

Keyes

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Autobiography of
Hon. John S. Keyes.

Keyes

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1
2 I was born I am told Sept 19,1821,
3 and from finding in my father's
4 cash book the entry of that date of the Dr's
5 fee, and the horse hire for the
6 nurse I have no doubt of it.
7 My father John Keyes was at
8 that time a leading lawyer
9 in Concord Middlesex Co. Mass.
10 and county treasurer and
11 postmaster. He lived then as
12 he always had since his marriage
13 five years before, in the house
14 north of the Court House and
15 fronting on the road to the North
16 Bridge, occupying nearly the spot
17 between the north entrance to the
18 Court House grounds and the gate
19 way as it now exists. My mother
20 Ann Stow (Shepard) Keyes had borne
21 one daughter four years before
22 who named for her, welcomed my
23 coming, and after Dr. Hurd's
24 services and the nurse's departure
25 took great care of my puny self.
26 For I was I am informed very
27 feeble and delicate as an infant

1
2 I have been told of my first illness
3 when a month or so of age, an attack
4 of whooping cough that threatened to end
5 my frail hold on life. Dr Hurd on being
6 consulted said he could stop it, and did
7 so by vaccinating my arm. The two diseases
8 would not go on together, and as the arm
9 became sore the cough subsided much
10 to my mothers satisfaction, less to mine
11 as thirty years later I had the varioloid
12 and a few years later a second attack
13 of whooping cough, both at very inconvenient
14 times, especially the last, as I was then
15 in a position to preserve silence not only
16 myself, but in others and to accomplish
17 this during a fit of whooping was not easy.

1
2 My earliest recollection is of an
3 accident by falling on the door
4 step, while the house that stood
5 between my father's & the square
6 was being removed to the next
7 lot on the road east of the lane
8 to the great fields that bounded
9 our garden, (now Miss E E Barretts),
10 and receiving a severe cut on the
11 head, that alarmed my mother greatly.
12 I was cured of this and my sickliness
13 by a regimen of mild brandy toddy
14 on which I was weaned and for
15 which I cried many times and oft
16 as I have often since been told.
17 Of my sister who died when I was
18 four years old from a violent scarlet
19 fever I have no real memory.
20 A dim recollection of her pulling
21 me from the horses who drew
22 Lafayette through Concord on his
23 triumphal tour of New England
24 in 1824, and of the pageant of his
25 visit to Concord, is all I can recall.
26 My sister is described as very charming
27 beautiful little girl, the pet of her
28 father, and the winning
29 of all her friends and family-
30 Her hair a lock preserved by Mother
31 for sixty years is even now wonderful
32 for its color and softness and beauty.

1
2 Of the girls who lived at our house
3 and helped in the charge of the
4 children, I recall but faintly
5 those who preceded Betsy Holt.
6 She an old time New England Yankee
7 domestic came when I was about
8 five years old, and remained over
9 twenty years, the faithful prudent
10 but cross and domineering help
11 who ruled her kitchen and all
12 who came into it, except the 'Squire'
13 himself, and sometimes even drove
14 him out of her domain. Of the boys
15 whom we had live with us and go
16 to school in the winters, my first
17 recollection is of ~~Jedediah Wentworth~~ James Carter
18 of Carlisle who stole a \$10. bill from Mother's
19 purse, while Father was away
20 at court, and passed it at the
21 store or tavern. He was let off, but Jedediah Wentworth an older accomplice
22 and was arrested
23 convicted and punished in the
24 jail for the offence. He came out
25 but was soon in trouble again
26 and went to the bad utterly.
27 But if Carter was ruined, so was not
28 the next whom I remember better,
29 George W. Wright, who was afterwards
30 the first representative in Congress
31 from California, and a friend of Fremont.

1
2 He and his brother Augustus Wright
3 later on treasurer of the old Boston
4 Museum for many years were
5 important elements in my boyhood
6 and to another John Wood since
7 Sheriff of County Ohio
8 I owe much knowledge of matters
9 that are not taught in schools.
10 The last who was the brightest and
11 best of the whole series and for
12 whom my youngest brother was
13 named, George B. Dakin was
14 subsequently a steamboat capt.
15 on Geneva Lake N.Y. and then a
16 successful coal merchant in
17 Buffalo, whence he came occasionally
18 on summer visits to Concord, to see
19 his old friends, and was a happy
20 prosperous pleasant visitor at
21 my mothers and my table.
22 Such and so different were the
23 hired boys of my younger days
24 from those of the present time
25 They were of the genuine Yankee
26 stock, and though they eat and
27 lived in the kitchen, I played with
28 them on terms of entire equality
29 and often shared my bed and room
30 with them as I grew older.-

1
2 Of schools my first was the private,
3 infant class of Miss Phoebe Wheeler
4 kept in the southwest chamber
5 of the old Peter Wheeler house on
6 the Walden Road. Here I began to
7 go before my sisters death and
8 continued for more than a year
9 afterwards. The Hoar Brooks Stow
10 Shattuck and Stacy children went with
11 me there, and we learnt our primer
12 lessons pinned to Miss W^s knee by
13 our aprons to keep us quiet, as
14 we stood up to say our a.b.cs—
15 How distinctly the old unpainted weather
16 beaten house comes up before me, with
17 its big button wood trees shading the
18 door yard, in which a tract of yellow
19 sand through scanty spears of young
20 grass glowed in the sunshine, and
21 was my childish ideal of Sahara,
22 as the older ones called it. The barely
23 furnished rooms the unpainted seats
24 and stools the made up bed in the corner
25 whereon when tired out we had a nap,
26 the row of half eaten apples taken from
27 us when we came into the school to be given
28 back at recess on the window turning
29 rusty in the sunshine, the steep garret stairs
30 leading out of a door in the corner, on which
31 we were shut up as a punishment in the dark
32 and in mortal fear of the buzzing wasps.

1
2 Of one birthday of mine when holding
3 my mothers hand we walked in
4 a bright afternoon to this school,
5 she carrying a basket of goodies
6 for the feast, and stopping with me
7 to show me the inside of the Orthodox
8 church then just completed, and not
9 quite emptied of the carpenters tools
10 and shavings, I am quite certain—
11 It was my fifth in 1826, and I had
12 watched all that summer the great
13 building work going on as we went
14 daily to and from, had been frightened
15 at the danger of the men on the steeple
16 and shocked at the death of one of them
17 a Mr Stiles from a fall when putting
18 up the lightening rod, so that the real
19 church had made quite as great an
20 impression on us school children as
21 the spiritual one by its secession
22 from the old time honored single town
23 establishment had to our elders.
24 This and the old blacksmith shop
25 on the corner of the Mill Dam and the
26 Walden Road, the hatter's shop on the
27 corner opposite in the brick building
28 and the tan yard vats on Dea Vose's land
29 in front of his house were of great
30 interest to us as we passed them daily
31 The old mill pond still filled the basin
32 between the two churches, and made
33 a skating ground for the older boys
34 and a sliding place for us youngsters
35 on which we sometimes ventured.

1
2 After and perhaps in connection with
3 Miss Wheeler's school I went some weeks
4 to a school kept by Miss Rice, a sister
5 of Mrs George F Farley of Groton who taught
6 a little private school in the room of the
7 ell of the old Wright tavern, then Deacon
8 Jarvis bakehouse. Under this the great
9 flaming bakers oven with its crackling
10 bundles of faggots, and its hot ginger
11 bread in sheets marked off in squares
12 and crisp seed cakes was very attractive
13 This was near the corner stone of the
14 Monument, laid with so much ceremony
15 in 1825 when Everett orated, and the
16 militia companies trained, the cannons
17 fired, and the boys hurrahed but the
18 monument never grew above it foundation,
19 the reason being that the funds collected
20 in Concord by the Bunker Hill Monument
21 Association, and appropriated to building
22 the Concord monument were withheld
23 or squandered so that ours was left-
24 This huge granite block some 4 feet
25 cube was a favorite climb for the
26 boys of this school, and I can just
27 remember the alarm of the great
28 illumination, the bonfire of huge
29 tar barrels that were piled up on
30 it by some of the rowdy element a
31 few years after its dedication, and
32 burnt one dark night, in mockery
33 of its unfinished condition. I believe
34 I was taken out to see it from the corner
35 of our lot and the Court House wall-

1
2 I went also for one winter term to town
3 school in the brick school house when
4 John Brown, since of Kansas, but not
5 Ossawatomie Brown, kept it, and there
6 as the smallest and youngest of the
7 large school I had a good time, with
8 some variations, one that I distinctly
9 remember was being persuaded by an
10 older boy to use the end of a tallow
11 candle probably left by the Masons
12 who occupied the upper hall after one
13 of their nocturnal gatherings, as hair
14 grease, and the scrubbing with soap
15 that Mother and Betsy applied on my
16 return home to get rid of the stuff—
17 My younger sister was born in 1825,
18 and I was no longer the only child at
19 home, but I enjoyed the greater freedom
20 from care and oversight, this gave me
21 as I grew larger and more boyish
22 in my plays. Trainings were my great
23 delight and we had many of them
24 with the two uniformed companies
25 the Light Infantry, and the Artillery
26 and the 'old Shad' as the ununiformed
27 militia were always called by us boys
28 The first two appeared several times
29 a year, and the last at least twice
30 and the fun of following the trainers
31 never palled on me. The court weeks
32 were great events in our household
33 from the company Father brought home
34 and the show of the crowds, brought together
35 and waking up the streets of our quiet town.

1
2 The riot and jollification of September Court
3 I think must have abated somewhat
4 from its fulness before my time or else I
5 was kept away from its stronger features
6 as I cannot remember anything like
7 the stories I have heard of its glory.
8 But the sharp quick striking of the bell at
9 the hour of courts assembling and the
10 parade of sheriffs judges and lawyers
11 across the common to and from the
12 Court House were of my earliest days
13 a delight and satisfaction.

14 Connected with these in my memory
15 were the candies and custards of old
16 'Montefury', Montefiori I suppose, an
17 Italian refugee who kept a candy store
18 in sight of our windows between the
19 jail house and the brick school house,
20 whose display always tempting to me
21 was trebly so on all public occasions.
22 He must have been a character worthy
23 of more notice than he seems to have had
24 from the hard working men and women
25 of those days, and doubtless had a story
26 as interesting as his name if he ever
27 could have found any to listen to it
28 in his broken English. But this is only
29 my supposition, as he never was noticed
30 much so far as I have heard. His
31 successor in the trade was Andrew Carr
32 the tin man who enlarged or rebuilt
33 the shop placing a tin revolving occililator
34 in one of the panes of the window which
35 proved as great an attraction to us boys
36 almost as the display of candies. He
37 always had a stand with baked custards
38 in cups for holidays sweeter than any I ever tasted.

1
2 When six years old I began to attend the
3 Academy then kept by Phineas Allen,
4 the poorest teacher and worst school
5 I ever knew anything about personally.
6 At that time as was the custom I began
7 Latin and for seven long years I was
8 kept at that study with Greek added when
9 eight years old, without learning anything
10 of either or anything else at that school.
11 This Academy was kept in the lower part
12 of the building on Academy Lane west side
13 now Middle Street, and is now the double
14 house removed a short distance southwest
15 when the street to the Fitchburg RR station
16 was opened, being laid out by me as selectman.
17 It was built by the neighbours for a place
18 to educate their children, and had previously
19 been taught by some very competent teachers
20 but it had fallen off much from its first
21 standard, though still attended by the best
22 of the Concord boys and girls. Here for
23 schoolmates I had among the older boys
24 William Whiting, Lincolns Solicitor of the War Dept.
25 E R Hoar, Grants Attorney Gen. William
26 M Prichard of the New York bar, Hiram
27 B Dennis and J. Fay Barrett, of the Boston bar
28 John and Henry D. Thoreau, of the Musketaquid
29 bar, and I think for a term or more Hon
30 William M. Evarts, and many more or less
31 distinguished whom I do not recall.
32 Among the girls were the sisters of all
33 these if they had any, and some of my
34 older school mates from Miss Wheelers & Miss Rices.
35 On the corner of the lane and the main road
36 was Col Whitings large carriage factory in
37 which all branches of the work were carried on.

