editorship of the North American Review had placed Everett in the position of champion.

"Traces of this may be found in some of the addresses contained in the present collection. In reference to great principles, I do not find that the feelings under which I wrote, heightened as they were by the ardor of youth, led me to maintain opinions which, after the lapse of twenty-five eventful years, require to be qualified. But I am free to confess, that there is occasionally an exaggerated nationality in the tone with which principles, correct in themselves, are stated, which does not now appear to me in the best taste."

These varied comments on literature and on oratory show a reluctance to form any theories. They show, too, a great dependence upon the past. The poetic masters are those of eighteenth century English

¹⁷⁰ Orations, I, viii.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., pp. viii - ix.

¹⁷² Ibid., p. ix.

literature, plus of course Shakespeare. The standards of oratory are those of the ancients. Everett's mind is definitely set on the past. What the older writers said and did is the standard of good taste. For a person who talked continually about being a literary man, Everett not only failed to produce any significant work of literature but he failed even to produce a significant body of literary comment.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHAMPION OF EDUCATION

Elias Nason claimed that when Everett returned from his studies and travels in Europe he "was doubtless then [1819]¹ the most accomplished Greek as well as general scholar in America." This scholarship Everett fed through the following years by constant and omnivorous reading. It never, however, found expression in a single substantial undertaking in history or literature. Instead, it was expressed in diverse ways according to the various careers Everett followed.

There are but two ideas which Everett championed - the sentiment of Union, and the value of education to a republic. He preached the values of education from one part of the country to the other, over a period of many years. Out of 186 orations in the four volumes of his collected works, thirty-five concern education in some way. A study of the titles shows that Everett was not reluctant to speak briefly at a school exhibition or the presentation of prizes.

Directly, as governor of Massachusetts, Everett helped establish the first state Board of Education. Indirectly, as editor of the North American Review, as lyceum speaker, and as a moving spirit in establishing the Boston Public Library, he aided the growth of education.

¹ Address before Massachusetts Genealogical Society Jan. 30, 1865, found in In Memoriam, a Society publication (Boston, 1865), p. 59.

1. Developments in American Education

In the period of the four decades preceding the Civil War the development of education in the United States was very uneven. Tradition had built up the idea that all children should learn how to read and write. But the idea of free public education was not accepted. Historians of education claim that "In all parts of the country, even in those areas where tax support was permitted, the public schools were a reproach to the democracy which fostered them."²

In New England there were more opportunities for elementary and secondary education than in other parts of the country. Academies had their widest popularity in this region. The old Latin and grammar schools had been in existence for over two hundred years. In 1827 Massachusetts had passed a law requiring towns of five hundred or more families to establish high schools.

College education was generally poor in quality. In 1830, most colleges still adhered to the original purpose of preparing clergymen. The foundation subjects were Latin, Greek, and mathematics, but science and literature began to appear in the curriculum. This meant the curtailment of logic and theology, which in turn led to the establishing of theological seminaries. During this period professional schools in law and medicine made their appearance.³

² Newton Edwards and Herman G. Richey, The School in the American Social Order (Boston, 1947), p. 323.

³ Ibid., pp. 326-7.

Carl Russell Fish claims that the chief developments in this period were two. "First came the acceptance by the community of its responsibility to educate its children by taxation, a position which it reached by stages, rising from acceptance of the responsibility for those whose parents could not afford it, and finally attaining the view that it was desirable to extend tax-supported education to all. Secondly, the principle of compulsion was applied to education, which involved two quite different conceptions; the one, that every community should offer such opportunities, the other, that every child must be made to take advantage of them, so as to conserve the public safety." Various speeches of Everett's, as we shall see, aided the development of both these ideas in the public mind.

This was an easy time to impress on the general public "the spurious brilliancy of an educational veneer" and the prestige of education was very high. Education was considered the key to success and tremendous importance was placed upon it. This notion perhaps explains the note of almost-veneration which constantly crept into the newspaper praise of Everett.

Proof of the widespread belief in the efficacy of education may be found in a report of workingmen in Philadelphia in 1830. They passed a resolution saying: "that there can be no real liberty without a wide diffusion of real intelligence; that the members of a republic, should all be alike instructed in the nature and character

of their equal rights and duties, as human beings, and as citizens;
 . . . that until means of equal instruction shall be equally secured
 to all, liberty is but an unmeaning word, and equality an empty shadow.⁵

The educational use of libraries had not yet been realized. Most colleges had them, but only a few had them in separate buildings. Scientific equipment was generally meager. Once in 1848 and once in 1849 Everett appeared before the committee on education of the Massachusetts Legislature to plead for financial help for Harvard, Amherst, and Williams. One of the points for which Everett asserted the three colleges needed money was "the procuring of apparatus in the various scientific departments, the increase of the mineralogical and other scientific cabinets and collections, and the completion of the set of instruments required at the observatory."⁶

The growing professional spirit also affected teachers. Fish declares that when Horace Mann, as secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, began to issue annual reports, "his first attempt was to improve, or rather create, the teaching profession."⁷ Everett was proud of the selection of Mann as the first secretary of the Board established while he was governor, and he wrote the introductions to the first few reports Mann wrote.

⁵ Quoted in Fish, p. 212.

⁶ "Aid to the Colleges," Orations, II, 544.

⁷ p. 220.

Briefly, then, the period of Everett's public life was a turbulent one for American education. The battle for tax-supported, free public schools was being fought by states and with varying degrees of success. Education was widely admired and considered a foundation for citizenship. Science was beginning to be studied in the colleges. The trend toward professional training began to affect the preparation of teachers. On all these Everett had something to say.

2. The Wide Diffusion of Knowledge

In 1835, speaking at Amherst College, Everett commented that "the multiplication of the means of education and the general diffusion of knowledge at the present day, are topics of universal remark."⁸ He proceeded to mention the means by which knowledge was disseminated as colleges; schools of theology, medicine, and law; preparatory and elementary schools; societies for promoting knowledge; institutes, lyceums, lecture courses; and the press, cheap books, and periodicals.⁹ A modern scholar, Merle Curti, in discussing "The Popularization of Knowledge," produces a very similar analysis of the means for diffusing knowledge at that period.¹⁰

"There is probably not a newspaper of any character published in the United States," Everett said, "which does not in the course of the year, convey more useful information to its readers than is

⁸ "Education Favorable to Liberty," Orations, I, 600.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ See Chapter XIV, The Growth of American Thought (New York, 1943).

to be found in the twenty-one folios of Albertus Magnus, light as he was of the thirteenth century. I class all these agencies under the general name of the means of education, because they form one grand system by which knowledge is imparted to the mass of the community, and the mind of the age . . . is instructed, disciplined, and furnish-¹¹ed with its materials for action and thought."

Everett is perfectly willing to admit that these media for communicating ideas result in an age of "cheap fame." In fact, all these means for circulating ideas are "a sort of literary machinery" by which¹² an idea may be given notoriety "miscalled reputation." However, the conditions should not lead to discouragement about the advancement of real knowledge and scholarship. ". . . at the present day, I am firmly convinced that there is more patient learning, true philosophy,¹³ fruitful science, and various knowledge, than at any former time." In all questions concerning education Everett's sympathies seemed to flow in a democratic direction. The autocratic type of mind might deplore the popularization of knowledge, but Everett would respond: "I deem it mere popular prejudice to suppose that the march of original genius to the heights of learning has been impeded by the posses-¹⁴sion of these modern facilities to aid its progress."

¹¹ Orations, I, 601.

¹² Ibid., p. 610.

¹³ Ibid., p. 612.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 613.

Enterprising publishers helped the popularization of knowledge by the publication of literary annuals or gift books. One of these literary annuals was called The Boston Book, and in it appeared some of Everett's short stories and essays, among them the humorous essay¹⁵ entitled "On Shaking Hands." In this same class was the little gift book containing brief selections from his orations and entitled Beau-¹⁶
ties of Everett.

This was the period when mechanics' institutes and societies for the diffusion of knowledge were being formed.

Many American men of property generously responded to the movement for the popularization of knowledge through voluntary organizations of mechanics and apprentices. The fast-disintegrating apprenticeship system no longer provided adequate surveillance for young employees in the larger cities, and mercantile and mechanics' libraries and institutes seemed all the more necessary if young men in countinghouses and other business establishments were to be kept off the streets and away from taverns of evenings and encouraged to acquire practical tools for more effective work, the road to business success and the formula for becoming self-made men.¹⁷

On November 17, 1829, Everett spoke before the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in Boston on "The Boyhood and Youth of Franklin."¹⁸ The theme of the lecture is that Franklin rose to fame and fortune by a pattern of hard work which anyone can emulate. Another of his lectures delivered several times for such societies was called "Importance of Scientific Knowledge to Practical Men, and the¹⁹
Encouragements to Its Pursuit."

¹⁵ The Boston Book, 1837 (Boston, 1837), pp. 343-8.

¹⁶ Boston, 1839.

¹⁷ Curti, p. 350.

¹⁸ Orations, II, 1-47.

¹⁹ Orations, I, 246-83.

While many business men would aid such societies and a man like John Lowell would establish the Lowell Institute and heavily endow it so that annual lecture courses could be given in Boston at a modest fee, yet some argued that education is a family matter. Men of wealth would claim that the lack of education of the poor was due to their own shiftlessness. But not all men of property opposed popular education. And Everett, who served as spokesman for New England industrialists, advocated general education on moral and political grounds.

During this period libraries for the people were being established. The breakdown of the old apprentice system, with its many rigidities, and the spread "of the philosophy of the diffusion of knowledge" were among the factors which led to the establishment of apprentices' libraries in various cities. Everett contributed much to the creation and early development of the now famous Boston Public Library.
20

According to Curti, "What the mechanics' and merchants' libraries and institutes did for the urban lower middle classes, the lyceum accomplished for the population as a whole in towns and cities and, of particular importance, for the plain men and women in villages and farming communities. These mutual improvement associations assembled books, conducted forums on a wide variety of non-controversial subjects, and supported the movement for improved common schools." In
21

²⁰ Frothingham, pp. 363-5.

²¹ p. 365.

actual practice the lyceums established the first system of adult
²²
 education in America.

Such a movement helped to rally support for public schools. The resulting increasing interest in education brought increased prestige to common-school teachers. "As early as 1828 the lyceum began advocating county and State boards of education and the county and State lyceums functioned weakly in that capacity. They were not efficient, nor in any way well organized, but they did function and did widely spread the idea. Edward Everett, who was Governor of Massachusetts at the time of the creation of the board of education, had been a vice president of the national lyceum organization since its
²³
 formation." The American Lyceum met annually from 1831 to 1839.

Each year Everett was elected one of the vice-presidents, the only
²⁴
 officer to be elected each time the American Lyceum met. Everett spoke rather frequently under lyceum auspices in and around Boston. On September 10, 1832, he recorded his impression of one such audience: "I delivered the same lecture [in Waltham, Mass.] which I prepared for the Franklin Course last fall. The hall was crowded and the audience, consisting principally of young men and women from the
²⁵
 factories, very attentive."

Everett also aided in the spread of popular agricultural education. He spoke frequently at cattle shows and agricultural exhibitions.

²² Cecil B. Hayes, The American Lyceum, Its History and Contribution to Education, U.S. Office of Education Bulletin No. 12 (Washington, 1932), p. 35.

²³ Ibid., p. 47.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 16-17.

²⁵ Everett Papers 145, journal.

To such gatherings he gave addresses of high intellectual quality, drawing freely upon his knowledge of history, and comparing the agricultural conditions of America with those of England and Europe - as in the address entitled "Agriculture" which he gave on October 16,²⁶ 1833, before the Massachusetts Agricultural Society at Brighton.

Everett declared that the holding of cattle shows has greatly improved agriculture in the United States. "The cultivators of the soil are now brought together. Their agricultural improvements, their superior animals, their implements of husbandry, the products of their farms, their methods of cultivation, are all subjects of inquiry, comparison, and excitement. . . . Increased prosperity begins to show itself, as the reward of increased skill and knowledge; and thus the condition of the husbandman is rendered more comfortable and honorable."²⁷

Everett's newspaper and magazine articles also aided the popularization of knowledge. As we previously pointed out, he was the first successful editor of the North American Review. He helped the United States attain a first-class critical review. During his political career in the 1820's and 1830's he contributed many anonymous political articles to the newspapers, thus participating in the fervent political discussions of the time. Then, later, just prior to the outbreak of the Civil War, Everett began open journalistic efforts, some of his articles in the Mount Vernon Papers series being of a popular cultural variety.

²⁶ Orations, I, 442-53.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 442.

3. Value of Education in a Republic

On August 20, 1833, Everett spoke before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Yale on the subject "The Education of Mankind."²⁸ This address not only shows the idealistic approach he had to education but is a fine illustration of how Everett used his knowledge of history to draw parallels to clarify a subject.

After remarking on the past close relations between Yale and his own beloved Harvard, Everett speaks warmly of the advantages of these annual Phi Beta Kappa meetings. "The preparation for an occasion like this," he says, "is in the heart, not in the head; it is in the attachments formed, and the feelings inspired, in the bright morning of life."²⁹

He then speaks of the conditions of former times when education was the exclusive privilege of a "learned class" who were given a training that insulated them from the rest of the community and gave them a monopoly of the positions of service in church and state.³⁰ "I admit," he continues, "that there was something generous and liberal in education, even in this conception of its objects; something popular, and, if I may so express it, republican, in the educated class, even at the darkest period. Learning, even in its most futile and scholastic forms, was still an affair of the mind. It was not, like hereditary rank, mere physical accident; it was not, like military

²⁸ Orations, I, 404-42.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 406.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

power, mere physical force. It gave an intellectual influence, derived from intellectual superiority; and it enabled some minds, even in the darkest ages of European history, to rise from obscurity and poverty to be the lights and guides of mankind.³¹ He gives three examples of men who were able under the old conditions of a learned class, to rise from poverty to a position where they could be the "guides of mankind" - Bede, Alcuin, and Roger Bacon.³²

It is not sufficient, however, for us to admit this good in the old system, Everett feels. We must still recognize that formerly education did not touch the great mass of men. "It was the training of a privileged class; and was far too exclusively the instrument by which one of the favored orders of society was enabled to exercise a tyrannical and exclusive control over the millions which lay wrapped in ignorance and superstition. It is the great glory of the age in which we live, that learning, once the instrument of this bondage, has become the instrument of reform; that, instead of an educated class, we have made some good approach to an educated community."³³

Having taken this general position favoring education as an instrument of reform, he then approaches the question of the general objects of education. He comes to this question from an interesting point of view. He speaks of the passing of generations, the inexorable changes in human life by which the individuals carrying on all

³¹ Orations, I, 407.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

the affairs of human life are, one by one, replaced in the course of a general thirty year period. "But this great revolution, which prostrates, not one man, nor one family, in a single nation, but every man, in every family, throughout the world; which bids an entire new congregation of men to start into existence and action; which fills with new incumbents, not one blood-stained seat of royalty, but every post of active duty . . . steals on us silently and gradually, like all the primordial operations of Providence . . ."

The impending revolution is "so much the more momentous for the gradual nature of the process." If the change were abrupt, we could only have a speculative interest as to what would be the inheritance of our successors. But it is "the law of our nature" that the generations be closely interrelated and the changes between them be gradual. If public duties are neglected, retribution rarely fails to overtake the individuals or communities responsible. "But this revolution, growing out of the constitution of our nature, points out the business of education as the duty and calling of man, precisely because it is not the work of violent hands, but the law of our being." It is our children who will soon supersede us and who must by replacing us, carry forward this natural revolution. Education is the natural substitute for revolutions by violence which come when "corruption has attained a height beyond the reach of ordinary influences."

³⁴ Orations, I, 409.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 410.

³⁷ Ibid.

Education, then, finds its true basis in natural affection.

"When the subject is pursued to its last analysis, we find that education, in its most comprehensive form, - the general training and preparation of our successors, - is the great errand which we have to execute in the world."³⁸ This is an exceedingly difficult task.

Everett easily admits the difficulties and goes on to state the scope of his thinking. "Considered as brethren of the human race, it looks, of course, to the education of all mankind."³⁹

He urges a specific consideration of what this immediately means in the United States. He points out the probable growth of the country in geographic extent and population in the course of another generation. "The wealth of the country will increase still more rapidly; and all the springs of social life, which capital moves, will, of course, increase in power; and a much more intense condition of existence will be the result."⁴⁰

The problem is complicated by the fact that knowledge should not be merely transmitted as received. We are not like the doves who build their nests as the dove did who came out of the Ark. Instead, "we are to apply the innumerable discoveries, inventions, and improvements, which have been successively made in the world, - and never more than of late years, - and combine and elaborate them into one grand system of condensed efficacy and quickened vitality, in forming and bringing forward our successors."⁴¹

³⁸ Orations, I, 411.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 412.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 413.

In answer to the question, how much change can education hope to accomplish, Everett takes a democratic position. "We can make this inquiry on no other assumed basis than that of the natural average equality of all men, as rational and improvable beings. I do not mean that all men are created with a physical and intellectual constitution capable of attaining, with the same opportunities, the same degree of improvement. I cannot assert that, nor would I willingly undertake to disprove it. I leave it aside; and suppose, that, on an average, men are born with equal capacities."⁴²

To prove the reasonableness of this view, Everett takes examples from two extremes. He describes the appearance and brutishness of "the most degraded savage" who is almost completely devoid of arts and principally passes on the skills of sheer survival. But, Everett says, the savage has "hidden under those brutal manners and vices, at once disgusting and abominable, a portion of the intellectual principle which likens man to his Maker."⁴³ The other example Everett gives is that of an "enlightened European or American" who sails into an area inhabited by such savages. He describes all the products of education which the European has inherited through education and which would, under such conditions, sharply differentiate him from the native. " . . . will it be deemed extravagant, if I say that there is a greater difference between the educated child of civilized life and the most degraded savage, than between that savage and the orang outang? And yet the savage was born a rational being, like the

⁴² Oration, I, 414.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 415.

European and American; and the civilized European and American entered life, like the savage, a helpless, wailing babe. This, then,⁴⁴ is the difference made by education."

It takes hundreds of generations to accumulate the knowledge we possess, yet it can be mastered in a few years. "Men are born rich,⁴⁵ but not learned." Education must give this inheritance to the infant genius. And when we consider the great power of education, we are led to the conclusion that it is far more an act of the learner than an act of the teacher. ". . . the learner, by the native power of apprehension, judiciously trained and wisely disciplined, beholds, comprehends, and appropriates what is set before him, in form and order; and not only so, but, with the first quickenings of the intellect,⁴⁶ commences himself the creative and inventive processes." The inventive and adaptive power of the student helps account for the simultaneous acts of discovery and invention in art and science, for "the laws of the human mind are so sure and regular, that it is not an uncommon thing for different persons, in different countries, to fall into the same train of reflection and thought, and to come to results and discoveries which, injuriously limiting the creative powers of the intellect, we are ready to ascribe to imitation or plagiarism."⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Orations, I, 417.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 418.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 419.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 420.

Education on a large scale is a mutual work. "Man has three teachers - the schoolmaster, himself, his neighbor. The instructions of the first two commence together; and long after the functions of the first two have been discharged, the duties of the last two go on together."⁴⁸ School and college can only give us the foundation for self-instruction. The nature of the human mind is the factor which makes for change, progress, and improvement. "A hint, a proposition, an inquiry, proceeding from one mind, awakens new trains of thought in a kindred mind, surveying the subject from another point of view . . . and thus truth is constantly multiplied and propagated by the mutual action and reaction of the thousands engaged in its pursuit."⁴⁹

Everett sees a distinct difference between mechanical forces and intellectual forces. When mechanical forces are put into operation, they grow slowly fainter until they wear out. On the contrary, when intellectual energy is wisely exerted, "its exercise, instead of exhausting, increases its strength; and not only this, but, as it moves onward from mind to mind, it awakens each to the same sympathetic, self-propagating action. The circle spreads in every direction. Diversity of language does not check the spread of the great instructor."⁵⁰ Here Everett shows the scope of his reading of history and of his thinking about the forces that mould civilization. He

⁴⁸ Orations, I, 420.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 421.

sees all human beings united in intellectual potential. The ability of the human mind to respond to truth unites the generations and breaks the barriers of geography and of time itself.

The present age is enlightened, and civilization has advanced to a high point. "But upon the whole, it must be admitted, that about two thirds of mankind are without the pale of civilization, as we understand it; and of these a large portion are pagan savages, or the slaves of the most odious and oppressive despotisms."⁵¹ And when we look at civilization, or what we call civilization, we see much that could be improved. "The broad mantle of civilization, like that of charity, covers much which, separately viewed, could claim no title to the name."⁵² Everett gives specific examples of conditions in civilized countries which should be removed. In northern Europe peasants are still attached like property to the ground they cultivate. In middle and western Europe the laboring classes have little opportunity to improve their minds. "We know that they pass their lives in labor of the most unremitted character, from which they derive nothing but the means of a most scanty support; constantly relapsing into want at the slightest reverse of fortune, or on the occurrence of the first severe casualty."⁵³ In the great cities of Europe most of the population is "profoundly ignorant with miserably poor, and no small part of it sunk in the depths of want and vice."⁵⁴

⁵¹ Orations, I, 422.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 423.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

The two extremes of culture and education dwell together in the same cities. "If a man wished to explore the very abyss of human degradation . . . He would need only to take a ten steps' walk from Westminster Abbey or the Tuileries, to strike off for half a quarter of a mile in almost any direction from the very focus of all that is elegant and refined . . . in London or Paris."⁵⁵ To these conditions we may add consideration of those parts of the world where civilization has gone backward. All around the shores of the Mediterranean we find the remnants of a great past.⁵⁶

Everett declares that this whole melancholy picture does not discourage him. "I am willing to own myself an enthusiast; and all I ask is, that men will have the courage to follow the light of general principles, and patience for great effects to flow from mighty causes."⁵⁷ We must not be perplexed by apparent exceptions to these great principles of education. Great advances frequently cannot be completed in a lifetime but the combined forces of "humanity, religion, national character, literature, and the influence of the arts" acting over a long period of time bring great results. "The experience of one short life can teach nothing but despair."⁵⁸

Everett feels that optimism about the present and future has a firm basis.

⁵⁵ Orations, I, 423.

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 424-5.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 425.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

We have now in our possession three instruments of civilization unknown to antiquity, of power separately to work almost any miracle of improvement, and the united force of which is adequate to the achievement of any thing not morally and physically impossible. These are, the art of printing, a sort of mechanical magic for the diffusion of knowledge; free representative government, a perpetual regulator and equalizer of human affairs, the inequalities of which are the great scourge of society; and, lastly, a pure and spiritual religion, the deep fountain of generous enthusiasm, the mighty spring of bold and lofty designs, the great sanctuary of moral power. The want of one or all of these satisfactorily explains the vicissitudes of the ancient civilization; and the possession of them all as satisfactorily assures the permanence of that which has been for some centuries, and is now, going on, and warrants the success of the great work of educating the world. 59

None of the civilizations of the past - the Greek, the Phoenician, the Egyptian - were able to disseminate knowledge widely or transmit it thoroughly. "No one thinks that the powerful and prosperous nations which flourished for two thousand years, on the Nile and the Euphrates, were destitute of heroes, patriots, and statesmen. But, for want of popular literature, their merits and fame did not, at the time, incorporate themselves with the popular character." 60 As to the present, the recent successful revolt in Greece is very important in the extension of civilization. Everett even ventures to commit himself on the future by saying that "it seems to me that political causes are in operation, destined at no very distant period to throw open the whole domain of ancient improvement to the great modern instruments of national education - the press, free government, and the Christian faith." 61

59 Orations, I, 426.

60 *Ibid.*, p. 427.

61 *Ibid.*, p. 431.

In a paragraph which is much like a statement of faith, Everett summarizes his belief in the project of educating mankind.

For myself, I see nothing to put this great work beyond hope. The causes are adequate to its achievement, the times are propitious, the indications are significant; and the work to be done, though great, indeed, is not, in itself, chimerical or extravagant. What is it? To teach those who have eyes to see; to pour instruction into the ears open to receive it; to aid rational minds to think; to kindle immortal souls to a consciousness of their faculties; to cooperate with the strong and irrepressible tendency of our natures; to raise out of barbarity and stupidity men who belong to the same race of beings as Newton and Locke, as Shakespeare and Milton, as Franklin and Washington. Let others doubt the possibility of doing it; I cannot conceive the possibility of its remaining eventually undone. The difficulty of civilizing Asia and Africa? I am more struck with the difficulty of keeping them barbarous. When I think what man is, in his powers and improvable capacities; when I reflect on the principles of education, as I have already attempted, in this address, to develop them, - my wonder is at the condition to which man is sunk, and, with which he is content, and not at any project or prophecy of his elevation. ⁶²

In 1835, on August 25, Everett spoke before the literary societies at Amherst College on the subject "Education Favorable to Liberty, Morals, and Knowledge." In his opening remarks, he said, "We must seek to reduce to an exact analysis the great doctrine, that the extension of the means of education and the general diffusion of knowledge are beneficial to society." ⁶³

This is necessary because education is the foundation of liberty, science, and virtue. He explains that "everything else is so worthless when liberty is taken away, that its preservation may be considered, humanly speaking, the great object of life in civilized

⁶² Orations, I, 434.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 602.

communities." And liberty Everett defines as "legal security for
 life, personal freedom, and property."

A wide diffusion of knowledge aids liberty "by disabusing the
 minds of men of the theoretical frauds, by which arbitrary governments
 are upheld. It is a remark almost, if not quite, without exception,
 that all governments unfriendly to well-regulated liberty are founded
 on the basis of some religious imposture; the arm of military violence
 is clothed with the enervating terrors of superstition." This sounds
 like an echo of the revolutionary ideas of the eighteenth century.
 The diffusion of knowledge destroys superstitions, "and governments
 are brought down to their only safe and just basis - the welfare and
 consent of the governed. The entire cause of modern political reform
 has started with the establishment of this principle . . ."

The great example given by Everett of the destruction of super-
 stition by the diffusion of knowledge is the reformation. "In the
 solemn loneliness in which Luther found himself," Everett says, "he
 called around him not so much the masters of the Greek and Latin wis-
 dom, through the study of the ancient languages, as he did the mass
 of his own countrymen, by his translation of the Bible." There can
 be no successful revolutionary change in a country unless the people

⁶⁴ Orations, I, 602.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 603.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 604.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 605.

enjoy easy access to knowledge. "While the mass of the people remain ignorant, to undermine the system of oppression, political or ecclesiastical, under which, at any time, they may labor, is but to stagger darkling from one tyranny to another."⁶⁹

The immediate cause of political slavery may be force of some sort, usually military. But if we look back of that force, we find "that fatal inequality which results from hereditary ignorance.⁷⁰ This is the ultimate and solid foundation of despotism." Arbitrary power, however, is not the only danger to which liberty is exposed. "That popular intelligence, by which the acquisition of rational freedom is to be made, is still more necessary to protect it against anarchy. Here is the great test of a people, that deserve their freedom. . . . [because] under a free government, there is nothing⁷¹ but the intelligence of the people to keep the people's peace."

Everett's statement which follows anticipates by more than a quarter century Lincoln's apostrophe to American democracy as "the last best hope of earth." Everett said: "To no people, since the world began, was such an amount of blessings and privileges ever given in trust. No people was ever so eminently made the guardians of their own rights; and if this great experiment of rational liberty should here be permitted to fail, I know not where or when among the sons of Adam it will ever be resumed."⁷²

⁶⁹ Orations, I, 607.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 609.

⁷² Ibid.

The dissemination of knowledge aids the development of science. A new truth, when first stated, may be understood and appreciated by only a few minds. But a process is started which has widespread results. A new truth "corrects former systems, and authorizes new generalizations. Discussion and controversy begin; more truth is elicited, more errors exploded, more doubts cleared up, more phenomena drawn into the circle, unexpected connections of science traced . . ."⁷³ As this process continues, more and more people are prepared to carry on some branch of investigation. When we consider, then, how minds interact, and appreciate the "laws" of the mind, "we must see that it is the necessary consequence of the general extension of education⁷⁴ that it should promote the progress of science."

Speaking on another occasion, Everett said there were two general ways in which systems of education had come to be established. One method was by "after-thought." This happened when a community grew populous and powerful - "an immense body of unenlightened peasants, artisans, traders, soldiers, subjected to a small privileged class" which in turn "let learning creep in with luxury; be itself esteemed a luxury . . ."⁷⁵ The other method he proudly called "the New England system." He declared that this meant making education

⁷³ Orations, I, 613.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 616.

⁷⁵ "Education in the Western States," Orations, I, 344.

a corner-stone of the commonwealth, "to make the care of the mind, from the outset, a part of its public economy; the growth of knowledge, a portion of its public wealth."⁷⁶

In 1848 Everett spoke at the dedication of the Cambridge High School. He reminisced about the superficial instruction of the schools during his youth. "A little reading, writing, and ciphering, a very little grammar, and for those destined for college a little Latin and Greek, very indifferently taught, were all we got at a common town school in my day."⁷⁷ Everett deplored the fact that in some "modern schools" there was a tendency to undervalue what he called the "elements." He described what he felt was the basis of a sound education.

I hold, sir, that to read the English language well, that is, with intelligence, feeling, spirit, and effect; to write, with dispatch, a neat, handsome, legible hand, (for it is, after all, a great object of writing to have others able to read what you write;) and to be master of the four rules of arithmetic, so as to dispose at once with accuracy of every question of figures which comes up in practical life, - I say I call this a good education; and if you add the ability to write pure grammatical English, with the help of very few hard words, I regard it as an excellent education. These are the tools. You can do much with them, but you are helpless without them. They are the foundation . . .⁷⁸

This sounds like the basic education for an orator or public speaker when we consider reading English with "feeling, spirit, and effect." With the general spirit of this statement, however, we can have little quarrel. It would be difficult to show that these "tools" are not the foundation of an education.

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Orations, I, 345.

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"The Cambridge High School," Orations, II, 600.

⁷⁸

Ibid., p. 601.

At a county common school convention held at Taunton, Massachusetts, in 1838, Everett discussed the "Importance of Education in a Republic" and he presented six essential ways in which education prepared for the duties of citizenship. The practical tone of this oration is in marked contrast to the philosophic basis for education which he discussed in the Phi Beta Kappa address.

Under a system of government where the people are actually called upon to constitute and administer the government "education is universally and indispensably necessary, to enable them ⁷⁹ [the citizens] to exercise their rights and perform their duties." Everett proceeds to consider the ways in which education prepares citizens.

First, citizens must from time to time exercise their right of suffrage by voting. "This duty cannot be discharged with rectitude, ⁸⁰ unless it be discharged with intelligence . . ." Unless a citizen wants to be "the slave of a party," he must learn to make up his own mind on great public questions "or he cannot exercise the right of suffrage ⁸¹ with intelligence and independence." Everett feels strongly about the independent-mindedness of the voter. He says that

. . . While the constitution necessarily gives as much weight to the vote of the uninformed and ignorant as to that of the well-instructed and intelligent citizen, it is plain that the avenues of information should be as wide and numerous as possible; and that the utmost practical extension should be given to a system of education which will confer on every citizen the capacity of

⁷⁹ Orations, II, 316.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 317.

deriving knowledge, with readiness and accuracy, from books and documents. The whole energy of the state should be directed to multiply the numbers of those capable of forming an independent and rational judgment of their own, and to diminish as much as possible the numbers of the opposite class, who, being blinded by ignorance, are at the mercy of any one who has an interest and skill to delude them. ⁸²

Everett was governor of Massachusetts when he made this speech, so we can appreciate how free from pettiness he was as we read over this objective of education as training voters to exercise independent judgment.

The second duty of education in preparing the citizen concerns the obligation that citizens bear arms in defense of the country. If we may judge from the past, the time will come when this will be necessary. "It will not then be a matter of indifference whether the honor and peace of the community are committed to an ignorant and benighted multitude, like those which swell the ranks of the mercenary standing armies of Europe, or to an educated and intelligent population, whose powers of reflection have been strengthened by exercise, and who are able to discriminate between constitutional liberty and arbitrary power on the one hand, and anarchy on the other." ⁸³

The third thing education should do is prepare the citizen for jury duty. This is a very serious duty, since twelve citizens hold decisions of character, property, life, and death. "It appears to me," he explains, "a most imperative duty, on the part of a state which

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Orations, II, 317.

⁸³

Ibid., p. 318.

calls its citizens to discharge this momentous office, to do all in
⁸⁴
 its power to qualify them by a general system of education."

Fourth, education is needed to prepare citizens to fill the many various elective offices of the government. Some of these local offices are very small, but taken together with the large ones they make up the system of administration under a free government. In consideration of this problem, Everett sets out the logical alternatives. "There are three courses, between which we must choose. We must have officers unqualified for their duties; or we must educate a privileged class, to monopolize the honors and emoluments of place; or we must establish such a system of general education, as will furnish a supply of well-informed, intelligent, and respectable citizens, in every part of the country and in every walk of life, capable of
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 discharging the trusts which the people may devolve upon them."

The fifth thing we should expect of education grows out of the condition of our country. Individual enterprise is finding more and more outlets and this naturally leads to the acquisition of wealth. "In this I find no matter of reproach; only let it not be a merely Carthaginian prosperity," Everett says. "Let a taste for reading and reflection be cultivated, as well as property acquired. Let us give our children the keys of knowledge, as well as an establishment
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 in business." And then Everett adds, as if he were particularly

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Orations, II, 319.

⁸⁵

Ibid., p. 320.

⁸⁶

Ibid.

disturbed at the idea of the uneducated wealthy, "A mere book-worm is a worthless character; but a mere money-getter is no better. It is a great mistake, to suppose that it is necessary to be a professional man, in order to have leisure to indulge a taste for reading."⁸⁷

The sixth and final point is that education "is the natural basis of a rational belief. It is the peculiarity of Christianity, as distinguished from other religions, that it addresses the understanding as well as the heart."⁸⁸ Education can strengthen religious faith and thus benefit the community.

Everett proposed an interesting practical reform when he was a member of the House of Representatives. On December 13, 1828, he wrote to Josiah Holbrook, a leader in education and the lyceum movement, commenting on the way members of Congress from each state have a quota of young men who can enter West Point. Everett wrote: "An education at this national school, is, as you are probably aware a more finished and thorough education, in every thing, except polite literature and the ancient languages, than can be had at any of our private or public institutions."⁸⁹ He suggested that appointments might be made by the Secretary of War on recommendation by state governors. ". . . but for Massachusetts I would propose, that an annual examination should be held, by a Board of Education (or by examiners to be appointed by the governor and council, till we have such a board), of

⁸⁷ Orations, II, 321.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 324.

⁸⁹ Everett Papers 64, letterbook.

all the young men, who choose to offer themselves as candidates for West Point; and that the examiners should present the three or four best to the Governor for recommendation to the Secretary of War."⁹⁰

He added that this plan would eliminate patronage and favoritism and reward merit.

On the same day Everett wrote to Governor Levi Lincoln of Massachusetts discussing this proposal. He pointed out that the present system had considerable evils. "It is an unnecessary exercise of executive patronage and all patronage, which is unnecessary is pernicious, and at war with the spirit of our republican institutions. In reference to the members of Congress, it tends to favoritism. They have scarce any grounds of recommendation to go upon, other than those of personal acquaintance or kindred. . . . The substance of the evil is, that the present mode of appointment furnishes no security, that the most deserving and best qualified young men, in the state will be selected."⁹¹ He proposed that a national law be passed whereby each state executive would recommend young men to the Secretary of War. He then proposed that for Massachusetts a State Board hold an examination open to any young men of the state, in substance the same proposal he had written to Holbrook. "As a knowledge of the ancient languages is not required," he explained to Governor Lincoln, "the young men of every part of the Commonwealth would stand on nearly equal footing before the Examiners; and the annual examination would

⁹⁰ Everett Papers 64, letterbook.

⁹¹ Ibid.

probably bring together a large number of the most promising of our youth, to enter into generous competition with each other, in reference to their talent for making progress in the exact sciences; in useful knowledge and the application to [sic] philosophy to practice."⁹²

Unfortunately, this excellent plan of Everett's came to naught. A few weeks later he wrote again to Governor Lincoln, reporting that he felt such a project would never pass the Congress. "On conversing with Gentlemen . . . from different parts of the Union, I am led to think that this attempt could not now be successfully made; and that generally speaking, it is not a favorable moment."⁹³ We can only speculate as to the reasons which caused Everett to drop the plan. The one thing we do know from this is the practical and democratic quality of his thinking.

4. Knowledge and Morality

The enemies of education have always raised the argument that knowledge corrupts the character and is the enemy of religion. Everett firmly opposed this idea. "Knowledge," he said, "is the faithful ally both of natural and revealed religion."⁹⁴ In one of his speeches he made a careful defense of education against this charge.

He began by stating the proposition "that there seems in individuals, no fixed proportion between intellectual and moral growth.

⁹² Everett Papers 64, letterbook.

⁹³ Ibid., 65, letterbook.

⁹⁴ "Education Favorable to Liberty," Orations, I, 630.

