

The Real Calvin Coolidge

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The Calvin Coolidge Memorial Foundation, Inc.*

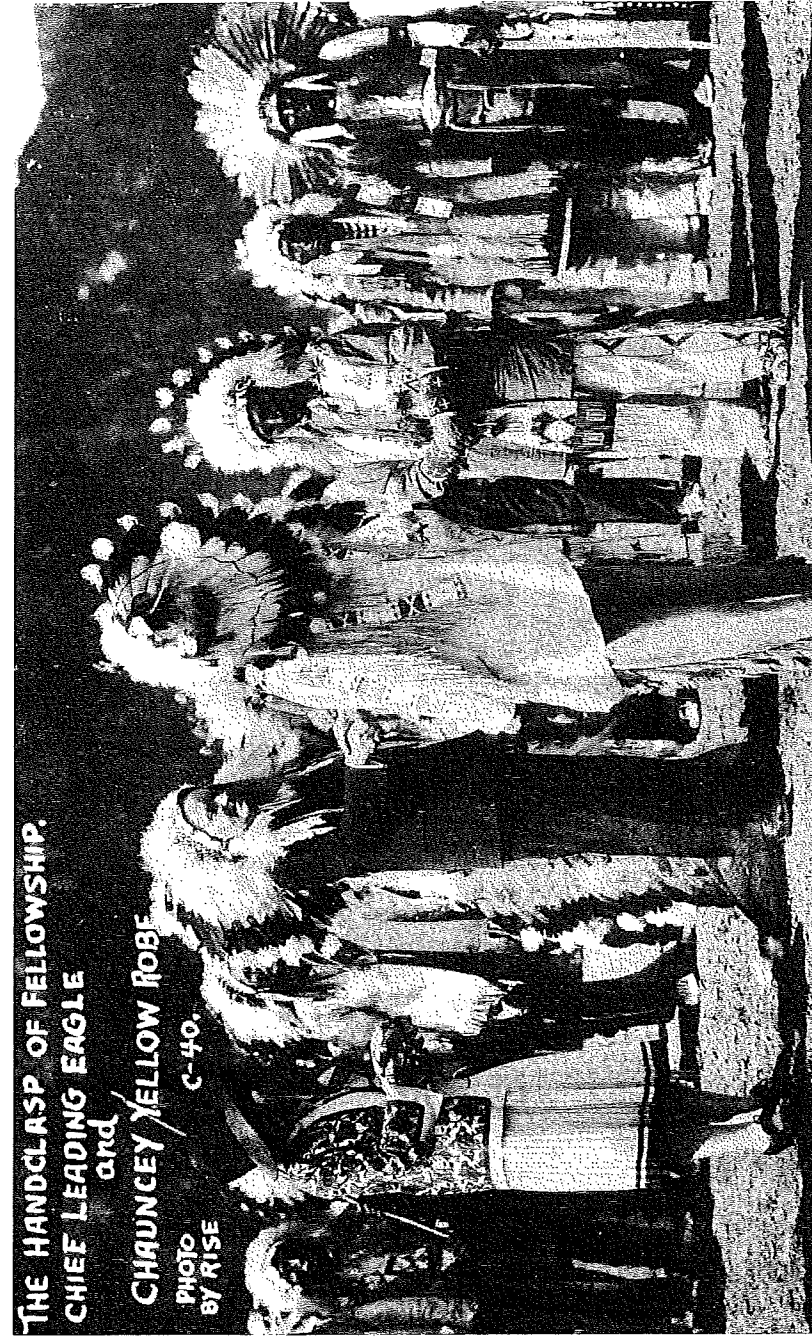
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Articles of original research and personal remembrances concerning the lives of Calvin Coolidge and his family are solicited by the Foundation. All articles submitted to the Editor for consideration must be typewritten. The right to edit materials to conform to the established policies and format of the publication is reserved by the editorial staff.

Opinions stated and conclusions drawn in The Real Calvin Coolidge are those of the contributing authors and may or may not necessarily reflect those of The Calvin Coolidge Memorial Foundation, Inc.



THE HANDCLASP OF FELLOWSHIP.
CHIEF LEADING EAGLE
and
CHAUNCEY YELLOW ROBE
PHOTO BY RISE C-40.

President Coolidge (Chief Leading Eagle) is accepted into the Sioux Indian Tribe by Chauncey Yellow Robe while Mrs. Coolidge looks on during the First Family's visit to the Black Hills of South Dakota.

ABOUT THIS ISSUE

I have arrived at the conclusion that each issue of this publication is like a bride getting ready for her wedding. If it is to be successful, it should have "something OLD, something NEW, something BORROWED, and something BLUE". This is certainly the case with this issue which, as a result, should find an honored place on your parlor bookshelf.

"Something old" is the reprint of "The Inspiration Of The Declaration", a speech delivered by President Coolidge in Philadelphia on July 5, 1926 in celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. With the bicentennial celebration of our Constitution soon to get into full swing, the appropriateness of this selection was obvious. This speech, you will agree, is Coolidge at his best.

"Something new" comes in the form of two articles and a book review. The interesting and informative research of Dickinson College (Pennsylvania) student Daniel J. Heisey, "Monumental History" deals with Calvin Coolidge and his involvement with Mount Rushmore. In "The Beeches", Robert Nelson and Daisy Mathias deal with the building and ownership of the Coolidge's retirement home. Foundation member Clifford A. Pease, Jr. reviews William Seale's two volume set, The President's House. These contributors have our deep appreciation.

"Something borrowed" is Helen Smith's review of "Calvin Coolidge Meets Charles Edward Garman". For permission to reprint, our deep gratitude goes to Marietta Pritchard, Features Editor, Daily Hampshire Gazette, Northampton, Massachusetts.

"Something blue" is not to be found in these pages, but "blue" is something we would all feel without this annual gift from The Calvin Coolidge Memorial Foundation. This publication could not happen without the cooperation and efforts of Kathy Donald and the CCMF staff, WORDmill's Patricia I. Francis, proofreader Hazel Louise Cooper, and Michael Eck and the good people of Chatham Printing Company. To them, singly and collectively, we extend our heartfelt thanks.

And now, find yourself an easy chair, ignore the cares and problems of the day, and happy reading.

John A. Waterhouse, Editor

The Inspiration of the Declaration

By CALVIN COOLIDGE

We meet to celebrate the birthday of America. The coming of a new life always excites our interest. Although we know in the case of the individual that it has been an infinite repetition reaching back beyond our vision, that only makes it the more wonderful. But how our interest and wonder increase when we behold the miracle of the birth of a new nation. It is to pay our tribute of reverence and respect to those who participated in such a mighty event that we annually observe the fourth day of July. Whatever may have been the impression created by the news which went out from this city on that summery day in 1776, there can be no doubt as to the estimate which is now placed upon it. At the end of 150 years the four corners of the earth unite in coming to Philadelphia as to a holy shrine in grateful acknowledgement of a service so great, which a few inspired men here rendered to humanity, that it is still the preeminent support of free government throughout the world.

Although a century and a half measured in comparison with the length of human experience is but a short time, yet measured in the life of governments and nations it ranks as a very respectable period. Certainly enough time has elapsed to demonstrate with a great deal of thoroughness the value of our institutions and their dependability as rules for the regulation of human conduct and the advancement of civilization. They have been in existence long enough to become very well seasoned. They have met, and met successfully, the test of experience.