1
2 Right in front of the Academy was the
3 shop where the silver plating of the
4 carriages and harnesses was done.
5 Here Plater Brooks a kindly old
6 man worked by himself many
7 years, and here I studied harder
8 and learned more than in the
9 school. Recesses and noonings
10 were often spent in watching
11 the work intently, and I might
12 have made a good plater if I had
13 tried. On the corner of the lane
14 and the Sudbury Road or back
15 street as we called it, was the
16 smithy of the establishment, and
17 while I went to school a Mr. Merrill
18 set up a foundry, steam engine
19 and large workshop, building
20 also the dwelling house there
21 standing yet, moved however somewhat.
22 This proved the greatest possible
23 attraction to us boys. I knew all
24 the rooms and workmen, watched
25 the moulding processes, the smelting
26 casting, polishing and turning and
27 was never tired of the hours in it.
28 It was a wondrous spectacle, though it
29 was I think poorly fitted and never
30 profitable, and collapsed financially
31 and in all other ways after a term
32 of a few short years.

1
2 On the Main Street opposite that
3 end of the lane, was Josiah Davis
4 General Store, and dwelling house
5 where much trade was carried on
6 with the neighbouring townspeople
7 but my father didnt trade there and
8 I went to it but seldom, unless
9 at recess to spend a cent if I happened
10 to have one. Beyond this to the river
11 there were but two houses on each
12 side of the Main Street, and the fields
13 were cultivated or pastured like
14 those of any other farms. Of these
15 houses the first next to Mr. Davis'
16 Mr Allen lived in in those years,
17 and I bought it in 1847 or 8, and
18 moved the house from under
19 the elm tree to the west side of the
20 lot, and in the small house across
21 the street from this my son Prescott
22 went to housekeeping on his marriage.
23 Nearly every lot on both sides of the
24 Main Street is now occupied by houses.
25 The Shepard and the Bigelow taverns
26 opposite the library building were
27 then in full blast, S's for stages and
28 Bs for teams, and with my love of
29 horses I became familiar with the
30 stables of both as early as I was big
31 enough to get into them. What horses
32 and what sights I have witnessed there
33 with Ab. Lawton and Jim Corwell the 2 others.

1
2 Either this first summer at the Academy
3 or the next I am not quite sure which
4 I made my first visit away from
5 home. My father and mother with Mr
6 & Mrs Prichard, Maj Burr Mr.& Mrs
7 Shattuck and some others made a
8 stage coach trip to Albany N.Y.
9 Lake George Saratoga Lake Champlain
10 &c. They were gone some weeks and
11 traveled by canal boat & steamboat
12 over parts of the journey, bringing
13 home stranger tales of novelties and
14 wonders to the quiet fireside than even
15 European or African travelers do now.
16 I was sent to Stow 10 miles to stay with
17 Aunt Alicia during their absence
18 She had recently married Dr. Mulliken
19 and lived there on Stow Common in
20 the house next the tavern. It was a new
21 experience to me, who was not a little
22 homesick, and could only be relieved
23 by a cracker spread with butter & sugar
24 and peppermints every forenoon and afternoon
25 I have a vivid memory of my first
26 experiment in boating and fishing
27 while there, as the Dr who liked the sport
28 took my aunt and me out on the river
29 and caught some fish that frightened
30 me even more than I did my aunt by
31 my frantic endeavours to get away,
32 and nearly upset the frail boat on so
33 doing and was only quieted by a good
34 scolding that I remember to this day.

1
2 I made many subsequent visits to
3 Stow never for but a day or so, and
4 driving up there so frequently with
5 my parents came to know all the
6 houses and roads and many of the
7 boys and girls, but it was not so
8 attractive as Concord, and I usually
9 went only for the drive of which
10 I was always exceedingly fond.—
11 One other visit there I recall in 1828
12 the day after my brother Joseph B.
13 was born when with my father
14 I went to attend the ordination of Rev.
15 Mr Sibley, and where I saw something
16 of the old New England feasting & cheer
17 of 'Ordination,' I was too young to notice
18 much except the crowded church
19 and holiday air of the town, and
20 the jolly look of the new minister who
21 was to be afterwards the librarian
22 for so many years at Harvard University.
23 But to return to Concord, the school tasks
24 for such they always were to me under
25 this teacher were so irksome and my mind
26 so much more out of doors, that all the
27 memories I have of that academy
28 are of watching impatiently for the end
29 of school and the beginning of recesses.
30 and that the terms were four each year
31 of twelve weeks each with vacations
32 of only one week between, and the tuition
33 \$5 a term, a great deal more than it was worth.

1
2 But if I cannot recall much of the
3 Academy, I can many of my outdoor
4 amusements. My inseparable companion
5 was D Bradford Bartlett, son of Dr Josiah
6 and his house the third from ours on
7 that street, with the hill rising behind it
8 the scene of our sports for many a year.
9 At the Dr's I was as much at home as
10 in our own house, and even more than
11 when my father was about, for the Dr
12 a busy impulsive dashing practitioner
13 never minded what we did or said—
14 and Mrs Bartlett good motherly amiable
15 lady cared even less if we didn't quarrel
16 and so we had our own way almost.
17 Brad was just a year younger than I
18 and much like his father quick tempered
19 active, alert and alive all over. His
20 sister Martha 14 mo younger the most
21 of a tomboy of any girl I ever knew
22 and his brother Gorham the next child
23 a puny, studious shrinking sensitive little
24 chap with all the Bradford characteristics
25 from his mother who was of that 'blue blood.'
26 On the hill back of their house was then
27 a sand bank with swallow holes and
28 others made for all sorts of uses. On the
29 north end a brick yard where the clay
30 pits and mixing circles, stacks of dry moulds
31 and burning kilns furnished endless
32 amusement and capital play grounds

1
2 In the summer we built ovens of the old bricks
3 plastered with clay, baked corn & apples
4 and in the winter coasted on the steep slopes
5 and skated on the frozen clay pits.

6 I recall so well our first lesson in skating
7 where Brads aunt, who was famous
8 in those days for her skating, on her
9 marriage with Seth Ames, gave up
10 the practise, and her skates to Brad.

11 Each of us shod with one of the pair
12 practised on the frozen circle at the
13 brick yard where the clay was mixed
14 by a wheel revolving on a screw and
15 drawn round by horse power, for one
16 winter before we ventured to try both
17 of the pair at once.

18 The dinners, into which I often crowded
19 with the half dozen at the table in the mite
20 of a dining room, (since enlarged by me for
21 Annie and Edward) the barn where the Dr's
22 horses always of a tearing kind were
23 my great admiration. The swimming
24 and fishing expeditions which the Dr.
25 was always ready for, and which counting
26 the drive to Walden, the sail on the Pond
27 and the perch and shiners so plenty as to
28 be caught two at a time with double hooks
29 what delights they were every summer
30 My first cigar, for the Dr smoked constantly,
31 how smart it was to smoke it nearly all up
32 and how sick it made me, and how certain
33 that I should die, and the scolding I got for it

1
2 The horse chestnut trees in their front
3 yard set out about 1830, and impressed
4 on me by the scolding I got around them
5 from Dr Ripley for my imperiousness
6 which though he might have feared
7 if unchecked, would have equaled his
8 own, never began to compare with it—
9 as I at last told him, when I understood
10 his drift, and for so doing got another
11 from my father, for which I never
12 forgave the old Dr. or forgot either.

13 But the difference of those days of
14 my boyhood from those in religious
15 matters, neither of my parents were of
16 the pious sort, not church members, or
17 as I now think even devotionally minded,
18 and yet how strict they were about the
19 observance of Sundays, and what horrid
20 days they were. I was required to have my
21 shoes nicely blacked, my bathing done
22 and my clean clothes brushed and laid
23 out Saturday night in readiness for the
24 morning. Perhaps this may have been
25 because we had breakfast later!
26 Then till church I must be studying my
27 Sunday school lesson, no matter how fine
28 the weather might be, not stirring out of
29 the house, and only sitting at an open door
30 or window of the rear not to be seen from
31 the street or the neighbours. Then to church
32 in the old bare bleak uncarpeted & weathered
33 hard board seats, and square pews over which
34 we children could see nothing but the minister.

1
2 Then the terribly tedious long winded
3 sermons running on to 17thly with even
4 then a conclusion and a finally to
5 end up with. The singing accompanied
6 by a base viol, a clarionet, a flute and
7 one or two fiddles, making with their tuning
8 and scraping a noise troubling even my
9 unmusical ears. The grave and grizzled
10 deacons seated in a row under the pro-
11 jection of the lofty pulpit where they
12 faced the congregation and frowned
13 at all noise or inattention of the boys.
14 The sounding board hung threateningly
15 over the parsons head, like an extinguisher
16 only it never dropped, by an ornamental
17 iron rod that had more scrolls and crooks
18 welded on, than would make a weathercock
19 The galleries with their long free seats
20 and the tithing men at the upper ends
21 ready to rap any playful boy or nodding
22 sleeper. Then the Sunday school at noon,
23 though I always enjoyed that because
24 I had such excellent teachers there; Miss
25 Almira Hunt, now Mrs Dr Jarvis, Mr.
26 Albert Tolman of Worcester, in particular
27 I have very agreeable recollections of.
28 Then after a dinner at noon, unusually
29 good because in the winter it was the
30 only one of the week that Father had—
31 and this long church service, and then
32 the long wait till the sun went down and
33 we could stir outdoors, and that only
34 for a decorous walk, never a ramble
35 much less a play or sport of any sort.

1
2 There were one or two alleviations
3 only from the tiresomeness of going
4 to meeting and the sermons of the
5 old preachers then at Concord
6 Dr Ripley was nearly eighty years old
7 and had barrels of old sermons
8 of his own and his predecessors,
9 and the theology was too dull and
10 deep for any boys ears, and old
11 parson Spaulding of Carlisle I
12 once heard preach a sermon that
13 was an hour and forty minutes long,
14 and the services generally lasted
15 more than 2 hours, a long time for
16 active boys to keep quiet even if
17 they did sometimes get a nap with
18 their heads pillowed in mothers arms.
19 But to be sent to church in winter
20 after the first bell and carrying
21 the foot stove, and with other boys
22 get around the old box stove in the
23 main aisle, and shovel the hot coals
24 out of the roaring fire and putting
25 them carefully in the iron box of
26 the tin foot warmer, and carefully
27 shutting the perforated door so as to
28 keep up a draft, and have it all
29 ready for Mother's feet to rest on and
30 warm when she came to the pew,
31 was fun as incongruous to the time & place

1
2 as the carbonic acid gaz of these many
3 foot stoves was to the health and
4 wakefulness of the congregation.