Eminent talent and distinguished attainment are sometimes connected
 with obliquity of character."⁹⁵ He goes on then to point out that all
 the French philosophers of the eighteenth century were, with a few
 exceptions, notorious "for disbelief in revealed religion; an insen-
 sibility to the delicacies of moral restraint; a want of that purity
 of feeling and character, which we would gladly consider the insepa-
 rable attendant of intellectual civilization."⁹⁶

Everett is willing to admit the corruption of the French intel-
 lectuals, but he claims that it was other conditions and not knowledge
 that caused it. He lists these as: the feudal partitions of society,
 cutting off connections between social levels;⁹⁷ the patronage of a
 dissolute court ("The great monitors of society were hushed.");⁹⁸ and
 "The pulpit . . . was struck dumb . . ." because of vices in that
 order;¹⁰⁰ and "The press was mute on every thing which touched the vices
 of the time. It was not, then, the diffusion of knowledge from the
 philosophical circles of Paris, that corrupted France; it was the
 gross darkness of the provinces, and the deep degradation every where
 of the majority of the people, which left unrebuked the depravity of
 the capital. It was precisely a diffusion of knowledge that was wanted!"¹⁰¹

⁹⁵ Orations, I, 628.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 629.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 628.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 629.

Everett's contention was that both natural and revealed religion were aided by the diffusion of knowledge. "Natural religion is one grand deduction made by the enlightened understanding, from a faithful study of the great book of nature; and the record of revealed religion, contained in the Bible, is not merely confirmed by the harmony which the mind delights to trace between it and the 'elder Scripture writ by God's own hand;' but revelation, in all ages, has called to its aid the meditations and researches of pious and learned men; and most assuredly, at every period, for one man of learning, superficial or profound, who has turned the weapons of science against religion or morals, hundreds have consecrated their labors to its defence." All this is argument drawn from history and very difficult if not impossible to refute logically.

There is a contemporary application which Everett makes. "What but knowledge is to prevent us, in short, from being borne down and carried away by the overwhelming tide of fanaticism and delusion, put in motion by the moon-struck impostors of the day?" The two "impostors" named by him are Joseph Smith [Everett calls him "Joe Smith"] and Matthias [Robert Matthews] who was the temporarily notorious leader of a religious cult. When a person was ready to give credence to either of these, he was "down to a degree of ignorance, on which reason and Scripture are alike lost . . ."

¹⁰² Orations, I, 630.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

In the final analysis religion and morals cannot be separated from the diffusion of knowledge, Everett felt. Human knowledge develops the spiritual nature of man. "By knowledge, the wings of the intellect are spread; by ignorance, they are closed and palsied, and the physical passions are left to gain the ascendancy. Knowledge opens up all the senses to the wonders of creation; ignorance seals them up, and leaves the animal propensities unbalanced by reflection, enthusiasm, and taste."¹⁰⁵

5. Self-Taught Men

In our own time examples of self-made men are frequently brought to attention in order to prove that higher education is not necessary. It seems to be a characteristic of a business community that the self-made man be exalted. During Everett's lifetime the same charge was brought against education. And again he developed a good, solid defense.

He pointed out that the colonists who came to this country transported with them the developed culture of the Old World. "The great professional institutions of the Old World were substantially transferred to the New. They carried to the remotest cabin of the settler of English descent, those foundation principles of social right which had been maturing in the common law for ages. The French settler brought with him the still older principles transmitted in the Roman code . . ."¹⁰⁶ For a century and a half men had an initial struggle

¹⁰⁵ Orations, I, 631.

¹⁰⁶ "Academical Education," Orations, III, 497.

with nature, but there was never a "disconnection from the mind of the civilized world; - no intellectual crudeness in any period of our history." ¹⁰⁷ American civilization began in an atmosphere of culture which would in some way affect everyone.

Everett disclaims any lack of sympathy with "self-taught men." Precisely because some men have had to struggle "in the face of poverty, friendless obscurity, distance from all the facilities for improvement, and inability to command their time" Everett would like to ¹⁰⁸ see the means of education multiplied. He would spare gifted individuals the bitter experiences of the struggle for success when they have not had any educational opportunities.

This premised, I have four words to say concerning self-taught men. The first is, that while a few minds of a very high order rise superior to the want of early opportunities, with the mass of men, that want, where it exists, can never be fully repaired. In the next place, although it is given to a few very superior intellects to rise to eminence without opportunities for early education, it by no means follows that, even in their case, such opportunities would not have been highly beneficial, in smoothing the arduous path and leading to an earlier and more perfect development of the mental powers. Accordingly we find in the third place, that highly intelligent men, who have felt the want of early education themselves are, (without exception, as far as my observation has gone) the best friends of academic education; as if determined that others should enjoy the advantages of which they were deprived. . . . Lastly, this epithet, "self-taught," is subject itself to great misconception. It is by no means to be supposed, because eminent men, in any department of science or art, passed their first years and earned their first laurels without early opportunities of education, that they remained, more than other men, destitute to the end of their lives of instruction from abroad. ¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Orations, III, 497.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 499.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

In fact, Everett claims that as soon as a gifted person learned to read and then had access to books "he is no longer self-taught, he is a regularly entered pupil in the great high-school of recorded knowledge, in which the wise and famous of every age are the masters." 110

Everett also objected to the charge that college and university study was "antiquated, and abstract" and far from useful. He said he had no argument against utility, but utility "is in its ordinary acceptance the handmaid of imperfection and frailty, and carries with it a greasy feel of selfishness, - a brassy taste of self." 111 Materialism, as such, is not very pleasing. It is true that practical achievement is a product of the mind, but there are heights beyond material achievement. "There are truths and groups of truths, which seem to bind all creation, - the flower of the field, the stars of the sky, and the marvelous frame of man in bonds of strange analogy." 112 To attempt to understand these is right reason for college education. Finally, "the value and importance of collegiate education can be sufficiently vindicated as the appropriate discipline and preparation 113 for . . . the life of a Christian man in civilized society."

110 Orations, III, 500.

111 Ibid., p. 501.

112 Ibid., p. 502.

113 Ibid., p. 504.

6. College Education

When Everett became president of Harvard College, it meant that the most noted scholar in the country had become head of the oldest and most respected university. One would expect something quite worth-while to come from this. But Everett's experience as Harvard's president was very unhappy. And the experience seemed as devoid of significant ideas as it was full of unhappiness.

The inauguration ceremony on April 30, 1846, where Webster seems deliberately to have stolen the show, was the occasion for an oration entitled "University Education." Everett advocated that the university take two steps in expansion - "first, by establishing a philosophy faculty, in which the various branches of science and literature should be cultivated, beyond the limits of an academical course, with a view to a complete liberal education, and secondly, by organizing a school of theoretical and practical science, for the purpose especially of teaching its application to the arts of life, and of furnishing a supply of skilful engineers . . ."

This desire to establish a scientific school was one objective which bore fruit. Frothingham points out that "Conspicuous among his achievements must be counted the establishment of the Scientific School. This was due almost entirely to his unaided efforts, and he was not disposed to have others claim the credit which was his by right." Everett persuaded his close friend Mr. Abbott Lawrence to

¹¹⁴ Orations, II. 496.

¹¹⁵ p. 290.

make a gift of \$50,000 to the university for this purpose. Thus was established the Lawrence Scientific School. And for the faculty of this school Everett was able to secure the appointment to a professorship of Louis Agassiz.

In the inaugural Everett defined the objectives of a university education as:

- I. The acquisition of knowledge in the various branches of science and literature, as a general preparation for the learned professions and the other liberal pursuits of life;
- II. In the process of acquiring this knowledge, the exercise and development of the intellectual faculties, as a still more important part of the great business of preparation; and
- III. The formation of a pure and manly character, exhibiting that union of moral and intellectual qualities which most command confidence, respect, and love. 116

These are certainly general and respectable enough statements. Except for the first point, they reflect conditions rather than indicate any great weight of original thought.

He did, however, express the conviction that there could be no complete system of education until attention was given to "exercising our physical powers."

I omit the consideration of this subject, not because I undervalue its importance, but because I cannot think that such a revolution in manners and opinion will soon take place, as to give to physical education in our colleges any thing like the degree of attention which it deserves. I cannot, however, but propose it as a question well deserving more consideration than is usually given it, whether regular provision ought not to be made, at our schools and colleges, for such kinds and degrees of manly and generous exercise as would most conduce to health and strength, and best develop and strengthen all the wonderful capacities of the human frame. There can be no doubt, that, for the want of

these exercises, and from the neglect of the other conditions on which the enjoyment of health depends, the foundations are in many cases early laid of the diseases which condemn so many of the educated classes to a suffering and comparatively ineffective career, and to premature decline. We dig our own graves in youth. ¹¹⁷

Gubberly points out that the beginnings of interest in physical education in this country date from 1875 to 1880 "with the introduction ¹¹⁸ of Swedish gymnastics into this country." So Everett's statement of 1846 takes on added interest in being a plea for physical education thirty years before a real interest developed.

But the bulk of this oration is a collection of professional observations, lacking either the philosophical reasoning or the practical applications which marked some of the other educational addresses. He states that students must have some knowledge of "the great art of ¹¹⁹ communication." He recognizes that students are asked to cover too much ground in a short time "and that, of the branches of study to which his attention is called, all cannot be equally important for ¹²⁰ the future uses of life in its various callings." He recalls how universities have tried to remove the exclusive emphasis on divinity, rhetoric, and logic, and claims that in doing so, they have created such a multiplication of academic subjects that a student cannot give ¹²¹ adequate time to any one branch of knowledge. We must not, of course,

¹¹⁷ Orations, II, 498.

¹¹⁸ Public Education in the United States (Boston, 1934), p. 606.

¹¹⁹ Orations, II, 499.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 501.

¹²¹ Ibid.

Everett says, fall into the "popular error" of assuming that any one branch of knowledge is mastered in the time spent in getting a university education.¹²²

In these observations there is no consideration given as to possible studies which ought to be added to the college curriculum. Everett had, at times in the past, thought along these lines, for on August 18, 1836, he wrote in his journal: "It appears to me that a compendious treatise on the law of nations adapted for colleges would prove an excellent work. The illustrations should be principally from history of the last 80 years. This branch is almost wholly neglected at our seminaries."¹²³

Everett speaks out strongly in favor of mental discipline. "I am disposed to think that the more we meditate on the subject, the more we shall incline to the conclusion that the mental faculties are in some very peculiar manner modified, strengthened, and perfected by discipline."¹²⁴ The university carries on the work already started in the family and elementary school "of forming and developing by wise discipline the various mental powers;" this makes the selection of subjects for study extremely important.¹²⁵ As to determining whether "the classical" or "the mathematical" classes of study are most important in university education, Everett approves the general practice of giving proportionate attention to each.¹²⁶

¹²² Orations, II, 502.

¹²³ Everett Papers 148, journal.

¹²⁴ Orations, II, 506.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 507.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 508.

He feels that language study is "extremely congenial" to the minds of most men. Because thought is so closely allied with the symbols used for its expression, "the study of languages in its highest form is the study of the processes of pure intellect."¹²⁷ The study of languages and of literary criticism aids mental discipline. The study of language makes possible the enjoyment of eloquence and poetry.¹²⁸ On the other hand, "an eminently accurate practical mind is hardly to be formed without mathematical training."¹²⁹

The chief duty of a college, as of any place of education, is to produce a high standard of character. Everett looked with a jaundiced eye at the religious conditions around him. "I cannot subdue the feeling, that our modern Christendom, with all its professions and in all its communions, is sinking into a practical heathenism, which needs a great work - I had almost said a new dispensation - of reform, scarcely less than the decrepit paganism of Greece and Rome."¹³⁰ To offset this he advocates some form of "direct religious instruction." He advances this idea with apparent confidence. "I am not unaware of the difficulty which attends the performance of this duty, in consequence of the differences in doctrinal opinion which prevail in the community. . . . In a country, however, like ours, where there is no religious establishment, and consequently where no one communion has a right to claim preference for its doctrines, the difficulty alluded

¹²⁷ Orations, II, 508.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 509.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 510.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 514.

to exists rather in theory, than in the practical administration of
¹³¹
 a place of education by earnest men" The parts of direct religious instruction which he feels would cause no difference of opinion are "the great truths of natural religion, . . . the principles of Christian ethics, and the evidences of the Christian revelation, under the guidance of text-books which unite the confidence, at
¹³²
 least, of all classes of Protestant Christians" It was these ideas at the close of the inaugural address which caused Emerson to record in his journal: "The close of Everett's inaugural discourse was chilling and melancholy. With a coolness indicating absolute scepticism and despair, he deliberately gave himself over to the corpse-cold Unitarianism and Immortality of Brattle Street and Boston."
¹³³

When Everett spoke before a joint committee of the Massachusetts legislature appealing for aid for Williams, Amherst, and Harvard, he gave chief stress to four practical arguments. First, governmental
¹³⁴
 aid would help reduce "the general expense of education." This would be particularly desirable in the case of students whose parents have only moderate means. The second use of aid would be to buy more scientific equipment. "New truths and facts, requiring new experimental illustrations, are constantly discovered in natural philosophy."

¹³¹ Orations, II, 515.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Journal, VII, 170.

¹³⁴ "Aid to the Colleges," Orations, II, 543.

Everett reinforced this with an argument designed to appeal to the business mind. "Without taking into account deterioration by use, antiquated apparatus in the lecture-room is as useless as antiquated machinery in a manufacturing establishment. The advancement which has been made within thirty years in spinning and weaving, is not greater than that which has taken place in physical science." ¹³⁵ The third necessity is expenditure for the library. "I would call it the most important, if I knew degrees in these matters . . ." ¹³⁶ Finally Everett asked for funds to give more assistance to "meritorious young men in indigent circumstances." ¹³⁷

7. Preparation of Teachers

Frothingham claims that Everett deserves more credit than he has received for the establishment of normal schools in Massachusetts. ¹³⁸ However that may be, Everett was as clearly a champion of teacher training as he was of general education.

In 1839 Everett spoke on "Normal Schools" and presented his arguments for the preparation of teachers. The function of the teacher in training young people is all important, he felt. "After all that has been said, in all ages, on the subject, more than justice has not been, and never can be, done to the theme." ¹³⁹ Some of the first distinct

¹³⁵ Orations, II, 544.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 546.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 550.

¹³⁸ p. 137.

¹³⁹ Orations, II, 342.

moral ideas are given to the child by the teacher. "Is this a light matter?" Everett asks. "If the teacher was to fashion your child's personal proportions, or to remould his features, with what jealousy would you inquire after his qualifications for that task! Is it of less importance how he fashions and moulds the features of the mind?"¹⁴⁰ And when we look around at all the different kinds of human pursuits, we find that all of them require diligent preparation. Consequently, "no one can seriously suppose that the office of an instructor makes¹⁴¹ an exception."

The qualifications of teachers at the present time depend upon a number of circumstances. Natural aptitude will make the difference between a good teacher and a poor one. This is naturally true in every type of work, "and is never thought to supersede the necessity¹⁴² of education." A teacher's fitness also depends upon the kind of instruction he himself received in school. "A good degree of the school-keeping capacity, and I may say, also, incapacity, are traceable to this source. Our schools are under a kind of traditionary discipline."¹⁴³ . . . Mediocrity is more apt to be propagated than excellence."

Everett was certainly under no starry-eyed delusions about the processes of education. He declares that if an average teacher has charge of a school for a few years, "he will not be likely to make any improvements, and will do very well if he hands it over to his successor

¹⁴⁰ Orations, II, 342.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 344.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 345.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 346.

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as good as he found it." It thus does not take long for a school system in a city to lag behind everything else.

A teacher may qualify himself by experience. However, good teachers so qualified tend not to be found in the common schools but in higher positions. Also, it is the nature of some men not to learn anything from experience. ". . . whether a man's experience profit him depends upon whether it is good experience, which may be either successful experience, or unsuccessful experience wisely heeded; and it may often happen that the recorded experience of another more judicious mind will in reality guide a man better than his own." Books, then, are an important means of qualification. Everett commended the great increase in educational publications in recent years and went so far as to state that "for practical views, what has been written within the last fifty years exceeds, both in amount and value, all that had before been given to the world on the subject of education."

Everett felt there were four chief branches of instruction to be given in the normal schools. First would be a thorough review of all the subjects that are taught in the common schools. "A good schoolmaster should be able to read and speak the English language with propriety, ease, and grace; and this cannot be done without a thorough knowledge of grammar. He should possess, at the same time, a clear, shapely, and rapid handwriting, and be well versed in the elemental

¹⁴⁴ Orations, II, 346.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 347.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 348.

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principles and operations of numbers." Everett felt that a man who thoroughly possessed these fundamentals was as rare as a man of eminence in a learned profession.

It is not just the basic subjects which must be known. "Bare knowledge of a fact" does not qualify a teacher.

The teacher must see the truth under all its aspects, with its antecedents and consequents, or he cannot present it in just that shape in which the young mind can apprehend it. . . . It is not an uncommon thing to hear it said of a grown person that he is too learned to teach children; that he knows too much, is too far in advance of their minds, to perceive their difficulties. I imagine the trouble generally to be of the opposite character. The man of learning either never understood the matter thoroughly, or he has forgotten what he once knew. . . . If in this state of things he cannot comprehend the schoolboy's difficulty, it is not his superior wisdom, but his ignorance, which is at fault." 148

The second main subject for the normal school is "the art of teaching." This goes beyond a thorough knowledge of the subject matter to be taught. "The subject should be taken up at its foundation, in those principles of our nature on which education depends; the laws which control the faculties of the youthful mind in the pursuit and attainment of truth; and the moral sentiments on the part of teacher and pupil which must be brought into harmonious action. The future teacher must be instructed in the most effectual way of reaching untaught mind - a process subtle, difficult, various. The first thing requisite often will be to ascertain what has to be unlearned . . ." 149 The art of teaching reaches its perfection

147 Orations, II, 350.

148 Ibid., p. 351.

149 Ibid., p. 352.

"in hitting the precise point between that which the studious pupil must do for himself, and that which the instructor may do with him¹⁵⁰ and for him." In addition to the art of teaching "peculiar methods, applicable to each branch of knowledge" should be studied in the¹⁵¹ normal schools.

The third important area of study concerns "the government of the school." This means the exercise of a moral influence which will bring the most favorable improvement in the pupils. "It is this part of their duty which is probably least considered by themselves or their employers; for the reason, perhaps, that qualification in this respect is least capable of being estimated by an external standard."¹⁵² Everett analyzes the difficulties of discipline and what is expected of a teacher.

Without the aid of that instinct of natural affection which fortifies parental authority, he is expected, with a parent's power, to control alike the docile and the obstinate, the sullen and the gay. While his entire intercourse with his pupils is that of constraint and requisition, he must acquire an absolute control over many a youthful spirit, which has already been irritated by caprice, soured by tyranny, or spoiled by indulgence at home. And he is to do this not by violence and storm, but by wisely threading the maze of that living labyrinth, the affections of the youthful heart. . . . there has been a general call for moral influence, instead of physical power. I do not say that this last should never be resorted to, but I trust the day is wholly past for that ferocious warfare between master and pupil, which was once so general, and with no other effect than that of turning the teacher's office into a hateful tyranny . . .¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ Oration, II, 353.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 354.

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 355.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

It would be easy to rule the school "with a ratan in the hand." To treat each discipline case separately is much more difficult. Discipline is "that part of the teacher's duty which demands the rarest union of qualities, which most tries the temper, and I will add, when faithfully and judiciously performed, is most important in its results."¹⁵⁴

The fourth study in the normal school would be an actual "school of practice." Here the young teacher could have actual "exercise in the business of instruction" under the guidance and direction of the principal.¹⁵⁵

Such a program would build up the common school system. Everett felt that if any individual considered that a "common school education" was something to be disparaged, then he did not appreciate the American political system or the nature of man.¹⁵⁶ "For myself I admit, if the admission is desired, that a good system of common school education is, next to religious influences, the great and solid foundation of a prosperous state. To build on any thing else is to build on straw and stubble."¹⁵⁷

With these ideas and principles there can be little argument. They are not original with Everett. His advocacy of them shows his alignment and sympathy with those forces making for development and reform in the educational system.

¹⁵⁴ Orations, II, 356.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 357.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 360.

¹⁵⁷ "Second Speech on Aid to the Colleges," Orations, II, 618.

8. "Education for Practical Life"

Around the year 1830 Everett spoke a number of times before institutions for scientific improvement on the subject of the "Importance of Scientific Knowledge to Practical Men, and the Encouragements to Its Pursuit."¹⁵⁸ He claimed that the cultivation of the mind was just as important for workingmen as for any other class in society; consequently mechanics ought to be well instructed "in the scientific principles and natural laws"¹⁵⁹ on which their work depends. If science is given up solely to the philosophers, then the practical work of life¹⁶⁰ becomes "a matter of traditionary repetition." Everett disliked the dominance of tradition in education. At another time, arguing in favor of education, he declared: "Good husbandry requires that attention should be constantly given to the discovery of improved methods, and the introduction of new varieties raised from the seed. Tradition is¹⁶¹ closely allied to degeneracy."

Although the popularization of knowledge has made the principles of natural science easily available, yet actual instruction in them is confined to the colleges, and "it does not seem right, that none but those intended for the pulpit, the bar, or the profession of medicine, should receive instruction in those principles which regulate the operation of the mechanical powers, and lie at the foundation of

¹⁵⁸ Orations, I, 246-83.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

¹⁶¹ "Normal Schools," Orations, II, 347.

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 complicated machinery . . ." For this reason Everett declares that
 there has been hardly anything which might be called "education for
 163
 practical life."

The argument is frequently made that great discoveries and inventions come either from self-taught men or through accident. There is some truth in this, he admits, but not proof that most men should
 164
 consequently ignore scientific education. Everett does not advocate that every practical application of science be taught but that "the general laws and principles should be so taught, as greatly to multiply the numbers of persons competent to carry forward such casual suggestions of improvement as may present themselves . . ."
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There are three circumstances in the United States which encourage young men to apply themselves to get some scientific education. The first point is that workers in this country are on a "much more
 166
 liberal footing" than in Europe. The second point is that since America is a new country there are many more opportunities for labor
 167
 and enterprise. Finally, workers should be encouraged by the comparatively high rank which they have in the American political system.
 168
 Everett concluded that "the man who should in this country express

162 Oration, I, 248.

163 Ibid., p. 249.

164 Ibid., pp. 249-50.

165 Ibid., p. 251.

166 Ibid., p. 256.

167 Ibid., p. 260.

168 Ibid., p. 268.

the opinion that the education of the people foreboded ill to the state, would merely be regarded as wanting common judgment and sagacity."¹⁶⁹

9. Science and Progress

Everett was convinced that he lived in an age of progress. "We live in an age of improvement; an age in which investigation is active and successful in every quarter; and in which what has been effected, however wonderful, is but the brilliant promise of what may further be done."¹⁷⁰ Science encourages man "to scrutinize every department of knowledge, however trite and familiar" in order to discover new relationships."¹⁷¹

He seems always to have been fascinated by the interrelationships between forces, between cause and effect. A discovery in one field of knowledge might well lead to some new activity in another. "Thus a mechanical invention may lead to a geographical discovery; a physical cause, to a political or an intellectual effect. A discovery results in an art; an art produces a comfort; a comfort, made cheaply accessible, adds family on family to the population; and a family is a new creation of thinking, reasoning, inventing, and discovering beings. Thus, instead of arriving at the end, we are at the beginning of the series, and ready to start, with recruited numbers, on the great and beneficent career of useful knowledge."¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ Orations, I, 269.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 270.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., p. 272.

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 274.

There are many truths, now unknown, waiting to be discovered. Vast progress has been made in art and science but the goal is not yet at hand. "Art and science are, in themselves, progressive and infinite. They are moving powers, animated principles; they are instinct with life; they are themselves the intellectual life of man. Nothing can arrest them which does not plunge the entire order of society into barbarism."¹⁷³

This firm conviction of the importance of science is reflected in many things which Everett said and did. As a member of the House of Representatives, early in his public career, he was interested in the support of a National Observatory by Congress. He wrote of his disappointment on this subject to Professor Cleaveland on March 5, 1827: "I am sorry to say that Congress has risen without taking up the subject of a National Observatory. Our violent political contentions prevent the doing of much public and private and public [sic] business of immediate and pressing importance, and put every thing like the encouragement of science out of the question. These things must be left to be brought about by the gradual action of public sentiment on our legislators."¹⁷⁴ Clearly this was a subject not to be advanced by politicians.

On October 20, 1838, he recorded in his journal: "Went to town today to attend a meeting of persons in favor of forming an Association

¹⁷³ Orations, I. 275.

¹⁷⁴ Everett Papers 60, letterbook.

for the promotion of Science. I was called to the chair and Mr. F. C. Gray chosen secretary. Dr. Warren brought forward the resolutions. They were advocated by Judge Story . . . It is proposed that the Organization should originate with the American Philosophical Society.¹⁷⁵

So persistent was this interest in science that, as already noted, Everett linked the study of science and literature as the first objective of a university education. And we have also seen how he wanted the practical phases of science to be introduced as subject matter into the educational system.

On August 28, 1856, Everett was the orator at the dedication of the Dudley Observatory in Albany, New York. He chose as his subject "The Uses of Astronomy." The early part of the oration was devoted to a description of the advance made by astronomy in this country, since it had long since "passed that point where it is content to repeat the observations and verify the results of European research."¹⁷⁶ Americans may well be proud of this progress. "For astronomy, perhaps to a greater extent than any other department of natural science, exhibits phenomena, which, while they task the highest powers of philosophical research, are also well adapted to arrest the attention of minds barely tinctured with scientific culture, and even to touch the sensibilities of the wholly uninstructed observer."¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ Everett Papers 151, journal.

¹⁷⁶ Orations, III, 427.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 433.

The main part of the address is Everett's justification for the expenditure of such huge sums of money as are required to erect observatories. His first reason is that from observatories alone do we get "our only adequate measures of time and our only means of comparing the time of one place with the time of another." This time measurement is not only important for the many needs of daily life but for the purposes of history and chronology.

The second practical use concerns geography. "Latitude and longitude, which lie at the basis of all descriptive geography, are determined by observation. No map deserves the name, on which the position of important points has not been astronomically determined." The federal land system, which brought order out of chaos, depends upon astronomy. "At this moment, a most important survey of the coast of the United States is in progress; an operation of the utmost consequence, in reference to the geography, commerce, navigation, and hydrography of the country. The entire work, I need scarce say, is one of practical astronomy."

The third use of astronomy concerns commerce and navigation. In discussing this, Everett states his conviction that astronomy is nowhere near perfection. He feels that whatever advance is made, theoretical or applied, it will be "in connection with an increased command of instrumental power."

¹⁷⁸ Orations, III, 436.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 438.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 439.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 441.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 443.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 445.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 448.

The ultimate object of all knowledge is "to enlarge and purify the soul," and no other science can claim precedence over astronomy in furthering this end. He declares that "No other science furnishes such a palpable embodiment of the abstractions which lie at the foundation of our intellectual system; the great ideas of time, and space, and extension, and magnitude, and number, and motion, and power. How grand the conception of the ages on ages required for several of the secular equations of the solar system; of distances, from which the light of a fixed star would not reach us in twenty millions of years; of magnitudes . . ."¹⁸⁵ All contemplation of this sort furnishes thought for the spiritual nature of man. "Finally, my friends, I believe there is no contemplation better adapted to awaken devout ideas than that of the heavenly bodies; no branch of natural science which brings clearer testimony to the power and wisdom of God than that to which you this¹⁸⁶ day consecrate a temple."

¹⁸⁵ Orations, III, 457.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 463.

CHAPTER V

THE VOICE OF STATE STREET

Henry Adams has some discerning observations to make about his uncle Edward Everett's eulogy of his grandfather John Quincy Adams. This eulogy Everett gave at Faneuil Hall on April 15, 1848, "at the ¹ unanimous request of the Legislature of Massachusetts."

Like all Mr. Everett's orations, it was an admirable piece of oratory, such as only an admirable orator and scholar could create . . . but already the boy knew that the dead President could not be in it, and had even learned why he would be out of place there . . . The shadow of the War of 1812 still hung over State Street; the shadow of the Civil War to come had already begun to darken Faneuil Hall. No rhetoric could have reconciled Mr. Everett's audience to his subject. How could he say there, to an assemblage of Bostonians in the heart of mercantile Boston, that the only distinctive mark of all the Adamses . . . had been their inherited quarrel with State Street . . .?" ²

But Everett, whom Henry called "one of the most ambitious of ³ Bostonians," was, by 1848 - the date of this eulogy - an accomplished representative of the patrician Boston viewpoint. With his entrance into politics, Everett assumed, whether consciously or not, the burden of presenting and defending the economic philosophy of State Street. Schlesinger comments, "Among the younger group, the most promising in 1830 was perhaps Edward Everett, that pale, courteous and polished man, tall and erect, with his handsome and conventional face and his fatal flow of rhetoric, who was nearly smothered by the

¹ Orations, II, 555-97.

² Education of Henry Adams (Boston, 1918), p. 21.

³ Ibid., p. 23.

adulation which surrounded him. . . . Now he shone in politics, a leading member of the House and the white hope of the clubs of Boston.⁴

1. Conservative Boston and Everett

The second quarter of the nineteenth century brought tremendous economic changes to Massachusetts. Tradition would have us believe that everyone in the state followed the "enlightened conservatism" of the "god-like" Daniel Webster. But this is not true. This was a period of reform, and at the end of it, Massachusetts had entered a new social order.⁵

The Massachusetts aristocracy was built on the old shipping trade and the new manufacturing of cotton and wool. The merchant class centered in Boston which had always had an aristocracy anyway. The merchants and bankers controlled financial affairs in the state and, as a group, were the socially elite.

Everett had allied himself with this ruling group through his marriage to Charlotte Gray Brooks, a daughter of Peter C. Brooks. Everett's cautious nature and his love of formality and the aesthetic graces were psychological factors strengthening the effect of this alliance. His entrance into politics was in 1824, with election to the House of Representatives, and this came at a time when intellectual and political life in the state was still dominantly conservative.

⁴ The Age of Jackson (Boston, 1946), p. 145.

⁵ The introductory material on Boston in this section is taken from Darling, pp. 2-38.

Part of this conservative atmosphere was due to the fact that Massachusetts did not disestablish the state church until 1833. And in the early 1820's Everett believed in the system of state support for the churches. On Fast Day, April 5, 1821, he preached a sermon which he entitled "The Support of Religion by the State."⁶ In this sermon he deplored the decreasing emphasis on religion and the increase in party politics.⁷ In speaking for state support of religion he said, "The error in our system, the prejudice in our opinions . . . is our neglect to employ the means and resources of the Public State, for the support and encouragement of religion. I think our country is the first and only instance, in the history of the world, either in ancient heathen or in modern Christian or antichristian days of a country, which, in its public and civil capacity, has taken no measures to uphold the worship of God."⁸ This entire sermon is a generalized defense of state support, which he declared was "combining the legal protection of the worship of God, with the freedom of private conscience; enjoining on the members of society to contribute to the support of Religion, but leaving them unrestrained as to what form of it they will support. It is clear that against this system no plea of violated conscience can hold."⁹ Such conservatism as this would certainly direct a man's sympathies toward the ruling classes of Boston.

⁶ This is a 29-page, dated manuscript, in Everett's handwriting. Everett Papers 244, box of manuscripts.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 4-6.

⁸ Ibid., p. 9.

⁹ Ibid., p. 18.

Later, when Everett was governor, he yearned for the older religious attitudes in a way which shows his fundamental conservatism. He recorded in his journal on Thursday, April 17, 1836: "Fast Day. Attended church all day. . . . The old strictness with which fast day was observed seems to me to be founded on just principles. It would be difficult with the universal relaxation which has taken place in every thing else to keep it up; - but it tended to nourish a reflective temper." On April 24 of that same year, he recorded the following: "Attended church all day. Dr. Flint of Salem preached; - studied and ingenious discourse, too fine for my taste. I daily grow more and more desirous of preaching which brings home to me the vanity of this world. - I fear the rationalists are on the wrong track; and I cannot coincide with the opposite party. Would to God there were any course which on sound rational principles would present the great truths of religion in an awakening form to the mind." These are the statements of a man dissatisfied, fearful of present trends and looking backward to a safer and more acceptable time. The same idea he expressed again on January 14, 1838: "It appears to me that the great truths of Natural Theology are too much neglected. Were they firmly and with strong conviction embedded in the mind: - the truths of Revelation would find much easier access." These conservative sentiments Everett recorded during a time of political success. They are not just a reflection of outer defeat.

¹⁰ Everett Papers 148, journal.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., 150, journal.

Webster, too, influenced Everett toward the safe conservative side. In the early years of his political career Everett constantly consulted Webster. Darling claims that Everett wrote to a friend appealing for a private subscription of \$100,000 to be raised by Boston friends, which Everett would hold in trust and use to maintain Webster in public life. "Such gratuities, perhaps, " Darling writes, "were not considered in those times as at all out of the way. Perhaps Webster was not bound to carry out the particular wishes of those benefactors who solved his private financial difficulties, and no doubt he frequently went contrary to their immediate interests. The fact remains, however, that besides his regular salary as Senator and fees from his legal practice, Webster received financial support from his political constituency." ¹³ Behind the polished public performance Everett's perceptive brain found it easy to adjust to political realities. If he could think as clearly as this about political ways and means for maintaining the conservative position, we would expect his orations to explain and defend this position.

Parrington points out that the War of 1812 brought to an end ¹⁴ "the complacent little Boston of Fisher Ames." Federalism, with its plan for New England secession, was gradually put aside, and with it went the old pessimistic attitudes. As the winds of political and economic doctrine veered, there was a noticeable shift in the attitude

¹³ p. 132.

¹⁴ Vernon Louis Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought (New York, 1927), II, 296.

of Massachusetts toward the great American experiment in republican government. A newer type of conservatism replaced the Fisher Ames philosophy. Democracy was now accepted. Property was secure. Dependable gentlemen, who owned property and held the right principles, were in control of the state. Everett fitted well into this happier and more confident conservatism.

In evaluating the career of Webster, Parrington shows that Webster's early political and economic philosophy was in the English liberal tradition. But a change came in Webster's thinking at approximately the time when Everett first entered politics.

After 1824 the earlier Webster with his solid understanding, his frank realism, his honest exposition of fundamental principles, slowly gave way to the lawyer, the politician, the opportunist of the unhappy later years. With the change the last authentic voice of the eighteenth century was silenced; the break with the old English tradition was complete. Immediate, domestic issues muddled his thought, and Webster and America plunged into a bitter partisanship produced by the new alignments of an equalitarian agrarianism, a capitalistic industrialism, and a feudal slavocracy. Feudalism was dead and in its stead was the Whig party, patched together of odds and ends, devoid of principles, seeking only expediency; and of this party Webster became an outstanding spokesman. It was an ignoble time, and his great abilities were not substantial enough to save him from the common meanness.¹⁵

Webster's opportunistic position was not apparent during the first years that Everett was in politics. His contemporaries thought highly of him. His defense of the Constitution against Calhoun's arguments, in 1833, was an important legal contribution to the great constitutional argument of this period. After 1833 "opportunism and compromise" caught up with him. He did his best to avoid controversy

¹⁵ Main Currents, II, 310.

on slavery. "It was the unfortunate Seventh of March Speech," Par-
 rington says, "that proved Webster's undoing - this and the Fugitive
 Slave Bill in which he was deeply implicated. The situation was des-
 perately critical, Webster was pessimistic, and this was a last ges-
 ture of reconciliation with the South. Presidential ambitions and
 runaway slaves were stewing in a common political pot with Abolition
 societies and northern mercantile interests. Webster was puzzled, hes-
 itated, emptied another glass of the wine of the Constitution, and went
 for the Fugitive Slave Bill. It was a tragic political mistake."¹⁶

From the quiet of Concord, Emerson analyzed Webster as reaction-
 ary. "Mr. Webster is a man who lives by his memory, a man of the past,
 not a man of faith or of hope. . . . What he finds already written, he
 will defend. Lucky that so much had got well written before he came.
 For he has no faith in the power of self-government. Not the smallest
 municipal provision, if it were new, would receive his sanction. . . .
 So with the eulogies of liberty in his writings, - they are sentimen-
 talism and youthful rhetoric. He can celebrate it, but it means as
 much from him as from Metternich or Tallyrand. . . . All the drops of
 his blood have eyes that look downward."¹⁷ But these very qualities,
 here damned by the chief exponent of transcendentalism, were - with
 the belief in property and the "persistent realism" - what made Web-
 ster so valuable to the champions of industrial capitalism.

¹⁶ Main Currents, II, 313.

¹⁷ Miscellanies (Boston, 1876), p. 203.

Schlesinger writes, "The nation never gave its heart to Webster. The merchants of Boston did, along with a share of their purses, and also the speculators of Wall Street and rich men everywhere. . . . The people, who trusted Jackson and loved Clay, could neither trust¹⁸ nor love Webster."

The rising tide of democracy swept Jackson into the White House and brought about a revolution in political values. The conservatives made necessary adjustments to meet the situation, and Schlesinger calls¹⁹ this the "Whig Counterreformation." "Conservatism," he writes, "was a political party as well as a social faith; and, while the guardians of the faith were cherishing it in all its purity, the leaders of the party were quietly making a series of minor practical adjustments, entered into piecemeal and prescribed by the technical necessity of getting votes. Success rather than doctrinal soundness was their test."²⁰

The basic adjustment made by the Whigs concerned property. The Hamiltonian theory declared that property and power must remain in the hands of one and the same class; Webster himself had declared this in 1820. This logic was replaced by the vote-getting idea that workers and capitalists had the same class interests. This idea was further developed into the notion that America had no classes at all. Webster became an exponent of this theory. And Schlesinger goes on to add:

¹⁸ Age of Jackson, p. 84.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 267.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 268.