It is not so much then for the purpose of undertaking to proclaim new theories and principles that this annual celebration is maintained, but rather to reaffirm and reestablish those old theories and principles which time and the unerring logic of events have demonstrated to be sound. Amid all the clash of conflicting interests, amid all the welter of partisan politics, every American can turn for solace and consolation to the Declaration of Independ-

ence and the Constitution of the United States with the assurance and confidence that those two great charters of freedom and justice remain firm and unshaken. Whatever perils appear, whatever dangers threaten, the Nation remains secure in the knowledge that the ultimate application of the law of the land will provide an adequate defense and protection.

It is little wonder that people at home and abroad consider Independence Hall as hallowed ground and revere the Liberty Bell as a sacred relic. That pile of bricks and mortar, that mass of metal, might appear to the uninstructed as only the outgrown meeting place and the shattered bell of a former time, useless now because of more modern conveniences, but to those who know they have become consecrated by the use which men have made of them. They have long been identified with a great cause. They are the framework of a spiritual event. The world looks upon them, because of their associations of one hundred and fifty years ago, as it looks upon the Holy Land because of what took place there nineteen hundred years ago. Through use for a righteous purpose they have become sanctified.

It is not here necessary to examine in detail the causes which led to the American Revolution. In their immediate occasion they were largely economic. The colonists objected to the navigation laws which interfered with their trade, they denied the power of Parliament to impose taxes which they were obliged to pay, and they therefore resisted the royal governors and the royal forces which were sent to secure obedience to these laws. But the conviction is inescapable that a new civilization had come, a new spirit had arisen on this side of the Atlantic more advanced and more developed in its regard for the rights of the individual than that which characterized the Old World. Life in a new and open country had aspirations which could not be realized in any subordinate position. A separate establishment was ultimately inevitable. It had been decreed by the very laws of human nature. Man everywhere has an unconquerable desire to be the master of his own destiny.

We are obliged to conclude that the Declaration of Independence represented the movement of a people. It was not, of course, a movement from the top. Revolutions do

not come from that direction. It was not without the support of many of the most respectable people in the Colonies, who were entitled to all the consideration that is given to breeding, education, and possessions. It had the support of another element of great significance and importance to which I shall later refer. But the preponderance of all those who occupied a position which took on the aspect of aristocracy did not approve of the Revolution and held toward it an attitude either of neutrality or open hostility. It was in no sense a rising of the oppressed and downtrodden. It brought no scum to the surface, for the reason that colonial society had developed no scum. The great body of the people were accustomed to privations, but they were free from depravity. If they had poverty, it was not of the hopeless kind that afflicts great cities, but the inspiring kind that marks the spirit of the pioneer. The American Revolution represented the informed and mature convictions of a great mass of independent, liberty-loving, God-fearing people who knew their rights, and possessed the courage to dare to maintain them.

The Continental Congress was not only composed of great men, but it represented a great people. While its members did not fail to exercise a remarkable leadership, they were equally observant of their representative capacity. They were industrious in encouraging their constituents to instruct them to support independence. But until such instructions were given they were inclined to withhold action.

While North Carolina has the honor of first authorizing its delegates to concur with other Colonies in declaring independence, it was quickly followed by South Carolina and Georgia, which also gave general instructions broad enough to include such action. But the first instructions which unconditionally directed its delegates to declare for independence came from the great Commonwealth of Virginia. These were immediately followed by Rhode Island and Massachusetts, while the other Colonies, with the exception of New York, soon adopted a like course.

This obedience of the delegates to the wishes of their constituents, which in some cases caused them to modify their previous positions, is a matter of great significance. It reveals an orderly process of government in the first place; but more than that, it demonstrates that the Dec-

laration of Independence was the result of the seasoned and deliberate thought of the dominant portion of the people of the Colonies. Adopted after long discussion and as the result of the duly authorized expression of the preponderance of public opinion, it did not partake of dark intrigue or hidden conspiracy. It was well advised. It had about it nothing of the lawless and disordered nature of a riotous insurrection. It was maintained on a plane which rises above the ordinary conception of rebellion. It was in no sense a radical movement but took on the dignity of a resistance to illegal usurpations. It was conservative and represented the action of the colonists to maintain their constitutional rights which from time immemorial had been guaranteed to them under the law of the land.

When we come to examine the action of the Continental Congress in adopting the Declaration of Independence in the light of what was set out in that great document and in the light of succeeding events, we can not escape the conclusion that it had a much broader and deeper significance than a mere secession of territory and the establishment of a new nation. Events of that nature have been taking place since the dawn of history. One empire after another has arisen, only to crumble away as its constituent parts separated from each other and set up independent governments of their own. Such actions long ago became commonplace. They have occurred too often to hold the attention of the world and command the admiration and reverence of humanity. There is something beyond the establishment of a new nation, great as that event would be, in the Declaration of Independence which has ever since caused it to be regarded as one of the great charters that not only was to liberate America but was everywhere to ennoble humanity.

It was not because it was proposed to establish a new nation, but because it was proposed to establish a nation on new principles, that July 4, 1776, has come to be regarded as one of the greatest days in history. Great ideas do not burst upon the world unannounced. They are reached by a gradual development over a length of time usually proportionate to their importance. This is especially true of the principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence. Three very definite propositions were set out in its preamble regarding the nature of mankind and

therefore of government. These were the doctrine that all men are created equal, that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights, and that therefore the source of the just powers of government must be derived from the consent of the governed.

If no one is to be accounted as born into a superior station, if there is to be no ruling class, and if all possess rights which can neither be bartered away nor taken from them by any earthly power, it follows as a matter of course that the practical authority of the Government has to rest on the consent of the governed. While these principles were not altogether new in political action, and were very far from new in political speculation, they had never been assembled before and declared in such a combination. But remarkable as this may be, it is not the chief distinction of the Declaration of Independence. The importance of political speculation is not to be underestimated, as I shall presently disclose. Until the idea is developed and the plan made there can be no action.

It was the fact that our Declaration of Independence containing these immortal truths was the political action of a duly authorized and constituted representative public body in its sovereign capacity, supported by the force of general opinion and by the armies of Washington already in the field, which makes it the most important civil document in the world. It was not only the principles declared, but the fact that therewith a new nation was born which was to be founded upon those principles and which from that time forth in its development has actually maintained those principles, that makes this pronouncement an incomparable event in the history of government. It was an assertion that a people had arisen determined to make every necessary sacrifice for the support of these truths and by their practical application bring the War of Independence to a successful conclusion and adopt the Constitution of the United States with all that it has meant to civilization.

The idea that the people have a right to choose their own rulers was not new in political history. It was the foundation of every popular attempt to depose an undesirable king. This right was set out with a good deal of detail by the Dutch when as early as July 26, 1581, they declared their independence of Philip of Spain. In their long struggle with the Stuarts the British people asserted

the same principles, which finally culminated in the Bill of Rights deposing the last of that house and placing William and Mary on the throne. In each of these cases sovereignty through divine right was displaced by sovereignty through the consent of the people. Running through the same documents, though expressed in different terms, is the clear inference of inalienable rights. But we should search these charters in vain for an assertion of the doctrine of equality. This principle has not before appeared as an official political declaration of any nation. It was profoundly revolutionary. It is one of the corner stones of American institutions.

But if these truths to which the declaration refers have not before been adopted in their combined entirety by national authority, it is a fact that they had been long pondered and often expressed in political speculation. It is generally assumed that French thought had some effect upon our public mind during Revolutionary days. This may have been true. But the principles of our declaration had been under discussion in the Colonies for nearly two generations before the advent of the French political philosophy that characterized the middle of the eighteenth century. In fact, they come from an earlier date. A very positive echo of what the Dutch had done in 1581, and what the English were preparing to do, appears in the assertion of the Rev. Thomas Hooker of Connecticut as early as 1638, when he said in a sermon before the General Court that--

"The foundation of authority is laid in the free consent of the people.