5 The other and slighter was the pine
6 board seats and arm rests in the
7 pews hung on hinges so as to raised
8 or lowered at pleasure, and as every
9 one stood up in prayer time, the
10 seats were generally lifted up for ease
11 in standing, and when put down or
12 slyly pushed made a clatter that
13 was like company firing all over the
14 church. Boys soon became adepts at
15 letting off these slam bangs at odd
16 intervals through the service, and
17 the interruption was often startling

18 What a quaint queer old church it
19 was with its three square two stoned
20 porches holding stairways each to
21 the galleries, the northern one extending
22 up five or six stones high to the bellfry
23 and holding at the top the ponderous
24 weights and creaking machinery of
25 the clock, and above that the open bell
26 fry with its wide view over the village
27 and the great bell, and the heavy
28 hammer that struck the hours.
29 How dark and weird and strange the climbing
30 the long stairs so crazy with creaks and
31 cobwebs and dust to the bravest of us boys

1
2 From as far back as I can remember
3 I had one pleasant part of Sunday
4 the walk to Uncle Nathan Barretts
5 farm on Ponkawtasset after tea
6 It was a regular thing with my father
7 from the time I was old enough to
8 take me by the hand and stroll up
9 there across the river and up the
10 long hill, and there were the big
11 barns the flocks of sheep, and herds
12 of cows, and all the farmyard sights
13 to enjoy. In their season too were
14 the grapes peaches berries & apples
15 in the profusion of a well to do household.
16 The old Captain Nathan I remember
17 as a prodigious stuttrer when excited
18 who furnished lots of amusements by his
19 tut tut tut and final explosion of a
20 word, and the young Captain Nathan who
21 had married my charming cousin Mary
22 Fuller and whose brothers & sisters of
23 about my age that so often made her
24 visits furnished many pleasant times
25 and talks of a Sunday evening. Thus too
26 I came early to know most of the old
27 farmers on the road there and often
28 stopped to hear their chat with Father
29 and their ways of looking at questions
30 so differently from his professional view.
31 What a quaint narrow minded set they were!

1
2 If the meeting house and the Sundays were
3 not attractive, the stores and shops on week
4 days were especially so to me for many
5 years. There were then many more than
6 now altho Concord had less than half
7 its present population. First because
8 nearest and largest was Col Shattucks
9 on the north end of the common in the
10 centre of the block still standing there.
11 It was of the most general character,
12 on the west side a long counter & shelves
13 filled with cloths, silks, cotton, flannels
14 and all descriptions of dry goods,
15 in the rear end a small counting room
16 with an open fire around which now
17 much of the town gossip went on—
18 Convenient to this and a little to the right
19 the long row of hogsheads barreles & casks
20 kept filled with gin brandy rum wine and
21 molasses, from which plentiful draughts
22 were supplied to almost every family
23 that traded there, and with the tumblers and
24 toddy sticks handy a good square drink
25 was ready for any customer who wished.
26 Then came hardware, nails, flour grain
27 sugars raisins and all sorts of groceries
28 the east side had a well filled apothecary
29 department with innumerable bottles jars
30 and drawers for all sorts of drugs & medicine
31 The cellar held oils, soap, candles & liquors
32 and the lofts furniture, feathers & wools
33 and a medley of small articles of every
34 sort and kind were scattered about in all
35 places they could find room and space for.
36 Then the trading that went on the chaffering
37 beaten down, and praising up the goods.
38 What a contrast to the one price system.

1
2 The paved yard in front, with the posts to tie
3 the horses of customers to one of these posts
4 made of the stump of a large buttonwood
5 at least 3 feet in diameter carefully
6 shaved down to a smooth round surface
7 and kept painted a light color were
8 very familiar to my little feet & hands.
9 The chaises and wagons of the remoter
10 customers standing for hours and even
11 whole days and frequently fed with
12 grain bought in the store were sights
13 never seen nowadays, and the long
14 chatter and interminable talk of those
15 who made a days work of their shopping
16 reached often of quiet afternoons into
17 our open windows. It probably took
18 more words in the purchase of a dress
19 and trimmings at Shattucks than are
20 used in a Boston store now in a day
21 by all the clerks and customers combined.
22 I certainly have known Carlislors to be
23 in that store from morning to night
24 their tongues running all the time and
25 all their purchases would nt be 10.^{s6}
26 for every thing then was priced in the
27 old continental currency shillings & pence.
28 The gallant Col. himself was the favorite
29 trader of the store with the ladies and could
30 frequently effect a sale after all the younger
31 clerks had given up in despair. Then too
32 there were the regular loafers who sat round
33 the stove, and chewed their tobacco and toasted
34 their shins telling stories and talking politics
35 that were as punctual almost as the clock
36 in their daily and nightly attendance.

1
2 Next in size and almost equal in variety
3 came the Green store so called from its color
4 on the site of the present Catholic Church
5 in which the Post Office was kept and
6 where the single daily mail carried by
7 the stages was sorted made up and delivered
8 and where in the little back office
9 my father and the magnates of the village
10 assembled every forenoon to hear the news.
11 Maj Burr and Mr Prichard first kept this
12 store until they failed and then J P Hayward
13 and R N Rice & Co till it closed, then came
14 the Davises one or two or three of them on
15 the block at the south end of the common
16 with whom I was much less familiar
17 then a rather low toned mainly groggery
18 on the east end of the Mill Dam, then Dea.
19 Parkmans afterwards Phin Hows on the site
20 of Judge Brooks mansion, and finally
21 the Josiah Dr Si Davis store I mentioned before
22 seven at least of them all busy and selling
23 I should estimate an average hogshead
24 of New England rum a week a peice.
25 Not to mention the three taverns all going at
26 the same time with a similar traffic—
27 The goods for these stores were mainly brought
28 from Boston by the ox teams and spike
29 teams, a pair of oxen and a horse hithed in front,
30 that carried loads of wood hay and grain
31 to the city from the farms, and brought back
32 the bales boxes and barrels to these stores.
33 It was a convenient if not easy way of
34 settling the store bill and much sought for
35 by the farmers in all parts of the town,
36 each having rather a preference for some
37 particular store where they traded mostly.

1
2 The shops of that day were Dea Tolmans shoe
3 in the end of the Tolman house, the Bowers do [ditto; i.e. shoe]
4 on the road across the upper end of the Mill
5 Pond, Alvan Pratts gunsmith shop on the
6 south side of the Mill Dam, J Haynes watchmaker
7 on the same side, Jim Adams cabinetmaker
8 also over the brook, and two or three carpenters
9 shops in different parts of the village.
10 Each of these in turn I frequented whenever
11 I could get the chance, and watched the various
12 trades go on with a boys wonder & delight.
13 In particular Frank Hunts carpenters shop
14 on the northwesterly slope of the hill beyond
15 our house was the scene of my earliest
16 attempts to make things and my cut fingers
17 and bruised thumbs often bore witness to
18 my unskilfulness. The good natured kindly
19 Deacon now, but Frank then was always
20 so indulgent to Brad and I that I have a
21 kind feeling come back to me whenever I
22 meet him since his return in his old age to
23 Concord. ~~In~~

24 In these scenes and this village life all my
25 boyhood days were spent and the memories
26 of them are a kaleidoscopic picture that
27 cannot be reproduced even in outline.
28 Here I grew up taking a boys interest in many
29 of these various pursuits, and picking up much
30 more information than from my books or studies
31 For politics I must have early acquired or
32 inherited a strong taste, for I well remember
33 the excitement over Jacksons first election
34 in 1828, and the fierce contests in which my
35 father had a share that followed. I can
36 recall clearly Jacksons famous nullification
37 proclamation and its being read in our
38 parlor to a gathering of the neighbors and
39 their interest and enthusiasm over it

1
2 When 8 or 9 years old I had my first experience
3 of an alarm of fire, I was skating at noon
4 time on the meadow on the Lowell Road
5 when I saw a black column of smoke
6 rising from the chimney of Maj Burrs
7 new cottage, not quite completed. This
8 stood on the road beyond our house and
9 next north of the old Humphrey Barrett
10 place, and the cellar hole still gapes on the
11 bank of the Lexington R.R. It was a very
12 pretty and conspicuous structure more
13 fanciful than any other in the town
14 and of great interest to me as the mayor
15 a quiet but pleasant gentleman had
16 recently married a young friend of my
17 mothers Miss Philae Waters, who had spent
18 several winters at our house as company
19 to my mother, and a special favourite of
20 mine. She was very beautiful, a sweet
21 singer and a fascinating lady to a boy
22 and to men also. I think she kindled the
23 first spark of passion in my breast at
24 least the first I can remember. I believe
25 too that this was while she taught a little
26 school for us children one winter.
27 But the smoke rolled up and the fire soon
28 followed it out of the chimney and very
29 much frightened I ran up and gave the
30 first alarm to some workmen returning
31 from dinner. The house and barn were
32 entirely consumed, having caught in the
33 shavings while the carpenters were nooning.
34 And I saw the first conflagration and cried
35 bitterly over my dear friends great loss.

1
2 Of more general interest was the shower of
3 meteors in Nov^r 1833 which I fortunately
4 saw, and the impression of which I have
5 never forgotten. I slept in a chamber with
6 an easterly window and happening by
7 some unusual circumstance to be waked
8 very early perhaps by the flashes of light
9 I laid in bed for an hour or two watching
10 and trying to count the bright streams of fire
11 that shot so incessantly and madly across
12 the sky. At last thoroughly roused by the sight
13 I got up and pulling the bed clothes over my
14 shoulders sat at the window till the day
15 light hid the display. In my ignorance of
16 the cause I almost concluded that the stars
17 set or went out like that every morning
18 and wondered I had never been told of it
19 or seen it before. On coming down to breakfast
20 I told the family that I saw hundreds of
21 shooting stars that morning and was soundly
22 taken to task for exaggeration, and scolded
23 so that I held my tongue about it. But in a
24 day or two when the accounts were in all
25 the papers and everybodys mouth, I had an
26 even worse scolding for not calling up the
27 others to see the sight. It was grand splendid
28 and magnificent beyond any thing I
29 have ever seen since. The only picture I
30 have ever seen that at all comes up to the
31 scene is the one in the bulky volume of the
32 one hundred memorable events of the first
33 century of the U.S. It literally for all that
34 hour or two rained stars with their long
35 trails of sparks rocket like, in all directions
36 across the heavens, mainly starting from
37 a point in front of my window, and varying
38 in sheer directions and colors to any extent.

1
2 I recall also the cholera scare, when it
3 reached this country, and raged so in N.Y.
4 that it alarmed all New England. A Mr.
5 Merriam, afterwards known prominently
6 as a weather prophet lived in that city
7 and having relatives in Concord, wrote
8 a daily bulletin of the cases and deaths
9 to my father as the Postmaster here to
10 whom letters came free. These letters of
11 course increased the alarm as they gradually
12 brought worse and worse accounts of
13 the progress of the disease, and were daily
14 read aloud to the knot of villagers who
15 came for their morning mail.

16 At last a meeting was held and measures
17 adopted to prevent an epidemic in Concord
18 A committee of half a dozen of the most
19 active and prominent citizens was chosen
20 to visit every house, and persuade each family
21 to purify any filthy conditions of their houses.
22 My father was a member full of interest
23 and anxiety on the matter but restrained
24 by his legal caution at the want of authority
25 in the committee. I accompanied him and
26 Col Shattuck I think in their rides to all the
27 houses in the northerly side of the town, and
28 was much amused at the reception this [word undeciphered]
29 committee met at the different farms.