"If there were no class distinctions, then there were two possibilities: everyone might be a workingman, or everyone might be a capitalist. The conservatives adopted both theories."²¹ Too, the people were reminded of the fact that in America a poor man could become wealthy. In this same vein, the high protective tariff now was argued as essential in order to maintain high wages.²²

Businessmen now developed "a kind of pastoral mythology about the laboring classes" and the conditions of their lot. "The propertyless classes, once a menace to social stability, now became the sturdy core of the nation. Manufacturing was portrayed with almost lyric delight. Lowell, for example, was transfigured from an early factory town into an idyl."²³ A pastoral literature, extolling these themes, developed. Then, by keen strategy, "there developed the doctrine of internal reform. The main point of this theory was to dissuade humanitarian energies from seeking economic change."²⁴ Channing contributed to the success of this strategy by his doctrine of the elevation of the soul. "Channing's doctrine enabled men of good will to indulge an honest compassion for the working classes without facing the economic implications of the problem."²⁵

²¹ Age of Jackson, p. 270.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 271.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

This patchwork of ideas put powerful political weapons into the hands of the Whigs. "This complex of attitudes -" Schlesinger explains, "the identity of interests between the classes, the unimportance of class, the nonexistence of class, the superior happiness of the laborer, the necessity for internal reform - satisfied the feeling of the business community in all the shades of ambivalence, from the compulsions toward power to the lurking intuitions of guilt. It represented a vigorous and versatile strategy, finding enormous support in the hopes of American life and a certain support in its realities. The Democrats were never quite able to meet it."²⁶

But the democrats not only had this combination of ideas to meet. The conservatives took the offensive and charged the Democrats with favoring the rule of a despot. This made a handy weapon to use in attacks on Jackson. With the weapon went a deliberate cultivation of "homespun" by Whig politicians. Davy Crockett for instance was paraded as evidence of the democratic soundness of the Whig leaders.²⁷

"The metamorphosis of conservatism revived it politically," Schlesinger says, "but ruined it intellectually. The Federalists had thought about society in an intelligent and hard-boiled way. Their ideas had considerable relevance to the conflicts and tensions of the life around them. But the Whigs, in scuttling Federalism, replaced it by a social philosophy founded, not on ideas, but on

²⁶ Age of Jackson, p. 273.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 275-9.

28

subterfuges and sentimentality." The Whig intellectual whose bankruptcy was most complete under this change of the political line,

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was Webster. Quite rapidly the Whig philosophy became a mere collection of stock appeals.

To this political party and to his friend Webster, Everett tied his political future. As we examine his economic views we will be able to see the part he played in advancing the Whig doctrines.

2. Capital and Civilization

On September 13, 1838, Everett spoke before the Mercantile Library Association in Boston. This was in Everett's third term as governor of the state. Presumably everything augured well with him politically, so perhaps it was with more than the usual pomp that he spoke that day on the subject "Accumulation, Property, Capital, Credit."

There was certainly no hesitation in his statement of the purpose of his oration: ". . . it is my object to assist those before whom I have the honor to appear, in forming right notions on important practical questions."

Everett refers to the fact that recently comparisons had been made between "the producing and the accumulating classes" with strong criticism of the latter. "This view I regard as entirely erroneous.

28

Age of Jackson, p. 279.

29

Ibid., p. 280.

30

Orations, II, 288-313.

31

Ibid., p. 289.

Accumulation is as necessary to further production, as production is to accumulation; and especially is accumulation the basis of commerce."³²
 If nobody accumulated anything, there would be nothing to exchange, and therefore no commerce, and this implies that there would be no civilization. Everett tried to show that this was a fundamental activity founded in the very nature of man. "Some degree of accumulation was the dictate of the earliest necessity; the instinctive struggle of man, to protect himself from the elements and from want."³³

He tried to trace this thinking very clearly. Early "in the progress of social man" the discovery was made that no two men had the same tastes or abilities. Each could excel in some one thing. If each concentrated on the skill he possessed, each could bring his specialized activity to a high degree of excellence. "With this discovery commerce began."³⁴ Groups also specialize and produce so much that they have an accumulated extra for exchange. "Commerce perceives this diversity, and organizes a boundless system of exchanges, the object of which is, to supply the greatest amount of want and desire, and to effect the widest possible diffusion of useful and convenient products."³⁵

Everett is almost like a grade school teacher in his efforts to be clearly understood. He points out that few people in his audience

³² Orations, II, 289.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 290.

ate their morning meal without the use of articles brought from many different parts of the world. He runs down a list of items, mentioning in each case the country of origin. An individual must have produced something he can exchange before he can get any of these articles. Money Everett defines as "the representative of all other articles."³⁶ Money can be used in effecting exchanges because "the system is one of mutual accomodation. No man can promote his own interest, without promoting that of others."³⁷ Here is the idea that both classes benefit. Or that there is no class. For Everett reaches out to the cosmos to illustrate his point. "As, in the system of the universe, every particle of matter is attracted by every other particle, and it is not possible that a mote in a sunbeam should be displaced, without producing an effect on the orbit of Saturn, so the minutest excess or defect in the supply of any one article of human want, produces a proportionate effect on the exchanges of all other articles."³⁸

This mutually beneficial system requires that there be safety in the ownership of "articles accumulated." Men had an "early and instinctive" realization of this truth and therefore made laws for the protection of property.³⁹ "The philosophy that denounces accumulation, is the philosophy of barbarism. It places man below the condition

³⁶ Orations, II, 290.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 291.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

of most of the native tribes on this continent. No man will voluntarily sow, that another may reap. You may place a man in a paradise of plenty, on this condition; but its abundance will ripen and decay⁴¹ unheeded." But if you let a man know that his property is safely his own, he will undertake all kinds of risks for it.

Having made "accumulation" a natural element of life and having declared that it is instinctive for man to want to own property, Everett proceeded with a definition of capital. He declared that "Capital is property, which a man has acquired by his industry, or has, under the law of the land, become possessed of in some other way; and which is invested by him in that form, and employed in that manner, which best suits his education, ability, and taste. No particular amount of property constitutes capital."⁴² In other words, anything which you accumulate and have for investment is capital. It sounds very clear and simple. By starting with the simple idea of accumulation, Everett is trying to build up a sort of philosophy of capitalism. His view of man is certainly not very idealistic, when we consider his claim that if a man is in a land of plenty, he will not work unless he is assured that his property is safe. This is a hard-headed view.

Capital is the "mainspring" for the operations of business in a civilized community. Because of this, Everett is "at some loss to account for the odium" which has sometimes been attached to capitalists.⁴³

⁴¹ Orations, II, 292.

⁴² Ibid., p. 293.

⁴³ Ibid.

The history of the United States is such that we may trace back the sources of American wealth to "industry and frugality." Everyone has an equal chance for economic advancement; "the wheel of fortune is in constant revolution . . . The rich man, who treats poverty with arrogance and contempt, tramples upon the ashes of his father or his grandfather; and the poor man, who nourishes feelings of unkindness and bitterness against wealth, ⁴⁴makes war with the prospects of his children." Here is the appeal to both classes at once. When a person puts himself in the position where he criticizes both sides and yet offers hope to all, he presumably is virtuous beyond reproach.

A moment's consideration will show the unreasonableness of a prejudice against capital; for it will show that it is the great instrument of the business movements of society. Without it, there can be no exercise, on a large scale, of the mechanic arts, no manufactures, no private improvements, no public enterprises of utility, no domestic exchanges, no foreign commerce. For all these purposes, a twofold use of capital is needed. It is necessary that a great many persons should have a portion of capital; as, for instance, that the fisherman should have his boat . . . But these small masses of capital are not, alone, sufficient for the highest degree of prosperity. Larger accumulations are wanted, to keep the smaller capitals in steady movement, and to circulate their products. If manufactures are to flourish, a very great outlay in buildings, fixtures, machinery, and power, is necessary. ⁴⁵

This is a good illustration of the Whig technique of appealing to both classes. You can't criticize capital because everyone is a capitalist. Even if you are only a little capitalist, you should be grateful for the big capitalist because his investments make yours safe.

⁴⁴ Orations, II, 294.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

People cannot have internal improvements without capital. "To effect these objects, capital must go forth, like a mighty genius, bidding the mountains to bow their heads, and the valleys to rise,⁴⁶ the crooked places to be straight, and the rough places plain." To improve agriculture, costly experiments must be undertaken. And now the civilized world is watching the efforts to navigate the Atlantic by steamboat. "It is said that the Great Western was built and fitted out at an expense of near half a million dollars. The success of the experiment will not be more a triumph of genius and of art than of capital."⁴⁷

Naturally the capitalist wants an adequate return on his investment, but he can get this only if he is willing to sell his product at a price the public is willing to pay. No matter how selfish a capitalist may be, he cannot get a return until he has satisfied "the demand of the people for some great article of necessity, convenience,⁴⁸ or indulgence." If we do away with the great investments of capital, we place upon society the burden of doing things by hand. "In other words, fewer people would be sustained, and those less comfortably,⁴⁹ and at greater expense." We cannot appreciate how much human comfort⁵⁰ has been advanced by capital. "As it is out of the question for the

⁴⁶ Orations, II, 295.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 296.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 297.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 298.

government to invest the public funds in the branches of industry necessary to supply the customary wants of men, it follows that this must be done by private resources and enterprise.⁵¹ To maintain the basic comforts of life, then, we need the investments of private capital.

The interest of both the worker and the capitalist is the same. "Nobody hoards; every thing is invested or employed, and, directly or indirectly, is the basis of business operations."⁵² Naturally a person expects to be paid when he lets someone use his money, Everett explains.

But there is nothing unjust or unreasonable about this. It is inherent in the idea of property. It would not be property, if I could take it from you, and use it as my own, without compensation. That simple word, it is mine, carries with it the whole theory of property and its rights. If my neighbor has saved his earnings and built him a house, and I ask his leave to go and live in it, I ought, in justice, to pay him for the use of his house. If instead of using his money to build a house, in which he permits me to live, he loans me the money, with which I build a house for myself, it is equally just that I should pay him for the use of his money. It is his, not mine. If he allows me to use the fruit of his labor and skill, I ought to pay him for that use, as I should pay him if he came and wrought for me with his hands. This is the whole doctrine of interest.⁵³

When economic reasoning is put on such a simple, straightforward level, it carries with it an aura of plain truth.

And Everett has a confession of faith to make about human nature and the capitalist. "On general principles, it may perhaps be safely

⁵¹ Orations, II, 299.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 300.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

said, that the class of men qualified to amass large fortunes, by perseverance and exclusive devotion to business, by frugality and thrift, are not at all likely to apply their wealth to ambitious or corrupt designs."⁵⁴ A few minutes before in this speech, human nature was such that a man would not work under the most favorable conditions unless he could call "mine" what he "accumulated." Now, having worked hard and devoted himself to business, he is purged of any ambitious or corrupt thought.

"Let me not be misunderstood," Everett exclaims. "I regard equality of condition and fortune as the happiest state of society, and those political institutions as immeasurably the wisest and best which tend to produce it."⁵⁵ He believes in laws which prevent the transmission of large estates from one generation to another. And then again he refers to human nature. "Providence has enacted a statute of distributions in the impulses of the human heart."⁵⁶ The doctrine of innate generosity and charity he illustrates by reference to Mr. Stephen Girard.

"The legitimate province of credit is, to facilitate and to diffuse the use of capital, and not to create it."⁵⁷ When trust and confidence are strong, then credit releases capital for greater business activity. But practices involving credit Everett does not

⁵⁴ Oration, II, 301.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 302.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 303.

wholly approve. "The eagerness to accumulate wealth, by trading on credit, is the disease of the age and country in which we live.

Something of the solidity of our character, and purity of our name,
⁵⁸
 has been sacrificed to it."

Everett feels that among the many evidences of progress are the developments in commerce. He refers to the development of steam navigation. "The immediate effect of this improvement must be a vast
⁵⁹
 increase of the intensity of international communication." Business operations are to increase beyond any scope they attained in the past. "As, in all former ages, it [commerce] has been one of the most powerful agents in shaping the destinies of the human race, it is unquestionably reserved for still higher functions."
⁶⁰
 Capitalism, which is based on natural human instincts, and which is really a cooperative enterprise of human beings, has "still higher functions" to serve in human history.

Commerce has ably served civilization in the past, Everett contends. The Phoenicians, a commercial people, invented the alphabet, probably as a kind of short-hand to enable them to keep their accounts. A thousand years later when "the Macedonian madman" attempted to conquer all of Asia, the Phoenicians stood in his way. And the merchants of Tyre delayed him even longer. Carthage, another commercial city, furnished the most efficient check to the empire-building

⁵⁸ Orations, II, 304.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

ambitions of Rome. "But there was nowhere sufficient security of property, in the old world, to form the basis of a permanent commercial prosperity. In the middle ages, the iron yoke of the feudal system was broken by commerce. The emancipation of Europe from the detestable sway of the barons, began with the privileges granted to the cities. The wealth acquired in commerce afforded the first counterpoise to that of the feudal chiefs, who monopolized the land, and, in the space of a century and a half, gave birth to a new civilization."⁶¹

Those communities only can be "signally prosperous" where virtue is the rule of conduct. The great glory of Boston is that the "old standard of morals" is still adhered to.⁶² In a rush of moralizing, Everett sums up the desired attitude toward business. "Never let the mere acquisition of wealth be an exclusive pursuit. . . . Let wealth be regarded as the instrument of doing, as well as of enjoying, good. In a republican government, the mercantile class, in the natural course of things, is the only one whose members, generally speaking, can amass fortune; let it be written on your hearts, in the morning of life, that wealth is ennobled only in its uses. Form, from the first, a large conception of the character of the liberal and upright merchant. Regard him as one to whom the country looks to sustain her honor, in the hour of trial . . ."⁶³

⁶¹ Orations, II, 305.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 310.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

In this fashion Everett tried to advance the Whig economic theories. He threw all his abilities into the defense of capital. On September 22, 1852, the merchants of Boston gave a dinner for Thomas Baring, Esq. In the course of a speech given at that dinner Everett took occasion to defend capital. "We hear, occasionally, of the supposed antagonism of labor and capital. The dangerous power of what has been called 'the dynasty of accumulated wealth' is sometimes spoken of in our political circles." He declares that he sees no reason why antagonism between capital and labor should be assumed as necessary. People who utter such criticisms "are very apprehensive that others may abuse the power which property is supposed to confer; while they pursue themselves, with laudable self-reliance, undisturbed by theory, the acquisition of the shining mis- chief, particularly when it comes in the shape of a good salary." Who but the capitalist builds hospitals and endows asylums and colleges? Capital cannot be antagonistic to other interests in society because investments depend upon promoting "the public accomodation and benefit."

Everett spoke frequently at dinners and meetings honoring outstanding business men. Such occasions gave opportunity to make further remarks on his economic philosophy. On October 9, 1856, he spoke at a dinner honoring Mr. George Peabody of Danvers. In the

⁶⁴ "Dinner to Thomas Baring," Orations, III, 135.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 137.

early part of this brief speech, Everett paid a sweeping tribute to business. He speaks of commerce being such an important interest that it is well "to recognize distinguished merit in the commercial career," a career which is as honorable as any other type in the community. "I deem it not too much to say of commerce in its largest comprehension, that it has done as much in all time, and is now doing as much, to promote the general cause of civilization, as any of the other great pursuits of life."⁶⁷ And at the end of the speech he returned to the same theme of the greatness of business as a profession. "I believe that the commercial profession is as capable of being pursued with intelligence, honor, and public spirit, as any other; and, when so pursued, is as compatible with purity and elevation of character as any other; as well entitled to the honors which a community bestows on those who adorn and serve it . . ."⁶⁸ These professions sound sincere enough but on examination are seen to be empty of any significant meaning.

⁶⁷ "Mr. George Peabody," Orations, III, 467.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 471.

3. Business and the Declaration of Independence

The Declaration of Independence has been the cause for the expansion and the economic development of the country. Everett declared this is a Fourth of July speech given at Lowell in 1830.

He discussed the migration over the Appalachians and the development of new states. "This astonishing growth [in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio] has evidently not only been subsequent to the declaration of independence, but consequent upon its establishment, as effect upon cause; and this both by a removal of specific obstacles to our progress, which were imposed by the colonial system, and by the general operation of the new political order of things on the mind⁶⁹ and character of the country." The spirit of freedom gives energy⁷⁰ and motive to the laborers. "I am disposed to think that the history of the world," he says, "would concur with our own history, in proving that, in proportion as a community is under the full operation of the encouraging prospects and generous motives which exist in a free country, precisely in that proportion will its labor be efficient, enterprising, inventive, and productive of all the blessings⁷¹ of life."

The manufacturing of products from wool, cotton, iron, leather, and wood is connected with the comfort of every family. Yet, before the Declaration of Independence these manufactures not only

⁶⁹ "Fourth of July at Lowell," Orations, II, 51.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 52.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 53.

received no "legislative favor" from the British government, "but they were from time to time made the subject of severe penal statutes."⁷²

Great economic benefits have come from independence. "The establishment . . . of a prosperous manufacturing town like Lowell, regarded in itself, and as a specimen of other similar seats of American art and industry, may with propriety be considered as a peculiar triumph of our political independence."⁷³ No event since the Declaration has been of such great benefit as the growth of manufacturing.⁷⁴

The first great addition to the wealth of the country has been the development of water power. "The colonial system annihilated it, or, what was the same thing, prevented its application."⁷⁵ Thus a vast amount of natural wealth was neglected. Even now, the smallest part of it has been rendered available; and what has thus far been done is important not so much for its own sake, Everett contends, as for pointing the way and creating an inducement for further achievements in the same direction. There is water power enough in the United States, as yet unapplied, to sustain the industry of a population a hundred fold as large as that now in existence.⁷⁶

⁷² Orations, II, 54.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 55.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 56.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 57.

A second benefit has been the establishment of manufacturing towns like Lowell. "The population gathered at a manufacturing establishment is to be fed, and this gives an enhanced value to the land in all the neighboring region. In this new country the land often acquires a value in this way for the first time." You can make an interesting contrast, Everett claims, between the present Lowell and this neighborhood twelve years ago. "It is the contrast of production with barrenness; of cultivation with waste; of plenty with an absence of every thing but the bare necessities of life."⁷⁷

This rosy picture is by way of introducing the idea, important in the economics of Whiggery, that all classes benefit by economic development. ". . . a variety of pursuits is a great advantage to a community. It offers scope to the exercise of the boundless variety of talent and capacity which are bestowed by nature, and which are sure to be developed by an intelligent population, if encouragement and opportunity are presented."⁷⁸ Manufacturing aids all the practical arts. Manufacturing encourages the inventive mind and gives it actual problems to deal with. "The peculiar faculty of the mind to which these wonderful mechanical contrivances of modern art owe their origin, is not likely to be developed in the routine of agricultural operations."⁷⁹ It takes the actual mechanical atmosphere of the factory to give development to the inventive skill. And this skill

⁷⁷ Orations, II, 58.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 59.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 61

creates machines which Everett ecstatically calls the "lifeless but almost reasoning tenants" of the factory.

He acknowledges that there had formerly been some fear expressed in this country about the effects of introducing manufacturing, but he affirms that such fears were groundless. "It would seem that the industrial system of Europe required for its administration an amount of suffering, depravity and brutalism, which formed one of the great scandals of the age. No form of serfdom or slavery could be worse. Reflecting persons, on this side of the ocean, contemplated with uneasiness the introduction, into this country, of a system which had disclosed such hideous features in Europe; but it must be frankly owned that these apprehensions have proved wholly unfounded."⁸⁰

Lowell illustrates the common interests of the classes and what they can achieve together. He says to the people of Lowell:

The alliance which you have thus established between labor and capital (which is nothing but labor saved) may truly be called a holy alliance. It realizes, in a practical way, that vision of social life and action which has been started abroad, in forms, as it appears to me, inconsistent with the primary instincts of our nature, and wholly incapable of being ingrafted upon our modern civilization. That no further progress can be made in this direction, I certainly would not say. It would be contrary to the great laws of human progress to suppose that, at one effort, this hard problem in social affairs had reached its perfect solution. But I think it may be truly said, that in no other way has so much been done, as in these establishments, to mingle up the interests of society; to confer upon labor, in all its degrees of cultivation, (from mere handiwork and strength up to inventive skill and adorning taste) the advantages which result from previous accumulations. Without shaking that great principle by which a man calls what he has his own, whether it is little or much, (the corner stone of civilized life,) these establishments form a mutually beneficial connection between those who have nothing but their muscular power and those who are able to bring into the partnership the masses of property

requisite to carry on an extensive concern, - property which was itself, originally, the work of men's hands, but has been converted, by accumulation and thrift, from labor into capital. This I regard as one of the greatest triumphs of humanity, morals, and, I will add, religion. The labor of a community is its greatest wealth - its most vital concern. To elevate it in the social scale, to increase its rewards, to give it cultivation and self-respect, should be the constant aim of an enlightened patriotism. There can be no other basis of a progressive Christian civilization. ⁸¹

We could well draw the conclusion from this passage that Everett felt Lowell was a fine example of "progressive Christian civilization." And we would be justified because his many references to business and businessmen are almost always completely sympathetic, and at times almost reverential.

We have already pointed out his acknowledgement of the economic factor behind the colonization of New England. Later, he looks at the effect on business of the end of the Revolutionary War. "Independence found us, in a great measure, destitute of public establishments; the eyes of the people were unconsciously turned to the merchants, as the chief depositories of large masses of disposable wealth; and they promptly stood forth as public benefactors. . . . In all the great enterprises for public improvement, in all our establishments for religious, moral, literary, and charitable purposes, the genial patronage of commerce has been steadily felt." ⁸² This particular point about the contributions of capital to the religious and educational life of the community Everett used in his defense of conservative economic

⁸¹ Orations, II, 64.

⁸² "Accumulation, Property," Orations, II, 307.

opinions. But, nevertheless, it is a point which we cannot pass by lightly because in contributions of this kind the individualistic Puritan spirit found satisfying social expression all through the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. The capitalist seems to have found that he could assuage any sense of guilt for failing to meet social responsibility by setting up a foundation for some charitable, religious, or educational purpose.

The key to American economic life is freedom. Everett once compared the position of capital in the United States with its place in Turkey and Persia. In these two Oriental countries the "rich Jews of Bagdad, and rich Armenians at Damascus" have to keep their wealth in precious stones, and the stones hidden. They face the danger of torture as greedy rulers try to force their wealth from them.

But, Everett says, "How different the case in a free country! There capital walks boldly abroad; seeks investment; gives life to commerce, manufactures, and the arts; traverses the land side by side with her sister credit, scattering plenty by the way; [and Everett grows very poetic as he continues] smites the everlasting hills with her magic wand, and bids their adamantine portals fly open before the loaded train . . ."

⁸³ "Thomas Baring," Orations, III, 136.

4. Agriculture - the Basic Industry

Everett spoke quite often for agricultural societies. As an aspiring politician, he could not afford to ignore such opportunities for expressing his ideas. So on October 16, 1833, he addressed the Massachusetts Agricultural Society at Brighton and discussed the question of the importance of agriculture in a civilized community.⁸⁴

Agriculture provides, directly or indirectly, all the food of a civilized community. It provides the material for our clothing. "Agriculture seems to be the first pursuit of civilized man. It enables him to escape from the life of the savage, and the wandering shepherd, into that of social man, gathered into fixed communities, and surrounding himself with the comforts and blessings of neighborhood, country, and home."⁸⁵ Thus, agriculture is obviously the basic industry.

Everett rapidly considers the relative significance of agriculture in each period of history from antiquity to the present.⁸⁶ Now, he says there are "four principal states or conditions in which the agricultural population of modern Europe and America is found; and among these four states I do not include that of the West Indian and North American slaves."⁸⁷

The serfs of Russia are the "first and lowest in the scale."⁸⁸
Next comes a considerable part of the peasants of Europe who are

⁸⁴ "Agriculture," Orations, I, 442-58.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 444.

⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 445-8.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 448.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

"tenants at the halves." This system is pernicious because it does not encourage improvement. "There is a constant struggle, on the side of each party, to get as much as possible out of the land, with the least possible outlay."⁸⁹ The third condition exists in England where, under a system of large landlords, the land is cultivated by tenants.⁹⁰

"It has been a question much debated in England, whether a system of this kind, by which the land is principally held in large farms belonging to the aristocracy of the country, and cultivated by tenants on lease, is more favorable to the improvement of agriculture than the multiplication of small farms belonging to those who till them."⁹¹ Any improvements under such conditions require large amounts of capital. If this is done, then the rent will be increased. Everett cannot see how the tenant can be benefited under such circumstances. The English system of tenancy "tends to the extermination of the small proprietors, and to reduce the cottagers, peasants, and all those by whom, under whatever name, the labor of cultivation is performed, to a state of abject and servile dependence."⁹²

The fourth condition is that which exists in the non-slaveholding states of the United States, and especially in New England. This condition is "the most favorable to the prosperity of the state and

⁸⁹ Orations, I, 450.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 451.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 452.

the happiness of the individual. . . . In a country like ours, where every man's capacity, industry, and good fortune are left free to work their way without prejudice, as far as possible, there will be among the agricultural, as well as among the commercial population, fortunes of all sizes . . .⁹³ It is better for a country that almost all its land be cultivated by "an independent yeomanry."

When the question why this is better, is raised, it is not easy to formulate the answer. "It involves political and moral consideration; it trenches on the province of the feelings; it concerns the whole character of a people."⁹⁴ The key to the answer lies in the concept of property. "The owner makes improvements with zeal and spirit, for he makes them on his own soil, in the assurance that he or his children will reap the benefit of them . . . But no person takes a genuine pleasure in improving another man's property."⁹⁵ This is a realistic answer premised on man's selfishness.

One of the democratic developments of the early part of the nineteenth century was progress toward universal manhood suffrage in place of property qualifications. Everett apparently must have had this in mind when he advanced the principle: "A very considerable portion of the political power of every country must be vested in the landholders; for they hold a large part of the property of the country."⁹⁶ Everett's

⁹³ Orations, I, 452.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 453.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 454.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 455.

answer to the problem of how much power should be vested in landholders is to increase the number of landholders and give as many people as possible an economic stake in society. "There is no way in which a calm, orderly, and intelligent exercise and control of political power can be assured to the people, but by a distribution among them, as equally as possible, of the property of the country; and I know no manner in which such a distribution can be permanently and peacefully affected, but by keeping the land in small farms suitable to be cultivated by their owners. Under such a system, and under no other, the people will exercise their rights with independence."⁹⁷

The "moral aspect," or, as we would nowadays say, the psychological aspect, Everett feels is the most important factor in ownership of property. "The man who stands upon his own soil, who feels that by the laws of the land in which he lives, by the law of civilized nations, he is the rightful and exclusive owner of the land which he tills, is, by the constitution of our nature, under a wholesome influence, not easily imbibed from any other source. He feels, other things being equal, more strongly than another the character of man as the lord of the inanimate world."⁹⁸ The proof of the value of individual ownership of the land may be found by contrasting America with Europe. Seize the cities of Vienna or Paris, and Austria and France have fallen. But during our own Revolutionary War, when Boston was seized, Massachusetts did not fall because the men who made up the revolutionary army owned the soil they fought for.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Orations, I, 455.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 456.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 456-7.

Without saying so directly, in speeches such as this Everett built up the idea, by suggestion, that the farmer was a capitalist who should be proud of his class and his position.

5. "Protecting the Arts and Industry of the People"

As the friend of and spokesman for the New England industrialists, Everett spoke for protective tariffs. His address entitled "American Manufactures," which was given on October 14, 1831, at the fourth annual fair of the American Institute of the city of New York,
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is an argument for the tariff.

Everett starts building up his case by stating general principles on which all can agree. The useful arts, he says, are the product of civilization, and they in turn help to create and perpetuate civil-
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ization. If the usual division of industry is accepted - commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, "that country is the most prosperous, which, under good laws and a wise administration of them at home, and in the enjoyment of an intercourse, on liberal principles, with foreign nations, possesses these three branches of industry in their due proportion to each other; so that all flourish together, and neither
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languishes that the rest may thrive."

This reasoning is easy to accept and go along with. Everett goes on to say that these three are all important to the welfare of

¹⁰⁰ Orations, II, 69-99.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 71.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 72.

the community. If a person were forced to make a comparison as to importance, "we should pronounce agriculture the most important branch, manufactures the next, and foreign commerce the least important of the three."¹⁰³

"The great problem in political economy" is how a due proportion can be maintained between these three. "To this the general answer is obvious: By free institutions of government, - laws affording security to property, - and the diffusion of education and useful knowledge."¹⁰⁴ The specific answer is not so obvious.

To appreciate the reasons for protective tariff, we must carefully consider the problem of building up a national economy. Everett explains it this way:

Of these abstract principles, there are certain modifications in practice, which proceed from the division of mankind into nations, - the necessity of securing, at all events, the national independence and safety, - and promoting, in the highest possible degree, the national strength and resources. This necessity of living in nations is partly real, - that is, founded on descent from a common stock, and required for the happiness of the different families of man, - (it being found, by experience, that all mankind cannot live under one government,) and it is partly founded on certain generous and noble feelings, which we call patriotic and which impose an obligation not less imperious on all liberal natures. These principles of national origin, feeling, interest, and pride modify the laws of mere public economy. They require, for instance, at times, the establishment of a new and separate government. . . . To every independent state it is absolutely essential to possess, at home, the means of naval and military defence. Ships of war might be hired, certainly they could be bought, abroad; and mercenary troops may be obtained for money. But the honor not less than the safety of a country requires, that, at whatever cost, naval and military establishments, and

¹⁰³ Orations, II, 73.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 75.

every thing required for them, should be formed and produced at home. It is accordingly admitted, even by writers opposed to all restrictions on trade, that the manufacture of fire-arms, gunpowder, and other munitions of war, ought to be established in a country, although it might cost less, in time of peace, to import them. On the same ground, and in order to rear up a navy, a discriminating tonnage duty has been defended by some in this country unfriendly to other protecting duties. ¹⁰⁵

This passage contains the chief premises for Everett's argument.

Looking realistically at the question, he says, out of necessity mankind is divided into nations, and each national unit must protect the national safety and promote the national strength. Promoting the national safety demands that the means for defense be produced at home, and this principle has justified restrictions which would encourage the manufacture of munitions.

National legislation must assume an occasional war with the attendant interruption of foreign trade. ¹⁰⁶ "Finally, on the same principle, whatever is necessary for the increase of the country in population, wealth, and general prosperity, - as an independent community, - by a division of labor, an adequate circulating medium, and a conversion of natural into active capital, must be effected, as far as possible, by judicious laws protecting the industry of the country ¹⁰⁷ against the hostile effects of foreign legislation." Everett's reasoning might be put into one sentence: legislation which is designed to protect a nation's industry is legislation which will promote the general welfare and prosperity. He says that the purpose of such

¹⁰⁵ Orations, II, 75.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 76.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

laws is "building up and protecting the arts and industry of the
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 people." Everyone will benefit from legislation protecting manu-
 facturing. This is a natural corollary to the Whig idea that every-
 one is a capitalist and everyone is a worker.

The details of such legislation are not so easily stated. Peo-
 ple commonly think that the exchange of agricultural products of one
 country for the manufactured products of another is advantageous.
 But if there is a refusal to buy agricultural products under such an
 arrangement, then "judicious legislation" is absolutely required in
 order to raise up domestic manufacturing which will make the exchange
 109
 for agricultural produce. Manufacturing is so complicated that
 "unless there were some protection against foreign competition, in its
 infancy, no manufacture previously well established in one country
 110
 could be introduced into another."

"Where the laborer receives a generous portion of the products
 of his toil and skill, the country is prosperous; and it languishes
 111
 where his share is mean and inadequate." In Europe labor is paid a
 subsistence wage. As a result, other countries find it difficult to
 enter into competition with European countries unless they have some
 form of protection for their infant industries or unless they are
 willing to have their own labor depressed to such a subsistence

108 Orations, II, 77.

109 Ibid.

110 Ibid., p. 78.

111 Ibid., p. 79.

standard. And Everett points out special circumstances that worked in the case of our own history.

The situation of our own country is peculiar. The settlements on our coast commenced at a period when the south and west of Europe were in a highly improved condition, when many of the arts of life were greatly advanced, and several of the great manufactures firmly established, skill acquired, and capital largely accumulated in that region. Had other circumstances admitted the establishment of manufactures in this country, these alone would have prevented it. But in addition to this, were the scantiness of the population and the abundance of land, giving a value to labor absolutely incompatible with the pursuit of manufactures. ¹¹²

These early conditions are now changed. In fact, as Everett points out in an effort to strengthen the patriotic argument in favor of protection, two years before the Declaration of Independence a non-importation agreement was adopted. The provisions of this agreement specifically stated a desire to protect the infant manufacturing ¹¹³ of the colonies. Later, under the Articles of Confederation there were bad economic conditions.

Thus was presented the extraordinary and calamitous spectacle of a successful revolution wholly failing of its ultimate object. The people of America had gone to war, not for names, but for things. It was not merely to change a government by kings and ministers, for a government administered by presidents and secretaries, and members of Congress. It was to redress real grievances, to improve their condition, to throw off the burden which the colonial system laid on their industry. To attain these objects, they endured incredible hardships, and bore and suffered almost beyond the measure of humanity. And when their independence was attained, they found it was but a piece of parchment. The arm which had struck for it in the field, was

¹¹² Orations, II, 79.

¹¹³ Ibid., pp. 83-4.

palsied in the workshop; the industry which had been burdened in the colonies, was crushed in the free states; and, at the close of the revolution, the mechanics and manufacturers of the country found themselves, in the bitterness of their hearts, independent - and ruined. ¹¹⁴

This historical argument is used to clinch the whole statement in favor of protective legislation. The Constitution itself was adopted, he argues, in order to achieve a means for creating protective legislation and consequently giving to the American people the fruits of their revolution.

Such an interpretation of history was accepted and fashionable in the nineteenth century. Present-day scholars, like Beard, are inclined to attack this view as ultra-conservative reading of American history. Beard writes: "To the eight years of government under these Articles of Confederation, the term 'critical period' has been applied and it has become the fashion to draw a doleful picture of the age, to portray the country sweeping toward an abyss from which it was rescued in the nick of time by the heroic framers of the Constitution. Yet an analysis of the data upon which that view is built raises the specter
¹¹⁵ of skepticism." The country was improving economically during the period of Confederation, with the exception of shipping and manufac-
¹¹⁶ turing. Popular movements were underway in some of the new states to check the political power of the conservative and business elements;

¹¹⁴ Orations, II, 86.

¹¹⁵ Rise of American Civilization (New York, 1936), I, 302.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 303.

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Massachusetts, for example, had its Shays' Rebellion. Conservatives became alarmed at the democratic tendencies and there was a movement to revise the form of government. "The early response to this agitation for a constitutional revision was not impressive," Beard points
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out.

Yet none of this is apparent in Everett's economic argument. He says, "The daystar of the constitution arose; and of all the classes of the people of America, to whose hearts it came as the harbinger of blessings long hoped for and long despaired of, most unquestionably the tradesmen, mechanics, and manufacturers hailed it with the warm-
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est welcome." This is the conservative and capitalistic view of American history. That it was successfully sold to the American people may be seen from a fact pointed out by Beard: "At the Republican National convention in Chicago, which nominated him [Lincoln] growers and carders of wool from Ohio and Indiana joined the spinners of New England and iron masters of Pennsylvania in cheering for the protec-
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tive tariff plank."

6. Interest in Internal Improvements

It was not, of course, mere argument for a tariff which had such an influence on opinion throughout the country. "As quick transportation carried farm produce to eastern markets and brought ready cash

¹¹⁷ Beard, I, 307.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 309.

¹¹⁹ "American Manufactures," Orations, II, 86.

¹²⁰ Beard, I, 638.

in return," Beard writes, "as railways, increasing population, and good roads lifted land values, brick and frame houses began to supplant log cabins; with deep political significance did prosperity tend to stifle the passion for 'easy money' and allay the ancient hatred for banks. At last beyond the mountains the chants of successful farmers were heard above the laments of poor whites . . ."¹²¹

Three new types of transportation began in the first half of the nineteenth century to have a revolutionary effect upon the economic development of the country.¹²² These were the steamship, the grand trunk canal, and the railroad. Everett was interested in these developments in transportation and he lent his support to them.

His interest in canals may be seen in a letter he wrote on January 14, 1826, to the Hon. Joseph M. White. Everett at this time was a member of the House, and he wrote this long letter to White with the idea that it would be communicated to a Senatorial Committee. Everett clearly saw the relationship between transportation and business. "The construction of ship-canal," he wrote, "has from the earliest period of antiquity been one of the most favorite means, to which powerful states have resorted of improving the conditions of their subjects, by an extension of the facilities of commerce."¹²³

¹²¹ Beard, I, 638.

¹²² Ibid., p. 636 ff.

¹²³ Everett Papers, New York City Historical Society.

This letter shows a familiarity with the obstacles to building canals. He refers to the area of Panama as the most desirable place for constructing a canal which would affect world commerce. "The character of the intervening country is admirably adapted for the opening of such a communication; and it may be doubted whether the surface of the globe presents more than one other region, over which an artificial navigation could be effected, with such general advantage to the commerce of the world; I allude of course to that, which separates, by a narrow isthmus, the Atlantic and Pacific oceans."¹²⁴

In the concluding part of the letter, after discussing examples of outstanding canals in Europe, he expresses his approval of the idea of a ship canal across the Florida peninsula.