"The choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people by God's own allowance."

This doctrine found wide acceptance among the nonconformist clergy who later made up the Congregational Church. The great apostle of this movement was the Rev. John Wise, of Massachusetts. He was one of the leaders of the revolt against the royal governor Andros in 1687, for which he suffered imprisonment. He was a liberal in ecclesiastical controversies. He appears to have been familiar with the writings of the political scientist, Samuel Pufendorf, who was born in Saxony in 1632. Wise published a treatise, entitled "The Church's Quarrel Espoused," in 1710, which was amplified in another publication in 1717.

In it he dealt with the principles of civil government. His works were reprinted in 1772 and have been declared to have been nothing less than a textbook of liberty for our Revolutionary fathers.

While the written word was the foundation, it is apparent that the spoken word was the vehicle for convincing the people. This came with great force and wide range from the successors of Hooker and Wise. It was carried on with a missionary spirit which did not fail to reach the Scotch-Irish of North Carolina, showing its influence by significantly making that Colony the first to give instructions to its delegates looking to independence. This preaching reached the neighborhood of Thomas Jefferson, who acknowledged that his "best ideas of democracy" had been secured at church meetings.

That these ideas were prevalent in Virginia is further revealed by the Declaration of Rights, which was prepared by George Mason and presented to the general assembly on May 27, 1776. This document asserted popular sovereignty and inherent natural rights, but confined the doctrine of equality to the assertion that "All men are created equally free and independent." It can scarcely be imagined that Jefferson was unacquainted with what had been done in his own Commonwealth of Virginia when he took up the task of drafting the Declaration of Independence. But these thoughts can very largely be traced back to what John Wise was writing in 1710. He said, "Every man must be acknowledged equal to every man." Again, "The end of all good government is to cultivate humanity and promote the happiness of all and the good of every man in all his rights, his life, liberty, estate, honor, and so forth * * *."

And again, "For as they have a power every man in his natural state, so upon combination they can and do bequeath this power to others and settle it according as their united discretion shall determine." And still again, "Democracy is Christ's government in church and state." Here was the doctrine of equality, popular sovereignty, and the substance of the theory of inalienable rights clearly asserted by Wise at the opening of the eighteenth century, just as we have the principle of the consent of the governed stated by Hooker as early as 1638.

When we take all these circumstances into considera-

tion, it is but natural that the first paragraph of the Declaration of Independence should open with a reference to Nature's God and should close in the final paragraphs with an appeal to the Supreme Judge of the world and an assertion of a firm reliance on Divine Providence. Coming from these sources, having as it did this background, it is no wonder that Samuel Adams could say "The people seem to recognize this resolution as though it were a decree promulgated from heaven."

No one can examine this record and escape the conclusion that in the great outline of its principles the Declaration was the result of the religious teachings of the preceding period. The profound philosophy which Jonathan Edwards applied to theology, the popular preaching of George Whitefield, had aroused the thought and stirred the people of the Colonies in preparation for this great event. No doubt the speculations which had been going on in England, and especially on the Continent, lent their influence to the general sentiment of the times. Of course, the world is always influenced by all the experience and all the thought of the past. But when we come to a contemplation of the immediate conception of the principles of human relationship which went into the Declaration of Independence we are not required to extend our search beyond our own shores. They are found in the texts, the sermons, and the writings of the early colonial clergy who were earnestly undertaking to instruct their congregations in the great mystery of how to live. They preached equality because they believed in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. They justified freedom by the text that we are all created in the divine image, all partakers of the divine spirit.

Placing every man on a plane where he acknowledged no superiors, where no one possessed any right to rule over him, he must inevitably choose his own rulers through a system of self-government. This was their theory of democracy. In those days such doctrines would scarcely have been permitted to flourish and spread in any other country. This was the purpose which the fathers cherished. In order that they might have freedom to express these thoughts and opportunity to put them into action, whole congregations with their pastors had migrated to the colonies. These great truths were in the air that our people

breathed. Whatever else we may say of it, the Declaration of Independence was profoundly American.

If this apprehension of the facts be correct, and the documentary evidence would appear to verify it, then certain conclusions are bound to follow. A spring will cease to flow if its source be dried up; a tree will wither if its roots be destroyed. In its main features the Declaration of Independence is a great spiritual document. It is a declaration not of material but of spiritual conceptions. Equality, liberty, popular sovereignty, the rights of man--these are not elements which we can see and touch. They are ideals. They have their source and their roots in the religious convictions. They belong to the unseen world. Unless the faith of the American people in these religious convictions is to endure, the principles of our Declaration will perish. We can not continue to enjoy the result if we neglect and abandon the cause.

We are too prone to overlook another conclusion. Governments do not make ideals, but ideals make governments. This is both historically and logically true. Of course the government can help to sustain ideals and can create institutions through which they can be the better observed, but their source by their very nature is in the people. The people have to bear their own responsibilities. There is no method by which that burden can be shifted to the government. It is not the enactment, but the observance of laws, that creates the character of a nation.

About the Declaration there is a finality that is exceedingly restful. It is often asserted that the world has made a great deal of progress since 1776, that we have had new thoughts and new experiences which have given us a great advance over the people of that day, and that we may therefore very well discard their conclusions for something more modern. But that reasoning can not be applied to this great charter. If all men are created equal, that is final. If they are endowed with inalienable rights, that is final. If governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, that is final. No advance, no progress can be made beyond these propositions. If anyone wishes to deny their truth and their soundness, the only direction in which he can proceed historically is not forward, but backward toward the time when there was no equality, no rights of the individual, no rule of the people.

Those who wish to proceed in that direction can not lay claim to progress. They are reactionary. Their ideas are not more modern, but more ancient, than those of the Revolutionary fathers.

In the development of its institutions America can fairly claim that it has remained true to the principles which were declared 150 years ago. In all the essentials we have achieved an equality which was never possessed by any other people. Even in the less important matter of material possessions we have secured a wider and wider distribution of wealth. The rights of the individual are held sacred and protected by constitutional guaranties, which even the Government itself is bound not to violate. If there is any one thing among us that is established beyond question, it is self-government--the right of the people to rule. If there is any failure in respect to any of these principles, it is because there is a failure on the part of individuals to observe them. We hold that the duly authorized expression of the will of the people has a divine sanction. But even in that we come back to the theory of John Wise that "Democracy is Christ's government * * *." The ultimate sanction of law rests on the righteous authority of the Almighty.

On an occasion like this a great temptation exists to present evidence of the practical success of our form of democratic republic at home and the ever-broadening acceptance it is securing abroad. Although these things are well known, their frequent consideration is an encouragement and an inspiration. But it is not results and effects so much as sources and causes that I believe it is even more necessary constantly to contemplate. Ours is a government of the people. It represents their will. Its officers may sometimes go astray, but that is not a reason for criticizing the principles of our institutions. The real heart of the American Government depends upon the heart of the people. It is from that source that we must look for all genuine reform. It is to that cause that we must ascribe all our results.

It was in the contemplation of these truths that the fathers made their declaration and adopted their Constitution. It was to establish a free government, which must not be permitted to degenerate into the unrestrained authority of a mere majority or the unbridled weight of a

mere influential few. They undertook the balance these interests against each other and provide the three separate independent branches, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial departments of the Government, with checks against each other in order that neither one might encroach upon the other. These are our guaranties of liberty. As a result of these methods enterprise has been duly protected from confiscation, the people have been free from oppression, and there has been an ever-broadening and deepening of the humanities of life.