30 I would sit in the chaise, while they talked
31 with the women for we seldom found a man
32 at home, get them scared sufficiently to permit
33 the cellars drains and privies to be examined
34 and then hear the suggestions for cleaning
35 up the premises given and generally assented to.
36 Most had already made things presentable
37 before the committee arrived, but every
38 house was visited, thoroughly examined
39 and with but one or two exceptions put in good
40 order by the work or fear of this committee.
41 Concord was never before or since so thoroughly
42 cleansed outwardly as by this cholera scare—!

1
2 About this time, I began to drive the old
3 red cow to pasture. My father had always
4 kept one or more in the yellow barn that
5 stood between our house and the lane,
6 and that Betsey milked in the summer
7 when we kept no boy in the kitchen
8 I had grown large enough to be sent
9 to the pasture at the north end of the John
10 Flint farm which Father had acquired by
11 a mortgage or an execution for a debt,
12 and where for half a dozen years I had
13 to go twice a day in the pleasant season
14 till I knew every rod of the mile of road
15 and almost every stone in the walls that
16 lined it. It was good exercise, but often irksome
17 when it interfered with play time at night,
18 though in bright dewy mornings before
19 breakfast a pleasant task The gentle
20 little cow, a natural pacer that couldnt
21 be urged into a run by the swiftest boy at
22 last became a substitute for the horse I
23 so much wanted, and saddled and bridled when
24 out of sight of the house, helped my tired legs
25 over many lengths of the road. Her gait
26 was both fast and easy and I got on her
27 back safely by some of the dangerous parts of the way.
28 One of these, the Jones farm whereon I now live
29 was the home of Ben Barrett, an ugly tempered
30 little dwarf half witted and very alarming.
31 But Suke Cobb, a negro wench of about my
32 age, but of great strength and swiftness
33 who worked for her board and clothes with Marm
34 Jones, was the great terror of the drive.
35 How she would spring from the house and rush
36 down the slope springing at a leap over the wall
37 her scant single skirt flying out and her black legs!

1
2 I was now in my 'teens' a forward smart
3 impudent mischievous boy fully up to
4 my place in the world, and quite ready
5 to take a hand in any thing going on-.
6 The anti Masonic excitement was raging
7 Father was a Mason and king of the Concord
8 chapter, at least the anti paper so called him
9 and I was dubbed Prince John, and did
10 not feel any smaller for having the title,-
11 I had been to town meetings held in the old
12 Court House before it was remodeled &
13 had seen and enjoyed the tramp down the
14 broad stairs of the sturdy yeomen, as they
15 filed out and in when the house was polled
16 after a fierce discussion, and drew up in long
17 lines across the common to be counted.
18 I had even been put up to getting into the office
19 of anti paper through a broken window only
20 large enough for a small boy and hooking
21 an advance copy in order that the other
22 village paper might answer its attacks
23 the same day they appeared. I must have been
24 an ardent 'jack mason' to have gone through
25 so small a hole for so little use. Perhaps this
26 escapade gave me the princely nickname
27 for it was princely rewarded by the crowd
28 at the Post Office to whom I brought it in triumph.
29 Politics were personal then if ever and in 1834,
30 they culminated in Concord in a manner
31 that affected me permanently, and seems strange
32 to recall after fifty years of active political life.
33 At the March meeting that year, the anti Masons
34 carried the town, and turned out Dr Abel Heywood
35 the clerk selectman and factotum of the town
36 for more than thirty years, and elected Phin
37 Allen our Academy teacher to the clerkship.
38 It was a revolution, and how the antis hurrahed

1
2 and the Masons groaned and gnashed their
3 teeth. I think this exciting meeting was held
4 in the meeting house because I suppose
5 the Court House was undergoing alterations
6 and the old walls saw livelier doings that day
7 than ever Sundays had witnessed. How mad
8 I was and how even we boys quarreled like
9 our fathers over the result. The next morning
10 I was told that I need not go to school any more
11 and a dozen other children of the beaten
12 side were taken summarily out of Mr.
13 Allens tuition, and his honors were without
14 profit to him. It was high time it was ended
15 The school had degenerated into a merely useless
16 machine. I had played truant every afternoon
17 that previous winter spending the school hours
18 at the foundry or the shops or the stables with
19 no rebuke from the teacher, report to my parents
20 or effect on my lessons. The nervous irritable
21 Phineas had been worsted in a regular fight
22 with Isaac Fiske a big boy from Weston
23 whom he attempted to ferule, and who took
24 away the ruler and broke it over the teachers
25 head, ruining the gold spectacles, and the
26 little discipline there had been in the school
27 with a single blow. Years before Rockwood
28 Hoar questioning the accuracy of a translation
29 given by Mr. Allen, asked on what authority
30 it was so rendered, the teacher after giving one
31 or two from the books, added "on my own authority"
32 "Poorest of all," was the impudent reply, and
33 as the Judge, to be, proved right, the reply went un-
34 rebuked, but not unremembered. I have
35 no doubt I got less than I deserved of the
36 ferrulings and punishments, but of them
37 and the lessons I remember nothing to tell of
38 I can only recall some Latin and Greek declensions
39 and conjugations, lists of prepositions and adverbs
40 that had fixed themselves in my mind by reiteration

1
2 This long enforced vacation was delightful
3 and in it I went with Brad Bartlett, on
4 the stage to Lowell, each to visit an aunt.
5 for mine had moved there from Stow,
6 and Dr M had given up practise for the
7 better paid business of manufacturing
8 or rather, bleaching for that he went into—
9 This was an eventful week to me, I saw
10 and explored with Brad the few streets then
11 built from the falls to Chapel Hill where
12 I staid, and was interested in every new sight
13 the beginning of this now great city offered to my
14 country eyes. There were the locks and canals
15 the half dozen great factories, the throngs of
16 clean neat pretty mill girls pouring out
17 at bell time, to their work and their boarding
18 houses. There were the sail and canal boats
19 above the falls and the rafts of logs and
20 the pens full of bushels of slimy squirming
21 eels, but more than all the railroad
22 completed up to the big ledge on which scores
23 of men were drilling and blasting, and the
24 first locomotive imported in separate pieces
25 and put together in the Machine shop, and
26 for two or three days in the process of being
27 moved on rollers over the bridge of the canal
28 to the track alongside, a work that tested to
29 its utmost the skill and strength of the workmen
30 How we stared at the great monster as it
31 slowly crept nearer the rails, how jubilantly
32 the whole city turned out to see its first trip,
33 the mills stopping the crowds lining the banks and
34 housetops, the few platform cars rigged with settees
35 the directors and invited guests crowding the scant
36 accommodations, the whistle and bell ringing
37 that announced the start, the rapid short trip to
38 the ledge and the quicker return down grade—

1
2 Wasnt this a sight to have seen for the
3 first time, in New England as I believe,
4 and to have partaken of too for through
5 the kindness of our uncles Brad and I got
6 a ride on the car when the locomotive,
7 backed up to the engine house, and had
8 a thrilling experience to tell the other boys
9 on our return home, that none of them
10 had heard or read or even dreamed of.

11 It was a lucky chance that gave us this par-
12 ticipation in the very beginning of what
13 has become so universal since railroading
14 At last this visit ended filled though it was
15 with so many new experiences, and we came
16 back to Concord, I remember surprised and
17 astonished at the shade of the new grown
18 leaves on the trees, after a weeks absence in
19 the unshaded streets of Lowell.

20 The next Monday June 1st 1834 we began a new
21 private school kept by Mr. William Whiting
22 in the upper hall of the Academy building
23 with twenty odd bright girls and boys-
24 This was to squelch out the old academy teacher
25 and started under the most favorable auspices
26 Mr. Whiting a brilliant keen witted scholar
27 the third in rank in the large class at Cambridge
28 in 1833, had been getting experience in teaching
29 at Plymouth Mass in a similar school to ours
30 and was full of interest enthusiasm and
31 ambition in the project. Every thing was new
32 and different, the hall freshly painted & papered
33 the windows curtained to temper the light
34 in the place of the hard straight board seats and
35 stiff uncomfortable desks arranged on the sides
36 of the room to separate the girls and boys and
37 sloping up from the floor to the window ledge,

1
2 we had neatly painted, green baize covered
3 desks each separate and easily moved
4 of convenient height and size, with
5 comfortable wooden chairs, and arranged
6 in the room in an agreeable order so as
7 bring together those who desired to be in
8 proximity. The newest books and methods
9 in the place of old and outworn ones, the
10 zeal of the new teacher, and the inspiration
11 of real knowledge, made the school a success
12 from the start. In a year and a quarter
13 I learned more ten times over from Mr. Whiting
14 than I had in the seven years of Mr. Allen, and
15 acquired habits of study and application
16 I had never before imagined possible.
17 Latin became a delight and an actual
18 language instead of a dead and buried tongue.
19 Greek unfolded its mysteries and beauties.
20 French its grace, and Arithmetic and Algebra
21 became the fascinations of exact science.
22 He introduced us to Shakespeare, to Plutarch
23 to Burke and English Literature generally
24 and he made ardent students out of idle
25 boys, and brilliant scholars of bright girls.
26 What a revelation and awakening that
27 time was to me, and to most of the others.
28 I of course had advanced enough to become
29 a boy lover, and as naturally was charmed
30 by the belle of the school and the village
31 and experienced all the delicious sensations
32 and shyness of a first love, that need not
33 be repeated here, and was cured by the early
34 engagement and marriage of my charmer
35 to a man old enough to be my father. How
36 we studied in school, and how we strolled to
37 the cliffs and love lane in afternoons & recesses
38 or skated on the shallow ponds about the
39 present station and railroad. How I enjoyed it all!

1
2 Most of the scholars were from the village
3 half a dozen from other places who
4 brought new ideas and elements of
5 thought and play to the new school. Of
6 these one or two from the city and one
7 from the tropics were particularly
8 strange and novel. We thought ourselves
9 an uncommon lot, and in some respects
10 we were, for I find in looking back
11 fifty years to that list all between
12 10 and 20 years of age, that in spite of the
13 pressure of study, the unsuitableness of clothing
14 the unhealthiness of our diet, and the un
15 sanitariness of our homes, three quarters
16 are alive now, but one boy of the dozen
17 has died, and one half are still living
18 healthy hearty lives in this town today.
19 None have been especially distinguished
20 in professional or literary life, and not
21 much fruit of all that study has borne to
22 the world outside the home life of most of us.
23 Of my adventures out of school this year
24 I recall but few, and those hardly worth
25 telling. One spring freshet when trying to open
26 the sluice through which the lane by our
27 house drained to the brook, the ice that made
28 it over flow suddenly gave way and the rush
29 of water carried me into the stream pouring
30 through the opening up to my neck and ears.
31 The tool in my hand stopped my being carried
32 through the sluice and I scrambled out wet
33 to my skin, and not daring to go home in this
34 dripping plight, ran round to school in that
35 March wind, and sat through the afternoon
36 and then played out till I was dry outside

1
2 I recall one boyish quarrel about this
3 time with a younger playmate Frisbie
4 Hoar, now senator in Congress, that had
5 a serious termination. Angered by my
6 plaguing him after the manner of lager
7 boys he caught up a stone, and hurling
8 or striking with it he hit me a blow
9 in the mouth, that broke off more than
10 half of my upper front tooth. Shocked and
11 almost stunned by the accident I let
12 him escape, and went home to suffer
13 greatly from the tooth ache. After treating
14 this for some days an application of
15 strong nitric acid, that smoked I remember
16 as it came from the bottle killed the nerve
17 and relieved the pain. It killed the tooth
18 also so that it turned black and soon
19 decayed. This perhaps had something
20 to do with the decay of my first double teeth
21 which caused me much suffering, and
22 when after bearing with each as long
23 as I could were pulled by Dr Bartlett
24 with his old fashioned twisters, and never
25 were renewed. So that I early lost my
26 grinders, and never had what I ought to
27 have inherited from my father a good set.
28 I suppose I took after my mother in this
29 respect, as she used to go to old Dr Parsons
30 then the only dentist in Boston, while
31 I was a youngster, while my father had
32 good sound teeth all his life. I tried for
33 years young Dr Parsons(, the translator of Dante
34 but with very little success, and up to my
35 manhood, used to calculate that I had spent
36 a fifth of my waking hours enduring the
37 sharpest kind of tooth ache. After that time
38 tobacco proved an entire relief.