As governor of Massachusetts, Everett made a definite contribution to railroad building. He lent his influence to help the promotion of the Western Railroad Corporation which had authority to build a railroad from Worcester to Springfield and then westward toward the Hudson River. Money came in so slowly for the project that Everett recommended that state money be invested in it. A bill was introduced into the legislature, passed, and signed by Everett. This provided for the state to invest one million dollars in the Western Railroad Corporation.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ Everett Papers, New York City Historical Society.

¹²⁵ Frothingham, p. 141.

In a speech delivered at Faneuil Hall, October 7, 1835, Everett declared that the great thing lacking to the prosperity of the state was communication with the west. Speaking for support of the railroad, he points out that the destinies of the country run east and west. "Intercourse between the mighty interior west and the seacoast is the great principle of our commercial prosperity and political strength."

He feels that already Boston is losing trade with the interior which is rightfully hers.

This commercial alienation has gone to a length which I suspect the citizens of Boston are not generally aware of. The entire region west of the hills of Berkshire communicates with New York through the Hudson, and the whole valley of the Connecticut, in and out of Massachusetts, communicates with Long Island Sound. I am afraid to say in how large a part of Massachusetts I think a complete non-intercourse reigns with the capital . . . He tells of a recent trip to Deerfield . . . And what, Mr. President, do you think I saw? We had scarce driven out of the village, and were making our way along through South Orange and Erving's Grant, when I saw two horses straining up a hill, - the horses' heads to the east, - the wagons laden with crates, casks, and bales of foreign merchandise, which had come from Liverpool, by the way of Hartford, from New York! I hold that, sir, a little too much for a Massachusetts man to contemplate without pain.

In this fashion Everett, during the time he was governor, lent his presence and his persuasive powers to a meeting designed to sell stock in the Western Railroad Corporation. He apparently did not think it at all beneath his dignity to support a business publicly.

¹²⁶ "The Western Railroad," Orations, II, 144.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 145.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 146.

Certainly, he made no false pretense about the real reason for building the railroad. "This, sir, is the object; to take our share, at some seasons of the year the first share, at all seasons a proportionate share, of the whole business, not merely of the interior of the state of New York, but of that almost interminable region farther west, which now derives its supplies from the city of New York. A great object surely; to a commercial eye in this city, the greatest
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that can be proposed."

This same point about self-interest Everett made in a speech to farmers at the cattle show at Dedham on September 26, 1849. He spoke of his conviction that the railroads would do as much for agriculture as they had done for business and manufacturing. The railroads "will put it in the power of the farmer to get his supplies from the seaboard, and to carry his produce to market, much more advantageously
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than formerly."

7. Attitudes Toward Labor

The second quarter of the nineteenth century saw great economic and social changes. As Beard Comments, "With the multiplication of manufacturing establishments and railways came another natural consequence: the rapid growth of a working class separated from the
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soil and congested in the cities." The laboring class was being

¹²⁹ Orations, II, 148.

¹³⁰ "Cattle Show at Dedham," Orations, II, 650.

¹³¹ p. 640.

from the farms, both men and women going into the factories, and through immigration from Europe. Starvation drove thousands of Irish peasants to America. "Within two decades, more than one-half the laboring population of that unhappy country was carried across the Atlantic and incorporated into the social and political order of the United States."¹³²

Although Massachusetts and Boston remained conservative during this period, yet they felt the impact of these social movements. Darling explains that "Boston had a population composite and contradictory in character. Besides the wealthy upper class there were three different elements: native wage earners, small merchants and bankers, and foreign immigrants. . . . already in 1824 many newcomers from abroad were settling in Boston. By 1828 Irish immigrants had come in numbers sufficient to compete with native unskilled labor and to form a distinct group whose potential votes attracted the attention of politicians."¹³³

The labor movement in Massachusetts included the organization of the Workingmen's Party which was started at Plymouth in April, 1830, growing "out of a demand by carpenters and ship caulkers for shorter hours. They wished to establish a ten-hour day. Their discontent, however, soon expanded into larger demands for a lien law which would ensure laborers some benefit from the product of their labor, for

¹³² Beard, I, 641.

¹³³ p. 21.

abolition of imprisonment for debts, for reduction of lawyers' fees,
 for public education and industrial training."¹³⁴

Everett's only extended statement on labor seems to be the speech given before the Charlestown Lyceum in October 1830 under the title
 "Lecture on the Workingmen's Party."¹³⁵ He begins his discussion with his customary statement of general principles. "Man is by nature an active being. He is made to labor. . . . [He] is so created, that,
 let his wants be as simple as they will, he must labor to supply them."¹³⁶
 As the standard of civilization advances, man does not work less; on the contrary, he works as much but accomplishes more in the time he
 works."¹³⁷

Next Everett states a psychological truth on which all of modern advertising is based.

It is true, as man rises in improvement, he would be enabled by his arts and machinery, to satisfy the primary wants of life with less labor; and this may be thought to show, at first glance, that man was not intended to be a working being; because, in proportion as he advances in improvement, less work would be required to get a mere livelihood. But here we see a curious provision of nature. In proportion as our bare natural wants are satisfied, artificial wants, or civilized wants, show themselves. And, in the very highest state of improvement, it requires as constant an exertion to satisfy the new wants, which grow out of the habits and tastes of civilized life, as it requires in savage life, to satisfy hunger and thirst, and keep from freezing. In other words, the innate desire of improving our condition keeps us all in a state of want.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ Darling, p. 98.

¹³⁵ Orations, I, 283-306.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 283.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 284.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

All this is by way of proving conclusively that man is a working being by his very nature. To this, Everett adds some general statistics to show that the daily work men do is immensely valuable.¹³⁹

But the real question concerns the recent organization of a workingmen's party. He says:

I will observe, in the first place, then, that if, as I have endeavored to show, man is, by nature, a working being, it would follow that a workingmen's party is founded in the very principles of our nature. Most parties may be considered as artificial, in their very essence; many are local, temporary, and personal. What will all our political parties be, a hundred years hence? What are they now, in nine tenths of the habitable globe? Mere nonentities. But the workingmen's party, however organized, is one that must subsist in every civilized country, to the end of time. In other words, its first principles are laid in our nature.¹⁴⁰

In this fashion Everett approves a workingmen's party. It seems a rather laborious way to approve it. Perhaps the reason is that Everett the politician wanted to phrase a statement so general in principle that he could stand by it. Certainly when it came to questions about slavery, he tried to take refuge in safe, general principles.

Next, he asks what the general object of a workingmen's party is.¹⁴¹ It certainly is not to win a particular election, he claims. Instead, he feels that the object surely is "to promote the prosperity and welfare of workingmen; that is, to obtain for every man disposed to work the greatest freedom in the choice of his pursuit, the

¹³⁹ Orations, I, 287.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

greatest encouragement and aid in pursuing it, the greatest security in enjoying its fruits; in other words, to make work, in the greatest possible degree, produce happiness." ¹⁴² This statement comes close to expressing some of the objectives of present-day labor unions.

Everett takes up the question of membership. "The general answer here is obvious: All who do the work, or are actually willing and desirous to do it, and prevented only by absolute disability, such as sickness or natural infirmity." ¹⁴³ Certain classes of men ought to be excluded. First would be bad men, that is, men whose work is not honest. Idlers, too, should be excluded. A third class, the busybodies, ¹⁴⁴ should be excluded if possible, or admitted only with great caution.

While Everett does not come right out and say so, what he is reasoning here is that everyone, with the exclusion of the three groups named, belongs or should belong to the workingmen's party. All people who work "form one party, one great, comprehensive society, and this by the very law of our nature." ¹⁴⁵ On careful analysis, we will find that "civilization - that is, the bringing men out of a savage into a cultivated state - consists in multiplying the number of pursuits and occupations; so that the most perfect society is one where the largest number of persons are prosperously employed in the

¹⁴² Orations, I, 288.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 288-90.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 290.

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greatest variety of ways." This is another expression of the Whig strategy to claim that everyone belonged to the same class.

There is a philosophical or metaphysical reason for this. Society is an organism. The men who make up society, Everett explains, are composed individually of body and soul working in harmony. Every single thing done by an individual calls for this harmonious action. The simplest manual action requires the same mental powers as comprehension of a high truth of science. God has so constituted the world that action required the harmonious working together of men who carry out specific parts or functions. The building of a telescope, for example, demands the working together of a number of men skilled in different ways. To maintain the harmonious working together which is essential to society in a civilized state, the foundation requirement is justice in the relations between individuals, and justice in-
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cludes security of property.

As we have already noted, one of the labor complications in Boston and Massachusetts was the immigration from Europe. In Everett's eyes, there were strong reasons for anyone coming to America. "Even for persons in comparatively easy circumstances in Europe, there are strong inducements to immigrate to America. Most of the governments are arbitrary, the taxes oppressive, the exactions of military service onerous in the extreme. Add to all this the harassing insecurity of property and life."
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146 Orations, I, 291.

147 *Ibid.*, pp. 391-301.

148 "Discovery and Colonization of America," Orations, III, 214.

Everett felt that the Irish immigration into this country was of great benefit.

This "Celtic Exodus," as it has been aptly called, is to all the parties immediately connected with it one of the most important events of the day. To the emigrants themselves it may be regarded as a passing from death to life. It will benefit Ireland by reducing a surplus population, and restoring a sounder and juster relation of capital and labor. It will benefit the laboring classes in England, where wages have been kept down to the starvation-point by the struggle between the native population and the inhabitants of the sister island for that employment and food, of which there is not enough for both. This benefit will extend from England to ourselves, and will lessen the pressure of that competition which our labor is obliged to sustain, with the ill-paid labor of Europe. In addition to all this, the constant flux into America of stout and efficient hands supplies the greatest want in a new country, which is labor, gives value to land, and facilitates the execution of every species of private enterprise and public work. ¹⁴⁹

The remark is made that these immigrants are foreigners. To this Everett responds with an historical argument. He asks if the founder of Virginia was a foreigner or a native. He asked what friendly savages called out, "Welcome, Englishmen!" to the Pilgrim ¹⁵⁰ fathers. Apparently he has no sympathy for the snobbery implied in this idea. Everett may have been an aristocrat, but he did not have the stock prejudices of that class.

Immigration is more than a set of statistics. There are great human problems involved. Most immigrants bring strength and skills, but they have no financial margin for accidents. Coupled with the strangeness of a new country, this means an increase in the demand

¹⁴⁹ Orations, III, 220.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 222.

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public and private relief. "The resources of public and private benevolence are heavily burdened; and when the best has been done, no very great impression seems to have been made on the mass of suffering. Too many mendicants swarm in our streets; and our hospitals, almshouses, and lunatic asylums are crowded with the misery of Europe."

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ery of Europe." We should not regard this problem with too much alarm. There is land enough in America for all the inhabitants of Europe. He feels that Congress of the separate states should pass legislation which will make those immigrants who can afford it, bear part of the cost of the pauperism which they bring into the country with them. This, of course, will not completely solve the problem. "It was not intended, my friends, in the great economy of Providence, that it should be [solved]. 'Ye have the poor always,' - always will have. It is doubtful whether civilized society will ever exist in a state of such glittering prosperity, that this sober and sobering tint will not cast its shade over the brighter

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lights of the picture."

Everett is convinced that we should never expect to have a community without objects of charity. At the same time, it is shameful that there should be large numbers of beggars in a city like Boston. "It is grievous to reflect, that in this great, prosperous, and liberal city of Boston, there are not hundreds, but

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"Effects of Immigration," Orations, III, 104.

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Ibid., p. 106.

153

Ibid., p. 107.

thousands, who, when they issue from their cellars and sheds in the morning, do not know whence the day's food is to come. This is a state of things at once reproachful to the community, and ruinous to its victims. It sinks them to the lowest point of depression, physical and moral."¹⁵⁴ Everett was witnessing some of the first fruits of a capitalistic-industrial economy. But he did not seem to connect the widespread poverty with the economic causes.

The fact that he did not see such connections is further illustrated by his recorded reactions to the Chartist disturbances which occurred while he was American ambassador to England. In an official letter of report to Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, Everett wrote on September 1, 1842. He reported that the disturbances were subsiding, and that the police were proceeding to examine those arrested.

As far as I have been able to penetrate to the true nature of these disturbances, they are the result of several conspiring causes. The wages of the working classes are unquestionably low, and in a depressed state of trade there is a natural tendency to reduce them, - and what comes to the same thing, - to contract work. The suffering thus produced is aggravated by the habits of the laborers in this country. Not only do they regard as necessities of life a quantity of animal food and various other articles of consumption, which would be accounted luxuries by the Irish and the continental peasantry, but a degree of dissipation, unknown elsewhere among the same class, prevails, I am told, very extensively among the English operatives. A considerable portion of the week's earning is spent by the head of the family at the ale house, on Saturday evening, Sunday, and Monday, and the wife and children are punished for the real necessities of life, the rest of the week. It is plain, that as far as these habits prevail, the distress of this part of the community must be as hopeless as it is extreme; for any little increase of wages would but furnish the means of protracted dissipation.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ Orations, III, 108.

¹⁵⁵ Dispatch No. 21, Everett Papers 45, bound volume.

Careful examination of this paragraph reveals a serious lack of appreciation of the workers' point of view. In a depression it may be "natural" to reduce wages, but is it right or fair? If workingmen should form parties to promote their happiness - if Everett still believed seriously what he had said about workingmen twelve years before - then this seems a strangely bloodless commentary on a great social disturbance in England. He comments that the English workingmen like food of a type considered a luxury by the Irish and continental peasantry. Does this mean then that the English workers have no right to a higher standard of living? And what should our reaction be when Everett praises the American working conditions as so superior to those of Europe? Do American workers have a right to better conditions to which the English have no right? Too, in discussing here the great intemperance among the workers, he overlooks any psychological causes.

Everett fears one possible result of these disturbances.

The worst feature perhaps in the late disorders has been, that it has revealed to the rioters the dangerous secret of their power. The principal dependence for food during the suspension of labor, has been forced contributions, - plunder under the name of alms. Mobs of thousands of persons have found out, by a fortnight's experience, that they have but to present themselves at the provision shops and at private houses, in parties of seven or eight, to receive whatever they may choose to demand: - and that not an individual passing in the street but might easily be made to purchase with money immunity from insult and violence. The ease with which subsistence was procured in this way was matter of boast in some of the intercepted letters of the rioters. 156

Anything which might harm property is deplorable!

In the dispatches and letters discussing these disorders there is no evidence of sympathy for the workers. Everett's thinking about social-economic forces was very one-sided.

In talking about labor in this country Everett managed an optimistic approach which at times can quite successfully conceal a lack of real understanding. Circumstances in the United States should encourage young men to apply themselves to get some scientific education; "it is beyond all question, that what are called the mechanical trades of this country are on a much more liberal footing than they are in Europe."¹⁵⁷ For in Europe there are restraints on workers¹⁵⁸ "which almost amount to slavery." In England it is almost impossible for a young man to settle in any spot except where he was born. "Chained to such a spot by chance and necessity, the young man feels¹⁵⁹ himself but half free." The craft or guild organizations which exist in every part of Europe, place unreasonable restraints.¹⁶⁰ The real criticism of Europe is the lack of freedom. "Whenever governments and corporations thus interfere with private industry, the spring of personal enterprise is broken. Men are depressed with a consciousness of living under control. They cease to feel a responsibility¹⁶¹ for themselves."

¹⁵⁷ "Importance of Scientific Knowledge," Orations, I, 256.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 257.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 258.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 259.

Everett felt that the future of the country lay in the west and that it offered opportunities for many people. "This vast continent is, as yet, nowhere fully stocked - almost everywhere thinly peopled. There are yet mighty regions of it in which the settler's axe has never been heard." ¹⁶² "The balance of the country's fortunes," he declares, "is in the west. There lie, wrapped up in the folds of an eventful futurity, the influences which will most powerfully affect our national weal and woe." ¹⁶³

Everett seems firmly to have believed that in America there was real opportunity for the individual worker to make a respected place for himself. "Here, it rarely happens," he says, "that, even for a single generation, an independence can be enjoyed, without labor and diligence bestowed on its acquisition and preservation; while, as a general rule, the place to which each individual shall rise in society is precisely graduated on the scale of capacity and exertion, ¹⁶⁴ - in a word, of merit."

8. Everett's Gubernatorial Addresses

Schlesinger remarks that the Whig party was a majority in Massachusetts and so did not have to adapt itself too much to the democratic currents.

¹⁶² Orations, I, 264.

¹⁶³ "Education in the Western States," Orations, I, 350.

¹⁶⁴ "Importance of Scientific Knowledge," Orations, I, 266.

John Quincy Adams, in his erratic way, encouraged various liberal agitations, and the clear if diffident intelligence of Edward Everett perceived plainly that the old Federalism was dead. Under the influence of the Anti-Masonic movement, with which they both flirted, Adams and Everett led a brief revolt against Daniel Webster and the old guard. Adams assailed Webster without mercy in the House, and Everett, remarking that George Bancroft's radicalism was based on a "good principle viz, that the ultra Whig policy would injure the State," sought as Governor to steer a relatively liberal course. But in the last analysis Adams was too unstable and Everett too timid to provide effective leadership. After gestures of defiance Adams went his lonely way and Everett crept back under Webster's wing. ¹⁶⁵

Schlesinger quotes a New York Democrat as commenting on Everett's gubernatorial message of 1836: "It breathes more of the spirit of ¹⁶⁶ democracy than any thing I have seen from that quarter." Let us look at the gubernatorial addresses to see what liberal ideas were expressed in them.

The 1836 inaugural address contains a statement on democratic government which ranks easily with any similar statements in our history.

We derive from our ancestors an inestimable inheritance of civil and religious liberty. As citizens of an independent commonwealth and of a federative republic, we live under a political system of our choice, by which we are secured in the amplest enjoyment of the blessings of government, with the smallest admixture of its inseparable evils. The government of the State is a pure Democracy, unlike most of those falsely so called in ancient times, which, - perpetually convulsed by stormy factions and agitated by ambitious leaders, - sacrificed the great objects of civil society, the rights and the welfare of individuals, to projects of public aggrandizement. Our system looks to the People not merely as a whole, but as a society composed of individual men, whose

¹⁶⁵ Age of Jackson, p. 288.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., see footnote.

happiness is the great design of the association. It consequently recognizes the greatest good of the greatest number, as the basis of the social compact. As the welfare of the People is the sole object of the Government, their deliberative will is the exclusive source of power. 167

This statement of democratic faith is followed by an analysis of those specific elements of greatest value in the government.

To obviate the evils incident to the long continuance of power in the same hands, under a tenure of office independent of popular control, our system has provided for the annual restoration to the People of all the portions of power thus delegated. In aid of these constitutional provisions, the People of Massachusetts have established numerous and powerful legal barriers, against almost all the sources of political degeneracy, which have elsewhere proved fatal to the happiness of nations. The frequent transmission of large estates . . . is precluded by our statute of distributions. . . . Taught by the wisdom of ages the mischiefs of an alliance of church and state, we have incorporated it into our system, as an article of our political faith, that Religion is a concernment between the conscience of man and his creator. . . . Warned by the fate of other states of the danger of military usurpation, our system is irreconcilably opposed to standing armies. . . . Having thus rejected and cast down the pillars of arbitrary government, we have laid the corner stone of the social edifice on the intelligence of the People. 168

None of these ideas are new, nor is the statement of any of them particularly striking. Their inclusion and their clarity lend weight to the effect of the whole address.

The federal government makes Americans "one people." Because of the balance between powers given to the federal government and those reserved to the states "we enjoy the benefits of a government strong and respectable, in the aspect which it presents to foreign powers;

¹⁶⁷ Address of His Excellency to the Legislature (Boston, 1836), p. 4.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 5.

while in our internal affairs, we are spared those vexations and oppressions, which almost inevitably exist under a powerful central administration, penetrating from a metropolis to distant provinces."¹⁶⁹

A free government cannot exist for long unless its institutions respond to public opinion, "an alliance which tends to make the institutions popular and opinion steady."¹⁷⁰ An effort should therefore be made to remove "all grounds of reasonable discontent." Every type of monopoly is traditionally disliked by the "friends of Anglo-Saxon liberty." "Exclusive privileges, resting on any other basis, than that of an equivalent notoriously paid or a service rendered to the State which authorizes them, are not tolerated . . . All secret associations, particularly all such as resort to the aid of secret oaths, are peculiarly at war with the genius of republican government."¹⁷¹

All these were popular ideas at the time, ideas which were entirely in sympathy with the democratic currents. The reference to secret oaths concerned the Anti-Masonic agitation which Everett had publicly sympathized with in order to get political support. In actual practice as governor, Everett appointed Masons to office, contending that it was part of his trust as governor to appoint those whom he felt were best qualified.

¹⁶⁹ Address to the Legislature, 1836, p. 7.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

Getting down to specific problems, Everett praised the improvements in prisons and the abolition of severe penalties in the penal code of the state. ¹⁷² He urges legislation which would completely stop imprisonment for debt. "The imprisonment of a man of probity for debts honestly contracted, and who has honestly surrendered all his property to his creditors, is contrary to every principle of religion, humanity, and justice," he argues. "No contract can change the nature of the procedure; no implied consent of the parties can make it equitable. Human laws may authorize it, but they cannot make it just. Every principle, therefore, which requires the abolition of imprisonment for debt at all requires its total abolition." ¹⁷³

He commented on the approach of the expiration of the charter of the United States Bank. He claims that paper money works to the disadvantage of the "mere capitalist," money lenders and creditors, and is to the advantage of the laboring class and debtors. "To dispense with paper, therefore, when once firmly established, and restore a circulation entirely of specie would derange the previously existing proportion between money and other articles of value, to the advantage of the capitalist . . . and to the disadvantage of all persons who have money to borrow or pay." ¹⁷⁴ He goes on to speak in favor of legislation which would remove any limits on interest on the grounds that present limitations drive capital abroad and force

¹⁷² Address to the Legislature, 1836, pp. 12-13.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

people to pay illegal rates or sacrifice property instead of getting a loan. By removing limits on interest rates, a natural balance would soon be set and money would be in greater circulation.¹⁷⁵

If this first inaugural represented a temporary rebellion on Everett's part from the Webster leadership, then it is primarily in the political principles set forth, with the emphasis on public opinion and the request that imprisonment for debt be abolished. The economic points here are in the conservative, anti-Jackson tradition. After his defeat of the Bank, Jackson had advocated hard money in all denominations up to twenty dollars and paper money for needs above that.¹⁷⁶ The usual argument on the popular side has been that hard money is to the advantage of the working class; Everett here claims the opposite. In spirit he seems speaking for the democratic side; in reality his argument is conservative.

In his message for 1838 Everett uses the recent financial depression as a background for asking that the legislature establish some restrictions over the banks of the state. He is sharply critical of banking conditions. "It cannot be denied, that the sound principles of banking have been departed from, and that a mode of establishing and conducting banks has grown up, abusive and dangerous in the extreme."¹⁷⁷ He states that a bank should be an institution

¹⁷⁵ Address to the Legislature, 1836, pp. 19-20.

¹⁷⁶ Age of Jackson, pp. 116-17.

¹⁷⁷ Address to the Legislature (Boston, 1838), p. 10.

designed to facilitate business by short loans. Stockholders should be men who have surplus capital. Too many bank charters have been obtained by people who wished to borrow money, not to lend it. "These institutions are sometimes put into operation with gross evasion of the law, if not in direct violation of it."¹⁷⁸ There is also good reason to fear that banks make unwise and dangerous loans.

Everett suggests certain points to be considered for legislation regulating the state banks.

It may deserve a question, whether in all future grants of bank charters, the names of all the stockholders, with the amount of stock to be owned by each, ought not to be given. Such is the looseness of the practice in this respect, that a case has been brought to my knowledge of two distinct sets of directors and stockholders, claiming to be organized as a bank, under one and the same charter. It should also, as it seems to me, at all times, be required of the banks to keep a certain proportion of their capital in specie; and this should be considerably larger, than has been usually kept on hand, by the greater part of well-managed institutions. The limit to which a bank may go in assuming liabilities on demand . . . should be ascertained by the cautious experience . . .¹⁷⁹ of a long period, including times of pressure and distrust.

This attitude toward regulating the banks is in harmony with the democratic tendencies of the time. It presupposes the right of the government to regulate business. And while Everett talked about the grand principle of no restraints in America in comparison with conditions in Europe where guilds hemmed in the freedom of action of the individual, when it came to a specific problem under the condition where he was the chief executive of the state, he urged that the

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Address to the Legislature, 1838, p. 10.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

legislature consider regulatory legislation. Actually, then, he believed in the sovereignty of the people to the extent that they could regulate business through government.

His message of 1839 has two points of interest. He brought up again the question of imprisonment for debt, stating that the legislation already passed on the subject has not been adequate to remove the evil. He states: "I regret to have to state that no diminution is believed to have taken place, during the past year, in the number of persons imprisoned for debt. A large proportion of those imprisoned are mariners, who appear to be almost wholly shut out from the benefits of the recent legislation of the State on this subject. There is reason to apprehend, that the greatest abuses exist in this connection; and that the jails of the Commonwealth are habitually made a part of the machinery, by which seamen are cruelly defrauded of their hard earnings." ¹⁸⁰ He goes on to request fresh legislation, especially laws which will protect the seamen.

The other question to consider from the 1839 message was the discussion of the temperance law. Everett recalls that the legislature the previous year passed a law prohibiting the sale of liquors in quantity less than fifteen gallons. The law provided a year's time before going into effect. "Regarding it as a question of expediency, of which the Legislature is the sole judge, I deemed it my duty to sign the law. This official act, I may be permitted to say,

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Address to the Legislature (Boston, 1839), p. 11.

was not performed without fears, that the law would fail to command that degree of approbation from the community, without which it could not go into successful operation." He asks the legislature to consider whether the law will have the support of the people. And the way in which he phrases the discussion shows his misgivings but does not commit him as urging a repeal or modification. This was politically unfortunate for Everett, since the democratic forces in the state regarded this temperance law as an aristocratic measure aimed at the worker and they defeated Everett in the election the next year.

All in all, these gubernatorial addresses of Everett's show that he was not completely and hopelessly conservative. As already noted, however, his timidity drove him back when he made the one attempt to move toward the democratic side. Everett always disliked a controversy. It seems to have been a part of his nature to favor the conservative.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL CHANGE, SLAVERY AND THE UNION

Bancroft, in his tribute to Everett, discussed the conservatism which was a mark of Everett's nature. "By the apprehensiveness of his constitution," Bancroft wrote, "he was timidly conservative; by the sentiments of his heart he was the friend of equal rights and of mankind."¹ We can understand much of Everett's inner struggle in the light of this contradiction.

Everett thought of himself as a conservative. To him there was nothing radical in the doctrine of human rights stated and implied in the Constitution. He never lost his belief in that document as the greatest expression of human wisdom. He was psychologically fixed on the Constitution as a clergyman might be centered on the Bible. In this he was, of course, not unusual in his time. The meaning of the Constitution was of grave significance during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. In his thorough scholarly way Everett had availed himself of the opportunity to correspond with such a living member of the Constitutional Congress as James Madison in an effort² to clarify in his own mind what the intent of the framers had been.

Everett believed in progress. In his orations he usually used a very optimistic approach to his subject, praising what had been achieved

¹ New York Ledger, Jan. 18, 1865.

² See Everett Papers 6, box of letters.

and looking forward to future greatness for the country. At the University of Cambridge, while he was Ambassador to England, he observed that it was possible, but highly improbable, that modern civilization should crumble. "I am not, indeed, one of those who believe in a youth, manhood, and decline of nations as a necessary condition of humanity. That idea, as I think, is not drawn from any law of human progress, but borrowed from the ill-applied analogy of other times. I not only trust, but believe, that our present civilization will be permanent . . . " ³ Hopefulness was a keynote he frequently sounded.

He wanted to blend forward movement with caution. It was ridiculous to feel that progress required a denial of what the past had achieved. He felt, for instance, that education in all its forms was more progressive than anything in science, literature, or the arts. The former "despotism of Aristotle and Plato" does not now hold sway in American colleges. "The leaning with us is rather to the other extreme: the too prompt and facile adoption of novelties in the modes and subjects of study, and in the objects and conduct ⁴ of collegiate education."

The principles of stability and of movement should be balanced. "The conservative element is as important in our natures and in all our relations as the progressive element. . . . The harmonious

³ "University of Cambridge," Orations, II, 432.

⁴ "Academical Education," Orations, III, 505.

adjustment of the struggling principles preserves the sacred equilibrium of the universe." ⁵ Growing out of this principle comes Everett's further delineation of progress. "True progress is thoughtful, hopeful, serene, religious, onward and upward. To the youthful mind especially, an entirely unsuggested and original course is an arrogant delusion. No such thing is possible. It will lean on some support and follow some guide . . ." ⁶ These guides and supports will be the contributions of the past, or the conservative element in true progress.

The half century of Everett's public career was a difficult time to apply this philosophy.

1. Reform Movements in the Nineteenth Century

Carl Fish writes that "The word 'reform' played much the same part in the life of the thirties and forties that 'progressive' does today. It was a touchstone which differentiated people more incisively than did party allegiance." ⁷ All sorts of reforms seemed to flourish during the thirties and forties. The social reforms, which most concern us, covered a wide range of human activity - education of the blind, treatment of the insane, prison reforms, conditions of the poor, temperance, moral attitudes, women's rights, working conditions, the peace movement, and, of course, the abolition of slavery.

⁵ "Festival of the Alumni of Harvard," Crations, III, 119.

⁶ Ibid., p. 120.

⁷ Rise of the Common Man, p. 256. Background material on reform movements is drawn largely from Chapter 12, "Reform and Slavery."

Three elements seem to have been working in harmony to make this a great reforming period. First there were the Quakers who have functioned as "hereditary reformers" in the American scene. Then came the reciprocal influences between Europe and America. "American women lectured on women's rights in England, and British temperance workers in America. Prussian education was drawn on for American use, and before the end of the period German and American reformers were fraternizing. The whole movement was presided over by the Egalité and the Fraternité of the French Revolution." ^g Third was the driving influence of the New England renaissance. The New England reform leaders of this period tended to be very idealistic and universal in their thought.

Moral attitudes were undergoing radical changes. Duelling went into disfavor and was outlawed. The humanitarian influence led many men and boys to give up hunting and fishing for pleasure because of the wanton cruelty and killing involved.

Except for abolition agitation, perhaps the most spectacular reform movement was temperance. Drinking had been considered quite proper; widowed ladies would always offer a glass of sherry to the clergyman when he came to call; the ordination of a New England minister had been a time when all present drank freely and heavily. Long established social habits were upset by the success of this movement. Taking definite form by 1830, the temperance movement at

^g Rise of the Common Man, p. 275.

first concerned itself only with the criticism of excessive drinking. But as the more evangelical churches took interest and as the movement grew, emphasis shifted to total abstinence. Literature of all sorts flooded the country. Politicians could not afford to overlook the interest awakened. Then during the forties the prohibition movement developed in New England.

In a speech delivered at a temperance meeting in Salem on June 14, 1833, Everett approved the temperance movement because it was a right application of the "social principle." He felt that intemperance was "peculiarly a social vice."⁹

Intemperance is responsible for many of the inmates in our prisons. "I believe we may in like manner set down three fourths of the pauperism which prevails, to the direct or remote influence of intemperance."¹⁰ Then there is the concealed want and poverty produced by intemperance. Everett felt there was more hidden poverty of this sort than that taken care of by the alms-house.¹¹ The worst charge to be brought against this vice is its effect upon the relation between the body and the soul of man.¹²

Everett gave support of this kind to the temperance movement. He also as governor signed and supported the law which would limit the sale of liquors to fifteen gallons or more at a time. Apparently he

⁹ "Temperance," Orations, I, 366-76.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 369.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 371.

¹² Ibid., p. 373.

believed in this as a reform measure. As a wealthy man, such a measure would not prevent his drinking. And Everett never pretended to be a teetotaler. By the 1850's when the prohibition movement had grown out of the temperance movement, Everett had reached a point of disgust. He wrote to Mrs. Charles Eames on September 30, 1854: "The Temperance men are wrong headed, as all men who carry moral questions
13
into politics are sure to be."

While he may well have regretted giving any assistance to the temperance reformers because of the extremes they moved toward, he did not regret efforts expended for prison reform and for elimination of imprisonment for indebtedness. In his inaugural address as governor in 1836 he urged legislation to stop imprisonment for indebted-
14
ness. In 1837 Everett spoke at the annual meeting of the Prison Dis-
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cipline Society. In this oration he praised the changed purpose of prisons from places of retention to places of moral reform. This new attitude he called both a moral and physical revolution. "A physical revolution, because the idea of reform in the character of a convict, required that the place of confinement, instead of being, as it was formerly, a pestiferous den of guilt and shame, not more dangerous to morals than to life and health, should become a comfortable abode
16
for a human being." With keen realism he even pointed out that some

¹³ Everett Papers 30, box of letters.

¹⁴ Address to the Legislature, 1836, p. 14.

¹⁵ "Improvements in Prison Discipline," Orations, II, 196-206.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

of the prisoners spent their first night in a clean bed when they entered prison. This speech is one of the rare times when Everett shows some awareness of the relation between social problems and the economics of poverty. He feels that prison reform should be carried forward in this country regardless of economy as an excuse. Most of the prisoners, he is convinced, are "the children of friendless ignorance and early destitution."¹⁷

In the 1839 inaugural address Everett reverted to the subject of prison reform, reporting to the legislature that the law was so construed that it gave no protection to seamen who were still being thrown into jail for debt in large numbers.¹⁸

Boston had evidently grown to such an extent by 1860 that the problems of poverty were greatly increased, for in that year entries about such questions began to appear in his journals. On April 29, 1860, he wrote: "The great irregularity of conditions is the saddest feature of our modern civilization, and certainly might be alleviated. All beggary might be made to cease. The charitable institutions and private charities are ample for the relief of real want; and mendicancy might be prevented. In some towns in Switzerland, children found begging in the streets are arrested; taken to a suitable depot, put to work, comfortably fed and sent home at night. This system might do vast good here."¹⁹ On May 6 of that same year he recorded the

¹⁷ Orations, II, 204.

¹⁸ Address to the Legislature, 1839, p. 11.

¹⁹ Everett Papers 179, journal.

observation: "It would seem as if by a law of our nature there can be no organized system of relieving want till it reaches a certain
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extreme of suffering." Everett was in the New England reform tradition in wishing to make an organized attack on social evils. "From the beginning to the present," Fish writes, "New England . . . has
²¹
believed in community responsibility."

As Unitarian thought spread its influence through New England, the negative view of man damned was replaced by the view of man perfectible. In this reforming period people even felt that nations might be perfected. The American Peace Society was founded in 1828 and was, for several decades, part of a growing interest in world peace. As a public figure, Everett's interest in this reform was often solicited. On October 31, 1838, Mr. William Ladd of Portsmouth, President of the Peace Society, called on Everett to urge him to express some opinion about a Congress of Nations in his next inaugural address, if he should be reelected. "We had an argument (not a very profitable one) of an hour on the practicability of such an institution."
²²

In that same year Everett entered his opinion about non-resistance in his journal. He wrote that war was a great folly which no judicious person could approve. "But non-resistance does not follow

²⁰ Everett Papers 179, journal.

²¹ Rise of the Common Man, p. 267.

²² Everett Papers 152, journal.

from it. - If the doctrine of non-resistance prevails and there is one bad man on earth, - or even one barbarous uncivilized man, - he becomes the Lord and Master of the whole human race; since the rest of mankind will offer him no resistance. The doctrine of non-resistance would do in Heaven where there is no one to abuse it . . . It²³ subverts all law and government . . ."

Everett tried to be realistic about the peace question. His approach to it was in light of social usages. The rejection of non-resistance is because of a principle that society must protect itself from evil individuals. In a letter to Charles Sumner dated December 17, 1847, he argued that defenseless nations, such as the Mexicans, needed armies and navies for their own defense. There are even times when the rules of war are a civilizing influence. "Again, war in civilized countries," he wrote to Sumner, "is a mitigation of the horrors, which, without its usages, ferocious and bloodthirsty men would²⁴ inflict upon each other."

During his brief term as Secretary of State Everett was invited to attend a peace convention to be held in Pittsford, Massachusetts. His letter of reply, dated February 17, 1853 and addressed to Thomas H. Palmer, sums up his basic attitudes toward the question of world peace. A twentieth century Secretary of State would reason so differently that I quote the whole letter.

²³ Everett Papers 151, journal, p. 83.

²⁴ Sumner Manuscripts, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

I have received your favor of the 11th, requesting my attendance at a convention to be held in Pittsford on the 23rd instant "to take into consideration the best means of uniting the whole of the freemen of Vermont in one memorial to the new President and Congress, requesting them to take the initiatory steps for the abolition of War, by proposing to all nations, with whom we have intercourse, the establishment of a permanent board of jurists, for the final settlement of all international disputes."

My official duties have made it impossible for me to leave Washington at the time named for holding the convention.