Under a system of popular government there will always be those who will seek for political preferment by clamoring for reform. While there is very little of this which is not sincere, there is a large portion that is not well informed. In my opinion very little of just criticism can attach to the theories and principles of our institutions. There is far more danger of harm than there is hope of good in any radical changes. We do need a better understanding and comprehension of them and a better knowledge of the foundations of government in general. Our forefathers came to certain conclusions and decided upon certain courses of action which have been a great blessing to the world. Before we can understand their conclusions we must go back and review the course which they followed. We must think the thoughts which they thought. Their intellectual life centered around the meeting-house. They were intent upon religious worship. While there were always among them men of deep learning, and later those who had comparatively large possessions, the mind of the people was not so much engrossed in how much they knew, or how much they had, as in how they were going to live. While scantily provided with other literature, there was a wide acquaintance with the Scriptures. Over a period as great as that which measures the existence of our independence they were subject to this discipline not only in their religious life and educational training, but also in their political thought. They were a people who came under the influence of a great spiritual development and acquired a great moral power.

No other theory is adequate to explain or comprehend the Declaration of Independence. It is the product of the spiritual insight of the people. We live in an age of science and of abounding accumulation of material things.

These did not create our Declaration. Our Declaration created them. The things of the spirit come first. Unless we cling to that, all our material prosperity, overwhelming though it may appear, will turn to a barren sceptre in our grasp. If we are to maintain the great heritage which has been bequeathed to us, we must be like-minded as the fathers who created it. We must not sink into a pagan materialism. We must cultivate the reverence which they had for the things that are holy. We must follow the spiritual and moral leadership which they showed. We must keep replenished, that they may glow with a more compelling flame, the altar fires before which they worshipped.

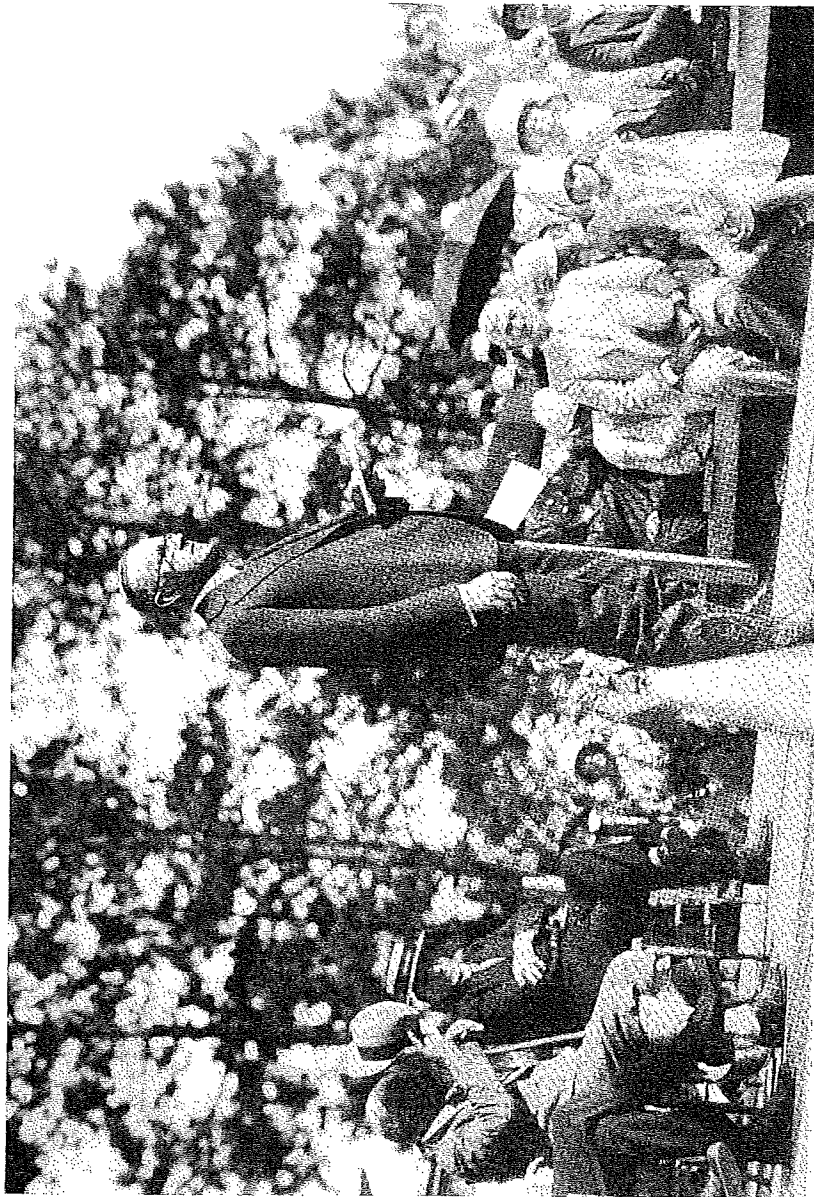
Monumental History

By DANIEL J. HEISEY

Calvin Coolidge has long been appreciated as a master of English prose. He has also been recognized as a man possessing a keen sense of history. He enjoyed his history courses, especially those at Amherst College under Professor Anson D. Morse. Coolidge seems to have learned from Morse an historical justification both for patriotism and for partisanship. In his *Autobiography* Coolidge observed, "The whole course was a thesis on good citizenship and good government. Those who took it came to a clearer comprehension not only of their rights and liberties but of their duties and responsibilities."

Morse was a firm believer in the theory behind the American Republic. He believed that the U. S. Constitution was the culmination of centuries of human political experience. Moreover, Morse believed that the political party was the best means of expressing the public will. Further confidence in American conservatism came to Coolidge in the form of another Amherst professor, Charles Edward Garman. Garman, it is well-known, won the respect of pragmatist William James, and Garman no doubt encouraged Coolidge's interest in history with his maxim, "Carry all questions back to fundamental principles."

From his historical studies Coolidge became greatly impressed with the writings of Thomas Carlyle and John Fiske. Both the Scottish essayist and the librarian of Harvard wrote on the myths and heroes of mankind. It is significant that Coolidge was drawn to these authors, who represented the first half of the nineteenth century -- the Romantic Age of Hegel and Andrew Jackson -- rather than historians prominent in the latter part of the century, such as Henry Adams and Theodore Roosevelt. The former authors stood for nationalism and the conquest of nature; the latter for the individual and his place in a changing world. Whereas Coolidge read the works of Carlyle and Fiske, he lived in the world of Adams and Roosevelt, and



On August 10, 1927 Calvin Coolidge dedicated Mount Rushmore.

his thought reflects a mixture of the two schools, of the nationalist and the individualist, the Romantic and the Pragmatist.

In 1895 this combination brought Coolidge his first recognition by professional historians. While apprenticed at the Northampton law offices of Hammond and Field, Coolidge learned that the Sons of the American Revolution had awarded him a \$125 gold medal for an essay he had written as a senior at Amherst. The essay, addressing the topic "The Principles Fought for in the American Revolution," is probably Coolidge's first formal statement of his unique historical perspective.

Years later, while President of the United States, Coolidge received the recognition of another historical association. In 1925 he was elected a trustee of the American Antiquarian Society. He was elected its president in 1929, and he was active in that position until his death in 1933. During that period he wrote both his Autobiography (1929) and a daily syndicated newspaper column (1930-31). Both works, displaying his clear, lean prose, have been discussed and reviewed for some sixty years.