1
2 at supper time, though at bed time, my
3 shirt and drawers were still wet, and
4 yet I suffered no inconvenience, and
5 caught no cold. Neither did I the next winter
6 when skating on the meadows in front
7 of my present home I ~~sliding~~ backwards
8 into an air hole, and went under the ice
9 and out through another air hole a few
10 feet off, completely ducked, and skated
11 on till school time, and got through unharmed
12 as before. I wouldn't like to repeat these now.
13 Skating was my great amusement always
14 I was not specially proficient in the art
15 but I practised it at every opportunity
16 and while the black boy John Garrison was the
17 best skater in the town and Brad Bartlett
18 the next I never tired of trying to keep up
19 with them, in our long trips up and down
20 the river from Fairhaven to Jug Island.
21 Coasting came next in my enjoyments
22 and the round knoll perhaps twenty or
23 thirty feet high back of our house and
24 since dug away bodily for the site the two
25 houses on the east end of Bedford Street
26 was a favorite place for the smaller boys
27 and the school children at the north primary
28 close by. The bolder and bigger boys tried
29 Heywoods hill, the old road way up the steep
30 north slope behind the Town Clerks house,
31 Yet it seems to me bearing the marks of our
32 runners, and under favorable conditions
33 enabling us to continue on over walls &
34 through fields then unbuilt on clear down
35 to the road by my fathers house, nearly a
36 half a mile. Another greater favorite coast was
37 down the road way over the hill by Dea Brown's house

1
2 Mr. C.C. Shackford the first scholar in the
3 class of 1835, succeeded in September of that
4 year Mr Whiting, who began then the study of law
5 Mr S was a very different man, as bright
6 and keen, but without ambition, and
7 bilious, moody, and very unequal in his
8 instruction, at times thrilling and inspiriting
9 and at others sour and cross and depressing
10 Our training under the first teacher and
11 the impulse carried the older scholars through
12 the second year, but the newcomers of whom
13 there were several didnt have that help
14 and the school so far ran down that it
15 closed with Mr Shuckfords twelve month.
16 He was a strange compound, and rather an
17 exciting mystery to the older girls, to whom
18 he paid great deference, and soon became
19 blindly in love first with my charmer
20 and then when rejected, by her, with the next
21 prettiest but most wayward of them all.
22 How he fared in this pursuit was the theme
23 of endless discussion of the older scholars
24 and took much time from our studies to
25 watch the traces of success or despair.
26 Some of us thought them engaged definitely
27 others that she refused, and it ended in smoke
28 if there was ever more to it. And he has been
29 married twice, and is a Professor at Cornell,
30 and she a matron of a large family and
31 high position in Concord, of course like
32 a dutiful pupil and the oldest boy in
33 the school I was bound to follow such
34 an example, and did my utmost to plague
35 his life, and make him feel the jealousy
36 from which I suffered, as much as he did.
37 But alas how time cures all wounds.—

1
2 One or two incidents of these schools
3 are fresh to my memory. Sitting at the
4 north window of the school room one
5 summers afternoon, I was curious to know
6 the cause of the rapid driving & runing
7 up the main road, and impatiently waited
8 to find out after school, that two girls of
9 about half my age had fallen through a
10 loose plank in the south bridge and
11 were drowned clinging to each other and
12 the piles under water—I knew one of
13 them very well, Esq Joseph Barretts daughter.
14 It was a great shock, and the whole town
15 turned out the funeral of the victims
16 I with other boys of my age was asked to be
17 one of the bearers, and attended first at
18 Dea. Elijah Woods house, the services of the
19 Orthodox minister over one child, and then
20 in the old Lee house where Squire Joe lived
21 the two were placed side by side, and another
22 service was performed by the Unitarian preacher
23 It was an awfully hot day, and while this
24 service was proceeding a fearful thunder
25 shower came up, the worst I can recall.
26 The roomy old mansion was full of people
27 men women and children for the schools
28 were dismissed for the occasion, and the
29 rain poured the wind howled and the thunder
30 rattled till women fainted, children screamed
31 and men were panic stricken, while the lightening
32 struck several times on the farm one setting into
33 a blaze and burning up a large pine tree
34 in plain sight of the door where I stood.

1
2 I recall the remark of the old stage driver
3 Stuart at the sight, that they burned the
4 Charlestown convent last night so
5 that was safe from the lighting, and
6 that news that was whispered about did
7 not allay the excitement or the strain
8 After a long long hour of waiting the rain
9 stopped, and in the muddy washed out
10 and badly gullied streets under the broken
11 clouds and muttering thunder we bore the
12 bodies on the bier to the graveyard &
13 were dismissed after sunset worn out,
14 exhausted and in a frightened state.
15 This was August 16 1834—

16 After this experience I had a great fear
17 of thunder showers that lasted till
18 a boy came to stay at our house and
19 got to school whom I did not like
20 and who was even more of a coward
21 about lightening. Laughing and
22 plaguing him on the matter cured
23 me so entirely that I hardly remember
24 any more showers till recent years.

25 I remember very little of Rev. Mr. Goodwin
26 Dr Ripleys first colleague though his
27 ordination marriage, and birth of his
28 son William and death of his wife
29 made a great sensation in Concord
30 durring the year and a half or two years
31 in which it all took place. But
32 I do remember a pleasant acquaintance
33 with his brother, who lived with them
34 and with whom I was very intimate.

1
2 The other school incident I remember
3 was a Forth of July picnic at the
4 cliffs with half a dozen of the girls
5 and no other boy in which after a
6 jolly scramble and lunch we all
7 sat under a large umbrella in the
8 ~~shower~~ sunshine, and told the fortunes and
9 phropesied of each others futures
10 in such genuine earnestness that
11 the fates proved them true in many
12 particulars and kept them green
13 in the memories of several of the number.
14 It was a delightful day to me at
15 the time and ever since. Still another
16 of the same sort was a stroll with
17 several of the girls not familiar
18 with the east side of the village to
19 show them Sleepy Hollow, then just
20 beginning to have that name, and the
21 mishap of one of the number in
22 crossing the brook, that broke up
23 our ramble, and required prompt
24 return to her home, and possibly
25 many other consequences not then
26 dreamed of by any of the parties.
27 It is certain that I have heard it alluded
28 to more often than any school event in
29 all these years since, and that it is not
30 and probably never will be forgotten by
31 the two chief actors in the accident.!

1
2 The great event was the Concord Bi
3 Centennial Sept 12 1835, for which
4 great preparations had been made
5 and which was an entire success.
6 Mr Emerson gave the oration and
7 the old church was packed so full
8 that props were put under the galleries
9 and yet one of them settled alarmingly
10 with the weight. I remember well
11 occupying the highest point in the
12 audience sitting astride the door
13 of the north gallery, and looking down
14 on the heads of all the rest, and being
15 so interested in the oration that I was
16 not willing to move even when the
17 rush was made to escape from the
18 opposite gallery that cracked ominously
19 After the exercises I was perhaps the
20 youngest boy whose mother smuggled
21 him into the ladies reception of
22 the orator and invited guests at the
23 court room, and which I enjoyed highly
24 perhaps the more, as the other boys of my
25 age were kept with the school children
26 feasting on crackers and cakes in the
27 entry below, while we upstairs had more
28 elaborate entertainment. At any rate I had
29 never enjoyed so much in a day before
30 and I keep the manuscript of Emersons
31 oration to this day as my greatest literary
32 treasure, and I mean never to part with it.

1
2 I remember coming home one day and
3 finding a painter at work on the kitchen
4 floor, and spending an hour talking
5 with him quite entertainingly as he worked
6 When Father came in, he at once ordered
7 the man to take up his tools and leave
8 greatly to my surprize, and to Mothers, dis
9 comfiture, as the floor was not half painted.

10 I was sent for Cass the master painter to
11 whom Father gave a round scolding for
12 sending such a man to work in his house
13 and I found it was the ill look of the man
14 that had caused the trouble and his dismissal

15 A short time after there was a great excite-
16 ment over some daring burglaries in Acton
17 where this man had been employed and
18 a felonious assault on one of inmates
19 of the house broken into. Search and arrest
20 of him followed and evidence conclusive
21 against him was discovered. He was brought
22 to trial turned out to an old offender and
23 was convicted and sentenced I think for life
24 to the State Prison. I attended the examination
25 and was greatly interested in the case, couldnt
26 believe he was guilty he had talked so well
27 and pleasantly to me, and yet was much
28 alarmed to think I had been so near to such
29 a villain. It made a great impression for
30 Father often recurred to his quick insight
31 of the mans character, and the crime was
32 then so rare and shocking in a country village
33 I suppose that up this time a large portion
34 of the farm houses in this and neighboring
35 towns had neither locks nor bolts to their doors
36 or windows. This instance made a demand
37 for fastenings however, and the supply was
38 soon forthcoming.

1
2 About this time I made my first visit
3 to Boston, spending some days with my fathers
4 host at Cambridge Court, Levi Parker
5 whose daughters very attractive girls had
6 frequently visited at our house. Their
7 brother Luther, a few years older than I
8 was my especial guide and companion
9 He took me to Boston Common, and the
10 State House, to the wharves and the market
11 to the Navy Yard and Bunker Hill, to the rope
12 walk and the glass factory, and gave
13 me my first sight of all these and many
14 other new things. How much was crowded
15 into these few days, and how tired I was
16 every night when we got back to his house
17 The impressions of that week are faded
18 but not gone, and recur to me occasionally
19 and unexpectedly when passing over some
20 of those same spots now so altered—

21 One or two years previous I had attended with my
22 father an 'Exhibition' at Cambridge, where
23 I saw the college buildings and the yard in its
24 brightest array, was presented to the Governor,
25 and best of all saw the college company
26 parade the privates in black coats & white pants
27 and the officers in the most elegant uniforms
28 surpassing any I had seen at musters or Cornwalls [?]
29 The college as such didnt make any particular
30 mark on my mind, though I presume I was
31 taken to the Exhibition to interest me in my
32 studies that were preparatory then for that end,
33 and when I got there eventually, the military
34 and the exhibitions were of the obsolete or
35 abandoned matters 'that didnt interest me no more.'