I am a great friend of Peace, as long as it can be preserved on safe and honorable terms; and I rejoice in the hope, that in the progress of the higher civilization of the age and the increase of friendly and commercial relations, together with the present vastly augmented facilities of intercourse, the evils of War will be more and more felt; and powerful states will be willing by forbearance, by mutual explanations, by the establishment of boards of mixed commission, and when other means fail, by resorting to the arbitration of friendly powers, to avoid the last appeal to arms. Such has been the policy pursued in many cases with success by the present administration of the national government. It has been willing by these honest arts of peace to avert the sufferings and crimes of war, without always receiving from political opponents as much credit for its motives as it was entitled to; - which indeed is not to be expected.

But while I believe that much is doing in the manner above mentioned, to diminish the frequency of wars, I have not been able to convince myself of the practicability of the proposed "permanent board of jurists," to be established by all nations with whom we have intercourse, for the purpose of settling national differences. I am aware that many intelligent persons think favorably of it, but several insuperable obstacles to its establishment and action might, as it seems to me, be pointed out, but I have no time to go into the discussion.

I will only observe that if the board is merely diplomatic, besides other objections to its efficiency, it would be a cumbersome substitute for the mediation of a third power, now so often resorted to. If the Board is clothed with power to enforce its decisions, it would differ in name only from a government, and we could not, consistently with the constitution of the United States, take part in it.

It may however reconcile us to this result to reflect, that this very constitution and the federal government which it creates is a "Permanent Board" of admirable construction, and most wisely contrived for settling controversies among thirty-one independent states. By maintaining its principles in their purity, we shall do as much to preserve the peace of the world, as we can possibly effect by any measures of a political character.

After all, the most effectual mode of preventing war is no doubt that which depends not upon concerted action but individual will. . . . By cherishing "good-will" toward each other in the various capacities of neighbor, citizen, countryman, and fellow-man, we shall best contribute to hasten the time when wars and fighting shall cease. ²⁵

This is the conservative nineteenth century diplomat speaking.

The evils of war, Everett feels, are terrible but we have various tested methods for averting a martial crisis. He rejects a permanent board of jurists as impractical. His logic in the last four paragraphs is weak. The untried can hardly be considered wholly impractical. He is right, of course, in pointing out that a Board with power to enforce decisions would be a government. The twentieth century faces this very fact. His argument that the thirty-one states united under the Constitution are the best force for peace, could be turned right around to show how desirable it would be to unite nations under a Board of Jurists with power to enforce decisions. Conservatism decides the emphasis on our own government as a peace force and upon individual action. Urging individual virtue and perfectibility is a device for turning away from a proposed reform and suggesting action which the reformer himself could hardly disapprove of.

²⁵ Everett Papers 29, box of letters.

When Everett spoke at Lowell in 1830 and praised the industrial growth of that city, he passed over the fact that women by the thousands were working in the factories. In fact, judging from the orations up to 1860, Everett lived and thought strictly in a man's world. There are no indications that he is aware of the movement for women's rights.

On September 17, 1860, when Everett spoke at the dedication of the Everett School-House in Boston, he made his first public acknowledgement of this reform movement. And he approaches the subject like a wary politician, when he says: "There is a good deal of discussion at the present day on the subject of Women's Rights. No one would be willing to allow that he wished to deprive them of their rights, and the only difficulty seems to be to settle what their rights are."²⁶

This is a gallant and tactful beginning. The city of Boston does not have the power to amend the constitution to give political privileges to the "gentler sex" or to alter the legislation regulating property rights, he says, but it has been able to give equal rights of grammar school education to girls. He then states that he has strong doubts whether women should be given the right to vote for he can see nothing to be gained from putting the sexes on an equal footing.²⁷

Two years later, in the midst of civil war, Everett spoke again at the same school and commented on two subjects of reform. He was upset by the exploitation of children who were taught a disguised form of beggary.

²⁶ "Everett School-House," Orations, IV, 322.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 323.

I allude to the poor boys and girls, not less than six or seven hundred, I presume, who are sent into the street every morning, not fresh, clean, and neat, with their books under their arms, . . . but too often without breakfast (the want of which is to be made up from their first uncertain earnings), many of them unwashed, untidy, wretchedly clad, to pass the day in begging, under the pretence of selling candy, lucifer-matches, and lozenges, and, in the case of the boys, in vending newspapers. ²⁸

He feels it a disgrace that such conditions exist. The devious means used by the newsboys to sell papers - shouting out the news of sometimes imaginary battles - adds morbid excitement to the already exciting conditions of a state of war.

This spectacle of Boston at war apparently helped to change some of Everett's ideas about the place of women. He comments that, after Boston has sent the latest quota of reinforcements called for by the President, there will be many "respectable callings" to be filled. He feels that women might well become "bookkeepers, clerks, accountants, artists, salesmen, and attendants in establishments of every kind, where the labor is not too severe for females." ²⁹ He points out that the girls' school prepares pupils for such jobs and in this way more diversified employment is provided for young women. Such a lack of diversified employment is "one of the great defects of modern society." ³⁰ Such attitudes for Everett represent a very realistic advance toward women's rights.

²⁸ "Female Education," Orations, IV, 512.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 514.

³⁰ Ibid.

Everything proper and conservative in Everett rebelled at the thought of Mormonism. In one public address he referred to "Joe Smith" in terms reserved only for the lunatic fringe.³¹ This indicates the strength of feeling involved because he did not habitually use any form of sarcasm or ridicule in his orations. When the question arose of admitting Utah into the Union as a state, he reacted strongly against it.

In a letter to R. C. Winthrop on December 1, 1849, he questioned the constitutionality of "incorporating a fanatical horde under a purely hierarchical government into the Union."³² He objected to contemplating naming a new state "Deseret" or any other name of Mormon origin. An Indian name would be much preferable.

In a letter to Webster written January 3, 1850, he was even more vehement. "Is there not a great constitutional objection to the admission into the Union of a Mormon state? It is passing a law granting the highest privilege, in the power of Congress to bestow, upon a band of fanatics and adventurers, who have made great trouble wherever they have set themselves down. - If admitted they must be, I trust it will not be by the ridiculous name which they give themselves; and which belongs to no known human language; but which is taken from the wretched farrago of his and non-sense, which constitutes the Revelation of Jo. Smith . . ."³³ Since a man is known by

³¹ "Education Favorable to Liberty," Orations, I, 630.

³² Everett manuscripts, Yale University Library.

³³ Everett Papers 26, box of letters.

his prejudices as well as by his principles, the strong opposition to the admission of Utah because it would be a Mormon state shows that in the back of Everett's mind there was the assumption that rights of liberty belonged first to those who conformed to the accepted social pattern.

Everett also was not above using a popular prejudice for political support. The Anti-Masonic movement was part of the democratic currents associated with the Jacksonian upheaval. Back of the Anti-Masonic agitation was the psychological opposition of the lower classes to the aristocracy, the Masonic Lodge being an aristocratic symbol.

His courting of the Anti-Masons was in the early 1830's, a time when he was preparing for entry into the gubernatorial race. A journal entry of September 22, 1832, showed that he was reading about the question. "Borrowed of B. [,] Stone's letters on Masonry and Anti-Masonry. Read upon it till 2 o'clock in the morning. This work contains a good deal that is new to me, and demonstrates I think conclusively that the Masonic Institution is one capable of heinous abuse and that it has been so abused."³⁴

On October 12, 1832, Everett spoke at the National Republican Convention at Worcester. Two days before he made a cryptic entry in his journal: "Mr. Webster advised that all allusion to Antimasonry should be omitted in the address."³⁵ This is clear evidence that the question was to be used for political purposes.

³⁴ Everett Papers 145, journal.

³⁵ Ibid.

When Everett became governor, he appointed Masons to state offices, thus disdaining the support he had received from the Anti-Masons. This was not a pleasant political position to be in, and a journal entry on August 21, 1836, indicates that it plagued him during his first year as governor. "I finished today a defence of myself against the charge of treachery to the Antimasons. I do not know whether I shall publish it, at present; but it will furnish those who succeed me ample means of vindicating my character. A man naturally thinks his own case the hardest; but if this prejudice does not blind me, never was a man so infamously wronged as I have been in this matter by Hallett and his crew."

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Everett apparently did not keep the defense which he here says he had worked out, for no such document seems to be in the Everett Papers. Perhaps later he felt it was even more expedient to destroy that document. From what evidence we do have, we can fairly conclude that his interest in the Anti-Masonic movement was not motivated by liberalism but solely by political gain.

There is another reference which may well be considered here in relation to reform movements. During the 1830's sentiment first developed in this country against capital punishment. This feeling was part of the general reform of prisons. Everett sympathized with the desire to do away with capital punishment. In his first year as governor the case of two men convicted of murder was referred to the

Governor's Board. He recorded the decision of the Board and his own feeling, in his journal on January 20, 1836. "A day was then fixed for their execution and I signed their Death Warrant; a greivous duty with respect to which the law leaves me no choice. I have scruples on the subject of capital punishment. I doubt its necessity; but as long as the law enjoins it, it is my duty to enforce the law." ³⁷ Had the question of capital punishment become a live political issue at this time, Everett very likely would have favored and supported this change, just as he did actively urge the abolition of imprisonment for debt.

Looking back over the full scope of Everett's career the one reform we find dominant in his mind is the need for establishing political liberty throughout the world. Again and again he comes to this theme. It grows out of his treatments of American history in his commemorative orations. It comes forth clearly whenever he is making a comparison with conditions in Europe. The need for political liberty stirred him deeply.

In the opening passages of his review of Irving's Astoria ³⁸ he discusses the economic motive in modern history.

The ingenious avarice of civilization finds temptation everywhere; and no zone of the new-found regions of the East or the West but afforded scope for the pursuit of wealth, by the agency of the improved arts of Europe. It would not perhaps be an abuse of language, to pronounce the age, in which America was discovered and colonized, and a path opened to the East Indies, as the age of

³⁷ Everett Papers 148, journal.

³⁸ North American Review, XLIV (Jan. 1837), 200-37.

plunder; and man, we fear, might, among the other definitions, be not inaptly described as a stealing animal. The discovering nations, at the outset, appropriated to themselves the new-found regions, - continents and Archipelagoes coextensive with Europe, - and on this primitive and comprehensive robbery, they founded in detail the system of rapine, by which all the individual sources of wealth were turned into their coffers. 39

Because of the search for gold, Europeans plundered Central and South America, Africa and India. Plunder was instituted in one place to help alleviate the miseries caused by plunder in another. "Men were stolen from Africa, in the philanthropic purpose of mitigating the hardships inflicted by the gold-stealers of America on the oppressed natives of the new Woeld!"⁴⁰

His pen becomes vitriolic as he considers the many miseries perpetrated on the human race by the forces of oppression. He speaks of the organized forces of national pillage as establishing "a new text of international law, - a sort of anti-constitutional system of politics, a code of ethics founded on the scorn of morality, and a religious faith clothed in Christian language and breathing a spirit hot from Pandemonium."⁴¹ He gives the Pope's proclamation of a line of demarcation as an example of this new code of ethics. And then he speaks of atrocities in Cuba. "It is a fact equally well authenticated, that the entire native population of Cuba, an inoffensive, gentle race, amounting, it is said, to millions, were exterminated as

³⁹ "Irving's Astoria," p. 200.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 201.

⁴¹ Ibid.

idolators, by a band of refined, high-spirited, and Christian conquerors. They were exterminated, because the island was of convenient dimensions to be immediately reduced to plantations, cultivated with tropical products; and the African race was found more patient of labor than the Indian."⁴²

Brute force is the key to the new politics of the nineteenth century. "The element of force is, of course, a component part of this monstrous system of politics . . ."⁴³ By opening up key points along the African coast and stimulating the native rulers to constant warfare among themselves, European nations have been enabled to feed America which "is thrown open as one great slave-market for their prisoners."⁴⁴ In this way the whole continent of Africa is subjugated without penetrating the interior. "But even these strange combinations of vice and misery, of crime and woe, do not exhaust the ingenuity of modern civilization."⁴⁵ In India Great Britain gained control by subtle interference in native politics and gaining power over individual rulers. In the subjugation of helpless peoples, England is the leading power.

⁴² "Irving's Astoria," p. 201.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 202.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

Talk of Alexander and Caesar, of Napoleon and Wellington; the British East India Company, the incorporate hero, the chartered despot of modern days, outshines them all. Paragon indeed of policy, prowess, and fortune! Wonderful in itself as a political phenomenon; momentous in its probable influence on a fifth or sixth portion of the human race; - but truly astounding as the work of British power, achieved under the sanction of British laws; - as if it had been the object of her statesmen, out of her free institutions of political liberty at home and her stupendous tyranny at the Antipodes, to build up the greatest political dualism the world has ever seen . . . ⁴⁶

In the sphere of international politics Everett seemed to see clearly the problem of human rights involved. He believed wholeheartedly in the republican principles of liberty. In the closer-to-home social problems, his vision is not as sharp, he does not speak out with the strength he is capable of, his voice falters and he equivocates.

2. The Obsession of Union

Everett believed that the thing of most value in American culture was the Union of the states. His emphasis on the theme of Union - an emphasis which began in the 1820's and lasted right up to the end of his career - is so constant, it is a subject so often repeated, that it seems an obsession in his mind.

As an orator, Everett proclaimed America, just as later in the century Whitman was to sing America. Everett proclaimed its unique beginnings, its long record of heroes, its dedication to liberty, its great folk-hero Washington, its present opportunities, and its glorious future.

The forces at work in America between the end of the War of 1812 and the Civil War made the idea of Union and Liberty an important issue of the time. We can hardly find an American writer or orator of any stature, except Edgar Allan Poe, who did not concern himself with this theme. Bliss Perry calls it "the civic note in our national writing."⁴⁷ It included such efforts as Clay's speeches on the American System, the Webster-Haynes debate, Garrison's editorials in The Liberator, and the speeches of Lincoln.

In the scope of this period the problem which kept this theme of Union and Liberty to the fore was that of slavery. Everett's recognition that this was a problem of supreme magnitude is shown in his constant reference to the values of Union and his repeated warnings of the evils which disunion would bring in its wake. A strong sense of caution prompted Everett to avoid a direct position on slavery. So he kept repeating the sentiment of Union.

In 1830 Webster closed his reply in the debate with Haynes with the famous words: "Union and Liberty, now and forever, one and inseparable." This resounding oratorical flourish made a vivid impression throughout the country. But we cannot say that this was the origin of Everett's preoccupation with the sentiment of Union, nor did it even antedate his first definite utterances on the theme.

In a letter dated June 10, 1828, to William G. Hunt, a publisher of Nashville, Tennessee, Everett wrote, "I fully agree with you,

however, in the sentiment, that a closer union and free interchange⁴⁸ between the different parts of our country is highly desirable."

In 1829 Everett made an extended trip through the South and returned by a route up the Ohio River valley. On June 2, 1829, he spoke at a public dinner given for him at Nashville, Tennessee, and ended his speech with the statement, "This festive occasion, gentlemen, is a pledge that you, too, are not less willing to seize an opportunity, however slight, of promoting that mutual good will, which is more important, for the perpetuity of the Union, than all the forms of the constitution."⁴⁹ Already he is speaking as though the Union is in danger. A few weeks later he spoke at Yellow Springs, Ohio, and again mentioned the bonds uniting the country. "The ties of interest which connect all the states of this Union are innumerable; and those of mutual good will are destined, I trust, to add all their strength to the compact." Then he added a significant sentence which shows what he feels true patriotism will do. "It ought to be the desire and the effort of every true patriot to merge in one comprehensive feeling⁵⁰ all discordant sectional preferences." Essentially this defines what Everett himself tried increasingly to do, namely, "to merge in one comprehensive feeling all discordant sectional preferences."

⁴⁸ Everett Papers 63, letterbook.

⁴⁹ "Speech at Nashville," Orations, I, 195.

⁵⁰ "Speech at Yellow Springs," Orations, I, 210.

When Everett spoke at the Phi Beta Kappa society meeting at Yale on August 20, 1833, the effort the previous year of South Carolina to nullify the constitution must have still been echoing in his mind. He declared that the present united condition of the country presented "the most effective organization imaginable" for extending "the dominion of improvement." And he spoke specifically of the Union. "To attack the principle of union, is to attack the prosperity of the whole and of every part of the country. . . . Destroy the union of the states, and you destroy their character, change their occupations, blast their prospects. You shut the annals of the republic,
⁵¹
 and open the book of kings."

Such appeals as this he continued to make whenever occasion offered. And he appealed to the memory of Washington to reinforce the idea of Union. On February 22, 1851, he spoke on "The Birthday of Washington" in New York City. In part of this oration he discussed Washington's Farewell Address. "That address was the most carefully prepared product of a mind from which nothing crude or ill considered
⁵²
 ever went forth, the maturest result of his life-long experience."

But, Everett declared, the theme of the Address was the Union of the States.

And what is the leading advice of this ever-memorable address? Is it not ADHERENCE TO THE UNION? I believe, if its pages were counted, a full fourth of it would be found devoted to this theme. He tells us to watch over its preservation with the most

⁵¹ "Education of Mankind," Orations, I, 438.

⁵² Orations, III, 63.

jealous anxiety. On the love of liberty, which you might suppose would be the principal topic in an address from one who had devoted his life to promote it, there is but a single sentence, a couple of lines; he just alludes to it as an indwelling sentiment of the American heart, which needs no recommendation from him. As for the preservation of State rights, which forms so leading a topic in modern systems of policy, I believe that Washington does not so much as allude to them. I think he does not name them; not that he undervalued State rights, but he knew there were centrifugal tendencies enough in so large a body of States to counteract any danger of the opposite kind. No, gentlemen, it is Union, Union, Union, the first, the last, the constant strain of this immortal address. ⁵³

Having established this point, Everett turns to the evils which would accrue from the separation of the states. The boundaries between the states would be the first thing to be altered. ⁵⁴ The passions and enmities of border governments will appear in the states. And, he asks, what will become of the Supreme Court? "What, in the name of Heaven, are you to do with all these controversies, when you have lost ⁵⁵ this great and august tribunal?"

Everett's reaction to the bitterness over slavery which welled up so strongly during the 1850's was to dwell on the theme of what the conditions would be like if disunion prevailed. On November 25, 1851, Everett gave a speech for Webster in which this negative side of the Union sentiment appeared.

⁵³ Orations, III, 63.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 66.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 70.

If the Union is preserved, we have every reasonable prospect of a future of boundless growth, improvement and glory. . . . If the Union is dissolved, we have reason to anticipate not merely all the evils resulting from the weakness and decline of its now prosperous members; and from the collisions sure to arise under any circumstances, in a numerous family of small states, brought into close contact with each other, without any principle of common umpirage and control; but we are sure also of being involved in controversies of unusual bitterness, growing out of the peculiar relations between the two great divisions of the country. . . . Whether there is left any feeling or principle to take the place of these party associations, to prevent a division purely geographical from springing up, and to enable citizens in parts of the country, remote from each other, to unite in the discharge of those primary duties by which the government is periodically re-constituted, is a momentous question which must shortly be met and decided. ⁵⁶

On December 8, 1859, a Union Meeting was held in Faneuil Hall

"To take notice of the recent tragic events at Harper's Ferry, Va."

⁵⁷

Everett was a chief speaker, and tried to present in some detail the case for the forgiving, middle-of-the-road position which he had so long advocated.

In this speech he laments the fact that North and South are arrayed against each other. "There is no place left in public life for those who love them both," he declares. "The war of words - of the press, of the platform, of the State Legislatures, and, must I add, the pulpit? - has been pushed to a point of exasperation, which, on the slightest untoward accident, may rush to the bloody arbitrament ⁵⁸ of the sword." The seriousness of the times requires that those who

⁵⁶

Everett Papers 275, box of printed speeches.

⁵⁷

"Union Meeting in Faneuil Hall," Orations, IV, 235-48.

⁵⁸

Ibid., p. 236.

love the country and the Union should meet together and take counsel. The nation is on the verge, he feels, of a convulsion which will shake it to its foundations.

Everett then states how he feels a real patriot will respond in this crisis. "I hold it to be time, then, sir, as I have said, for good men and good patriots, casting aside all mere party considerations, and postponing at least all ordinary political issues, to pause; to look steadily in the face the condition of things to which we are approaching; and to ask their own consciences, whether they can do nothing to avert the crisis, and bring about a happier and a better state of things. I do not ask them to search the past for topics of reproach or recrimination on men or parties. We have had enough of that, and it has contributed materially to bring about our present
59
perilous condition."

This is an application of the general principle which Everett had set down at Yellow Springs in 1829, that the duty of a good patriot is "to merge in one comprehensive feeling all discordant sectional preferences." Now that the crisis over slavery is growing more acute Everett urges like-minded men to meet together to see if they can avert the crisis. It is no wonder, in the light of this speech, that the next year when the Constitutional Union Party is formed, Everett should be selected as candidate for vice-president. He had, with great consistency, preached this conservative and generalized approach

⁵⁹ Orations, IV, 237.

for thirty years. Ironically enough, when this sentiment did serve his political ambitions, it brought him the second place on a political ticket which had no chance of election.

In this speech Everett's persuasive approach is largely negative. He says that in countries with freedom of speech and press and with two distinct geographical sections, it is unavoidable that there be "action and reaction of word and deed." We must therefore guard against the natural frictions that develop.

No right-minded civilized man who had stopped to think would give any approval or sympathy to John Brown and his plan for an insurrection.⁶⁰ There are people in this country who would loose upon the South the horrors of St. Domingo. Everett pleads vehemently for understanding of the Southern people.

. . . it was the design of Brown to let loose the hellhounds of a servile insurrection, and to bring on a struggle which, for magnitude, atrocity, and horror, would have stood alone in the history of the world. And these eight or nine millions, against whom this frightful war was levied, are our fellow-citizens, entitled with us to the protection of that compact of government which recognizes their relation to the colored race, - a compact which every sworn officer of the Union or of the States is bound by his oath to support! Among them, sir, is a fair proportion of men and women of education and culture . . . virtuous fathers, mothers, sons, and daughters, persons who would adorn any station of society, in any country, - men who read the same Bible that we do, and in the name of the same Master kneel at the throne of the same God, - forming a class of men from which have gone forth some of the greatest and purest characters which adorn our history, - Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Marshall . . . These are the men, the women, for whose bosoms pikes

and rifles are manufactured in New England, to be placed in the hands of an ignorant subject race, supposed, most wrongfully, as recent events have shown, to be waiting only for an opportunity to use them! ⁶¹

Several important things are clear in this appeal. First, Everett speaks of the whites of the South as "our fellow-citizens." Second, he affirms that because slavery is legal, every officer of the national and state governments is duty bound to uphold and support it. This is strong medicine for a liberal at that time. This is the kind of correct, legalistic thinking which justified the Fugitive Slave Law and which caused Emerson to say that the law might be on the books but he wouldn't obey it. And the emotional appeals used here by Everett avoid the real issue which was the rightness or wrongness of the slave system.

The operation of the sentiment of Union as it was nurtured in Everett's mind resulted in a certain blindness to the realities of the crisis.

3. References to Slavery

It was not alone a sentiment that worked for caution in Everett's mind. His first public reference to the question of slavery brought serious negative results.

In the spring of 1826 a resolution was introduced into the House of Representatives calling for a change in the Constitution so that the election of a president would not go to the House. At this time

⁶¹ Orations, IV, 243.

Everett was a member of the House. The debate on this question dragged on for weeks. On March 9, Everett made a speech against the resolution. He went farther than necessary, in the opinion of Frothingham, and made references to slavery uncalled for by the structure of his argument.⁶²

The memory of the recent slave insurrection at San Domingo was still fresh in people's minds. In an effort somehow to prove to the Southern members his sincerity even though he would not vote for the proposed change in the Constitution, he said that if there were ever a slave insurrection in this country, he would take a musket and knapsack and fight to put it down.

As if this unnecessary digression were not sufficient, Everett then tried to find a philosophical justification for slavery.

The great relation of servitude, in some form or other, with greater or less departures from the theoretic equality of man, is inseparable from our nature. I know of no way by which the form of this servitude shall be fixed but political institution. Domestic slavery, though I confess not that form of servitude which seems to be most beneficent to the servant - is not, in my judgment, to be set down as an immoral and irreligious institution. I cannot admit that religion has but one voice to the slave, and that this voice is, 'Rise against your master.' No, Sir, the New Testament says, 'Slaves obey your masters'. . .⁶³

The storm of criticism which met him prompted Everett to try to explain that he was not referring to slavery as an institution but to a slave insurrection.⁶⁴ He felt, too, that his reference to the Bible

⁶² pp. 99-107.

⁶³ Ms. copy of Everett's speech in Congress on Slavery, 1826, in the Garrison Anti-Slavery Papers, Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library.

⁶⁴ Frothingham, pp. 106-8.

was justified for he referred to the meaning in the original Greek. The niceties of Greek scholarship are not, however, the material for the political arena. And a casual statement of social philosophy may be a serious tactical mistake. This incident made so deep an impression and brought criticism for so many years that Bancroft apologized for Everett in his eulogy of Everett in 1865. And in 1881 Wendell Phillips heaped coals of fire on Everett's memory in an oration at Harvard when he mentioned "That unrivalled scholar, the first and greatest New England ever sent to Congress, who signalled his advent by quoting the original Greek of the New Testament in support of slavery, and offering to shoulder a musket in its defence."⁶⁵

From a letter that Everett wrote to Jefferson on April 16, 1826, we learn that he realized his remarks were a mistake. To Jefferson he said in part:

On the subject of slavery I do not mean to maintain that in the abstract one man has the right "to appropriate to himself the faculties of another without his consent." But it is another question whether taking things as they are the kind and merciful Master who feeds and clothes and from birth till death supports his slave has not a right to his obedience in a state of society when a general emancipation is allowed to be impracticable. Be this as it may. My remarks in the speech have been exceedingly distasteful at home. Nearly all of all parties have united to condemn me. Co-religionists, co-Yankees and whatever other confraternity one can belong to. I must therefore infer, if I have not failed in doctrine I have in prudence.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Quoted in Frothingham, p. 106.

⁶⁶ Everett Papers 57, letterbook.

Six months later the speech was still a matter of controversy. A newspaper writer had attached Everett's comments on slavery; the article was signed "Looker-On." Concerning this, Everett wrote on November 7, 1826, to the Hon. John Keyes:

It is next objected that in this said speech on the constitution I say that the New Testament teaches "Slaves obey your masters." I was in hopes after the explanation I had given of my meaning on this head that the candid were satisfied. I suppose the candid are satisfied. To you, Dear Sir, as a lawyer I may say that as the N.T. is written in Greek, its meaning on any particular point is to a certain extent a question of Interpretation. I am willing to submit the matter in hand to any three persons skilful in Greek to be named by the Looker-On who shall decide ⁶⁷ whether the Greek word in question does or does not mean slaves.

From these two letters we see that Everett would not privately admit to being wrong. He felt that he was right, but had failed "in prudence." The question of the Greek interpretation touched Everett's vanity; it was an attack on his ability as a scholar. So it might have appeared. But essentially it was an emotional reaction against the callousness implied in his position.

The only thing Everett seems to have learned from this bitter experience was to trust his sense of caution and stick to the middle of the road.

The problem, however, could not be put aside. Samuel Whitcomb, Jr., wrote to Everett asking him to assist in the formation of an antislavery society. Everett's reply, dated August 18, 1828, states that he would be happy to have Mr. Hallet and Mr. Whitcomb pay a call,

but any conference about an antislavery society is impossible. "I am as great a foe to slavery as you or any one else," Everett writes. "I am as desirous as any body, that the evil of it should be alleviated and if possible wholly removed. To the colony on the coast of Africa, I am a decided friend and have the vanity to think that I prevented this winter in the H. of R. the withdrawal which Mr. McD. recommended of the Agent's salary." Everett seems still to be trying to clarify his position. And he goes on to offer a politician's excuse for his refusal. "But in times like these when it is impossible to take a step, to utter a word, to enter a house, without being dragged about the streets, misrepresented and vilified I must ask to be excused from entering on this subject in any way. I know you would not abuse my confidence; but I make it a rule to do nothing that requires secrecy . . ."

The next year Everett went on an extended trip through the southern states. He was hospitably entertained wherever he went and naturally he visited plantations where he could observe the slave system in operation. How much he actually saw it is hard to tell from his journal. The only reference made indicates, if not approval, then at least acceptance. On May 10, 1829 he wrote:

I visited the quarters of Mr. W's slaves. They consisted of cabins arranged on each side of a broad street, upon the plantation which was kept neat and clean. I entered four or five of them and found them all quite decent and comfortable. The beds were furnished with mosquito nets. One of them had a cupboard well set out with Liverpool ware. In one of them was a pig of two or

three months old just killed, - The law obliges the planter to give his slaves Sunday or if, as at the grinding season, the state of the crop requires them to work on Sundays they are allowed 75 cents a day. ⁶⁹

The implication here is that these slave quarters were typical. If it is true that such pictures of slave conditions are the ones seen by Everett, then we can appreciate that he had a limited view of the system. An experience like this would tend to strengthen him in his convictions.

On two occasions Everett delivered major addresses for the American Colonization Society. At a meeting of the Society in Washington on January 16, 1832, Everett offered this resolution: "Resolved, that the colonization of the coast of Africa is the most efficient mode of suppressing the slave trade, and of civilizing the African continent."⁷⁰ The speech which he gave in support of this resolution was entitled ⁷¹ "The Colonization and Civilization of Africa."

In this speech Everett traces the beginnings and development of the agitation against slavery. He states "the melancholy fact" that, despite all the efforts put forth, much less has been accomplished ⁷² than was hoped for. The slave trade is still carried on illegally. Blockading the coasts of Africa and Brazil is ineffective. "Such another mode happily presents itself, of efficacy already proved by experience; and that is, the establishment of colonies on the Arican

⁶⁹ Everett Papers 142, journal.

⁷⁰ Orations, I, 329.

⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 329-44.

⁷² Ibid., p. 332.

coast. In this way, a cordon is drawn around that continent, which the slave trader cannot penetrate. The experience already had in the British colony of Sierra Leone, and in our own Liberia, abundantly authorizes this conclusion."⁷³

The other method of suppressing the slave trade is the pursuit of traders by armed cruisers. This has produced some of the worst evils of the trade. During the pursuit, the conditions of the slaves are more miserable. After the capture, there is the long voyage to the court of inquiry. In Everett's view, nothing good can be said for this alternative.⁷⁴

The real solution, he claims, is to colonize the coast, which will help to bring civilization to the interior of the continent.⁷⁵ Arguing historically, Everett makes a case for the ability of the native Africans to become civilized.

I know that it is said that it is impossible to civilize Africa. Why? Why is it impossible to civilize man in one part of the earth more than in another? Consult history. Was Italy - was Greece - the cradle of civilization? No. As far back as the lights of tradition reach, Africa was the cradle of science, while Syria, and Greece, and Italy were yet covered with darkness. As far back as we can trace the first rudiments of improvement, they came from the very headwaters of the Nile, far in the interior of Africa; and there are yet to be found, in shapeless ruins, the monuments of this primeval civilization. To come down to a much later period, while the west and north of Europe were yet barbarous, the Mediterranean coast of Africa was filled with cities, academies, museums, churches and a highly civilized population.

⁷³ Orations, I, 334.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 335-6.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

. . . Africa is not now sunk lower than most of those countries were eighteen centuries ago; and the engines of social influence are increased a thousandfold in numbers and efficacy. . . . It is not a thousand years since the north of Germany, now filled with beautiful cities, learned universities, and the best educated population in the world, was a dreary, pathless forest.⁷⁶

This argument of Everett's shows a wide human sympathy and an attitude toward the abilities of native peoples which is confirmed by twentieth century science. It looks very liberal but we must notice that Everett is showering his understanding upon a people who are comfortably at a distance. The historical parallels here used by him seem sound, but he does not discuss the civilizing factors at work in the various instances which he advances as similar. As a result, his argument sounds better than it is.

Everett is certain that the conditions of the age are favorable for such an enterprise. It is also more promising than the colonization of America by an alien race. "In the settlement and civilization of the American continent, either from the fatality of circumstances, or the incurable imperfections of man, the extermination of the native population has been the preliminary condition of the introduction of the civilized race. It has been found, or thought, impossible that the red man and the white man should subsist side by side."⁷⁷

This enterprise could avoid that situation because the civilizing agents would be American Negroes, not members of an alien race. "I

⁷⁶ Orations, I, 337.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 338.

think there is opened to the colored population of this country," he says, "a career of broad and lasting usefulness, a destiny of honor and exaltation, unexampled in history."⁷⁸

This quoted sentence gives us a key to the value of this project in Everett's mind. If Negroes in large numbers could be sent to colonies along the coast of Africa, the pressure of the slavery question could be reduced in this country. This might eventually prove the real solution. Everett's proposal shows his strong desire to avoid the problem as much as possible. Send the Negroes back to their own country, he is saying. Are they to be forced to go back, as they were forcibly brought here? This is just one question that comes to mind in considering his proposal. Everett does not dig into such questions. Instead he grandly shows the general value of such an ambitious enterprise. But already in the 1830's the question of slavery was becoming so tainted with emotion that a proposal like this was too academic for any serious consideration.

When Everett gave his first inaugural address as governor of Massachusetts in 1836 he made another unnecessary blunder on the question of slavery. At the end of his inaugural address he deplored the recent agitation over slavery. The excitement could not be too severely censured. He pointed out that the Constitution "expressly recognizes the existence of slavery; and concedes to the States where it prevails the most important rights and privileges connected with it. Everything

⁷⁸ Orations, I, 341.

which tends to disturb the relations created by this compact is at war with its spirit."⁷⁹ In effect, this means that discussion is useless because the Constitution protects the institution of slavery.

Everett's next remarks concern freedom of speech and again a turmoil was aroused. He comments, "As the genius of our institutions and the character of our people are entirely repugnant to laws impairing the liberty of speech and of the press, even for the sake of repressing its abuses, the patriotism of all classes of citizens must be invoked, to abstain from a discussion, which, by exasperating the master, can have no other effect than to render more oppressive the condition of the slave; and which, if not abandoned, there is great reason to fear, will prove the rock on which the Union will split."⁸⁰

Apparently Everett only meant to urge people not to argue and debate furiously about slavery. He took the position that it was a legalistic question already settled by the Constitution. Why should he ask people voluntarily to suppress freedom of discussion on this subject? He was using the same psychology as the Southern representatives who imposed the "gag rule" in Congress. Why should he bring this subject up anyway? The answer seems to be that he felt he could make a statesmanlike pronouncement that would settle the agitation.

But he did not stop discussion, nor did he make his own public position any easier. He was asked two questions about slavery during

⁷⁹ Address to the Legislature, 1836, p. 29.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 30.

his campaign for reelection in 1837. In a letter to the Hon. William Jackson, dated October 31, 1837, he gave his answers.

In answer to the first question, I observe, that slavery being, by universal admission, a social, political, and moral evil of the first magnitude, it is required by justice, humanity and sound policy that the slaves should be emancipated, by those having constitutionally the power to effect that object, as soon as it can be done peacefully, and in a manner to better the condition of the emancipated. . . .

In reply to the second question, I would remark, that all the considerations in favor of emancipation in the States, apply with equal force to the District of Columbia.⁸¹

We should note carefully that these statements do not approve of slavery nor do they approve of abolition.

That Everett is inclined by his real nature to conservatism as well as by the dictates of politics, may be seen in a reference in his journal to mob action against some abolitionists in Philadelphia. On May 25, 1838, he wrote: "The papers this week are filled with shocking details of the destruction of a bell in Philadelphia erected by the Abolitionists. On the evening of its dedication it was assailed and pulled down by a mob. It is impossible that the spirit which is continually evincing itself on this subject should not lead to some tremendous catastrophe."⁸² Everett's private reaction to this incident shows a basic objection to violence, no matter toward whom it is directed. This is indicative because Everett almost always gave the impression of being above any emotional concern with anything, as if he dwelt largely in some inner intellectual chamber.

⁸¹ Everett Papers 248, box of clippings and published correspondence.

⁸² Everett Papers 151, journal.

In 1848 a tentative offer was made to Everett to place his name in nomination for the vice-presidency at a convention of the Free Soil Party to be held in Buffalo. On August 4, 1848, Everett wrote to Webster explaining the reasons why he had disclaimed interest.

I yesterday received a letter from Charles Sumner, written from Saratoga Springs, on his way to Buffalo, tending me the nomination of the Vice-Presidency, in case Judge McLean to whom it will be first offered, (unless he is nominated for the Presidency), should not accept. I have answered Mr. Sumner in effect as follows: - that I fully sympathize with the avowed object of the Convention at Buffalo viz. to prevent "The extension of slavery," and would not hesitate a moment to accept the nomination if by so doing I could serve that end; but this I do not believe; - that I have a great dislike of third parties, formed from the two main parties to advance a single principle. This tendency is demoralizing. I would not say that in no case such a party was justified, but the evils incident to all party action peculiarly beset third parties. ⁸³

The dislike of third parties here stated, and held by Everett for many years, is another factor in his conservative reaction to slavery and the problems related to it.

When the Fugitive Slave Act was being debated in Congress in 1850, Everett wrote to Webster on March 22, taking a position against the bill.