One aspect of Coolidge's writing which seems to have gone largely unnoticed is his history intended for inscription upon Mount Rushmore. Readers of The Real Calvin Coolidge are familiar with the story of Coolidge's history, from Richard Norton Smith's "Calvin Coolidge: The Twilight Years" to Clifford Pease's review of Rex Alan Smith's The Carving of Mount Rushmore. Even Edward Connery Latham, in his introduction to that invaluable volume Calvin Coolidge Says, reviews the plot of the Coolidge-Borglum drama, but he is silent in its details. The plot is worthy of review, certainly, and the details are equally interesting. The detail most interesting, and most ignored, is the very reason that the history was never inscribed. Coolidge refused to complete the history because Gutzon Borglum revised Coolidge's initial draft. All who recount the story naturally include this climactic feud, but they fail, for one reason or another, to discuss the two texts. One is driven to inquire about this part of the story. What was Coolidge's version to say? How much did Borglum's perversion differ?

On August 10, 1927, Calvin Coolidge, trustee of the American Antiquarian Society and President of the United

States, dedicated the Mount Rushmore National Park. Once Coolidge finished his dedicatory address, Gutzon Borglum, sculptor of the four Fiskean heroes soon to appear on Mount Rushmore, announced extempore that he wanted Coolidge to write a history of the United States for inscription upon the mountain. The assembled crowd cheered wildly. Despite this overture and that ovation, it was not until January, 1930, that Borglum and Coolidge formally agreed to the project.

Coolidge was to write -- gratis -- a history of the United States chronicling major events from 1776 to the early twentieth century. Borglum had expressed his intention to Coolidge in 1926, and, on July 22, 1927, he wrote to Coolidge, "My real thought is that the framing of the language [of the history] should be by you. Doane Robinson says you are the ablest master of phrase living ... [The history] should be simple, brief, biblical in its simplicity." This proposed history was to be inscribed upon a tablet on the 1000 feet high granite wall of Mount Rushmore. The tablet was to be in the outline of the Louisiana Purchase. Coolidge's signature would appear at the bottom, toward the "Delta" of the tablet. Once on the tablet this history was to be visible for more than a mile and endure "five thousand centuries," thus requiring the letters to be incised five inches into the rock. These letters were to be three feet tall on lines extending "about 90 to 110 feet" to the right of the dates of the history's major events. According to the Associated Press, "the sides of the letters fashioning Mr. Coolidge's words, facing westward, will be gilded so that the setting sun falling upon them will give brilliance to the story of the United States."

In his July 22, 1927, letter to Coolidge, Borglum carefully explained about the history and its tablet. Although he said that the "framing of the language" of the history should be by Coolidge, Borglum stated that, "I am of course shaping this inscription and determining its character." He then included this list, saying, "The data will begin with:

1 - 1776 . . . Our Fathers declared for themselves, their children and their children's children the right to be free and happy forever.

2 - 1787 . . . The citizens of the Colonial States assem-

bled, and drew a constitution for the Federation . . . etc. etc.

3 - 1803 . . . Thomas Jefferson purchased for the . . . etc./etc.

4 - 1873 . . . Spain ceded to the United States, the Floridas in satisfaction of boundary disputes between Mexico and southwestern border . . . etc.

5 - 1846 . . . Texas the Republic entered the Union as a state. . .

6 - 1846 . . . Oregon. . .

7 - 1848 . . . California. . .

8 - 1876 [sc. 1867] . . . Alaska. . .

9 - 1907 . . . Theodore Roosevelt fulfilled the prophecy of Columbus by cutting the Isthmus of Panama to the world a way for world communication between eastern and western seas."

Several dates in this list are incorrect. Perhaps Borglum typed them from memory; perhaps he thought he could dupe Coolidge. An undated White House memorandum on this letter reports that "Mr. Borglum has selected nine events to be commemorated. His dates were wrong." The memo then lists the correct dates and brief summaries of each event. Coolidge's own copy of a similar list clearly shows the fourth through ninth dates corrected in his hand to read, "1819, 1845, 1846, 1848 (1867 crossed out entirely), 1904." Coolidge, it seems, knew his American history well. Once he had eliminated the 1867 purchase of Alaska, Coolidge scrawled above it "Solidification under Lincoln."

The AP report of January 17, 1930, described the tablet itself as 80 feet high and 120 feet wide, but on February 4, 1930, the AP noted that the history would be "inscribed in a space 90 feet by 130 and cut in such dimensions that [it] may be read three miles away. Those conditions would limit the history to 500 words." This February report also announced the "eight events, considered the most epochal in the evolution of the Colonies" Coolidge was to treat in his five hundred words. The AP listed the events as follows:

July 4, 1776 - Declaration of Independence.

1787 - Framing of the Constitution.

1803 - Louisiana Purchase.

1846 - Admission of Texas as a State.

1848 - Oregon Boundary Settlement.

1849 - Admission of California.

1865 - Civil War ends.

1907 - Completion of the Panama Canal.

In this list, the fourth, fifth, sixth, and eighth dates are incorrect. They should be, respectively, 1845, 1846, 1850, and 1914. One can charitably ascribe these errors to garbled wire transmission. Regardless, the choice of these eight events (or, rather, nine, if one prefers to follow Borglum's list) reflects the importance placed by Borglum and Coolidge upon the territorial expansion of the United States to fill its continental boundaries. These events were intended to coincide neatly both with the idea of "Manifest Destiny" and with the four presidents sculpted on Mount Rushmore. Interestingly enough, these events are not included by John A. Garraty in his "101 Things Every College Graduate Should Know About American History" in the December, 1986, issue of American Heritage. When one reads Borglum's list, Coolidge's suggestion of a Lincoln chapter, the AP list, and Garraty's catalogue of essential aspects of U. S. history, the differences illustrate that often history is in the eyes of the beholder.

Such a project as the Mount Rushmore history was unprecedented in human history. It remains so. One would have to turn to ancient history to find such an inscription. The conceivable models would be found in ancient Persia and ancient Rome, but they pale beside Borglum's plan. Never before had the history of a nation been so published. In Persia, some three hundred feet above the Iranian Plateau, is the Behistun Inscription. Discovered in 1835 by Sir Henry Rawlinson, it is an account of Darius's victories over his enemies following his disputed coronation as shah. It is inscribed in the Persian, Babylonian, and Susan languages, and it measures 25 feet high by 50 feet wide. Clearly, it would have been dwarfed both in size and in scope by the Coolidge-Borglum inscription. In ancient Rome the emperor Augustus had his autobiography cast on two bronze tablets and displayed on pillars at the entrance to his mausoleum. Again, this egotism appears comic before the Mount Rushmore inscription.

Students of Coolidge are well aware that the monumental history never came to pass. Despite Coolidge's ability and acclaim, Borglum decided that Coolidge was unqual-

ified to write the history which he had publicly requested. For, upon receiving Coolidge's first two "chapters" -- the sections addressing the first two dates listed -- Borglum felt compelled to rewrite Coolidge's draft. He then released this version to the press without identifying his several emendations. Coolidge had not been consulted, and he was less than thrilled with Borglum's alterations. As a result, Coolidge, keeping his wounded pride private, withdrew from the entire project. Although he had completed drafts for each event, they remained in his files, unpolished.