1
2 I accompanied my father to Boston for
3 a visit when he was in the Legislature
4 and acting as speaker pro tem during
5 Julius Rockwells illness. We boarded
6 at Earles Coffee House in Hanover St
7 on the site of the present American House
8 and during the sessions of the Gen Court
9 I sat on the steps of the speakers desk
10 and had a very friendly acquaintance
11 with one of the pages, for whom I kept
12 up a correspondence some years. His
13 name and fate I have forgotten, but
14 he was a very promising boy I thought.
15 During this visit I saw the famous
16 Garrison mob, and frightened half to
17 death clinging to my fathers hand
18 I stood on the steps of a Court Street office
19 and saw the sign over Garrison's paper
20 pulled down and broken up, saw the
21 men at the windows with a rope trying
22 to hang him, and heard the howls of
23 the mob as they rushed by us after
24 a carriage supposed to contain the vile
25 abolitionist. It was terrible and haunted
26 my dreams long after, tho not from any
27 sympathy with Garrison, as I now am
28 inclined to think my seeing it with the
29 third officer of the state shows where
30 his feelings were, and quietly this 'mob
31 of gentlemen' was regarded by the speaker

1
2 Mr Shackfords school ended as his pre-
3 decessors began in a triumph of the
4 anti Masons, who after many efforts
5 had turned my father out of the county
6 treasurership he had held for 25 years
7 and Van Burens election removed him
8 from the Post Office he had held as long.
9 I cordially detested both this success
10 and the two successful candidates
11 for his places. Stedman Buttrick was
12 the new Co. Treasurer, an idle ignorant
13 hunting and fishing and drinking farmer
14 who was popular for the very qualities
15 that unfitted him for the position.
16 He knew so little of business matters
17 & had handled so little money that when
18 Father instructing him in his duties said
19 he deposited the county money in the bank
20 'Sted' asked how he deposited money and how
21 he got it out, never having seen or heard
22 of a bank book or check.

23 Charley B. Davis, a failed and dishonest
24 trader got the Post Office, and the way
25 his coattails stood out, as he rushed out
26 of Fathers office after presenting his
27 commission and asking when the
28 office would be turned over to him, he
29 was told that in one hour it would be in
30 his store and he must be ready for it-
31 And it was bundled over to his store opposite
32 the church within the time mentioned

1
2 The chief result to me of all these changes
3 was that Father having taken into his
4 office Col A. H. Nelson as a law partner
5 I was to recite to him my lessons as
6 there was no more school for me. It was
7 an agreeable change from Shackfords
8 moodiness, to Nelsons geniality and good
9 fellowship, and Hiram B. Dennis was
10 a student in the office that winter and
11 the fun his mad waggery made over my
12 blunders and the Col's corrections made
13 the office ring with laughter and fun.
14 But it was hard to stick to study hours at
15 home there were so many temptations to
16 idleness and amusement. I can recall an
17 original device of mine that season to
18 escape the hated lessons. I had at last after
19 spending more hours in Pratts gunsmithery
20 than would have made one by even my work,
21 became the possessor of a fowling piece,
22 how I dont quite remember but certainly
23 not by making it. For this I made a tight light
24 box case in which by taking the gun to pieces
25 it could conveniently be stowed, and with the
26 ammunition, it was kept in the Sleepy Hollow
27 woods concealed under leaves and brush—
28 for I did not dare to bring it home with me
29 So pleasant days I would take my books
30 and pretending to go off to study would
31 exchange the books for the gun and have
32 some hours of hunting through the woods
33 and great fields, where I was quite sure
34 of meeting no one who would report me.

1
2 With this gun and Nuttalls Ornithology
3 I became quite a hunter and acquired
4 a smattering of that study having seen shot
5 and examined nearly all the specimens
6 he describes as common in New England,
7 and many of the rare visitors to our wood.
8 It was a great pleasure though I soon began
9 to feel qualms at killing and wounding
10 the beautiful creatures, and these have
11 so grown with my growth, that I have never
12 become a sportsman, or of late years taken
13 life of any creature willingly. But the savage
14 instinct is sure to show itself at sometime,
15 and mine came and went early. ~~This~~
16 This winter was a gay one in Concord, and
17 the sociables were in full blast with Hoar
18 Dennis, Nelson, Prichard, Rice, Manson, Wetherbee
19 and other young men for partners, and lots
20 of young ladies, and as the old folks went to
21 these parties at their houses in turn, there
22 was much dancing, games, and fun at them
23 I again was of the youngest am of opinion
24 that I must have been quite a precocious boy
25 or more correctly a forth putting youngster.
26 Either this or the previous winter I attended
27 for the sake of the dancing the last half of a
28 dancing school kept by N. P. Banks of Waltham
29 who taught the steps of the youth to 'keep time to the
30 music' much as afterwards he did as governor
31 speaker and general the steps of grown up men—
32 I had when much smaller attended a childrens
33 dancing school, and paid my first attentions
34 in gallantry to the young daughters of my old
35 friends the gunsmith and watchmaker, and
36 how much I admired them! Older now and grown
37 more fond of dancing than of any other amusement
38 I went to all the balls parties and social gatherings
39 where there was any chance for indulging it
40 and have the vanity to think I was a good partner.

1
2 During this year I was full of the idea
3 of going to West Point instead of college
4 and becoming a soldier. I recall the vision
5 I dwelt in of being a dashing calvary officer
6 and displaying a bright uniform mounted
7 on a black horse, to the envy of all my boy
8 friends and the admiration of [word undeciphered] of the other sex
9 Fired with this notion, and knowing well that
10 Father would oppose it, I wrote to the Adj. Gen^l
11 of the Army whose address I had obtained an
12 application for a cadetship. He very
13 graciously replied enclosing [for] me printed
14 forms for a regular application, lists of the
15 articles required by a cadet, and the studies
16 in which examinations were had before
17 admission, and some general advice about
18 obtaining the situation. I was immensely
19 proud of these letters, and have them still very
20 carefully treasured. My father somehow
21 found it out perhaps through the Post Office
22 where official letters were then a rarity,
23 and we had a serious talk over the matter.
24 He knew what I didnt that the place was
25 in the gift of the member of Congress &
26 from the district, and this was then Mr Hoar
27 of our town. He was consulted and offered
28 to reccommend me if Father approved the plan
29 He investigated it and persuaded me to give
30 it up, as the Army then offered but a poor
31 show of either employment or promotion
32 there being only frontier Indian wars on hand.
33 I did at last unwillingly give in to the parental
34 advice, and abandon the project, but with always
35 a longing inclination to have tried it
36 A schoolmate Amiel W. Whipple the son of a
37 tavern keeper at the Nine Acre Corner, was
38 appointed by Mr Hoar, graduated with honor
39 and became a general in the war of the Rebellion
40 His career I watched all I could considering
41 it a type of what mine 'might have been'

1
2 Lessons and studies made I fear but little
3 progress this winter, and I was to try to enter
4 college at the next commencement 1837.
5 My father asked the new colleage of Dr
6 Ripley who had been ordained in Feb'y to
7 hear me recite, and he consented. Mr. Frost
8 or the Rev. Barzillai Frost I should have written
9 had been a mathematics tutor at Cambridge
10 and ought never to have been anything else.
11 He was a very old, dried up, cast iron conservative
12 cold critter, that suited the old fashioned
13 notions of some of his parishioners, and
14 never interested any of the live young people.
15 I began to recite to him while he lived at Dr
16 Ripleys, and the dull gloomy Old Manse
17 only increased his dulness and dyspesia
18 It was almost too much for my spirits and
19 if it had lasted much longer might have
20 made a minister or worse of even me—
21 But in June Mr Frost married a very rosy
22 bright agreeable lady a Miss Stone of Framingham
23 and they took east side of the double brick
24 house on Main St. and began housekeeping
25 Col Whiting had built this house a year or two
26 before bringing the bricks in canal boats
27 from Lowell up the river to the bottom of
28 the lot, a feat of navigation that greatly
29 interested us boys—also that same season
30 1836 the monument at the battleground
31 had been teamed from Carlise by Mr Wilkins
32 and set up, where it could be seen from
33 the windows of the Parsons study when I recited
34 to him. But he had got settled and waked up
35 by his new wife and home and lessons were
36 more interesting and better after this vacation
37 and I made some progress towards being fitted
38 during that summer.

1
2 The only interruption that I recall was
3 the Fourth of July dedication of the battle
4 monument, the sentence about which belongs here
5 This had been standing some six months, getting
6 built after a dozen years fight over it in town
7 and although then considered a masterpiece
8 by many, was severely criticized by not a few
9 and especially the inscription! The true story
10 of this part of the work I must tell for it has
11 never been written to my knowledge. The committee
12 Col Shattuck, Capt Barrett, Col Wheeler, T. Prescott Esq.
13 Capt Merriam Sted Buttrick & G M Barrett &c asked various leading men
14 to write an inscription, and then attempted to
15 select one from those handed in to them. It
16 was not easy for them to decide, they liked
17 parts of each, but none entirely. Therefore
18 at a meeting at Mr. Prescotts they undertook
19 the task of composing one out of portions of
20 those submitted. 'Here on the 19th of April 1775,'
21 was common to nearly all and so was taken
22 it would be hard to say from whose,
23 'Was made the first forcible resistance to
24 British aggression' this from Dr Ripley's
25 whose controversy with Lexington turned
26 on those very words forcible resistance.
27 On the opposite bank stood the American militia
28 and here the first of the enemy fell,' was from
29 the lawyer like special pleading of Hon Sam^l Hoar
30 'In the war of that Revolution which gave
31 Independence to these United States' was from
32 another pen, and the concluding sentence
33 was Mr Emerson's 'In gratitude to God and
34 the love of Freedom this monument is erected
35 AD 1836.

36 It was well known and generally understood
37 at the time, how and who composed each part.
38 So that Dr. Jarvis copy of the original as he claims
39 deposited in the Public Library is merely his copy
40 of it after the committee had put it together
41 and which he took for the purpose of correcting.

1
2 Dr Jarvis neither wrote one for the committee
3 had any hand in composing the one they
4 adopted, and his only connection with it was
5 to attempt to correct the draft the committee
6 had agreed upon, by substituting 'actual' for
7 forcible' resistance," as appears on his manuscript.
8 The claim that he wrote it and the committee
9 adopted it with the change of only a single
10 word, is the forgetfulness of old age, and
11 a fondness for magnifying ones share, that
12 has led him within these later years on finding
13 his old copy, to call it the original. Mr Prescotts
14 journal of the committees doings if it ever
15 comes to light will fully confirm this account.

16 But to the Dedication. I remember it so well
17 it was a very hot sunny July day, after the
18 noon salute and bell ringing the village
19 became as quiet as of a Sunday. About
20 three oclock the procession escorted by the
21 military companies, but a stragglng advance, ~~and~~ consisting mainly of
22 the townspeople men women and children came
23 slowly along the common and passed up the
24 road to the Old North Bridge, there were assembled
25 about the monument two or three hundred
26 seated on the grass, who listened to a prayer
27 by Mr Frost an oration by Samuel Hoar
28 and then Mr. Emersons hymn was sung by
29 all who could join, in full chorus. This hymn
30 was printed on slips of paper about 6 inches
31 square and plentifully supplied to the audience
32 I kept mine, and have a part of it now, and
33 notice the alterations Mr Emerson has since
34 made in it by comparing this with his book of poems.
35 The last verse begins 'O Thou who made those heroes dare
36 To die or leave their children free'
37 Rev John Wilder prayed and Dr Ripley gave a very
38 solemn benediction for was not his lifes work
39 and effort accomplished in this monument
40 erected and dedicated on the spot he had selected.