It is however the incident of slavery, - itself an anomaly in a free government, - which is most repugnant to the public sentiment of the free states. It was under this sentiment, that the law of 1793 broke down. I much fear that legislation by Congress will inflame instead of subduing this feeling. Cannot the real patriotic men of the South be made to see this and to extend to the North, on this point, the same toleration which they require us to exercise toward them, when they violate, as they do each day, the first clause of the very same section of the Constitution, which, in the third clause, gives the right

of extradition. - It strikes me that some provisions of Mr. Mason's bill are unnecessarily stringent and otherwise ill-advised; such as the creation of a board of commissioners expressly for the arrest of fugitives in every county of the free states. I think such a step would give a vast impulse to anti-slavery agitation. ⁸⁴

Here Everett is rather weakly taking a position against compromise and urging Webster to vote against the bill. The reason given is that such a law will stir up more agitation. A reason like this is not moral but political.

The extent to which he seemed concerned over political agitation may be seen in a letter of December 6, 1850, to Charles Sumner.

You know my sentiments on the subject . . . I think I do not yield to any man in my abhorrence of slavery. Could I emancipate the slaves in America by an act of my will, and with the assurance of bettering their condition, I feel that for that purpose I would cheerfully sacrifice ease, property, and life itself. It is because I believe that the agitation of the slavery question, as it is carried on among us, and especially in connection with party politics, tends rather to retard than promote this end, that I cannot sympathize with you in reference to it. . . . so often as I reconsider the subject, I find new reasons to think, that the anti-slavery agitation as conducted at the North tends directly to disunion, civil war, and a murderous struggle between the races . . .⁸⁵

The fear of disunion seems never to have been absent from his mind. Taking the possibility of disunion as a premise, he reasoned simply that the way to avoid such a tragedy and struggle was to prevent inflaming public opinion. If the status quo could be maintained, agitation would either cease or would be greatly discouraged.

⁸⁴ Everett Papers 26, box of letters.

⁸⁵ Sumner Manuscripts, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

On January 18, 1853, Everett gave his second address for the American Colonization Society. At this anniversary meeting of the Society, held in Washington, Everett spoke on "The Colonization of Africa."⁸⁶ He urged the members of the Society to recall historic examples of past people undertaking difficult tasks. He regrets the attacks made upon the Society. "Everybody seemed to think at first that this was a practicable, desireable, and most praiseworthy object. By degrees, I am sorry to say, jealousies crept in; prejudices, for so I must account them, arose; and in process of time, it has come to pass that this Society has become, I must say, intensely unpopular with a large portion of the colored population, whose interests and welfare were among the prime objects of its foundation."⁸⁷

Now at last a key question in this project is being considered, the willingness or lack of willingness on the part of Negroes to go to Africa to live. In his first speech to the Society in 1832 Everett had carefully avoided this question. Very clearly sentiment had developed in the meantime against sending free Negroes to Africa. The argument was made against the Society that it cooperated with the laws favoring slavery because it wished not to have freed Negroes in America but to send freed Negroes to Africa to establish colonies. Everett feels that this very objection is the strongest reason for colonization.⁸⁸ He asks if it would have been true kindness to have

⁸⁶ Orations, III, 167-85.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

persuading the Pilgrims not to leave England because of the hardships⁸⁹ and dangers they would face?

Everett never really takes up the question of the morality or justice of sending freed Negroes back to Africa. Nor does he face the question of labor needs in the South if Negroes were to leave in large numbers. He goes on to discuss the reasons for the "unciviliza-⁹⁰tion of Africa." Then he does answer the charge that the Negroes are not adequate to the task. "Now, I think it would be very unjust to the colored population of this country and the West Indies, to argue from what they have done under present circumstances, to what they might effect under the most favorable circumstances. I think, upon the whole, all things considered, that they have done quite as well as could be expected; that they have done as well as persons of European or Anglo-American origin would have done after three centuries⁹¹ of similar depression and hardship." Back of the idea of inadequacy is the opinion that the African alone has "never been able to rise⁹² out of barbarism." Everett is not willing to accept this. He goes on to show that from Africa the arts were transmitted to Greece. He concludes that there is no essential inbred superiority of the Europeans. "If there be any such essential superiority," he asks, "why

⁸⁹ Orations, III, 171.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 174-5.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 179.

has it been so late in showing itself?"⁹³ This question could well have been asked of Germany in this century.

The final idea in the speech is an emphasis on moral power in history. "It is a truth which this Society ought to write upon its banners, that it is not political or military power, but the moral sentiments, principally under the guidance and influence of religious zeal, which have in all ages civilized the world."⁹⁴

Everett was interested in a noted African slave who had been freed and had been feted widely in this country because he was a well educated person at the time he unfortunately had been captured by a slaver. The sketch called "Abdul Rahaman"⁹⁵ is an account of the man's life and a defense of his actions. Rahaman had become a Christian in this country but when he was returned to Africa he embraced Islam, the religion of his youth. The question raised by this action was whether freed Negroes from America could be depended upon to colonize and civilize Africa. The Colonization Society was embarrassed by the action of a freed Negro in whom they had taken great interest.

Everett's conjectural defense of Rahaman is very objective and shows an unprejudiced understanding of the impact of historic forces upon Africa. "It is not probable that he became a Christian because he had carefully weighed the Bible against the Koran," Everett wrote,

⁹³ Orations, III, 180.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 184.

⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 186-94.

"or compared the evidence on which they respectively rest. His Christianity was probably a sentiment rather than a conviction. . . . serious and good people around him were Christians." Then when he returned to Africa, all the dim recollections of his childhood would come surging back into his mind. "Was it strange if the thought occurred to him, that the Bible might be the book of the white man, and the Koran the book of the dark races? We must remember that Christians have not done much to recommend their faith, on the coast of Africa, either to Mussulman ⁹⁶ [sic] or Pagan."

This judgment, historically true as it is, seems a burst of courage and liberality from Everett. The mid-nineteenth century was not a period when even well-educated people were prone to say a direct or indirect word of good about Islam. Most of the historic judgments rendered by Everett in his speeches were hardly such as to offend any great segment of the American people. Perhaps this censure of the historic position of Christians in Africa as compared with Islam was not offensive because, like the whole colonization scheme, it involved a project at too great a distance to awaken wide interest.

The year 1854 was tragic for Everett, for in this year the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was introduced into the Senate, and he had to face, not in theory, but in reality, the problem of the extension of slavery. The fact that he did not oppose it clearly and courageously ruined his political future.

⁹⁶ Orations, III, 192.

His one speech on the Bill was given February 8, 1854. He opened by stating that to be adequately prepared for such a debate a person should have read all the pertinent documents and former debates. Then he speaks of the Indian tribes now living within the territory of Kansas. He reminds the Senate that he had opposed their removal from east of the Mississippi, claiming that it was impossible to place the tribes in a "permanent home."⁹⁷ He hopes that the proposed bill is not going to result in injustice and unkindness to "these children of sorrow and oppression."

He states that he cannot understand how anyone can say that Congress does not have the right to interfere in a territory over the question of slavery. From 1789 down to the present no such principle⁹⁸ is apparent in the legislation of Congress. At the very close of the speech he faced the question.

A word more, sir, and I have done. With reference to the great question of slavery - that terrible question - the only one on which the North and the South of this great Republic differ irreconcilably - I have not, on this occasion, a word to say. My humble career is drawing to its close; and I shall end it as I began it, with using no other words on that subject than those of moderation, conciliation, and harmony between the two great sections of the country. I blame no one who differs from me in this respect. I allow to others, what I claim for myself, the credit of honesty and purity of motive. But for my own part, the rule of my life, as far as circumstances have enabled me to act upon it, has been, to say nothing that would tend to kindle unkind feeling on the subject.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Speech of Mr. Everett . . . Feb. 8, 1854 (Washington, 1854), p.5.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 12.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 13.

So Everett faced the question by repeating his affirmation of moderation. Other than that he intends to say nothing. This was, of course, very disappointing and brought charges of weakness and failure from the opponents of slavery.

After repeating what he had many times declared, that the blessings of the Union were many, he went on to state in conclusion his faith in the eventual solution of the problem.

. . . a wise and gracious Providence, in his own good time, will find the ways and the channels to remove from the land what I consider this great evil; but I do not expect that what has been done in three centuries and a half is to be undone in a day or a year, or a few years; and I believe that, in the mean time, the desired end will be retarded rather than promoted by passionate sectional agitation. I believe, further, that the fate of that great and interesting continent in the elder world, Africa, is closely intertwined and wrapped up in the fortunes of her children in all the parts of the earth to which they have been dispersed, and that at some future time, which is already in fact beginning, they will go back to the land of their fathers the voluntary missionaries of Civilization and Christianity; and finally, sir, I doubt not that in His own good time the Ruler of all will vindicate the most glorious of His prerogatives,

"From seeming evil still educing good." 100

As we read over this conclusion, we see the evasion of the real issue. He would not face up to what should be done about the slaves in America at that time. He believed that eventually Providence would provide a solution. He believed that Africa's future was tied up with the return of Negroes there to colonize and civilize. The solution was pushed away to a geographic distance and pushed off to a future time. Caution had triumphed. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill was the greatest opportunity Everett had, in his long public career, to speak out

clearly and forcefully, with all of his genius and his scholarship, on the prime issue of his generation. When the opportunity came, he had only explanations why he would not speak out at all.

After the brief period in the Senate, Everett retired from public life for a few years. Then he returned to the lecture platform, travelling from one part of the country to the other in 1856 and the years immediately following, to present his famous oration on Washington. Theodore Parker criticized Everett for his handling of some of the situations in interpreting the life of Washington. On December 28, 1858, Everett wrote to G. I. Hilliard commenting on Parker's criticism.

Th. Parker, who lectures on Washington tonight, will no more abuse me, for not extolling his emancipation of his slaves. I had several reasons for not doing it; such as that it was not a particularly characteristic act: - it is done every day at the south, and would be much oftener, but for the more stringent policy with respect to emancipation, adopted by the South since anti-slavery agitation. Then, if the truth must be told, I do not think it particularly meritorious in Washington, or anybody else, after appropriating to himself, all his life, the fruit of the labor of slaves, to deprive his heirs of that benefit. 101

The two reasons here advanced by Everett for not mentioning Washington's emancipation of his slaves, are illuminating. To say that this was not a characteristic act and is now being done every day, seems a way of hedging on the question. The reason that the heirs were unjustly deprived of income, shows a veneration for property and property rights which casts some question on Everett's statements at other times that slavery was such an evil. It apparently was not evil to receive income from it.

As the decade of the 1850's neared an end, Everett still had the same basic attitudes toward slavery which he had held twenty-five years before. In 1826 he had stated his willingness to fight for the prevention of a slave insurrection and he so worded his opinions that he gave the impression of favoring slavery. In 1854, instead of debating the real issues posed by the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, he refused to discuss the thorny question and stated his belief that eventually Providence in its own mysterious ways would remedy the situation. Since the Constitution upheld slavery, he felt that it was illegal to oppose the system. Slaves were property, and Everett was ready to recognize property rights. Could he not even claim, as he did on December 8, 1859, that no one had ever advanced any practical method for universal emancipation?¹⁰² The great human emotions involved in the slavery controversy he seemed incapable of recognizing.

4. The Election of 1860

On the eighth of January, 1860, Everett entered a pessimistic note in his journal about a walk he took that day with his friend Hilliard: "A not very cheery conversation about national politics which are indeed in a deplorable condition. I shall be too happy to be found a false prophet, but I cannot see any hopes of weathering the present crisis."¹⁰³ Like many another prophet at the time, Everett was right. National politics were entering a fateful year.

¹⁰² "Union Meeting in Faneuil Hall," Orations, IV, 245.

¹⁰³ Everett Papers 179, journal.

On March 31, 1860, he noted in his journal: "Mr. Conway the member elect from Kansas [sic] called on me. . . . He went to Kansas a democrat, but became he says a free-state man in consequence of the outrages of the Border Ruffians. I told him I thought it was injudicious in their territorial legislature to abolish slavery, inasmuch as there was no slavery in Kansas nor likely to be any and that such a law at that moment looked like defiance. I added that I supposed they were urged to this measure from the East 'by people who wished
104
to keep the sore open.'"

This illustration of a shift in an individual's political views is symbolic of the larger shift in political parties which took place between the latter part of the 1840's and 1860. Schlesinger explains that until about 1850 the slaveholding interests belonged to the Whig
105
Party, but after that date they shifted to the Democratic Party. He explains that the Democratic Party paid the price of its own radicalism by making slavery an issue, splitting the party over it, and then leaving in control of the party machinery the group favorable to the South. After 1848 the Democrats attracted more and more of the slave aristocracy. Calhoun aided the process by building his elaborate constitutional defenses of slavery. When Southern Whigs shifted to the Democratic Party, they succeeded in maintaining an alliance with Northern conservatives.

104 Everett Papers 179, journal.

105 See Age of Jackson, pp. 488-9, for analysis of the shift.

Schlesinger points out that by the fifties both of the old parties as such were gone. The new and vital issue was slavery. The names of the two parties continued but significance turned on the new issue. Considering these shifts, we can readily appreciate the emergence of the Republican Party and the fact that four sets of candidates sought the presidency in 1860.

The Republicans, meeting in Chicago, nominated Lincoln. Everett entered his reaction to this news in his journal on May 18, 1860. "Telegraphic news of the nomination of Mr. Lincoln at Chicago as the candidate of the republican party for President. This is the result of Western local feeling It is a righteous retribution on Mr. Seward, who has for twenty years been laboring to build up a party on Anti-Slavery agitation and who has done as much as any other person to bring about the critical state of things and who is now for the second time thrown overboard, by the party which he himself mainly contributed to build up, and that too in favor of a man every way his inferior." ¹⁰⁶ A person may well wonder if the idea of "righteous retribution" applied to Seward is not subconsciously motivated by Everett's own political failure which was due, largely, to the agitation over slavery. And this first reference to Lincoln is far from complimentary.

In this eventful year the Democratic Party assembled in convention in Charleston in April; the party split wide open over slavery into two resulting factions. One faction met later in Baltimore and nominated Douglas, the other wing of the split party nominating John C. Breckinridge.

¹⁰⁶ Everett Papers 179, journal.

On June 22 Everett recorded his opinion of the Baltimore Democratic convention. "The Baltimore convention plunging from confusion to confusion worse confounded. It would seem impossible that the democratic party should not be broken up, as indeed since the disappearance of the Whig party was a matter almost of course, inasmuch as every party implies an opposing political organization. This reduces us to the Republican party which is exclusively sectional and to the elements as yet unconsolidated of a Union Party. It is extremely doubtful whether the latter can be formed. So long as the Republican party exists Anti-slavery excitement must be the basis of all political activity in the North and the South will be compelled to give such prominence to Southern views as to make co-operation even with Northern Union men impossible. The result must be separation. God grant that it may come
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without convulsion and blood-shed."

On June 23 Everett had this additional entry about the Baltimore convention. "A great disruption of the Democratic Convention at Baltimore: one party nominating Douglas and Fitzpatrick of Alabama, and the seceders nominating Mr. Vice-President Breckenridge and Lane of Oregon. This state of things threatens a division of the democratic vote in all the States, which will probably give all the non-slave-
108
holding states to the Republican candidate and if so elect him."

107 Everett Papers 179, journal.

108 Ibid.

Everett's reaction and his comments in this political crisis are those of a politician and a fairly acute one. He is right here in his estimates as to what will occur. This acute political interest Everett seemed to want to keep from the public, yet it runs through all his journals and particularly is apparent in his correspondence. Publicly he would take the position of the non-partisan, speaking from the lofty height of some philosophical principle, and being sponsored, whenever he could manage, as the guest of all parties.

Shortly before the Republican convention opened in Chicago, some of the old Whig leaders, fragments from the Know Nothing party and others with strong Union sentiments, met together in Baltimore and formed the Constitutional Union party. They nominated John Bell for president and then by acclamation nominated Everett for the vice-pres-
 109
 idency. Beard evaluates this political effort as "an overture of old men - men who had known and loved Webster and Clay and who shrank with horror from agitations that threatened to end in bloodshed and revolution - a plea for the maintenance of the status quo against the whims
 110
 of a swiftly changing world."

Everett shrank from the nomination. It was humiliating to be offered second place, or rather forced into second place since he had made it clear he did not want to return to public life. His own political estimate, as we have seen, was such that he knew the hard realities

109 For this material about Everett and the election, see Frothingham, pp. 408-13.

110 Rise of American Civilization, II, 34.

in the political situation and how hopeless the effort was. After some weeks of hesitation he agreed to run on the ticket. But his journal, significantly, ignores the Union Party. For example, it contains no reference to John Bell, his running mate. Everett apparently did not make a single political speech. He kept aloof in the grand manner which he knew so well.

In his journal for November 8 he comments on the election.

The returns of the election make it certain that Mr. Lincoln is President; and not only so, but give to Mr. Breckenridge the vote of several states, that were confidently claimed for the "Union ticket." A very little show of real strength at the North would have given us the entire South; but after the overwhelming Republican vote in Pennsylvania, the democratic party at the South rapidly gained strength and the opposing elements [Douglas and Bell] lost confidence: - and many were inclined to take refuge with the majority. - The struggle, in this way, has become one of South and North and has ended as far as this election is concerned in the triumph of the latter by an overwhelming majority. What will be the result, it is of course impossible to foresee. Some of the Southern States, - S. Carolina and Alabama, - seem pledged to some revolutionary movement, but whether they will be sufficiently sustained by public opinion remains to be seen. ¹¹¹

This entry looks like a calm and objective reaction of an astute politician who, knowing he would be on the losing side, records the events of the election without emotion. But Everett did feel concerned personally, and there is evidence in his recorded reactions to the secession crisis that he had hopes the Bell-Everett ticket would be elected. Evidently the ambition to be president, once born, never completely dies. In his journal on November 12 he wrote: "It appears that the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and perhaps Virginia

¹¹¹ Everett Papers 179, journal.

have voted for the Union ticket. Had the North given us the slightest support we should have carried the entire South without difficulty. Nothing but the selfish views of the Republican leaders of the North prevented this.¹¹² To ascribe defeat to mere selfishness is an emotional oversimplification. Everett was a disappointed old man.

5. The Secession Crisis

"The offensive tone of exultation at the North over the recent victory will not tend to calm the agitation at the South."¹¹³ So Everett wrote on November 9, 1860. Up to this point he seems always to have feared offending the South. Whatever the abolitionists did was offensive agitation that Everett deplored. He never deplored as strongly the South's upholding of slavery. This was due most likely not just to his conservatism but to his definite belief in the rights of property.

Now, as the Southern states moved toward secession, Everett's comments seem to show his exasperation with and criticism of them. On November 11 he wrote in his journal: "The intelligence from the South continues to be very alarming. The resignation of the Southern Senators announced. This is a very unfortunate step as it will have the effect of throwing the appointing and perhaps the legislative power into the hands of the Republican party, which otherwise will be held in check by the conservative majority of the two Houses."¹¹⁴

¹¹² Everett Papers 179, journal.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

How deeply Everett was affected by the course of the crisis may be seen in a letter of his dated December 31, 1860 to his friend Mrs. Charles Eames.

The result of the election so far as I was personally concerned, was no matter either of disappointment or regret. For a very short period there seemed a possibility, that the Union ticket would succeed so far as to devolve the election on the House of Representatives, and the Senate. That possibility, slight as it was, was to me a subject of painful apprehension. Little however as I coveted either office, I cannot but lament for the country, that the conservative wing of the republican party, or the Douglas wing of the democratic party or both had not seen that, without any sacrifice of principle, they could have supported the Union ticket, and thus have saved the country the terrible strain to which it is now subjected.

No one here undertakes to form any opinion, what is to be the upshot of the present struggle; and I have learned from a person who lately passed a day or two at Washington, that nobody there has any plan or counsel. It is quite evident there is none at the South, except a vague and wild project which they call "secession," of the practical consequences of which its authors evidently have not the slightest idea. They are rushing head long - like a mad bull - plunging fiercely at every thing in the way, but without any plan of attack, defence, or self-support. The President is paralyzed by the frightful gravity of the crisis, his Cabinet falling to pieces from dissension with each other, and the suspicions, which hover over all, and what little vitality there is in Congress is rendered unavailing, for want of a leader that inspires respect. The best way would be for Congress, by a joint Resolution, to create General Scott dictator for six months. There is no authority under the Constitution to create a dictator, it is an extreme remedy demanded by the extremity of the disease. Supposing his physique and morale to be what they were when I last saw him, he would soon wind up the clock and set it going again; the crisis would be passed and time gained for the application of Constitutional remedies. ¹¹⁵

The radical dominance in both North and South and the lack of leadership in Washington causes Everett to entertain a suggestion that is contrary to the principles of political liberty and freedom

¹¹⁵ Everett Papers 34, box of letters.

which he has championed for so many years. It did not take great insight for a person to see the seriousness of the crisis by the end of 1860. It is the conservative mind that would consider the dictator as a solution, and only a conservative would think it was a simple matter of six months to "wind up the clock and set it going again."

By February Everett was even more pessimistic. The dictator idea was based on the assumption that the Union could be preserved. By February Everett had abandoned the idea that the Union could be saved and his long-held fear of civil war prompted him to urge that the Southern states be allowed to secede peacefully. In a letter which he wrote on February 2, 1861, to be read at Faneuil Hall, he said: "To expect to hold fifteen States in the Union by force is an absurdity. The idea of civil war accompanied as it would be by servile insurrection is too monstrous to be entertained for a moment. If our sister States are determined to separate from us for Heaven's sake let them
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go in peace." All through the month of March 1861 Everett held to this opinion and expressed it in various letters to friends.

When Fort Sumter was attacked on April 13, Everett's reaction was to change again, but this time to throw off his conservative opinions and support the government. On April 17 he wrote in his journal: "Disapproving as I did conscientiously the course of policy pursued by the Republican Party; I disapproved much more that of Secessionists; and inasmuch as it is now an alternative between supporting the government and allowing the country to fall into a state of anarchy, and general confusion, I cannot hesitate as to the path of duty."
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116 Everett Papers 180, journal.

117 Ibid.

In the secession crisis, then, Everett's mind and feelings had passed through three stages. First, in December 1860, he was so pessimistic that he voiced the strongly conservative opinion that the country should have a dictator. By February, his fear of civil war was so strong that he urged the Southern states be permitted to go in peace. Finally, in April, the actual outbreak of war furnished the conviction by events which brought Everett to active support of the government. He thus became a co-worker with a party he had denounced as sectional. His fear of civil war had been justified and he found himself an active supporter of the war.

6. Opinions of Lincoln

Almost everything about Lincoln was the opposite of the standard for a proper Bostonian. He was a Westerner; he was undistinguished looking; he was uncouth in voice and manner; he did not possess the elements of culture. When Everett criticized Lincoln during these early months of 1861, he was reacting partly like a proper Bostonian and partly like conservatives everywhere in the North. On February 15, 1861, Everett wrote: "The President elect is making a zig-zag progress to Washington, called out to make short speeches at every important point. These speeches thus far have been of the most ordinary kind destitute of every thing not merely of felicity and grace, but of common pertinence. He is evidently a person of very inferior cast of character, wholly unequal to the crisis."

¹¹⁸ Everett Papers 180, journal.

Everett's opinion of the Inaugural Address is not as harsh, but still he feels the inadequacy of Lincoln. On March 4, 1861, he entered in his journal: "The inaugural address received in evening by Telegraph. The tone is as conciliatory as possible, but the intention is intimated of holding the forts and collecting the duties in the ports of the Seceded States. Either measure will result in civil war which I am compelled to look upon as almost certain. Such is the result of organizing a party on a basis which defies the cooperation of one entire section of the country."¹¹⁹

The sectional charge which Everett had long held against the Republican party was evidently of great concern to him. It was on this basis that he criticized Lincoln's cabinet, according to a notation dated March 6, 1861, in his journal. "The new cabinet definitely arranged . . . How any man of sense can suppose that an administration can stand of so exclusively sectional a character is to me inconceivable."¹²⁰

An entry in the journal of April 3, 1861, shows an appreciation of some of the difficulties Lincoln faced. "The last arrivals from Europe bring the comments of the English press on the President's Inaugural Message. It is almost universally spoken of as feeble, equivocal and temporizing. - It has evidently disappointed public expectation. The truth is the President's situation is impossible. He cannot do his duty in any one point. It is his duty to preserve the

¹¹⁹ Everett Papers 180, journal.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

Union, he cannot. It is his duty to hold or regain the Southern forts, he cannot. It is his duty to conciliate the Southern States, he cannot. This impossibility arises from the fact that he represents a party organized on a principle destructive to the Constitution." ¹²¹ Everett is here still opposed to a sectional party, but he has for the first time a sympathy for Lincoln's position. This perhaps is a factor helping explain why a few weeks later he made his decision to completely support the government.

In the early part of April, Everett was visiting in Washington and on April 7 he met Lincoln for the first time, making brief reference to it in his journal. "To church at St. John's. . . . The President and Mr. Seward were present. After the service, I met them on the portico and Mr. Seward introduced me to the President. His manner and appearance were better than I expected to find them: and particularly ¹²² courteous toward me." Everett was pleasantly surprised and apparently Lincoln was able to say something especially gracious to him.

Once committed to support the government, Everett's feelings toward Lincoln changed. When Lincoln was a candidate for reelection, Everett spoke in favor of him on October 19, 1864, in Faneuil Hall. The ex-President of Harvard, Boston's most brilliant and urbane citizen ¹²³ speaking for the election of the frontier lawyer!

¹²¹ Everett Papers 180, journal.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ "The Duty of Supporting the Government," Orations, IV, 698-726.

The best evidence of how Everett's feelings toward Lincoln had changed may be seen in remarks he made on November 15, 1864, at a dinner for Captain Winslow and the officers of the Kearsarge, in response to a toast honoring the President.

Everett declared that he recognized in Lincoln "a full measure of the qualities which entitle him to the personal respect of the people, who have just given him the proof of their confidence, not extended to any of his predecessors in this generation." No predecessor in the White House, not even Washington, had as many reproachful things said about him and was in any quality "either as a man or a President, superior to Mr. Lincoln."

He praised Lincoln's qualities of character - conscientiousness, eminent kind-heartedness, indefatigability. Lincoln, he felt, was a man without the slightest trace of vindictiveness in his nature.

Once Everett's mind had been purged of those sentiments and conservative ideas which for years had blinded him to the meaning of the slavery agitation, he could see things with great clarity. And, too, Everett's sense of intellectual honesty and fairness affected his attitude toward Lincoln.

¹²⁴ "President Lincoln," Orations, IV, 741-6.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 743.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid., pp. 743-4.

In November of the previous year, 1863, when the Gettysburg Cemetery was dedicated, Everett realized at once the beauty and literary qualities of Lincoln's address. For the next day Everett had written to the President and said: "Permit me also to express my great admiration of the thoughts expressed by you, with such eloquent simplicity and appropriateness, at the consecration of the Cemetery. I should be glad if I could flatter myself that I came as near the central idea of the occasion in two hours as you did in two minutes." ¹²⁸ When we know of this private tribute paid to Lincoln following Gettysburg, we are not surprised that the following year Everett had discerning public praise for the President.

7. Everett's Case Against the South

In the various crises over slavery up to 1861 Everett seemed to favor the South, at least by default. He might denounce slavery as an evil but the denunciation would tend to be so generalized that it would seem to rebuke the North as much or more than the South. This was partly due to Everett's dread of controversy or "agitation" as he frequently called it.

Yet whatever might have prompted the public appearance of favoring the South, there is evidence that he felt the South was unjustly demanding in legislation over slavery. Following his retirement from the Senate, which had been precipitated by the Kansas-Nebraska controversy, he wrote to Mrs. Charles Eames on July 2, 1854, and

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Quoted in Frothingham, p. 458.

expressed criticism of the South. "What a wretched state of things in the Senate! I cannot but be thankful that I am out of the turmoil. The times indeed are out of joint. Nothing can be more insolent than the South; nothing more false than the position of the North. It seems to me that the dissolution of the Union is near at hand, and that the only way left to Patriotism is, if possible, to bring it about without bloodshed. I must say, that I think the South responsible for the present state of things, for though a portion of the Northern Democracy, with Douglas at their head, have played into their hands, yet the measures adopted are all essentially Southern measures."¹²⁹

This letter, with its statement placing responsibility upon the South for the state of things following the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, is important in showing us that Everett privately saw things with greater honesty than his public statements would always indicate. Therefore, when we find him speaking against the South after the war started, we know that he did not completely change his attitude. He had previously felt some of the blame resting upon the South.

On July 4, 1861, Everett spoke on "The Questions of the Day" at the Academy of Music in New York.¹³⁰ "A great People," he declared, "gallantly struggling to keep a noble framework of government from falling into wretched fragments, needs no justification at the tribunal of the public opinion of mankind."¹³¹ His objective he said was

¹²⁹ Everett Papers 30, box of letters.

¹³⁰ Orations, IV, 345-411.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 345.

to show the justice of the Northern cause and the fallacy of the Southern arguments.

Everett refers proudly to the great and prosperous growth of the country. He shows that the sectional tendency has existed for a long time but, until recently, had not been pronounced enough to threaten the Union.¹³² The election of 1860, however, was different. The Southern states were determined to abide by the results only if they were favorable. It is as if the Southern states said - "If we succeed in this election, as we have in fifteen that preceded it, well and good; we will consent to govern the country for four years more, as we have already governed it for sixty years; but we have no intention of acquiescing in any other result. We do not mean to abide by the election, although we participate in it, unless our candidate is chosen."¹³³

Having challenged the sincerity of the South, he proceeds to question the right of South Carolina to "repeal" the ordinance of May 23, 1788. He argues that it is impossible to repeal this because it had been an act of the people of South Carolina to ratify and adopt the Constitution for themselves and their posterity.¹³⁴

Next Everett considers the grounds on which the Southern states defend their action in withdrawing from the Union. "The question is of great magnitude," he says, "as one of constitutional and public

¹³² Orations, IV, 346-7.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 348.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 349-51.

law; as one of morality it is of very little consequence whether the country is drenched in blood, in the exercise of a right claimed under the Constitution, or the right inherent in every community to revolt against an oppressive government. Unless the oppression is so extreme as to justify a revolution, it would not justify the evil of breaking up a government, under an abstract constitutional right to do so." ¹³⁵ Either secession is a constitutional right or it is justified by an oppressive government. These two alternative reasons Everett proceeds to consider.

As to secession being ^aright, inherent or otherwise, he proves ¹³⁶ there is no ground for such a position. The Union is not a compact between independent states. The Constitution was adopted as the supreme law of the land. The Constitution gives the federal government all the sovereign powers, reserving others for the states. Even before the Revolution, the colonists were referred to as "the People," and it was the people who established the Constitution. Even the weak Articles of Confederation specifically denied the right of a state to withdraw. The federal government deals directly with the individual citizen. A state cannot set aside the Constitution just because it once had the right to ratify it.

"In fact," Everett says, "to deduce from the sovereignty of the States the right of seceding from the Union is the most stupendous

¹³⁵ Orations, IV, 351.

¹³⁶ The extensive argument on this point covers pp. 351-73.

non sequitur that was ever advanced in great affairs. The only legitimate inference to be drawn from that sovereignty is precisely the reverse."¹³⁷ He drives hard against this notion of sovereign right, and adds a personal analogy to clinch his argument. "What would be thought in private affairs of a man who should seriously claim the right to revoke a grant, in consequence of having an unqualified right to make it? A right to break a contract, because he had a right to enter into it?"¹³⁸ Everett brings out the fact that Madison denied repeatedly the right of a state to secede peaceably. He reviews legal aspects of our history to show there is no basis for any right of secession.

At length Everett discusses the second alternative, whether the Southern states have been sufficiently oppressed to justify revolution.¹³⁹ He begins his defense by a flat denial that the federal system is oppressive.

This oppressive and tyrannical government is the successful solution of a problem which had tasked the sagacity of mankind from the dawn of civilization, namely, to find a form of polity, by which institutions purely popular could be extended over a vast empire, free alike from despotic centralization and undue preponderance of the local powers. It was necessarily a complex system; a Union at once federal and national. It leaves to the separate States the control of all matters of purely local administration, and confides to the central power the management of foreign affairs and of all other concerns in which the United family have a joint interest. All the organized and delegated powers depend directly or very nearly so on popular choice. This Government was not imposed upon the People by a foreign conqueror;

¹³⁷ Orations, IV, 363.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid., pp. 373-96.

it is not an inheritance descending from barbarous ages, laden with traditionary abuses, which create a painful ever-recurring necessity of reform: it is not the conceit of heated enthusiasts in the spasms of a revolution. It is the recent and voluntary framework of an enlightened age, compacted by wise and good men, with deliberation and care, working upon materials prepared by long Colonial discipline. In framing it, they sought to combine the merits and to avoid the defects of former systems of government. The greatest possible liberty of the citizen is the basis; just representation the ruling principle, reconciling with rare ingenuity the federal equality of the States, with the proportionate influence of numbers. Its legislative and executive magistrates are freely chosen at short periods; its judiciary alone holding office by a more permanent, but still sufficiently responsible tenure. No money flows into or out of the Treasury but under the direct sanction of the representatives of the People, on whom also all the great functions of Government for peace and war, within the limits already indicated, are devolved. No hereditary titles or privileges, no distinctions of ranks, no established church, no courts of high commission, no censorship of the press, are known to the system; not a drop of blood has ever flowed under its authority for a political offence; but this tyrannical and oppressive Government has certainly exhibited a more perfect development of equal republican principles than has ever before existed on any considerable scale. Under its benign influence, the country, every part of the country, has prospered beyond all former example. Its population has increased; its commerce, agriculture, and manufactures have flourished; manners, arts, education, letters, all that dignifies and ennobles man, have in a shorter period attained a higher point of civilization than has ever before been witnessed in a newly settled region. The consequence has been consideration and influence abroad and marvellous well-being at home. The world has looked with admiration upon the country's progress; we have ourselves contemplated it, perhaps, with undue self-complacency. Armies without conscription; navies without impressment, and neither army nor navy swelled to an oppressive size; an overflowing treasury without direct taxation or oppressive taxation of any kind; churches without number and with no denominational preferences on the part of the state; schools and colleges accessible to all the people; a free and a cheap press; - all the great institutions of social life extending their benefits to the mass of the community, - such, no one can deny, is the general character of this oppressive and tyrannical government. 140

This detailed and brilliant statement of the achievements of the government under the Constitution shows Everett at his best in these last years of his life. His rhetoric is restrained and simple. With marked effectiveness he three times uses the ironic phrase "this oppressive and tyrannical government." His summary includes the historical origin of the Constitution, the chief principles of its organization and functioning, and the resulting social conditions for the people - in clear and compelling sequence. His ability to synthesize enables him here to state in comprehensive review every good resulting from the Constitution.

But, allowing all this to be true, one section of a country might be led to revolt because it has not had a fair part in the control of the national government. He asks if this might be true of the South and answers: "Let us see. Out of seventy-two years since the organization of the Government, the Executive chair has, for sixty-four years, been filled nearly all the time by Southern Presidents; and when that was not the case, by Presidents possessing the confidence of the South. For a still longer period, the controlling influences of the Legislative and Judicial departments of the Government have centered in the same quarter. Of all the offices in the gift of the central power in every department, far more than her proportionate share has always been enjoyed by the South. . . .¹⁴¹ she has herself from the first almost monopolized the administration." If there was no disappointment at being able to participate fairly and proportionately in the government, what then are the abuses?

¹⁴¹ Orations, IV, 375.

The Vice-President of the Confederacy has complained because the federal government paid fishing bounties to New England sailors. In rebuttal Everett pours his scorn on this misrepresentation of a practice which maritime powers have long considered essential to developing a navy. And he points out, "The Fishing Bounty is bestowed by a¹⁴² Government which has been from the first controlled by the South."

The second grievance concerns the Navigation Laws which give exclusive shipping rights on American coasts to American vessels. "All administrations of all parties," he remarks, "have favored it; under its influence our commercial tonnage has grown up to be second to no¹⁴³ other in the world . . ."

The tariff is supposed to be the "monster wrong." But Everett shows that it was a Southern-sponsored policy which first forced a protective tariff upon the country. The major crop of the South was developed under such protection. ". . . the culture of the cotton plant in the United States was in its infancy the foster-child of the¹⁴⁴ Protective System."

But of course the major grievance of the South is the Northern attitude toward slavery. "On this whole subject," Everett affirms, "the grossest injustice is done to the North. She is expected to be more tolerant of slavery than the South herself; for while the South

¹⁴² Orations, IV, 378.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 379.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 385.

demands of the North entire acquiescence in the extremest doctrines of slave property, it is a well-known fact . . . that any man who habitually traffics in this property is held in the same infamy at Richmond and New Orleans that he would be at Philadelphia or Cincinnati." ¹⁴⁵

Everett takes the theory of justification advanced by Jefferson Davis and attacks it by constant historic rebuttal. In so doing, he brings in a reference to his own attitude by saying: "You are aware, my friends, that I have always disapproved the agitation of the subject of Slavery for party purposes, or with a view to infringe upon the constitutional rights of the South. But if the North has given cause of complaint in this respect, the fault has been equally committed by the South. The subject has been fully as much abused there as here for party purposes; and if the North has ever made it the means of gaining a sectional triumph, she has but done what the South, ¹⁴⁶ for the last twenty-five years, has never missed an occasion of doing."

As if past discussions of Union were much on his mind, Everett proceeds to show how acceptance of secession could not bring peace but only a multiplication of problems.