Meanwhile, John Corbin, Shakespearean scholar and American historian, complained eloquently to The New York Times of April 25, 1930, about "Coolidge's" errors. Corbin had published earlier in 1930 The Unknown Washington, an intellectual biography of the first President, and Corbin was surprised that Coolidge seemed so unappreciative of the republicanism of the Founding Fathers. Apparently, though, Corbin learned of Borglum's actions, saying that "the inscription as he revised it reads out of the Constitution its very soul and spirit."

The history, before Borglum's revision, is vintage Coolidge. Although it is but an unfinished, staccato draft, it completes the long trail from the 1895 S.A.R. essay to the 1929 Autobiography and fits neatly among the daily columns. In it one sees the Coolidgean elements of Morse and Garman. It is a fine example of the nineteenth-century historical perspective of Carlyle and Fiske diffused through an unfairly underestimated mind. One is compelled to imagine the effect the history would have had upon modern tourists had it been inscribed on those austere Dakota hills. Would they laugh as Borglum feared? Would they weep with pride as Coolidge no doubt hoped? It is left to the reader to answer. Here, for the first time, is printed Coolidge's history as he wrote it, as it now lies in the Personal Files of President Coolidge.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

1776 - OUR CONTINENTAL CONGRESS PROCLAIMED TO THE WORLD JEFFERSON'S IMMORTAL PHRASING OF THE RIGHT TO LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT

OF HAPPINESS. BY THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OUR FATHERS CONCEIVED A NATION DEDICATED TO THE PRESERVATION OF EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS.

CONSTITUTION

1787 - THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES LED BY WASHINGTON, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, FRAMED THE CONSTITUTION UNDER THE INSPIRED PROVISIONS OF WHICH WE HAVE ENJOYED THE BLESSINGS OF PEACE AND PROSPERTIY AND OUT [sic] INTEGRITY AS A NATION HAS BEEN MAINTAINED.

LOUISIANA PURCHASE

1803 - THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE DOUBLED OUR AREA, ASSURED FOR US THE MISSISSIPPI AND TRIBUTARIES, ADDED TO OUR RESOURCES, STARTED TERRITORIAL EXPANSION, SOLIDIFIED THE WEST, INCREASED POWERS OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND DETERMINED FLEXIBILITY OF THE CONSTITUTION.

FLORIDA

1819 - CESSION OF FLORIDA BY SPAIN, FOLLOWED BY MONROE DOCTRINE IN 1823.

TEXAS

1845 - ANNEXATION OF INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC OF TEXAS AS OUT [sic] LARGEST STATE, REALIZING DREAM OF SAM HOUSTON. FIXED RIO GRANDE AS INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY, PROTECTING US FROM FOREIGN INFLUENCE. BROUGHT BACK INTO UNION MANY COLONISTS. INCREASED SOLIDARITY OF WEST.

OREGON

1846 - BY PEACEFUL AGREEMENT WITH GREAT BRITAIN NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF OREGON AREA FIXED AT LATITUDE 49°.

CALIFORNIA

1848 - ACQUISITION OF CALIFORNIA AND NEW MEXICO FROM MEXICO FOLLOWING PROCLAMATION OF PEACE COMPLETED PACIFIC SHORE LINE TO MATCH ATLANTIC.

ALASKA

1867 - PURCHASE OF ALASKA FIRST ACQUISITION OF EXTERIOR TERRITORY.

PANAMA

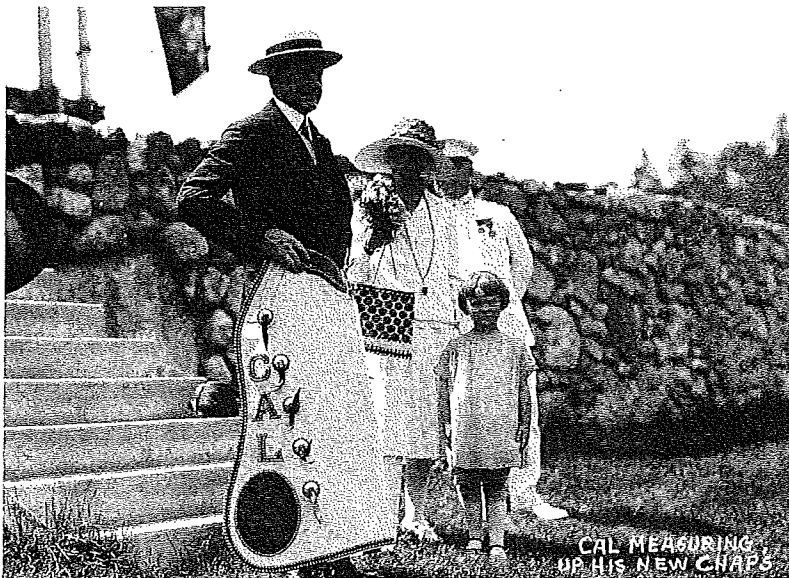
1904 - ROOSEVELT ACQUIRED ZONE FOR AND BEGAN CONSTRUCTION OF PANAMA CANAL, FULFILLING VISION OF COLUMBUS AND GIVING US SHORT WATER ROUTE BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN COASTS.

SOLIDIFICATION UNDER LINCOLN

(Date ?) LINCOLN'S GREAT ABILITY AND HUMANE WISDOM PRESERVED OUR NATION AND BROUGHT ABOUT ITS REBIRTH AND SOLIDIFICATION.

The following is Borglum's text as it appeared in the April 10, 1930, New York Times.

In the year of our Lord
1776, the people declared the eter-
nal
Right to seek happiness - self
Government and the divine duty to
Defend that right at any sacrifice --
In
1787 assembled in convention they
made
A charter of perpetual union of
Free people of sovereign States
establishing a government of
limited powers --
Under an independent president --
Congress
And court charged to provide se-
curity for
All citizens in their enjoyment of
liberty --
Equality and justice -- [.]



Mrs. Coolidge watches as the President tries on his new chaps during their 1927 visit to South Dakota.