1
2 In the spring a year or two after this dedication
3 the committee organized a tree bee for
4 the ornamenting the avenue to the
5 monument on the 19th of April.
6 Every one who chose brought and planted
7 with the help and care of Cyrus Warren
8 a tree on either side of the roadway
9 in four long straight lines to the river
10 Nearly a hundred elms buttonwods
11 pines, maples, and spruces were set out
12 by those gathered on that occasion
13 and a sort of festival was thus made
14 that has lasted in its result almost half
15 a century and promises a good old age yet.
16 Most of the villagers were represented in
17 this celebration, and their names were
18 taken and preserved by the committee
19 in a report to the town, and duly recorded
20 Unfortunately the kind and place of
21 each tree was not set down against
22 the name of the giver of it, so that it is
23 impossible now to identify many
24 of them, or which in the course of years
25 have died and been removed—
26 It made of the bleak road to the monument
27 a shaded avenue, that the visitor now would
28 hardly identify in the old lithograph
29 published before this tree planting.
30 That was a very correct picture of the place
31 as it then looked, and I can point out
32 on it my boat in which the artist was
33 carried by me across the river to make his sketch
34 while I paddled about waiting his return.

1
2 I took great interest in this battleground and
3 its historical ~~interest~~. It had been a favorite
4 fishing and boating ground all my boyhood
5 I had heard the older men tell their stories and
6 traditions around the store and tavern fires I
7 knew some of the then surviving veterans and
8 I was fully impressed with the Concord view
9 of the priority and importance of the first fight.
10 When the Boston Fusiliers came here to encamp
11 some years earlier I recalled my father and other
12 prominent gentlemen escorting the company to
13 the battleground and telling them its story with
14 no little anxiety how the first company of redcoats
15 for this was their uniform, would be received
16 by the townsmen, who had not seen that hated scarlet
17 before since the fight, but it passed off well-
18 there and then my devotion and determination
19 to do my part to make this place memorable
20 was born and has grown stronger each year.
21 And now living and possessing the next farm
22 overlooking the 'hallowed spot' and many
23 relics and emblems of that eventful day
24 I am content with my share of the afterwork.

25 To return to myself the summer slipped
26 away and the dreaded examination was
27 at hand. The Monday before commencement
28 then the last Wednesday in August was
29 the appointed time. To reach Cambridge
30 in season involved then going down Sunday
31 night and my arrangements to spend the
32 nights with David Henry Thoreau as we
33 all called him then, had all been comfortably
34 agreed upon. Armed with Parson Frosts certificate
35 of good moral character, (precious little he
36 knew about mine) and a carpet bag well
37 stored with lunches and books I gladly
38 mounted the mail stage about 5 PM & rode off.

1
2 Nothing memorable can I remember happened
3 on that momentous ride bearing a green boy
4 to the first of his decisive trials in real life
5 and I was dropped at the yard gate where
6 Thoreau met me and took me to his room
7 in Stoughton. I was anxious of the morrows fate
8 overawed by the dull old college walls, and
9 not a little inclined to be over thoughtful at the
10 sudden change it all implied. But these
11 fancies were soon dispelled, a burst of
12 Thoreaus classmates into his room headed
13 by Cha^s. Theodore Russell, Trask, and others who
14 chaffed Thoreau and his freshman in all
15 sorts of amusing ways, and took down some
16 of our local pride, and Concord self conceit
17 for which I soon found out that my host
18 was as distinguished ~~for~~ in college as afterwards
19 These roaring seniors fresh from vacation's fun
20 and with no more college duties to worry about
21 made a sharp contrast with a Sunday evening
22 at home. It was seeing something of the end
23 before even the beginning. There had been
24 some kind of a row with the faculty and
25 the trouble was carried into the Criminal
26 Court and I had heard the county side of it at
27 home, and now was told the students side
28 by some of the actors or sympathizers
29 and got some ideas of college discipline
30 that varied essentially from the home notion
31 It was startling and novel to hear 'Old Prex
32 and the other nicknames familiarly
33 applied to such dignitaries as Concord had
34 almost worshipped, and I fear that the
35 introduction wasnt of the most useful
36 sort to just such a boy as I was. I had
37 that evening recalled to mind scores of times
38 since when I have met the laughing chaff
39 of C. T. Russell who perhaps remembered it too.

1
2 Early next morning after breakfast
3 at the meagre commons, not yet filled
4 at any but the seniors table, and so poorer
5 than at regular term time, I reported at
6 Old Massachusetts, and as Mr Frosts scholar
7 was assigned to a section with Mr. Hedges
8 scholar of Plymouth, and Mr. 's scholar
9 of Boston, and ordered to an instructors
10 room in university. Here on giving our
11 names I found myself between Abraham
12 Jackson and Samuel F McCleary Jr, and
13 as our names thus accidentally came
14 alphabetically, I touched elbows with
15 them for the whole four years at prayers &
16 recitations, no one ever coming in to alter
17 the order of our names, a curious and remarkable
18 instance! So we went on from teacher to tutor
19 all that day, and at night I slept better
20 than the previous one, as I was tired out and not
21 disturbed by seniors that I remember.

22 The next day my father appeared anxious
23 to hear of his boy and while I finished the
24 examinations, he strolled about the yard and
25 found another father anxious like himself
26 for his boy. The two struck up an acquaintance
27 though as unlike as their sons, agreed to put
28 them together in the tutors freshman room
29 that I had secured by some introductory letter
30 to Charles Mason, the Latin tutor. I was disgusted
31 enough at the plan when announced as I
32 had seen several much more agreeable fellows
33 to chum with, but the result of the examination
34 in which I had one or two conditions, didnt
35 encourage me in an effective rebellion
36 and I rode home in the chase with Father
37 not quite so elated as I should have been
38 if things had gone more to my liking

1
2 I was admitted, and I had got the promise
3 of driving to Phi Beta with my particular
4 charmer, in Shepherds white chaise and bob
5 tailed horse, if I succeed in passing examinations
6 and the anticipations of such bliss were
7 enough to make me forget other troubles.
8 Mother was radiantly delighted and aided
9 my hopes all in her power. But alas for boy's
10 felicity, how I never exactly knew, but it
11 fell through and I didnt go, and my beloved
12 went with quite another party, whether by her
13 own choice or through the manoeuvres
14 of our respective fathers I cannot tell.
15 Perhaps a little of both, as she was soon after
16 engaged to that other fellow, and married
17 him before I was out of college.

18 I sought the green wood and shot away my
19 discontent in its quiet paths, and lonely vales
20 and thought no one ever so ill used before—
21 Rallying however for the task of bidding goodbye
22 to all the boys and girls, and to the packing my
23 things for old Uncle David Buttrick to carry
24 down, I managed to 'keep a 'stiff upper lip'
25 over this two or three days that intervened, and
26 on Sunday in my first swallow tail coat made
27 by Stewart to have all the dignity of a freshman
28 and the self esteem of the boy thus clothed upon
29 with such omens of promise. After church I had
30 to go up to Cousin Mary's to say my adieux, and
31 to sport my new coat, and returning after tea
32 and a jolly romp with the visitors there I
33 strolled along the bank of the river to the battle
34 ground, thinking of the past and future, when
35 my foot slipped and I sat down in the water
36 to the great detriment of my coat tails, and
37 my intense disgust at such a drenching of
38 all my fond hopes and buoyant anticipations
39 If I had been as wise then I might have ceded the bad omen.

1
2 The next morning at 7 oclock Sept 1, 1837, I
3 got on the top of Dea. Brown's accomodation
4 stage in a fog so thick that it concealed
5 every landmark of the village, and with
6 my black leather trunk, and carpet bag
7 took what in the dampness and dulness of my
8 spirits I thought was my leave of home.
9 Real homesick I was till the fog lifted as
10 we drove over the Lexington hills and changed
11 horses there, and drove on to Cambridge by
12 the foot of the locks, now 'Arlington Heights'
13 and Menotomy, or West Cambridge now Arlington
14 by Porters just beginning as a cattle market,
15 down North Avenue then a solitary country
16 road, till the college buildings came in sight,
17 grey with age, but the yard gay with students
18 and the life of the opening term. Stopping
19 at the posts in the old wooden fence behind
20 Holworthy the grumblng Deacon helped me
21 in with my trunk to my room N°. 9 lower floor
22 middle entry of Holworthy Hall, then a much
23 despised, now a much coveted apartment.
24 Here I began my college course, with a bed
25 and washstand in my sleeping room, a small
26 bureau and table two chairs and a locker
27 a pail, lamp, and washbowl, and naught else,
28 save a pine bookcase and standing desk
29 so cheap and cumbrous that some Concord
30 boy of former generations had left them as
31 transmittendences to Concord students of
32 whom I was then the only representative.
33 These were duly welcomed and inscribed and
34 I in turn transmitted them to my successors
35 but they have long since departed, split up
36 I guess for kindlings, or sold for a pittance
37 by the more luxurious denizens of later years.
38 At any rate when my son, who inquired for them
39 in his college life, no trace or memory of them
40 could be found. Here and thus I settled
41 myself for what was to come—

1

2 [There is no page 54 in manuscript.]

1
2 My chum, a tall lank red haired uncouth
3 fellow from Scituate, Ephraim Otis
4 by name, soon made his appearance,
5 even more meagrely fitted out than I
6 and as much greener as he was older and
7 as different as Concord from Scituate.
8 How soon after I thoroughly hated and
9 despised him I wont undertake to say.
10 I believe it was before supper that night
11 if it wasnt before dinner. What his miserly
12 curmudgeon of a father, and my polished
13 and courtly but anxious parent were
14 thinking of when they yoked up such
15 an unlike pair, I never understood.
16 Mine I suppose went on the Concord rule
17 of getting an old sedate and studious
18 chum for the wild fellows that were sent
19 from that county seat. My class only
20 numbered forty five on entering and had
21 as its numbers showed come in at the
22 lowest ebb of the tide in the college life
23 of the nineteenth century. Josiah Quincy
24 was the President, and almost in his
25 dotage, the Professors Channing Ware Beck
26 Sales were nearly or quite in the same state,
27 and the younger ones Fellow Pierce Longfellow
28 Webster, Bowen and Lovering had none
29 of their subsequent fame or reputation
30 The scholarship and instruction were
31 poorer, and inferior than ever before
32 or since, so that it was at this beginning
33 of its second century at the turning point
34 of slack water. We had that to find out and
35 to me certainly no student it didnt occur
36 till I came in after years to look back on
37 it and discover the fact.

1
2 Of course I was then much more interested
3 in the football game with the sophs
4 and the anticipated hazing night than
5 in lessons or text books. The first I had
6 practised much on the common at home
7 and could run well, and kick a fair bit
8 and though I helped considerably we
9 I believe were beaten in all or nearly
10 all of our three games with the sophomores
11 though when the juniors came to our aid
12 and the seniors to theirs, we beat them,
13 thanks to Baker's prowess and Ganson's
14 knocks and Austins speed and Kings height
15 all of them junior heroes to us that night.
16 The hazing was mild and merciful to me
17 who bought my peace with a bowl of punch
18 from Willards, but my chum who refused
19 to share the expense, was worse treated. It
20 was rather horseplay without malice &
21 not at all up to the raw head and bloody bones
22 of which I have heard both before and since.
23 Of my class whom I soon came to know
24 every member as we recited together
25 in nearly all our studies, there were but
26 few who made much impression early.
27 Sedgwick facile primus, a rosy cheeked
28 handsome nephew of Miss Sedwick the
29 authoress, soon showed to the front in both
30 lessons and class meetings, Higginson the
31 youngest member, from Cambridge where
32 his family lived on intimate terms with
33 all the professors, was soon prominent
34 while the Boston, New York, and other city
35 boys for a time carried off the honors by
36 their better dress and greater fitness for display

1
2 I think I took kindly to college life
3 at any rate before the Christmas
4 vacation I had got to know every
5 one in college by sight and name
6 had built a bonfire or two in the
7 yard simply because it was prohibited
8 had joined Mr. Simmons Sunday class,
9 and learned the way to the race track
10 and stables beyond Porters, had on the
11 night of November election in a big
12 snow storm, had my first spree in H'y
13 18. Tuckerman's room, of boiled sweet
14 potatoes &c with something to wash it
15 down, and though coming very near
16 to it had not lost my matriculation—
17 As to studies I did as little as I could but
18 had ransacked the library for books
19 I had heard of but never read, and
20 as then we had free access to the alcoves
21 had learned where to find the treasures.
22 I had some privates, but hadnt got to
23 a public admonition and thoroughly
24 hated professors and tutors, & mildly even
25 proctors, while for my elbow neighbours
26 and the Worcester boys I had formed
27 quite a friendship, and I might add the
28 Portsmouth also. I remember nothing else
29 in especial save a Sunday at home once
30 a month, on one or two of which I walked
31 up to save the stage fare, for money was
32 short in the panic of 37, and on other
33 Saturdays exploring Boston very thoroughly
34 taking supper at the Parkers and walking
35 up the lonely road from East Cambridge
36 with my classmate Hall of that locality.