Peace is the very last thing which Secession, if recognized, will give; it will give us nothing but a hollow truce, - time to prepare the means of new outrages. It is in its very nature a perpetual cause of hostility; an eternal never-cancelled letter of marque and reprisal, an everlasting proclamation of border-war.

¹⁴⁵ Orations, IV, 387.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 392.

How can peace exist when all the causes of dissension shall be indefinitely multiplied; when unequal revenue laws shall have led to a gigantic system of smuggling, when a general stampede of slaves shall take place along the border, with no thought of rendition, and all the thousand causes of mutual irritation shall be called into action, on a frontier of 1,500 miles not marked by natural boundaries, and not subject to a common jurisdiction or a mediating power? ¹⁴⁷

This is essentially what Everett had previously predicted would be the outcome if the Union were dissolved. The difficulties which he sets forth all have historic precedence.

If we submit to secession, it will be like permitting a foreign ¹⁴⁸ power to take half our territory. He proceeds to show the complications with European powers which would develop if secession were successful.

These are the chief arguments developed by Everett as his case against the South. On October 16, 1861, he spoke before the Mercantile Library Association in Boston on "The Causes and Conduct of the ¹⁴⁹ Civil War." His arguments here were essentially the same as those given in the New York speech. This later speech was better known, ¹⁵⁰ however, because Everett delivered it widely in 1861 and 1862.

¹⁴⁷ Orations, IV, 397.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 399.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 464-89.

¹⁵⁰ According to Orations, IV, 489-90, he delivered this address sixty times in the following states: Massachusetts, New York, Maine, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa.

These two speeches have less rhetorical flourish than the former major orations Everett delivered. They seem to have been prepared by a legal mind. They are fighting speeches of debate, where facts, statistics, and quotations from authority are arrayed solidly as proof.

In this second speech Everett undertook to demolish the philosophy of Calhoun, and in this he shows up well as a debater. He claims that "on no individual of the present generation does a heavier responsibility rest than on him for the present state of the country."¹⁵¹

Briefly Everett recounts Calhoun's political career and then passes judgment on his ability as a thinker. "His intellectual powers, though, as it seems to me, overrated, were of a high order; but he was subtle rather than profound, fanciful rather than ingenious. There is, however, no play of the imagination in his works, no fervor."¹⁵²

Everett charges that Calhoun's doctrine of nullification is a "portentous absurdity." He describes Calhoun's devious reasoning and then his plan for protecting both sections by co-ordinate presidents.¹⁵³ The country is congratulated for having rejected such a monstrous plan.

¹⁵¹ Orations, IV, 468.

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 469.

¹⁵³ Ibid., pp. 470-1.

8. Support of the Government

Once he had decided to abandon his long-held position as peace-maker and compromiser, Everett entered whole-heartedly into supporting the Government in its conduct of the war. Many of his orations at this time were for special occasions such as: "Flag Raising in Chester Square," April 27, 1861;¹⁵⁴ "The Call to Arms," a speech at Roxbury, May 8, 1861, on behalf of families of volunteers;¹⁵⁵ "The Twelfth Massachusetts Regiment," a speech at the presentation of colors to the Webster Regiment on Boston Commons, July 19, 1861;¹⁵⁶ "The Demand for Reinforcements," remarks at a Mass Meeting on Boston Commons, August 27, 1862.¹⁵⁷ And the famous address which he entitled "National Cemetery at Gettysburg" was also in the commemorative style.¹⁵⁸

The Gettysburg address of Everett's has been used consistently to damn him. It is an unfortunate irony that a disappointed politician, a Boston patrician, a friend of the South, a sentimentalist, and a scholar should reverse his position and support the Republican Party and its administration and its president, only to have the chief memory of him connected with Gettysburg.

Everett was invited to speak at the dedication of the national cemetery at Gettysburg as the orator of the day.¹⁵⁹ It was expected

¹⁵⁴ Orations, IV, 326-30.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 330-9.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 431-5.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 530-40.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 622-60.

¹⁵⁹ Frothingham, p. 451.

that he would deliver the principal message. Only after Everett had agreed upon a date, was Lincoln invited to attend. The invitation to Lincoln was not personal, or a written individual invitation; it was a printed circular, hundreds of which were printed and mailed out to high and low officials.¹⁶⁰ Everett was accepted as the outstanding orator in the country, and people looked forward to his message.

In his oration Everett followed the general pattern he had set himself for the commemorative address. As he had done so many times in speaking on the great occasions in the history of New England, Everett retold the event being observed. In this case, he told of the three-day series of battles in and near the town of Gettysburg. The bulk of the address concerns the account of the battle. And this is the chief thing in the text of the address which makes it uninteresting to a modern reader.¹⁶¹

The second half of the address is a defense of the government, a defense growing out of Everett's realization that the war was not yet won. He begins his defense by attacking the "ambitious men who have rebelled" against the government.¹⁶² These ambitious men were a small group of aspiring politicians who rebelled because they were going to lose their monopoly control of the government.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ Barton, Lincoln at Gettysburg, pp. 47-8.

¹⁶¹ The entire text of the oration runs from p. 622 to p. 659 (in Orations, IV,) but the account of the battle runs from p. 626 to p. 644, or just about half the length of the address.

¹⁶² "National Cemetery at Gettysburg," Orations, IV, 644.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 645.

He declares, "I call the war which the Confederates are waging against the Union a 'rebellion,' because it is one, and in grave matters it is best to call things by their right names. I speak of it as a crime, because the Constitution of the United States so regards it, and puts
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'rebellion' on a par with 'invasion.'" Emphatically Everett plays on the idea of "ambitious men."

Then he takes up again the legal arguments concerning state sovereignty and "reserved rights" which were integral parts of the constitutional debate prior to the outbreak of war. Everett calls upon both ancient and modern history to find parallels and support for his
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arguments.

Since the argumentative element consumes the second half of the speech, we see that Everett has combined two types of speeches - his early commemorative type which recounted and exalted an event in history, and the debating type of speech which developed out of his Civil War activities and in which he is the prosecuting attorney presenting the case against the South. Through it all runs an excessively heavy rhetoric, and it is weighted down with an abundance of facts. Unfortunately, the simplicity of Lincoln's few sentences on that occasion has, by contrast, called undue attention to Everett's rhetoric.

Now that he had embarked on his efforts to support the Government and the war effort, Everett at last was able to admit publicly that slavery was the cause of the war. In 1861 he declared in a public

164 Orations, IV, 646.

165 Ibid., pp. 647-57.

speech that slavery was essential to the organization of the Confederate States. "Slavery is now warmly claimed," he says, "as the cornerstone of the new Confederacy, and as the only possible relation in which the two races can stand to each other . . ."

After the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, Everett defended this action of Lincoln's, declaring that it was not a hindrance to an honorable peace.

"Slavery," Everett pointed out, "had been the subject of an im-bittered sectional agitation between North and South for more than a generation." Repeatedly some sort of crisis arose every few years over the extension of slavery. "When the attack was made on Sumter, there was not a man of reflection in the United States, North or South, who denied or doubted that, either as motive, pretext, or rallying cry, slavery was the cause of the war." The subject which Everett tried to avoid for so many years had now become, under the pressure of events, an argument which he used easily and effectively.

But Everett went even farther in changing his opinions and his public positions. He actively supported President Lincoln and the Republican Party in the election of 1864. On October 19 he spoke in Faneuil Hall on "The Duty of Supporting the Government," a long debating speech which in essence held that there should be no change

¹⁶⁶ "Agriculture as Affected by the War," Orations, IV, 453.

¹⁶⁷ "The Duty of Supporting the Government," Orations, IV, 719.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 714.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

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of administration in the midst of the war. When we realize that he had feared the divisive effect of the Republican Party and that he had felt Lincoln was not adequate in 1860 to assume the presidency, this bold public stand was an act of courage. In the national crisis Everett acted in loyalty to principle and not to party. The sentiment of Union which he had so long preached was not just a high-sounding phrase but a reality. In the eyes of some liberals Everett had redeemed himself after the years of evasion.

CHAPTER VII

WASTED GENIUS - AN EVALUATION

Time has not been kind to Edward Everett. The silver-tongued orator of the Civil War period, the scholar, editor, and politician, is largely unknown in the twentieth century. The honors Everett gained seem to have left no decisive mark.

When he is remembered, it is chiefly as the other speaker at Gettysburg, the man who spoke for two hours before Lincoln delivered his immortal address. James Truslow Adams has written of that event: "No one now ever reads what the polished orator spoke as, without any depth of feeling for the dead or living, but with the thought of himself and the impression he was making, he discoursed on the sin of rebellion."¹ Adams then proceeds to make a further comment which is unfair in its full implication. "Edward Everett listened," Adams writes, "condescendingly to the uneducated man who knew only Blackstone, Shakespeare, and the Bible. The trains were waiting. The crowd dispersed. Boston aristocracy and Western democracy had had their say. The aristocrat had taken two hours, the democrat two minutes; and one had become immortal."²

That Everett spoke for two hours is held against him, despite the fact that this was a customary length for a commemorative oration.

¹ The Epic of America (Boston, 1934), p. 267.

² Ibid., p. 268.

Everett spoke both as an old man and as a patriot. He was nearly seventy at the time and naturally represented an older style of oratory. He was a patriot. James Truslow Adams seems to have overlooked the fact that Everett consistently and warmly supported the administration of President Lincoln. Everett did not completely represent Boston aristocracy at this time, because he had jettisoned his long-held and dearly-cherished conservative beliefs in order to help preserve the Union through war. With clear judgment he saw at the time the value of what Lincoln had said.

Some of Everett's contemporaries felt that he would leave a lasting mark upon American literature and history. John Quincy Adams held the opinion that some of Everett's early orations were "among the best ever delivered in this country, and, I think, will stand the test of time."³ Bancroft said that some of Everett's orations would in future be included as models in textbooks. Emerson felt that Everett's place in literary history was secured by his services in awakening the young men of New England and introducing the richness of German scholarship. Emerson wrote that "Everett has put more stories,⁴ sentences, verses, names in amber for me than any other person."

Liberals who had condemned Everett for his weakness on the issue of slavery appreciated the moral value of the abandonment of his ultra-conservative position and his support of the North. A contemporary orator said: "Edward Everett was not permitted to die until

³ Memoirs, IX, 305.

⁴ Journals, IV, 471.

all doubts of his greatness were removed. He who had spent his life in finding arguments to keep down the Negro in order to save the white man, at last could speak the word that makes the slave's freedom the safety of both races."⁵

1. Summary of His Views

To judge a man we must consider his career and his ideas. Everett's careers touched so many facets of American life, without noteworthy achievement in any one of them except oratory, that we are led directly to consider the sum of his ideas.

Everett approached history as a patriot. He felt the true historian should be a native with a dispassionate classic attitude, seeking to render justice in his verdict on men and events. Partisanship should be put aside; warmth of presentation and love of truth should mark the writing. The historian, in his devotion to truth, can clarify the operations of Providence. History, too, should teach the lessons of virtue and furnish useful guidance to present problems.

The Pilgrims, in coming to America, conceived a great design for creating a refuge from the religious and political tyrannies of Europe. The physical separation from Europe was a geographical barrier that enabled new institutions of freedom to develop unhindered. This geographic immunity from European intrigue enabled "everything excellent in our character" to develop from the ideas and acts of dissent, non-conformity, and independence. The climate of New England encouraged energetic and industrious character.

⁵ Speeches and Addresses of the late Hon. David S. Coddington
(New York, 1866), p. 132.

The American Revolution, he felt, was the "most momentous event" in history. The true history of the human race is the record of the struggle of men to be free. Representative government, beginning unpretentiously in the colonies, was made a safeguard of liberty by the framers of the Constitution, the document which "completed the great revolutionary movement."

The chief historical principle in operation in the first half of the nineteenth century was the inter-action of Europe and America. American freedom had been aided by the development of liberal principles in England, but one actual effect of American independence was to greatly stimulate the further progress of liberty in England and the countries of Europe.

The governments of ancient and modern nations operate on the principle of force. In England the doctrine of force is disguised as "original contract" or as "divine right." Standing armies present the element of force to uphold the existing regimes. The only type of government not founded on monopoly and force is the representative government developed in America. Everett was convinced that popular government was gaining throughout the world.

Anyone who lived in Everett's time and who viewed liberty as the real key to history would be tempted to comment on contemporary developments in England and Europe. Everett often made such comments.

England, he felt, is the only place in Europe where, for any appreciable length of time, constitutional liberty has had a stable existence. Americans should be proud of the English contribution to their inheritance. But the hereditary nobility, the principle of

primogeniture, and the intermingling of Church and State are part of an aristocratic position which is abusive because it is the position of force. The inequalities in distribution of property and fortune in England create a potentially ominous situation, for it is impossible to stop the tides of governmental reform affecting all of Europe. The representative principle, fully developed in government, would remove the personal passion for power which is a great cause of war.

The action of men in history should be judged in relation to the total of the conditions and attitudes of their age. Because of this principle, Everett would admit the faults of the Puritans but he urged judgment of them in relation to their own time.

Everett believed deeply in the American form of government. History proved to him the greatness of the American heritage, and he wanted that heritage to be known and loved. In his mind the heroes of the American Revolution and the framers of the Constitution were the sainted members of the American Valhalla. The star-hero in this great drama of liberty was George Washington. He, more than any other historic personage, dominated Everett's thought. The references to Washington occur again and again. In his desire to emphasize the lessons of virtue and wisdom to be distilled from history, Everett carried his admiration of Washington to an extreme of veneration.

And we must not fail to note that of the group of men associated with the forming of our government - the urbane and sophisticated Franklin, the aristocratic Hamilton, the realistic John Adams, the democratic Jefferson - Everett chose as his mentor a man of character

but of slight intellectual stature. Washington does not represent any vigorous idea. On the other hand, Franklin, Hamilton, John Adams, and Jefferson were all closer to Everett both culturally and intellectually. Perhaps it was by instinct that Everett should choose Washington because of the affinity of character and conservative temperament. Certainly the views of Washington in the much-quoted Farewell Address furnished conveniently authoritative support for the course which Everett advocated.

In all his discussions of history, Everett produced no original insights. He spoke clearly in the liberal political tradition when he declared liberty is a key to history. He spoke sharply when he labelled the colonial movement of the European powers as "the age of plunder." His condemnation of the British exploitation of India is staunchly liberal. But his reading of history did not give him a clear vision at home. He could not see the human tragedy in the exploitation of the slaves. Had not the Constitution made such human property legal? While scholarship might feed and stimulate the brain, what will move the heart to human understanding?

Everett thought of himself as a literary man. The outpouring from his pen was certainly large. But he seemed unaware of or uninterested in the literary movements of his time.

The patriotism, so apparent in his discussions of history, showed itself in his part in the literary war with England. At times wittily and ironically, always with force, he tried to defend America against the attacks in British reviews. He felt that circumstances peculiar to

America would shape a fresh and original development of literature in this country. These conditions were the new form of government in America, the extension of one government and one language over a wide area, and the rapid growth of the nation. But when Whitman advanced his original forms of poetry, the conservative in Everett was aghast.

And Everett did not understand Emerson. He felt that Emerson was destroying all the basic principles of thought and judgment. A good deal of what Emerson said might be classed as "unintelligible nonsense." Emerson's call for the American poet and the American thinker is akin to Everett's own belief that the conditions in America would produce a new literature. Everett could admit this in the academic sense but he could not recognize it in actuality.

Everett praised Bryant's poetry because he could understand it. He considered Bryant, Longfellow, and Whittier as "our noble poetical trio." They wrote simply and naturally. Irving, too, had a "remarkable chastity" in his style and he used some American themes. Nothing could be "more purely American" than Cooper's work. None of these writers who receive Everett's commendation broke away from traditional literary forms.

Everett once wrote to a friend who had persuaded him to read Vanity Fair that it took so much of his time and so occupied his thoughts that he could not give the time to such light literature. Solid scholarly reading was more to his liking. When he prepared an oration, he tried to gather meticulously all the factual information

he could; he sought out original source material when he was preparing an historical address. The way of the devoted scholar is apt not to be the way of the literary man. This might help explain why Everett had so little to say about American literature.

The orations are heavy with fact and historical allusions. They show the strong influence of classical rhetoric. Sentences are polished; the language is erudite. The mark of scholarship is so strong and the sentences so complicated in construction that phrases do not stick in the mind. Everett could not use words to strike fire. His rich store of knowledge came out in ornate, embellished expression. Perhaps that is why he used elocutionary devices to get an emotional response which his words alone could not evoke.

The four volumes of Orations are Everett's chief literary monument. They are formidable in length and contain so many addresses of a perfunctory social nature that a reader is easily overwhelmed and discouraged. Since Everett himself selected and edited the contents of the first three volumes, he showed an exaggerated sense of the importance of his own utterance. Remarks at the dedication of an insane asylum in Binghamton, New York; his words of welcome to a delegation of Indian chiefs when he was Governor of Massachusetts; brief remarks made at public dinners; responses to toasts at public dinners when he was Ambassador to England - these brief speeches which are part of the routine of public life are included with his major addresses. Only a well-developed vanity would do this.

But whatever he might have said about being primarily a literary man, Everett was a public man, because of his own strong political ambition and the driving energy of his nature.

From his oratory and his lyceum experience, and his presidency of Harvard, came his ideas on education. And these are disappointing when we relate them to the great needs in this changing period of American education.

The popularization of knowledge Everett felt aided the development of real learning. A republic needs widespread education among its citizens. If education should be the exclusive privilege of one class, it would foster a monopoly of power and honors and undermine republican government. When education is diffused through the community, it becomes the means of reform and replaces revolution by violence. Because about two-thirds of the human race is outside the pale of civilization, there is an imperative challenge to bring education to all mankind. The press, free government, and Christianity are three great modern instruments for the extension of education and civilization.

Liberty is aided by the wide diffusion of knowledge. Great revolutionary changes cannot be successfully made in a nation unless the people have access to knowledge. Ignorance sustains inequality and provides the foundation for despotism. All the prosaic duties of citizenship are safeguarded by education.

Everett's thinking about education is strongly democratic. He vigorously opposed the notion that knowledge bred immorality. He argued that the diffusion of knowledge strengthened both natural and

revealed religion. Then as now, enemies of public education pointed out self-taught men as a reason why a public-supported system of education is not necessary. Everett made short work of such loose thinking as that.

Except perhaps for a greater emphasis on science, he had little original to say about college education. He lent his prestige as governor and talents as a speaker to the support of teacher training and the establishment of normal schools. He was a champion of teacher training and of general education. Practical science should be taught to mechanics in order to raise the level of their work. Everett felt he lived in an age of progress in which science would make revolutionary contributions.

But while we may say he was forward-looking, democratic, and optimistic in his views on education, Everett was a conservative in economics. He was convinced that property rights were the basis of civilization. Through instinctive efforts to protect himself from the elements and from want, man tried to accumulate a surplus and thus laid the foundations of commerce. Specialization has grown out of differing interests and abilities and aided the organization of a system of exchanges. Money represents goods and thus makes the process of exchanging a means of mutual accommodation. The system will break down unless things accumulated are protected by law. Capital is accumulated property which an individual is free to invest to further facilitate the exchange of goods. In America everyone has an equal chance for economic advancement. Without capital, manufacturing, private improvements, and increased economic diversity would be impossible.

Everett spoke frequently in defense of the rising industrial system of New England. He answered the criticisms against capitalism. On various occasions he spoke in honor of individual business men. He declared his conviction that commerce has done as much as any human activity to advance civilization.

He felt that the Declaration of Independence was the cause for the expansion and the economic development of the country. Independence made possible the development of manufacturing. The growth of industrial cities like Lowell is the miracle of production in a barren region. The city of Lowell is a symbol of what the various classes can achieve by working together. Lowell represents a "progressive Christian civilization."

This is the sort of panegyric which the financiers of State Street, Boston, liked to hear. Everett pronounced many an orotund blessing over their economic philosophy and the work of their money. He saw, too, how freedom fitted into this economic picture. Through freedom of capital in America great advances have been made in commerce, manufacturing, and the arts.

Everett argued for protective tariffs and tried to show that all the people would receive benefit from them. The Constitution was adopted to secure means for creating protective legislation and give Americans the fruits of their revolutionary effort. This reading of economic history was accepted dogma in Everett's day, though present scholarship questions its validity.

The declarations about capitalism and its beneficent influence are presented largely in an uncritical spirit. To Everett, factories were places of wonder and delight. The machines represented the application of mind. Beyond that, he did not see any significant human implications. The psychological and physical effects of long daily hours of factory work may not even have occurred to him.

Man, he felt, was by his very nature a working being. The idea of workingmen organizing a party is founded in this natural principle. Such an organization is, however, not for the purpose of winning elections, but for promoting the prosperity and welfare of the workingmen.

But all men are workers whatever their lot in life. And civilization implies the process of increasing the number of diversified occupations. Society is an organism whose harmony is maintained by the cooperative effort of many men in differing pursuits organized to produce a complex result. This approach to the question of labor was part of the Whig political strategy to counteract the growth of organized and politically conscious labor groups.

Only in the question of charity and the difficulties of immigrants does Everett reveal an appreciable awareness of human economic problems. He welcomes immigration as an addition to the growing strength of America. But the social and economic problems rising out of the concentration of people in big cities he is seemingly unaware of.

During his period as governor Everett did advocate some social and economic reforms. He wanted legislation to stop imprisonment for

debt. He asked the Massachusetts legislature to establish restrictions on the banks of the state so that sound banking principles would be followed. He also made the political mistake of attempting to assist the legislation of temperance.

These economic opinions reflect the Whig party line and the financial attitude of conservative business. They are descended from the earlier Federalism and Alexander Hamilton. They are an echo of Adam Smith. They are not original. Everett has merely clothed them in beautiful language and strengthened them with the aura of his sanction.

Everett regarded himself as conservative. Bancroft said he was "timidly conservative." And when we consider Everett's reaction to the great social issues of his day, we can feel the rightness of Bancroft's opinion. With his conservatism was mixed an optimism, a belief that the progress of civilization would from now on be steady. He held the philosophic view that it was just as essential for the social welfare to have a conservative element as to have a progressive element. The interaction and balance of the two produced a necessary social equilibrium.

Of the varied reform movements during his lifetime, Everett supported temperance, prison reform, the abolition of imprisonment for debt, and organized charity. He felt that advocates of peace erred in ignoring the proven means for settling disputes between nations and attempting to create some form of super-government. The movement for women's right he seems to have ignored until the time of the

Civil War when he advocated a good basic education for females and admitted that possibilities for work were increasing for them.

No attempt was made by Everett to hide his strong prejudice against Joseph Smith and the Mormons. He flirted with the Anti-Masonic movement in order to get political support.

During the whole scope of his life, the problem which Everett consistently advocated was political freedom. He rightly saw how significant this problem was to the people of South America, Europe, and Asia. He condemned the brute force used by European nations in seizing and exploiting backward areas of the world. When he regarded the international scene, he could see the human rights involved; when he looked at slavery in America, his sight did not penetrate beyond the legal sanctions established in the Constitution.

Early and late Everett offered the sentiment of Union as the antidote for the growing agitation over slavery. The true patriot was one who worked "to merge in one comprehensive feeling all discordant sectional preferences." He was fixed in his devotion to the stated values and relationships which for him were made sacred and permanent by the Constitution. He did not see or understand what was occurring in flesh-and-blood America. The United States was rapidly passing beyond the conditions which had made the compromises of the Constitution acceptable to the people. The oratory of good-will could not stop the great movements of history.

This blindness and timidity led him to hedge and vacillate on slavery. He pictured the horrors of a Union destroyed. He urged that freed Negroes be sent to colonize Africa, an impossible and evasive answer to the real problem. His own kindly nature rebelled at the increasing agitation. And as a presidential aspirant of the Whig party, he wished to maintain a position that would be acceptable to both sections of the country.

He took his position on the mystic heights of Union, and the onswEEPing force of event brought the issue to a head with the election of Lincoln. As the secession crisis became clear, he hoped the country might have a dictator to forcibly maintain Union. Then he wanted the Southern states to leave in peace. With the outbreak of war there were but two practical choices open to him. He could honestly and completely retire from public life and bury himself in the library which he once described as being as quiet as the sepulchre of an Egyptian king. Or he could descend from the impractical heights and support the contention of Lincoln that the Union must and shall be preserved, even by force of arms.

He chose to support Lincoln. His choice was made on principle, since he had no love for the sectionalism of the Republican party and he did not consider Lincoln qualified for the presidency.

In these last few years of his life Everett became a fighter. Up to this time in his long public life he had championed education and strongly advocated the sentiment of Union, but he had never really fought for any idea or cause. The attack on Fort Sumter made him a fighter.

He took the stump through the country in support of the government. He showed that the fact of rebellion left no choice but the duty of supporting the war. The elegant Everett did everything he could to assist the uncouth lawyer in the White House. As the representative of the cautious conservative element in the North his support strengthened Lincoln's hand. The record of his energetic activities is admirable. His case against the sophistries of the rebellious states is sound. Bancroft, Bryant, and others felt that these acts constituted his redemption.

2. The Complexity of the Man

When the hundredth anniversary of Everett's birth was observed in Boston and vicinity in 1894, one of his sons in a memorial address defended Everett against the persistently held idea that he was a bloodless man with no human feelings. As certain ideas are apt to stick in the general memory of any public figure, so the idea that Everett was devoid of feeling has been constantly repeated. Close friends strongly denied this accusation. And entries in his journal concerning his wife and family would also give the lie to this charge.

But Everett's complex personal make-up is part of the reason why he is now so little known. His family and personal friends were undoubtedly right in stating that in private life Everett was human and likeable. But in his public life he gave an appearance of extreme aloofness. Perly Poor in his reminiscences wrote, "The personification of self-discipline and dignity, he was too much like an intellectual

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icicle to find favor with the masses." The same writer described his appearance at a reception given by President Pierce: "A prominent figure in these scenes was Edward Everett, cold-blooded and impassible, bright and lonely as the gilt weather-cock over the church in which he officiated ere he became a politician."⁷ Certainly the public personality of Everett was forbidding. Once when Theodore Parker preached in a Boston Church with Everett in attendance, Parker wrote of his reaction: "I don't like to preach before this Governor. There he sat looking cold and statuesque, as if hewn of marble. I could not bear to look at him, - it quite discomposed me."⁸

There is no doubt that Everett was vain. And everything in his youth and early career seemed to conspire to feed his vanity. President Kirkland of Harvard publicly called him an Apollo. Right after his graduation he was considered the most promising young man in America. The best church in Boston gave him its pulpit. Then Harvard offered him the first Professorship of Greek with the added privilege of two years of study abroad. Newspapers - those which were politically friendly - praised him year after year in the most exalting terms. There was apparently no element of humility in Everett's character to serve as a deflating antidote. His intellectual abilities fed his vanity. His marriage to a wealthy and charming Boston girl brought affluence and the highest social position. He refused to mar his

⁶ Reminiscences of Sixty Years in the National Metropolis (Philadelphia, 1886), I, 81.

⁷ Ibid., p. 470.

⁸ Quoted in F. B. Sanborn, Recollections of Seventy Years (Boston, 1909), II, 546.

handsome appearance by wearing glasses to correct his near-sightedness. At various times in his life he re-called personal letters he had written to friends so that, as he explained, he might destroy them.⁹ When he did not destroy, but kept, thousands of the letters he had written, together with all his letterbooks in his personal papers, he was not modestly trying to simplify any future investigation of his life and work.

While his letters are warm and frequently conversational in tone, the orations are too polished, learned, and faultless. There does not seem to be a man of force behind them. It is as if the scholar in Everett seemed to be composing documents and not speaking to enlighten, move, and inspire people. For Everett was the assiduous scholar. He generally published the supporting source documents with his historical orations. Reporters annoyed him when they printed mere extracts from his orations. The criticism which came to him, as it inevitably will to political figures, hurt him deeply. He could not understand it. Once he compared the criticism heaped upon himself with the political attacks on Washington.

Everett had the full dignity of an aristocrat, perhaps because his forebears were not wealthy people. He graced an office as much as he filled it. Everything must be done with propriety and in good taste. Washington, the gentleman-farmer and aristocrat of Virginia, was his idea of the great American. Monuments are the mark of a stable, prosperous, and aristocratic society, and Everett dearly loved

⁹ For example, see letter to Robert Gilmer, dated February 14, 1840, in Miscellaneous Papers, New York Public Library.

such visual symbols. He gave much time to the Bunker Hill Monument Association, the Webster statue, and the Ladies' Mount Vernon Association. He considered such symbols to be reinforcing elements in the national community. Partisanship he strongly disliked. This prevented him from fighting for any cause until the very end of his life. He liked to make his public appearances on the invitation of all parties. Agitation was anathema to him.

With his dignity and complete self-assurance was joined a boundless energy. His active mind was apparently never at rest. A mere survey of the titles of his articles in the North American Review shows the diversity of topics about which he wrote. He seemed driven by a demon of restlessness. His correspondence was prodigious. The schedule for organizing his time when he was ambassador at London typifies his ability to work.¹⁰ He never really retired as he said he was going to do when he resigned from the Senate. As soon as his health was recovered, he was on the platform again.

Everett's beliefs about the importance of property partially at least reflect his own attitudes toward money. His correspondence reveals that he always looked at the financial side of editing a magazine. The monetary assistance which he frequently had to give to his brother Oliver was an annoyance. His journal reveals that in the years just preceding the Civil War he received one hundred dollars, a respectable sum in those days, for each lyceum lecture delivered. He was annoyed and affronted on occasion when it was suggested that

¹⁰

See Appendix II.

he speak for a particular group at a lesser figure. When the publisher Robert Bonner secured his services as a writer of a monthly article for the New York Ledger, the arrangement was that Everett be paid each full year in advance.

A strong quality of Everett's which must not be overlooked was his kindness. He always tried to assist fellow scholars. At times he helped Motley, Prescott, and Parkman in their search for useful documents. He assisted Audubon at a time when he was unknown. Bancroft testified that when he was a young man Everett gave him great encouragement. Everett generally was on excellent terms with his political opponents. Bancroft was for some time the Democratic leader in Massachusetts, yet he counted Everett as a much-loved friend. Charles Sumner was an anti-slavery leader, yet he and Everett long maintained correspondence. And in Everett's journals and letters there is lacking any trace of animosity or small-mindedness. This is strange, too, and proof of the fineness of Everett's character, when we realize the bitter political periods through which he lived and also realize that he was an ambitious man.

Once he had tasted the heady wine of public acclaim, the pulpit and the professor's study lost all their appeal. Any sense of vocation they might have represented soon faded from his mind. There is no doubt that Everett wanted to be president. He was first formally suggested as a candidate by the Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Examiner and Herald in 1835. His ambition was thwarted for several reasons,

¹¹ See Everett Papers 145, journal entry for November 16.

including his own personal make-up. As a member of the Whig Party, he belonged to a slowly-failing political organization. And within the party Webster had precedence over Everett. He lived, too, in a time of strong national figures. Everett's correspondence is full of politics.¹² He kept careful track of political conditions. He had an overly cautious attitude about doing or saying anything that might be politically unwise. Webster was his advisor. On all issues except slavery he succeeded in avoiding political embarrassment. Emerson blamed the influence of Webster for Everett's devotion to politics. "Why should such a genius waste itself?" Emerson asked. "Have we any to spare? . . . Daniel Webster, Nature's own child, sat there all day and drew all eyes. Poor Everett! for this was it that you left your own work, your exceeding great and peculiar vocation, the desire of all eyes, . . . to stray away hither and mimic this Man, that here and everywhere in your best and unsurpassed exertions, you might still be¹³ mere secondary and satellite to him, and for him hold a candle?"

3. An Evaluation

Everett was out of place in politics. He lacked the courage to stand definitely either for or against slavery in the decades up to the Civil War. His nature did not permit him to project sufficient warmth to be a popular leader.

¹² The Frothingham biography of Everett seems deficient in three respects: it does not clearly present the preoccupation with politics, it lacks the detail essential to giving a full picture of Everett as a man, and the tone of the book is too laudatory.

¹³ Journals, III, 471.

His ideas were too detached from the currents of life moving about him. The scholar made the orator speak like an Olympian. The scholar was not given adequate materials to work with. The reviews, the few essays and short stories, and the orations themselves show an intellectual and literary ability wasted by ambition. Emerson and Thoreau retired to a quiet life and had something to say. The literary mind cannot adequately feed itself in public places.

The mind of Everett did not belong in public life. His economics are those of a textbook. His mind was not original. He drew too much strength from Webster who was not an original thinker. His heroes were conservative; they were of the past. He looked too much backward, despite his statements of optimism and the belief in progress.

The reverence for Washington is a revealing key. In sympathy Everett was allied with the aristocratic men who called the Constitutional Convention, and set up the Federal government "to form a more perfect union," and accepted the compromise on slavery. Everett personifies the philosophy of an unchanging Constitution. He had the eighteenth century political mind, without the strain of realism.

In the great transitional period from an agricultural economy and society to an urbanized, industrial society, he was like a blind man, alive but unseeing. His criticism of England and Europe is by the standard of the men who made the Constitution. But the liberalism of the Constitution-makers was the conservatism of the mid-nineteenth

century. His wonderful self-assurance and his intellectual force enabled him to sail through currents whose chart he could not read. In his time he was a strong conservative force. But his type of conservatism was on the wane.

In the failure to fulfill his early promise, Edward Everett's own nature was at fault.

APPENDIX I

APPENDIX I

The following poem, including the introductory sentence, is taken from the Everett Papers 235, a box of manuscripts at the Massachusetts Historical Society. It is reproduced exactly as written in the manuscript copy.

Copy of Mr. E. Everett's poem delivered before the Society of S.B.K. August 27, 1812.

American Poets

In that famed age, when nature's face was young,
 And heroes acted, as their bards have sung,
 With novel themes the poet was supplied,
 And youthful art with blooming nature vied.
 Where'er he turns, around his steps, behold
 Scenes undescribed, and beauties all untold:-
 Fair hills and blooming vales - no poets' themes -
 Unhonoured deserts, and unnoticed streams,
 Primeval rocks, by measured feet unworn,
 And groves ne'er wakened, but by Dians' horn.
 He felt the breeze, which in no line had blown,
 The sun, which in no simile had shone,
 Breathed the fresh gale, which ne'er made sonnet cold,
 And sailed o'er seas, which ne'er in dactyles rolled.

Oh happy bards! and yet your lot was placed
 In times unfeeling of the charms of taste.
 For nature gave - fantastick in her ways -
 Her sweetest poets to her rudest days.
 To woods and wolves the lyre of Orpheus rung,
 And ruder Greeks were soothed as Homer sung;
 And as the loveliest flowers the desert rears,
 So sweetest musick flowed from dullest ears.

How changed these times, of which old Horace wrote: *
 Our bards are not by nature but by vote. #
 Nor might we count this new provision hard,
 Had not the audience altered with the bard.
 Did we our powers to wilds and woods display,
 The audience then were suited to the lay;
 And fortune's hand were more to justice true;
 And Homer's circle been reserved for you.
 But doubly changed the untoward fates appear; -
 They ceased to sing, ere you begin to hear;
 While our sad task no trifling labour seems,
 To please a taste refined, on hackneyed themes.

* "Poeta nascitur non fit."

The poets for this occasion are appointed by the vote of a committee.

To patriot topicks then I fly at once:

*

What shields the scoundrel, may inspire the dunce.

Cold is his heart, who with dislike regards

My noble subject - our Columbian Bards:

Of whom the twofold privilege I claim -

To join their number, and assert their fame.

Then let an even scale their worth explore,

Tell why they are no better and no more,

Their real station of desert confess,

Assume no greater, and accept no less.

And oh forgive the muse! whose thoughtless lay

Profaned the sorrows of this mournful day.

Led by her hand, oh leave the world behind,

And that, which truth denies, in fancy find.

With faction's airy visions sport awhile,

And steal from sad reality a smile.

One gracious smile, 'tis all the bard requires,

The noblest mark, to which his pride aspires:

One hasty smile, and sadly then resume

The anxious brow, that speaks the mental gloom.

*

"Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel."

I. When that brave bark, our father's band which bore,
Reached the rude cliffs, which frowned on Plymouth's shore,
Placed on the friendless soil, they first require
Protected dwellings, clothing, food, and fire.
And though great triumphs poesy's power has won,
(If bards may witness what by bards was done,)
The art is lost, and labour, tools and time
Must do for us, what once was done by rhyme.
'Twas by a lyre the walks of Thebes were made,
And moving stones the thrilling chords obeyed,
But different quarries far our land affords
Of stones which move by cables, not by chords.
To charm the fish, Arion did but sing,
And drew the dolphin with his vocal string;
But dolphins now, such change, time has wrought,
With strings were baited, Not well tuned, are caught.
So vanquished furies sunk at Orpheus' strain,
And trees uprooted tracked him to the plain;
And though some powers of musick must belong
To those who bought whole townships for a song,
Yet 'twas no tunes our savage tribes which broke,
Nor would the sharpest satire fell an oak;
No, by main strength the simple roof was reared,
The savage conquered, and the forest cleared.

Nor found our sires a scope, mid toil, like these,
 For mental labour, or for learned ease;
 Nor could they culture, in the ungenial waste,
 The fruits of science, or the bloom of taste.

Then ask no lettered harvest of a state
 So hardly tilled as ours, and found so late.
 Bid not our nation wield their practiced pens,
 Whose years, in centuries, rival ours, in tens; -
 And least demand those flowers of poesy here,
 Which nature plants, but taste and time must rear.