The Beeches

By DAISY MATHIAS & ROBERT NELSON

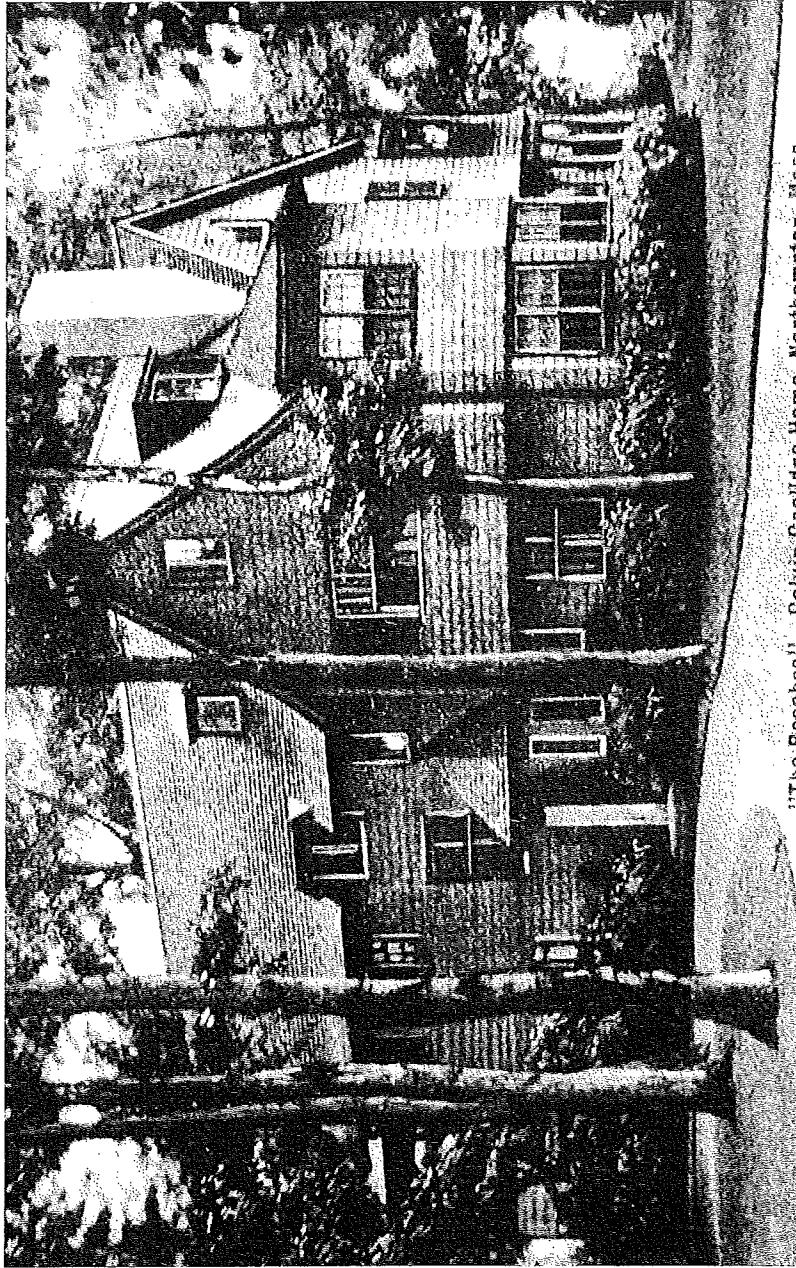
The year Calvin Coolidge was elected State Senator in Massachusetts, a young English professor at Smith College built a house in Northampton. Henry Noble MacCracken and his wife Marjorie had been living in a rented house in Amherst during his first year at Smith College, and they wanted to build a home of their own. For seven years they had been planning their dream house. The MacCrackens liked Northampton, the college, Henry's students and colleagues. So Henry and Marjorie hired a New York architect to design their dream house.

Building started in April, 1914, and continued right into the winter. MacCracken hired Frank Huxley, a respected local builder. Huxley's records reveal fascinating details: laborers were paid \$2 per day; 560 feet of 4 x 6 chestnut sills cost \$14. The entire 13-room house and detached garage cost \$20,620--nearly \$2,000 over estimate. The house has four fireplaces, stretched canvas ceilings in living and dining rooms, roll-up screens inside the casement windows, and beautiful natural wood detailing around the doors and stairways.

In January of 1915, with their four-year old daughter Maisry and Marjorie's Aunt Sarah Dodd, the MacCrackens moved in. The next summer, work was started on the six acres of grounds: mountain laurel planted on the slopes, a wading pool and gazebo for Maisry, and presumably some of the extensive formal gardens were begun.

"The Tryst", MacCracken called his new home, because of the lovers initials carved into the beech trees on the property. Gray-shingled with light green trim, the house blended into its surroundings of smooth lawns and tall trees. The back of the house, with its many windows, faces south across the wide Connecticut River valley. In winter, sunlight streams in, filling the house with warmth and light.

Six weeks after the MacCrackens moved into The Tryst, Dr. MacCracken was invited to be president of Vassar Col-



"The Beeches" - Calvin Coolidge Home, Northampton, Mass.

"The Beeches" the retirement home of Grace and Calvin Coolidge, in Northampton, Massachusetts

lege. The MacCrackens moved to Poughkeepsie, spending summers only at The Tryst. Four years later, their dream house was sold to Dr. and Mrs. Comey, who renamed the property The Beeches.

In 1930, Calvin and Grace Coolidge bought The Beeches as their retirement home. Secluded and spacious, it was a haven for Coolidge. In 1932, Coolidge agreed to give a radio address in support of Hoover, on the condition that he could speak alone from the library of The Beeches. In January of 1933, Coolidge died suddenly at The Beeches. Five years later, Grace sold the house to Mary Bailey.

The Baileys moved into the house in the late Spring of 1938. In the Fall, the big 1938 hurricane roared up the Pioneer Valley, and sent the largest beech trees crashing down. "It looked like a giant's game of jackstraws," said Sydney Bailey. Other changes occurred over the years. A house was built where the tennis court used to be, and later became a separate property. The Meadows below the house grew up into trees, blocking the distant gleam of the river. The present owners purchased an additional ten acres of hayfield, making the estate almost sixteen acres. A few changes have been made in the house, mostly to kitchen and bathrooms, but it retains its old charm.

Present owners Daisy Mathias and Bob Nelson, rent a few rooms to Bed-and-Breakfast guests on weekends. It is possible for guests to sleep in Calvin Coolidge's bedroom. If Henry MacCracken or Calvin Coolidge walked up to the door today, the house would appear largely the same to them. Great beech trees arch over the roof, and Mt. Tom looms in the distance across the valley.

Book Reviews

William Seale, The President's House (Washington, D.C.: White House Historical Association with the cooperation of the National Geographic Society and Harry N. Abrams Inc., New York), 2 vol., 1124 pp., illustrated. \$39.95.

The President's House is a lengthy and detailed history of the White House from its original conception through the extensive renovation done when Harry S. Truman was President (1945-1953). Organized with chapters for each President, the book gives minimal biographic detail of the occupants and concentrates on the building in relation to the architectural plans, construction, and reconstruction of the structure and special emphasis on the furnishing as taste varied from President to President.

Chapter 37, *Hearth and Home*, is devoted to the Coolidges (pages 852-884), covering the years 1923-1929. The chapter is very complimentary to both President and Mrs. Coolidge and spoke of Grace Coolidge as follows: "The tall elegant Grace Goodhue Coolidge was one of the most elegant and gentle of the FIRST LADIES." Reference is made to her stylish dresses, ability as a hostess and background role as the President's wife and mother of his children.

The social life of the White House during the period is described as formal and very much according to protocol. So much so that the State Department's Office of Protocol was created in 1928 during the Coolidge administration.

Mrs. Coolidge had a special interest in decorating the White House and particularly the private apartment of the Coolidges. She sought advice from experts regarding the "colonial style" that interested her, and a special Commission was created to advise on these matters.

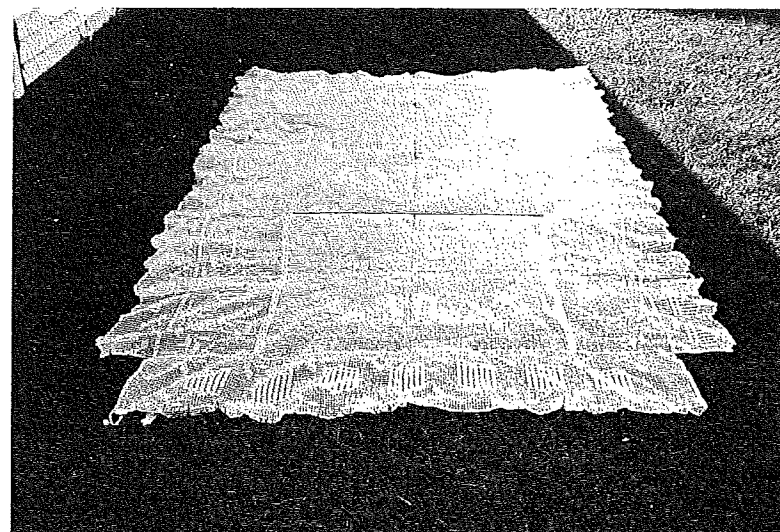
Regarding the White House, the major activity during the Coolidge era was the rebuilding of the third floor in 1927. In March of that year, the Coolidges moved out of the White House and occupied the Patterson mansion on Du Pont Circle. They then stayed for three months at the

State Game Lodge near Rapid City, South Dakota, and did not return to Washington until September. It was during this period that a new roof was installed, the entire third floor was redesigned and changes were also made in the second floor.