II. Nor shall the mist conceal a humble truth,
 But own our poverty as well as youth. -
 Our thriftiest man but crowns a life of pains
 With decent harvest of his moderate gain;
 Then to his numerous sons divides his store,
 And so their life begins as his before.
 While bards with Hobson's choice must fain abide -
 To ask for nothing, or to be denied:
 Since e'en the name of patron is unknown,
 And famished poets live on fame alone.
 But fame, though sought by all, through fire and flood,
 Is a sweet sauce perchance, but bitter food.
 In glory's fields what though the ivy sprung -
 It wreathes the brow, but poisons on the tongue!
 As those rich hues, whence fashion steals her strains,
 Bloom on the cheek, but rankle in the veins.

Hail ye blest lands! where poesy's happy spade
 Digs Plutus' mine, in Academus' shade;
 And lucky bards collect with eager hands,
 To pick from Helicon Pactolus' sands.

England! such boons as these thy fortunes grace,
 Where muses swarm of every age and place;
 Where Homer's soul its Grecian chains has burst,
 And the last minstrel scrambles with the first.

III. Since too the simple strain of earlier lays
 Has lost its charm for these degenerate days,
 Since modern taste approves those polished lines
 Where art, and skill, and all but nature, shines,
 Our plain republics, with their homely modes,
 Yield to the dizen'd muse no fit abodes.
 Though with all arts our bards we seek to advance.
 Though Barlow's self is minister to France,
 O'er whom the muse has watched with fondest care,
 And placed the poet in the envoy's chair,
 In vain: - The venal band long since has flown
 To the warm rays, which dazzle round a throne.
 To Virgil's lyre Augustus' hand affords
 Its sparkling jewels, and its golden chords;
 Maecenas gave the wreath, which Horace twined,
 And exiled Ovid left this muse behind.

The long lost sounds in Nida's strain begun,
 While all Lorenzo flourished in his son;
 The virgin Queen on simple Spencer smiled;
 And Boileau found the tyrant Louis mild;
 E'en Dryden's pen could drop a courtly word;
 And Pope, endured, although he scorned, a lord.

How could we here on worth its praise bestow,
 Who own no titles, and no badges know?
 No stars, but what on heaven's fair breast you see,
 No garters, sacred to a knighted knee,
 Where ribbons mark the fashion, not the rank,
 And e'en our nation's chief is Mister blank.

IV. Nor less the Muses court the storied land,
 Where Glory's marks, and Honour's trophies stand; -
 Where some dread pile its moss-clad covering rears,
 O'er the proud ashes of a thousand years:
 Where age has traced in lines, which fancy reads,
 The high remembrance of heroick deeds:
 Where every sod some valiant foot has felt,
 Where in each vale, some holy sage has dwelt,
 Whose human failings time has dared to blot,
 And all that marked them mortal is forgot,
 Till fancy's pencil with enchantment paints
 Her faultless heroes and her earthly saints: -
 Where some proud castle lifts its broken wall,
 And man feels feeble as he views its fall,

There dwells the muse; - And all around inspires
Her softest raptures and her brightest fires.

A different scene our native poet shames
With barbarous titles and with savage names.
When the warm bard his country's worth would tell,
To Mas - sa - chu - setts' length his lines must swell.
Would he the gallant tales of war rehearse,
'Tis graceful Bunker fills the polished verse.
Sings he, dear land, those lakes and streams of thine,
Some wild Memphiemagog murmurs in his line,
Some Ameriscoggin dashes by his way,
Or smooth Connecticut softens in his lay.
Would he one verse of easy movement frame,
The map will meet him with a hopeless name;
Nor can his pencil sketch one perfect act,
But vulgar history mocks him with a fact.

And if the poet seek throughout our land
Where our famed turrets, towers, and castles stand,
Show him each brick-kiln pile, whose aspect meets
The admiring gaze, in Boston's pompous streets.
To Faneuil's dome! where freedom's infant days
Learned the first notes of liberty to raise:
Where Quincy's high career of fame was run,
Who bless'd his country, when he gave his son;
Where the first Otis trod the paths of fame,
And dropt his mantle, where he gave his name.

Sail glorious pile! shall not your simple towers
 Fill the wide compass of the boldest powers;
 Ascend like Babel, with the eagle's flight,
 And reach the heavens in fame, as that in height?
 The hoary sire of ages yet to come
 Shall point his offspring to your honoured dome.
 To the fond traveller's eager notice show
 The hall above, the markethouse below.
There came our sires to feed the patriot heart,
 And here they came, to feed a different part;
 From each to each, at proper times they move,
 And bought their meat below, and gave their vote above.

And mark, not far from Faneuil's honoured side,
 Where the old Town-house rises in its pride.
 But oh how changed! its halls alas are fled
 And shop and offices fill their slighted stead.
 There, where the shade of Hancock's glory dwells
 A saddler hammers, and a grocer sells!
 Hats fill the halls, where counselled Wisdom sate,
 And Rea sells shoes, where Bowdoin ruled a state!
 See Beacon's mount! 'twas there our fathers stood,
 As Judah's prophet rose o'er Jordan's flood.
 On that blessed spot, where freedom's dawn appeared,
 A simple column to their fame was reared.
 Columbia's eagle marked its towering height -
 The spot-first-freed in all its heavenly flight - :

Here fixed his feet, and snuffed the untainted sky,
 With wings just spread, should slavery bid him fly.
 Here then he rests, and hence shall ne'er depart,
 While one warm drop inspires a freeman's heart.
 Ah me! e'en now he flies our fettered shore,
 His cherished column lifts his feet no more.
 Where that green mount, the patriot's beacon stood,
 Burns the rude sand, or moulds the unseemly mud
 Where stood the shaft, which mourned Montgomerys fall,
 The truckman whistles, and the spade boys bawl.

H.V.D.

Since then we till, in lands like ours just found
 Fields nigher home than the Parnassian ground;
 Since here the name of Patriot is unknown;
 Since from our homely walks the muse has flown;
 Since to our recent age and shore belong
 No fields of fancy and no themes of song
 How shall our country yield the exalted strain,
 Which swells the thousand lyres of luxury's train;
 Where patronage holds forth her jewelled shell,
 And pomp and grandeur bid the chorus swell;
 Where glory's charms, with time's illusions joined,
 Wake the high strains of feeling in the mind;
 Where fancy's scenes the muses home declare,
 And breathe an inspiration through the air?

Nor think, while thus we show how hard the way
 The muse ne'er deigns through western walks to stray
 For though to waken here the love of song,
 She rarely comes, and never tarries long;
 Yet still she comes, like those of higher sphere,
 Whose home is heaven, but sometimes visit here.

She came with Allston, but with him has fled;
 She lived with Paine, and oh with Paine is dead!
 Lamented bard! the muse could almost pray,
 Thine had an easier been not brighter day;
 Whose path through life, though strew'd with flowers, was hard;-
 A luckless man, but oh how sweet a bard!

Yet do our native scenes some themes display,
 Which oft have filled, and oft shall fill a lay;
 Till future polished ages shall impart
 To nature's form the flowing robes of art.
 Yes! he shall touch the lyre, with feeling hand,
 Who loves, how rude see'er his native land,
 And sees kind nature round its borders throw
 All boons, that man can love, or heaven bestow.
 Cool temperate breezes fan its summer year,
 And winter softens, as he passes here.
 Here all the gifts of valley, plain and hill,
 Of mightystream, calm lake, and fertile rill;
 While the rich soil affords, each end to suit,
 Health in the care, and plenty in its fruit.

And has the poet's song been even still,
 His lyre unused on themes like these to thrill?
 No! would you see how large our rhyming race,
 The day's gazette, or monthly journal trace;
 The reams of verse, in Dennie's folio stored,
 The floods of song, which Russell's fount has poured:
 Like leaves the laureats of July appear,
 And the Phi Beta makes a bard a year.

Small things are these: - our Barlow's work behold!-
 To the tenth book, and thousandth page 'tis told;
 In Humphrey's hand the pride of war and peace,
 The Soldiers sabre shears the laurel fleece;
 Trumbull long since, at large, has rendered back
 To Ossian's Fingal his forgotten Mac;
 And Dr. Caustic, in two tomes of joke,
 Unveiled the demos, and the tractors broke.

But yet in soberer mood, the time shall rise,
 When bards will spring, beneath our native skies:
 Where the full chorus of creation swells,
 And each glad spirit, but the poet, dwells
 Where whispering forests murmur notes of praise,
 And headlong streams their voice, in concert, raise:
 Where sounds each anthem, but the human tongue,
 And nature blooms unrivalled, but unsung.

O yes! in future days, our western lyres,
 Tuned to new themes, shall glow with purer fires,
 Clothed with the charms, to grace their later rhyme,
 Of every former age and foreign clime.
 Then Homer's arms shall ring in Bunker's shock,
 And Virgil's wanderer land on Plymouth rock.
 Then Dante's knights before Quebeck shall fall,
 And Charles's trump on trainband chieftains call.
 Our mobs shall wear the wreathes of Tasso's Moors,
 And Barbary's coast shall yield to Baltimore's.
 Here our own bays some native Pope shall grace,
 And lovelier beauties fair Belinda's place.
 Here future hands shall Goldsmith's village rear,
 And his tired traveller rest his wanderings here.
 Hodeirah's son shall search our western plain,
 And our own Gertrude visit us again.
 Then Branksome's towers o'er Hudson's streams be built,
 And Marmion's blood on Monmouth's field be spilt:
 Fitz-James's horn Niagara's echoes wake
 And Katrine's lady skim o'er Erie's lake.

Haste, happy times, when through these wide domains,
 Shall sound the concert of harmonious strains:
 Through all the clime the softening notes be spread, -
 Sung in each grove, and in each hamlet read.
 Fair maids shall sigh, and youthful heroes glow,

At songs of valour, and at tales of woe;
 While the rapt poet strikes, along his lyre,
 The virgin's beauty, and the Warriour's fire.
 Thus each successive age surpass the old,
 With happier bards to hail it, than foretold;
 While poesy's star shall, like the circling sun,
 *
 Its orbit finish, where it first begun.

To scenes like these had roving fancy led
 And hope was flattered, as the prospect spread,
 E'en now she saw a glorious star arise,
 And marked its future pathway up the skies;
 Saw its kind influence guiding future days,
 And unborn ages wakened by its rays.
 But Heaven's dread hand has quenched each generous flame -
 The beam of friendship and the light of fame.
 Has aimed, unwarned, that sad and fatal blow,
 Which robes the forms of hope in veils of woe;
 Just showed the admiring world, and bade depart
 The noblest reason, and the warmest heart.
 Faith yields the Priest, with sorrow and complaint,
 And weeping Virtue envies heaven the Saint.
 What sorrowing drops the public eye have wet -
 So bright a star, and so untimely set!

* The allusion to the uniform progress of refinement from the east to the west, since the origin of letters, the illustration of which was excluded by the limits of the occasion.

But oh what pangs the secret bosom rend -
 So fond a brother and so true a friend!

Farewell, thou blest! too dark thy lot appears,
 Yet Faith looks up, though sight is dim with tears.
 Serve thine own Master, through the eternal hours,
 In nearer presence, and with nobler powers.
 *
 Go with thy sire, for heaven in judgment kind,
 The chain of filian fondness spared to unbind.
 Or was that chord of love so nicely spun,
 Which bound the secret souls of sire and son,
 That each unconscious owned the mutual blow,
 And nature felt, what reason could not know.

And thou, oh Cooper! o'er thy timeless grave,
 Pale flowers shall rise, and pensive willows wave.
 There oft to weep at eve shall Learning pause -
 Friend of her arts, and victim in her cause!
 And fond affection, in despair, repeat -
 The purest heart may soonest cease to beat!

Rest, parted friends! whom God in kindness gave
 The safe asylum of the quiet grave;
 While through the scenes you left, confusion goes,
 And publick misery darkens private woes.

Time was, when peace and plenty crowned our plains,
 With the best gifts which nature's store contains.

*
 Reverend J. S. Buckminster died June 9th, and the Rev. Dod.
 Buckminster, his father, June 10.

Then the young genius of our native shore,
 Proud of her fields, but of her offspring more,
 On the high bank, which bars the ocean, stood,
 And launched her loaded forests on the flood.
 And now, they say, she loves to dwell
 In the lone west, where unknown rivers swell;
 There on each mount, she sees her Vernon bloom,
 And strews, with nameless flowers, its fancied tomb.

Oh hapless land! what rage thy sons impels
 To shed the blood, in kindred veins which swells?
 Why should that suicide standard be displayed,
 Which blasts, like Upa's leaves the wretch they shade!

Wouldst thou, e'en now, the wicked strife forego,
 And point thy sword against thy proper foe,
 Retrace thy downward path, thy powers entrust
 To hands unstained, and souls that dare be just;
 Burst the base chains, thy fettered limbs which bind,
 And join the cause of virtue and mankind;
 Then all thy sons would leap in arms to meet,
 Pure spirits rise, and noble pulses beat;
 Returning glory light the torch of fame,
 And heaven accept the incense of its flame.

Oh might it be; from every side should start,
 The statesman's prudent head, the hero's heart;
 Heroick bands should quit, for thee arrayed,

The groves of letters, and the marts of trade.
Haply some votary here of learning's charms
Would quit her shades, to join the march of arms,
Still o'er his head might guardian Pallas soar
And grant her Aegis, as her robe before;
While calmer frames the harder wars engage,
Which faith and truth, with vice and error wage;
While proper duties on each band attend,
These to improve the state, which those defend.

Then fathers, brethren, hail! still happy live,
In what yourselves shall work, or God shall give.
May Hope's sweet hues, to gild your prospects, play,
While health supports, and fortune guides your way.
Bold be your rank, among the sons of fame,
And paid to truth the influence of your name.
To freedom's shrine with constant step repair;
Think what you will, and what you think declare:
Each year unfold of bliss a wider scope,
And truth fulfill the brightest dreams of hope.

APPENDIX II

APPENDIX II

The following notes, written in Everett's hand, are from some folded sheets placed in the front of Everett Papers 212, a bound volume entitled "Miscellanea."

Public

1. File all papers when first received
2. Bind all papers that are fit for binding
3. Postpone nothing
4. Make notes of subjects for dispatches as they present themselves
5. Call statedly on members of the diplomatic corps
6. Corresponds with colleagues
7. Answer all letters as soon as possible
8. Label the record books

Vita privata melius ordinanda

1. Rise earlier
2. Write in dressing room. See over night that there is some work that I can do there in the morning.
3. Make some disposition of every paper, card, book or pamphlet when it first comes
4. Keep a record of books lent
5. Read over and correct my Journals
6. Make indexes to Letter Books
7. Bind books and pamphlets

8. Appropriate a certain sum annually to Books. Qu. £ 100
9. Return calls promptly
10. Answer all letters promptly as possible
11. Read a little Latin and Greek every day
12. Keep an acc't of all expenses
13. Entertain company as far as my means admit
14. See some object of curiosity at least every week

Vita moralis melius ordinada

1. Spend a portion of every day in spiritual exercises, alone
2. Read a portion of the Greek testament at night
3. Reflect distinctly in a moral point on the work of the day past
4. Consider every day what I can do for the happiness and improvement of every member of the family
5. Gulae Inhibenda
6. Make some better provision for public worship

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Section I. Manuscript Sources

Section II. Published Writings of Everett

A. Books and Pamphlets

B. Articles in Magazines and Annuals

C. Newspaper Articles

Section III. Secondary Sources

Note: In the section of "Articles in Magazines and Annuals" the abbreviation NAR is used for North American Review.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

SECTION I. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

At the Massachusetts Historical Society are the Everett Papers which is the chief deposit of Edward Everett material. It consists of 279 bound volumes, folders, and boxes, chiefly of letters and manuscripts. Each volume, folder, and box is labelled "The Everett Papers," plus a number. The card files of the Historical Society index many of the letters but most of the material is not so indexed. Almost all the material needed for the study of the life and mind of Everett is to be found in this rich collection.

Numbers 1 to 12 are boxes consisting almost entirely of letters received by Everett. The first four boxes are of a miscellaneous nature; they include passports, a single letter from George Washington to Nathaniel Gorham, letters of John Adams, John Quincy Adams, and Thomas Jefferson to Everett, some letters to Everett from his wife, and letters of Everett to his brother Alexander. These last letters reveal Everett's keen interest in political conditions throughout the country. Most of these were written by him to his brother at a time when Alexander was in diplomatic service abroad. In them, Everett keeps Alexander informed of political trends, sometimes reporting conditions state by state. Boxes 5 to 10 are chiefly letters received from members of the immediate family. There are some letters from his father-in-law, P. C. Brooks, and many from his wife. These letters

from his wife indicate that she was a charming, vivacious person. Box 6 includes a long letter from Madison about states' rights. In Box 7 is an autobiographical fragment dated September 28, 1830. Boxes 11 and 12 contain family letters and letters addressed to Everett as governor.

Beginning with Box 13 there are dates on the cover showing the period within which the enclosed letters were received. For example, the letters in Box 13 were received in the period 1839-1840. Boxes 14 to 23 contain letters received while he was Minister to Great Britain. Boxes 24 to 32 are also letters received, and they come within the years 1846-1858. Box 33 (Jan. to Mar. 1859) are mainly letters and notes to Everett containing contributions to the Mount Vernon Fund. Boxes 35 and 36 have letters received from 1860 to 1863. Box 37 is for the year 1864 and much of this correspondence concerns the East Tennessee Refugee Relief. In Box 38, for the year 1865, the chief contents are copies of resolutions on the death of Everett. Included is a Supplement to the Lansing State Republican with (on page 4) resolutions and tributes in the Senate of Michigan on the death of Everett.

Numbers 39 to 52 are bound volumes covering the period when Everett was Ambassador to London. Bound volumes 39 and 40 contain the letters of introduction written to Everett between 1840 and 1845. Volumes 41 to 43 contain the official diplomatic correspondence between Everett and the British Government. Each volume is indexed. Volumes 44 to 52 are beautifully bound in green leather and bear the

embossed title "E. Everett's Letters from London." Each of these volumes is also numbered, 1 to 9, and has the inclusive date covering the contents. Each volume is indexed, and volume 9 has a "General Index to the Nine Volumes." The contents of this series are the official letters which Everett wrote to the Secretary of State.

Number 53 is a box dated Nov. 8, 1852 - Mar. 3, 1853, and enclosing original drafts of most of his official letters during the short time when he was Secretary of State. Numbers 54 and 55 are bound volumes of letters.

Numbers 57 to 122 are the bound volumes which Everett used as letterbooks. Each volume has a date on the cover for the copy of the first letter entered in the volume. The letterbooks, with the exception of 96 and 122, are indexed by the names of the persons to whom the letters were addressed. Number 57 starts with the date Aug. 23, 1825. Number 122 starts with the date Aug. 27, 1864. The last letter entered in this volume is dated Jan. 14, 1865.

Numbers 123 to 130 are folders containing manuscript material, and a few letters, between the years 1814 and 1817. The manuscripts are journals of trips Everett made. The first was a trip to Washington in 1814, found in folder 123. The remaining folders have journals of his trip to England enroute to Göttingen and of various journeys he took during his period of study at the University of Göttingen.

Numbers 131 to 136 are bound volumes of journals he kept from 1818 to 1819 recounting his travels in England, France, Switzerland, Italy, Greece, Albania, and Asia Minor. Number 137 is a bound volume

of "Foreign Letters." Number 138 is a folder containing his journal of a trip through Greece in 1819.

Numbers 139 to 184 are bound volumes of his journal with almost consecutive daily entries from April 11, 1825, until a few days before his death in 1865. Each volume in this group has a date on the cover of the first day's entry in that volume. Number 142a is a folder containing twenty-four handwritten pages of his journal, from May 28 through June 6, 1829. Everett's journals consist almost entirely of objective entries recording the principal events of the day. They do not have the reflective quality which characterizes the journals of Emerson. Occasionally entries are made in German. And apparently at some later time in his life, Everett carefully reviewed his journals, for here and there sentences have been so completely written over that it is impossible to read what had been recorded.

Numbers 185 to 189 are small bound volumes which Everett used as engagement books.

Number 190 is a bound volume with the title "Accounts and Vouchers as Minister to England." It also contains an "Inventory of the Legation." Number 191 is a bound volume which contains lists of names and addresses, with dates. It is apparently a record of social calls made while he was United States Minister in London. It covers the period Nov. 27, 1841 to July 4, 1845. Number 192 is a box labelled "Autobiography." Inside is a note reading: "These recollections I began to write down on the 20th of February 1855. Down to my first visit to London in 1815, I had the aid of an Autobiographical sketch

written in 1838. From that time on they are written out for the first time." Number 193 is a bound volume recording engagements for the years 1842 to 1845.

Numbers 194 to 201 chiefly concern Washington material. Number 194 is a box which contains the original manuscript copies of the Mount Vernon Papers. Number 195 is a bound volume containing the subscription list of the Washington Album. "The undersigned wish to present The Washington Album to Edward Everett as a testimony of regard for his noble exertions in aiding the Mt. Vernon Fund . . ." (Pages of signatures follow.) Number 196 is a bound volume with the inner title "Everett's Mount Vernon Papers." It is a beautifully bound scrapbook with all the articles of the series. Number 197, a bound volume, is an account book for the period Mar. 20, 1839 to June 6, 1840. Number 198 is a notebook containing a nineteen page manuscript entitled "General State of the Country at the Close of the War," and dated Boston, April 11, 1839. Number 199 is a leather cover entitled "To Hon. Edward Everett From the Pennsylvania Institute, 1858." Inside is a handwritten petition to Everett dated Feb. 3, 1858, asking him to deliver a public address before the Institute. There are about eighty signatures. Numbers 200 and 201 are bound volumes, each of which contains a handwritten draft of the oration on Washington. Each has at the back a list of the dates and places delivered, with the amounts received for the Mount Vernon Fund.

Numbers 202 to 264 are not as easily classified as the material described up to this point. Some of them are too insignificant to be

worth mention, as for example Number 264 which is a beautifully tooled leather case for correspondence. Following are those which are worth notice. Numbers 205, 208, 209, and 240 contain material about George Washington, most of it copies of source material gathered for Everett. Numbers 227 and 228 are bound volumes entitled "Manuscripts Relating to Spanish Affairs, 1825-1829," Vols. I and II. Numbers 229, 230, and 231 are boxes with the general title "The Madison Papers," Vols. I, II, and III. They are a handwritten copy of the debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 as recorded by James Madison. Number 206 is a bound volume which contains Prescott's letters to Everett from 1827 to 1858. Number 207 is a bound volume which contains Macaulay's letters to Everett from 1818 to 1859. Numbers 212, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 222, 223, 243, 244, and 247a are bound volumes or boxes which contain notes on a wide variety of subjects; some very evidently were notes of lectures taken while Everett was a student at Göttingen. Numbers 238, 239, and 242 are boxes of Everett's original sermon manuscripts. Numbers 237, 247, 248, and 249 are bound volumes and boxes containing newspaper clippings about Everett's public life, reporting his addresses, and about his death. Numbers 202, 233, and 235 are boxes containing manuscript copies of some of his most famous addresses. Number 233 has the original of Everett's Gettysburg Address. Numbers 234, 236, and 241 contain manuscripts of unpublished addresses; most of these seem to be lectures which were given on lyceum platforms. Numbers 251, 252, and 258 are boxes containing printed copies of treaties and conventions between the United States and other countries.

Numbers 254, 255, 256, and 257 are boxes with printed copies of his speeches.

Numbers 265 to 270 contain material about Everett's life. Number 265 is a bound volume, a scrapbook of newspaper clippings from various parts of the country, chiefly dated in the 1850's, reporting reactions to Everett's addresses. Number 266 is a bound volume which is a scrapbook of pictures of places in England and Europe, with mementos such as pressed flowers and leaves. Explanatory entries are in Everett's hand. Numbers 267 and 268 are also bound scrapbooks of newspaper clippings. Both of these volumes are indexed. Number 269 is a bound scrapbook of engravings, evidently cut out of books. Number 270 is a bound volume in which are mounted hundreds of calling cards, apparently the bulk of those received while he was Ambassador. Numbers 271 to 279 are boxes containing printed copies of his speeches.

Also at the Massachusetts Historical Society are several small collections of Edward Everett material. The "Everett Papers Purchase" consists of a single box of correspondence of Everett with Miss Lettie M. Burwell of Arsenal, Liberty, Bedford County, Virginia, in 1860-1861. The "Hopkins Everett Papers" is another collection, made up of six large boxes and one folder. Each box bears the label "Hopkins," followed by a number, plus "Everett Papers" and a date. Hopkins 1 is almost all original Everett letters, most of them addressed to Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Hale, and written within the dates 1814-1841. Hopkins 2 is almost all original Everett letters to his son Charles, his sister, or the Hales. There are some letters from relatives to Charlotte.

These come within the years 1842-1845 and were written during the period of residence in London. Hopkins 3 is almost entirely original Everett letters to his son Charles, his son Edward, Edward Everett Hale, and Nathan Hale. They come within the years 1846-1852 and most of them were written from Cambridge. Hopkins 4 is original Everett letters to his son Charles, his son-in-law Henry Wise, his sister, and E. E. Hale, written within 1853-1859. Hopkins 5 is original Everett letters to his son Charles, Wise, and E. E. Hale, written within 1860-1865. Hopkins 6 contains some copies of Everett's publications, including A Defence of Christianity. There are also Everett family letters from 1915-1920 concerning the disposal of the Edward Everett Papers which were still held intact within the family at this time. The folder which is also part of the Hopkins collection contains chiefly letters written to Everett in the period between 1820 and 1840. The "Everett Papers - Downes" consists of nineteen bound volumes, the diary and letterbooks of Ann V. Everett, a daughter of Edward Everett. A separate folder, bearing the label "Everett Papers 1816-1863" contains original letters of Everett to many different people. Also there are four volumes of letters of Edward Everett the son and an extensive collection of the other son, the William Everett Papers.

The Boston Public Library is the second best source of Everett material. It has an almost complete collection of original printed material. In addition, it has certain documents about his life and some manuscript materials in the Rare Book Room. Among these are

"Newspaper slips on the death of Edward Everett, Jan. 15, 1865,"

"Autograph letters and engraved portraits of Edward Everett, late governor of Massachusetts," a scrapbook compiled by Abram Edwards Cutter, and "Statue of Edward Everett, Report of the Finance Committee." This last is the two bound volumes of the original record books of the Committee on the Statue of Edward Everett. The manuscript collections which contain Everett material are: the Chamberlain Collection, the Griswold Collection, the May Anti-Slavery Papers, and the Garrison Anti-Slavery Papers. The Rare Book Room also has a few miscellaneous Everett manuscripts. Since Everett was President of the Board of Trustees from 1852 to 1864, there are numerous references in the records of the Trustee's Room. These include some letters, a manuscript catalogue of the books presented to the Library by Everett with accompanying correspondence, and a document dated July 31, 1863, giving the list of the gentlemen who made up the committee of the examiners for the Library.

The Houghton Library at Harvard has many Everett letters, principally in the Sparks Manuscripts. In this collection is a folder labelled "Edward Everett concerning Harvard College," which contains 118 of his letters. Another folder labelled "Edward Everett" has 238 of Everett's letters written between 1820 and 1864. In Miscellaneous Papers III of the Sparks Manuscripts is a section called "Affairs of the North American Review," and containing letters from J. G. Palfrey, Edward Everett, and Wendell Phillips. There are several long letters from Everett about the North American Review. In the Charles Sumner

Papers are 66 original Everett letters. Among the Emerson Papers are ten letters of Everett to Emerson. The Houghton Library also has an autograph manuscript of Everett's "Address to the Phi Beta Kappa of 31 August 1837."

The Harvard Archives has Everett letters scattered through its records. A catalogue of letters and other materials in the Archives is in preparation. The following Everett material is catalogued: "Edward Everett Papers, 1815-1854," a few letters and memoranda; "Notes from his diary relating to Harvard, 1836-1854," a typed copy of references in his journals at the Massachusetts Historical Society; "Remarks at a meeting of the Overseers of Harvard College, on 12 March 1862 . . .," a ten page bound manuscript; "Copies of Sermons, manuscripts (a note states that these copies were made by Miss Nancy Storow. "Mr. Everett permitted them to be copied . . . on the condition that they should not be published."); "List of books recommended to be read by students while at the University," a thirteen page manuscript; "Papers of the Committee on the Edward Everett Statue, 1867," manuscript; and "Centenary of Everett's Birth," a folder of Boston newspapers reporting the centenary observance of Everett's birth, April 11, 1894. Faculty Records VIII, IX, X, and XIII also have references to Everett.

Letters to and from Daniel Webster are to be found in the Webster Papers at the New Hampshire Historical Society.

In the various collections at the Yale University Library there are thirty of Everett's letters and one oration manuscript.

The New York Public Library has approximately 55 Everett letters in "Miscellaneous Papers" and 29 items in the "A. W. Anthony Collection." The New York Historical Society has 58 letters scattered in various collections including the "Albert Gallatin Papers."

The Buffalo Historical Society has 104 Everett letters in the "Millard Fillmore Papers."

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has 91 Everett letters.

The Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress has a small collection of Everett's letters, dated 1830 to 1865, addressed to J. Wingate Thornton, J. Elliott, G. Lunt, J. H. Eaton, Thomas Moore, R. R. Gurley, and Peter Force. There are a number of additional letters scattered in various collections.

The following libraries and historical societies have a few scattered letters: New York State Library, the American Antiquarian Society, Columbia University Library, Brown University Library, and Concord Free Public Library.

SECTION II. PUBLISHED WRITINGS OF EVERETT

All entries in each of the following three classifications have been arranged in chronological order.

A. Books and Pamphlets

Everett, Edward. "Song. Composed and sung on occasion of the Senior Class leaving college," pp. 21-3, An Oration . . . at the departure of the Senior Class, July 31, 1811. Cambridge, 1811.

_____. "A Solution of Problems in the Lunar Theory," Mathematical Thesis. No. 162. Harvard University.

_____. American Poets. Cambridge, 1812.

_____. A defence of Christianity against the work of George B. English entitled The grounds of Christianity examined. Boston, 1814.

_____. Address at the funeral of Rev. John Lovejoy Abbot. Boston, 1814.

_____. and George Ticknor, compilers. Books, rare, curious, elegant and valuable, in the departments of the classicks, civil law, history, criticism, belles lettres and theology, for sale at auction, in Boston, 20 December, 1815. Boston, 1815.

_____. Sermon, at the dedication of the First congregational church in New York, January 20, 1821. New York, 1821.

_____. Synopsis of a course of lectures on the history of Greek literature. n.t.p. n.p. n.d. (Boston Public Library).

_____. translator. Buttman, Philipp Carl. Greek grammar, translated . . . by Edward Everett. Boston, 1822.

_____. translator. Jacobs, Christian Friedrich Wilhelm. The Greek reader, . . . From the 7th German edition. Adapted to the translation of Buttman's Greek grammar. Boston, 1823.

2nd ed. Boston, 1827.

3rd ed. Boston, 1829.

4th ed. American from the 9th German edition. Adapted to the grammars of Buttman and Fisk. Stereotype edition. Boston, 1835.

5th ed. With an enlarged and complete lexicon. From the 12th German edition. 1838.

Everett, Edward, Secretary of the Committee. Address of the Committee appointed at a public meeting held in Boston, Dec. 19, 1823, for the Relief of the Greeks. To Their Fellow Citizens. Boston, 1824.

_____. A letter to John Lowell, in reply to a publication entitled Remarks on a pamphlet, printed by the professors and tutors of Harvard University, touching their right to the exclusive government of that seminary. Boston, 1824.

_____. An oration pronounced at Cambridge before the Society of Phi Beta Kappa. Aug. 27, 1824. New York, 1824.

_____. An oration pronounced at Cambridge before the Society of Phi Beta Kappa, Aug. 27, 1824. Boston, 1824.

4th ed. Boston, 1825.

_____. Discurso pronunciado en Cambridge, en los Estados Unidos de Norte America, ante la sociedad de Phi Beta Kappa, y en el presencia del general La Fayette. Buenos Aires, 1825.

_____. An oration delivered at Concord, April the nineteenth, 1825. Boston, 1825.

_____. Speech of Mr. Everett, on the proposition to amend the Constitution of the United States, respecting the election of president and vice president. Delivered in the House of Representatives, March 9, 1826. Washington, 1826.

_____. Speech of the Hon. Edward Everett, in the House of representatives of the United States, March 9, 1826, in committee, on the proposition to amend the Constitution. Boston, 1826.

_____. An oration delivered at Cambridge on the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. Boston, 1826.

_____. The claims of citizens of the United States of America on the governments of Naples, Holland, and France. Cambridge, 1826.

_____. Address delivered at Charlestown, August 1, 1826, in commemoration of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. Boston, 1826.

_____. Report on Spoliations on the Commerce of the United States by France, etc. from the Committee for Foreign Affairs presented in the H. of R., Feb. 23, 1827. [Rep. No. 87].

_____. Spoliations of the French prior to 1800. n.p., 1827.

Everett, Edward. Report on the Georgia Controversy from the Select Committee, presented in the H. of R., March 3, 1827. [Rep.No. 98].

_____. Speech on retrenchment. House of Representatives, Feb. 1, 1828. Washington, 1828.

_____. Report on Caron de Beaumarchais from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, presented in the H. of R., on April 1, 1828. [Rep. No. 220].

_____. An oration before the citizens of Charlestown on [July 4, 1828] the fifty-second anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. Charlestown, 1828.

_____. An address delivered at the erection of a monument to John Harvard, September 26, 1828. Boston, 1828.

_____. Remarks. House of rep., March 15, 1830. On the bill for the relief of Susan Decatur. Washington, 1830.

_____. Speech on the proposal of Mr. McDuffie to repeal the laws of 1828 and 1824, imposing duties on imports. House of representatives, 7th, 8th of May, 1828. Washington, 1830.

_____. Speech of Mr. Everett, of Massachusetts, on the bill for removing the Indians from the east to the west side of the Mississippi. Delivered in the House of representatives, on the 19 May, 1830. Washington, 1830.

_____. Speech of Mr. Everett on the Bill for Removing the Indians. Boston, 1830.

_____. Remarks on the public lands, and on the right of a state to nullify an act of Congress. Boston, 1830.

_____. An address delivered on the 28th of June, 1830, the anniversary of the arrival of Governor Winthrop at Charlestown. Delivered and published at the request of the Charlestown Lyceum. Charlestown, 1830.

_____. Lecture on the Working men's party, first delivered October sixth [1830], before the Charlestown lyceum. Boston, 1830.

in The American Library of useful knowledge, pp. 106-137. Boston, 1831.

_____. Speech . . . in the House of Representatives, on the 14th and 21st of February, 1831, on the execution of the laws and treaties in favor of the Indian tribes. [Washington], 1831.

Everett, Edward. Prison Discipline. (a one page broadside) n.p. n.d.
(at bottom: "Home Mission Rooms," Boylston Street Chapel).

_____. "Essay on the importance to practical men of scientific knowledge, and on the encouragements to its pursuit, The American Library of Useful Knowledge. Boston, 1831.

_____. The prospect of reform in Europe. From the North American Review, July 1, 1831. London, 1831.

2nd ed. London, 1831.

_____. Address before the American Institute of the City of New York, at Their Fourth Annual Fair, Oct. 14, 1831. New York, 1831.

_____. Remarks in the House of Representatives, May 17, 1832, on the apportionment bill. Washington, 1832.

_____. Speech on the proposed adjustment of the tariff. Delivered in the House of representatives, 25th June, 1832. Washington, 1832.

_____. The progress of reform in England, by the author of "The prospect of reform in Europe." London, 1832.

_____. An address delivered as the introduction to the Franklin Lectures, in Boston, Nov. 14, 1831. Boston, 1832.

_____. Substance of [his] remarks at the temperance meetings in Concord and Salem 11th and 14th June, 1833. Salem, 1833.

_____. Speech . . . at the Meeting in Faneuil Hall . . . May 28, 1833. Charlestown, Mass., 1835. (a one page broadside).

_____. An address delivered before the citizens of Worcester on the Fourth of July, 1833. Boston, 1833.

_____. An address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society in Yale College, August 20, 1833. New Haven, 1833.

_____. Eulogy on Lafayette, delivered in Faneuil Hall, at the request of the young men of Boston, Sept. 6, 1834. Boston, 1834.

2nd ed. 1834.

_____. Remarks on the French question in the House of rep., 7th of February, and 2d of March, 1835. With the reports of the Committee of foreign affairs. Boston, 1835.

Everett, Edward. An address, delivered at Lexington, on the 19th (20th) April, 1835. Charlestown, 1835.

2nd ed. (This edition lacks "Answers to invitations," pp. 37-39). 1835.

3rd ed. From the 2nd edition. Worcester, 1875.

_____. Oration delivered on the fourth day of July, 1835, before the citizens of Beverly . . . Boston, 1835.

_____. An address delivered before the literary societies of Amherst College. August 25, 1835. Boston, 1835.

_____. An address delivered at Bloody Brook, in South Deerfield, September 20, 1835, in commemoration of the fall of the "Flower of Essex" in King Philip's war, September 18, (O.S.) 1675.

_____. Orations and Speeches on Various Occasions.

Vol. I. 1st ed. Boston, 1836.

Vols. I and II. Boston, 1850.

Vol. III. Boston, 1859.

Vol. IV. Boston, 1868. 2nd ed. 4 v.

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