During this same time, Mrs. Coolidge crocheted a bed coverlet which she gave to the White House. Although she had denied knowing the President's future plans when he made his "I do not choose to run" statement, she had already embroidered the dates 1923-1929 for the Coolidge Administration in the coverlet. (Note: The book on page 879 gives the dates August 8, 1923 to March 4, 1929, when it should have been August 3, 1923.)

The book has excellent notes and a good Index. It differs from other publications of the White House Historical Association, most of which, with many photographs and limited text, are similar in format to the National Geographic Magazine. This book, primarily text with relatively few photographs, is just the opposite.

Clifford A. Pense, Jr., MD
Fairfax, VA



Example of the eagle bedspread made by Grace Coolidge while First Lady. (photo by Sally Thompson)

John Almon Waterhouse, Calvin Coolidge Meets Charles Edward Garman (Rutland, VT: Academy Books, 1984). \$12.00 plus \$1.50 handling from Calvin Coolidge Memorial Foundation, Plymouth, VT.

A newly published book on Calvin Coolidge helps to explain why President Reagan took down Harry Truman's portrait from the Cabinet room and replaced it with that of one-time Northampton mayor and 13th President of the United States, Calvin Coolidge.

Calvin Coolidge Meets Charles Edward Garman was written by John Almon Waterhouse, a resident of Glastonbury, CT. A concise, 88-page illustrated study, it explores the relation between Coolidge, Amherst College Class of '95, and his favorite professor. Charles Edward Garman (1850-1907), was an extraordinarily popular professor of philosophy during his years at the college, where he taught from 1880 until his death. He left his mark not only on Coolidge but on scores of others including '95 classmates Harlan Fiske Stone (later Chief Justice) and Dwight Morrow (of J.P. Morgan's firm and, under Coolidge, ambassador to Mexico).

Coolidge is not remembered for his breadth and brilliance of mind, so it may be surprising that he took a man like Garman for his intellectual hero and spiritual guide. Garman was an intense, charismatic mystic in a huge dark overcoat -- a deeply religious man noted for his "glowing, cavernous eyes" and his evangelical manner. Coolidge revered this learned metaphysician as "a man who walked with God." William James -- less given to understatement than Coolidge -- regarded him as "the greatest teacher in the United States."

*

A Maine native and 1872 graduate of Amherst, Garman was a mysterious figure. In the basement of his house at 10 Gray Street he churned out on a small press, "with the help of a black houseman," pamphlets on various subjects, "from Pleasure and Righteousness, Will and Sentiment, plus Expediency as a Working Principle to the Twentieth Century." He loaned those pamphlets to students in his junior-senior course, but they had to agree to show them to no one outside the department and to return them at the end of the year.

In his classroom, where the walls were posted with "mystic slogans and inspirational aphorisms," Garman taught an eclectic mix of philosophy, theology, psychology and religion that is almost unimaginable in our secular and specialized college courses.

*

The catalogue description for the year Coolidge studied with Garman (the course was three semesters) reads as follows:

"Experimental, Animal and morbid Psychology; Mental Evolution; Pedagogics and Educational Psychology; General Psychology; Heredity, Anthropological Ethics; the History of Ethical Theories; the Metaphysics of Ethics; Objective Ethics; Aesthetics; Outline History of Ancient Philosophy; Selections from Locke, Berkeley, Hume and Mill; The Philopsopy and Ethics of Herbert Spencer; Descartes, Spinoza, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Lotze; Epistemology; the Philosophy of Religion; the Evolution of Religion; Preparations for Christianity in the Roman Empire; Christian Apologetics, History and Exposition of Christian Doctrine; and Movements of Thought in the Nineteenth Century."

Not content with this coverage, Garman changed with the times. Noting that a new age requires a new philosophy, he said, "Business is asking for men of ability and integrity to take positions of greater responsibility, and the same is true of municipal affairs and of politics. In short, citizenship is the great need of the present time."

*

One of those who heeded Garman's call was young Calvin Coolidge. Waterhouse makes a strong case for the lasting influence of the professor on the pupil. A simplified version of Garman's beliefs seems to have informed Coolidge's public positions and, with less simplification, his private life and ideals of Christian and democratic public service.

Coolidge's public positions on labor, class and economics, in particular, seem pure Garmanism. Coolidge first came to national attention in 1919 when, as governor of Massachusetts, he opposed the Boston Police Strike with the famous statement, "There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, any time." (Could Ronald Reagan have said it any better to the Air Traffic Controllers?) To Charles Edward Garman strikes

were "instances (that) show what can happen when the lower classes get into control."

More canny than his reputation, Coolidge won public acclaim back in 1914 with the slogan "Have Faith In Massachusetts." Though the words seem less catchy today than they did once, the sentimental appeal to faith continues to be a powerful vote-getter. In 1924 Coolidge demonstrated the utility of this insight: expounding a combination of German idealism and down-to-earth American Protestantism, he ascended to presidential power with the support of 54 percent of the electorate.

*

Somewhat more sinister were Garman's social and political beliefs, as expressed in his classroom and pamphlets. He saw America as a nation divided into two classes. He called these "masters" and "slaves" or, sometimes, "lions" and "lambs." "Slaves" were happy-go-lucky types, "quick to take present gains and spend as they go," unable to say no "to some strong appeal or appetite or passion." "Masters," on the other hand, were "shrewd, long-headed fellows who know how to work, to endure the present suffering for the greater gain which is to come in time."

Government, in Garman's view, was charged simply with mediating the two opposing classes, so as to prevent "open warfare." Government was not supposed to carry its role so far as to ameliorate the disparity between classes, nor to eliminate the master-slave relationship.

In other respects Garman's thinking went beyond this raw Social Darwinism. He considered the "dehumanizing" effects of new machines on labor, and worried that the technology that displaced labor was changing skilled workers into unskilled workers, forcing them to reorganize into unions and resist."

*

Garman's and Coolidge's political philosophy constitute a kind of early 20th century secular religion -- an amalgam of Spencer, Kant and Mill alloyed with residual New England Calvinism. It is appropriate that Coolidge kept by his bedside, next to his Bible, a collection of Garman's letters and lectures, published posthumously by his former students.

When Coolidge declined to run for re-election in 1928

he reasoned that government would have to become "more aggressive and constructive" than he cared for. He had, of course, no way of knowing that his Garman-inspired ideas would revive in the '80s with a President who, like himself, opposes Big Government, worries about the national debt, and vetoes social spending legislation. (Coolidge vetoed the Soldiers Bonus Bill in 1924.) Like Ronald Reagan, Coolidge favored reducing taxes and believed -- a Garman platitude -- in "holding to the main stream."

Waterhouse's study of Coolidge left me with only one burning question. Who was that professor, about 50 years ago, on Ronald Reagan's Eureka College campus -- the mysterious one with glowing cavernous eyes and a black overcoat and a mimeo machine in his basement? Does anyone know his name?

Helen Smith
Daily Hampshire Gazette
Northampton, MA



Amherst College student Calvin Coolidge and his Philosophy Professor
Charles Edward Garman