1
2 This first vacation beginning the Wednesday
3 before Dec^r 25th. as the catalogue had it to
4 avoid any mention of Chirstmas [sic], was as
5 I found when I came across recently a journal
6 that I kept of my college vacations, one
7 continuous spree. Dancing 5 or 6 nights in the
8 week and a sing the others, sleighing skating
9 or coasting by day. Father away at court
10 my brothers too small to interfere with
11 my amusements and Mother to proud of
12 her college lad to control him at the least.
13 What fun what flirtations and frivolity,
14 it was all spent with the Concord girls
15 and their charms in my eyes were only equalled
16 by their numbers. What a lingering regret
17 it was to go back and how tame seemed the
18 collegesprees after the Concord ones. Luckily
19 for me Lizzie Shattuck my nearest neighbor
20 went to the Dana Hill school then kept by Mr
21 Mack in the only house on Dana Hill between
22 the college yard and the park proper, and
23 as Caroline Brooks and Lizzie Prichard my
24 nearest in age were at school in Boston
25 I had with my other acquaintances about
26 Cambridge in Malden Waltham Watertown &c
27 some little female society in term time
28 and this helped away the winter term—
29 The night before our spring vacation the
30 old Dana Mansion on the hill caught fire
31 and burned down and I brought home
32 the news of that, which ended the school in
33 that locality. This spring was duller than
34 the winter vacation had been and I recall
35 little of it but the helping Capt Nathan Barrett
36 move the barn at the Proctor place between Mother [?]
37 and Dr Bartletts and make quite an improvement there.

1
2 The summer term after this two weeks vacation
3 at Fast, was very pleasant at Cambridge
4 I got acquainted with Fresh Pond and took
5 my first lessons in sailing, took horseback
6 rides to the towns about, and walked over
7 many of the pleasant country roads now
8 city streets and thick with houses and gardens.
9 Brad Bartlett was at Waltham in the counting room
10 and would come and spend a night or Sunday
11 with me in my room, or I would go to his &
12 at my aunts there have a jolly evening.
13 The end came at last six weeks before the
14 commencement, and the seniors got very drunk
15 on this class day, and made not a little fuss,
16 and I came home with some conditions to be
17 made up in vacation, that greatly disturbed
18 my father, and didnt pleasantly affect me.
19 The truth was I ought not to have gone to college
20 but have been put to some practical business
21 for which I was much better suited as my
22 life has shown, and the authorities were wise
23 enough to see it, though my parents didnt.
24 Of this summer vacation I can remember
25 best my trip to Dartmouth College Hanover NH
26 It was Fathers alma mater, and he perhaps
27 thought it would be a better place for me than
28 Cambridge. So as Mr Emerson was to make
29 the address there before the literary societies
30 we took him in charge and starting Saturday
31 morning journeyed around Monadnock
32 as it seemed to me all day and reached
33 Keene N.H. at dark. Here we staid at the
34 Cheshire House then a famous hostelry
35 and as I had never been out of the state
36 before I enjoyed myself greatly Father
37 had friends there Gen Perry & others Mr Emerson
38 was known and cordially welcomed by them

1
2 And I saw that pleasant town over Sunday
3 under favorable auspices. At dark that
4 night we took the stage again for Walpole
5 and after a striking drive by lamplight
6 safely were housed at the tavern at Bellows
7 Falls for a sleep, broken by the roaring
8 waters, which I was out very early to
9 see in all their romantic wildness.
10 With Mr. Emerson my father who was quite
11 familiar with them, showed us their huge
12 worn pits and rocky ledges and points
13 of interest until breakfast and the stage
14 called us to resume the journey. All that
15 day we rode up the Connecticut River
16 admiring much its beautiful valley
17 meadows hills and waters reaching
18 Hanover late in the evening to find
19 it bustling with commencement festivities.
20 Mr E was carried off by the societies, and
21 we found rooms and friends at the hotel.
22 The next day Father renewed his youthful
23 memories of people and places, he knew
24 thirty years before finding less change
25 than I had thought possible, while I
26 left to my own devices strolled about the
27 college campus and buildings making
28 vastly unfavorable comparisons of it
29 to my Cambridge. It was in holiday garb
30 but even that was tame and poor beside the
31 rich and dashing Harvard. At the hotel was
32 a bride the wife of a friend of Fathers a Mr.
33 Spaulding of Nashua, a very young and lovely
34 lady, and I paid her very assiduous attention
35 which her old husband smiled on complacently
36 and she accepted graciously in his absence
37 at the college meetings he attended—

1
2 Of the commencement I remember but
3 little only in my sophomoric conceit
4 I thought the speakers green, and I fear
5 was more impressed with the brides
6 looks than with all orations &c. The
7 address of Mr Emerson was a revelation
8 to all who heard it, and reading it lately
9 since its publication in the new edition
10 of his works I was reminded of the stir
11 to the life and spirit of those who heard
12 it and his power and eloquence then for
13 the first time. It made a great sensation
14 partly because it shocked the orthodoxy
15 and old-fashioned notions of the college
16 and mainly because it voiced the new
17 aspirations then just beginning to be felt
18 all over New England. He received much
19 admiration and attention from every
20 one there, and we came in as his
21 friends for a share of it though I
22 confess that even the bride overlooked
23 her soph for the sages conversation to my
24 mortification. At the ball which closed
25 the festivities I got even however as the
26 lady danced finely dressed splendidly and
27 shone so fairly as the belle in her wedding
28 dress and cameo necklace, that I as
29 her escort for her husband was too old
30 to dance was in high feather again—
31 We parted after supper with arrangements
32 all made by me, to have a special stage
33 for our drive home with a select party,
34 and I dreamed of her I feel sure, for I
35 thought I had never seen anyone so
36 lovely—and some of the seniors treated me
37 to a parting bumper in return for their
38 introductions to the bride and Mr Emerson.

1
2 We started early next morning in an extra
3 stage, in which Mr Emerson Father Mr.
4 Spaulding and several friends of theirs
5 of the college or old graduates, and on
6 the outside Mrs Spaulding and myself
7 with the driver, and we climbed very
8 deliberately over the long hills that
9 make the back lane of New Hampshire
10 The days ride was long hot and dusty
11 Mrs S. sought the shade and comfort
12 of the inside and I helped the driver &
13 at last after dark, and with the incident
14 of losing our way & the driver's getting
15 off to climb a guide post and see what
16 it said an experience I never knew repeated
17 in all my staging, we reached Concord
18 N.H. quite late in the evening. We were all
19 too tired to do much but sleep except Mr.
20 Emerson who had preached there years before
21 and knew many of the people, and saw
22 some of them late as it was. The next
23 morning we looked over the town which
24 I remember seemed smaller than our
25 Concord, although it was the state capital
26 and had some good buildings. It was
27 always called then 'New' Concord by
28 Massachusetts people to distinguish
29 it from ours, and was new looking.
30 We took the Mammoth road line of stages
31 because the driver promised me to drive
32 6 horses a feat I had never tried before,
33 and I forget whether that parted us from
34 the Spauldings or whether we left them
35 at Nashua. Anyhow we reached Lowell

1
2 in season to get brought in a carry all
3 home Saturday night after an exciting
4 and eventful week. My first journey
5 from home of any length.

6 The next term beginning after commencement
7 brought several new members to our class
8 and many changes at Cambridge, chief
9 of which that the college year was divided
10 into two terms of twenty weeks and two
11 vacations of six weeks each, a change that
12 as Durant of our class rejoiced at as it
13 made only two bills a year instead of three.
14 Another of more importance to me was
15 getting rid of 'my Otis' as he was called
16 and chumming with C.B. Farnsworth
17 a steady old fellow from Groton, to whom
18 I was commended as a scapegrace that
19 needed looking after, by Father when I had
20 decided to go back to Cambridge not taking
21 to Dartmouth at all. We took his room
22 in the second story of Stoughton N°8 and
23 got on together most amicably. He was
24 a good student and a favorite with
25 the best fellows in the class though
26 I hardly think I was. Of that year I
27 recall not much of moment worth
28 writing now. I got on somehow with my
29 studies, more pleasantly with the girls
30 of Waltham, as Gore Ripley had entered
31 our class and began to visit Lexington
32 with Wellington Blodgett &c, and to renew
33 my acquaintance with the Phinneys
34 &c. and I have no doubt to more and more
35 sophomoric-

1
2 *[Running down the right margin of the page starting at typed line 13 and*
3 *ending at typed line 27:*
4 W. A Fitzhugh was sent to Concord to study and
5 he made a great addition to my
6 pleasure in the long vacation
7 of 1839.]
8 In the long winter vacation I visited at my
9 aunts in Waltham, drove Lizzie Shattuck
10 and Lizzie White to Dedham, a jolly long
11 sleighride, and danced whenever I could
12 and flirted all I knew how. Farnsworth
13 went off to keep a winter school, and I
14 kept up a correspondence with him, mainly
15 about girls I guess if it came to light.
16 The summer term ended with our class
17 supper, at some of the suburban hotels
18 I forget which, and for it Farnsworth
19 wrote the class song that was greatly
20 admired and afterwards printed in his
21 book of poems. In that vacation I made
22 a trip to Haverhill to see Mr Lowell who
23 had kept store a year or two with Col Shattuck
24 and was always talking of Bangor ME.
25 and from there to Portsmouth N.H.
26 to see my classmates, staying at the
27 Rockingham House. Here I had an
28 alarming adventure with a burglar who
29 got into my room and frightened me
30 so that to this day I have the fear of burglars
31 at any noise in the night. I made
32 out his figure in the darkness as he put
33 his arm out to take my watch, and sprag
34 out of bed with a yell on his back that
35 frightened him quite as much as he did
36 me, so that he made a hasty retreat and
37 I saved my watch, and heard him rush off
38 down stairs and jump into the lane behind
39 the house and run off, while I in vain
40 tried to rouse the landlord and get a light
41 In the morning the cashier of the bank who
42 occupied the adjoining room informed me
43 that the attempt was probably made through
44 a mistake of my room for his to get the bank keys.

1
2 Here I saw the Navy Yard and sailed down
3 the river and drove about the country
4 and enjoyed the week immensely—
5 but have no recollection of seeing any
6 girls as the boys of P. didnt show me them
7 I went also with Mother and my brothers
8 to her mothers at Hopkinton, where I had
9 often been before, and where the old Sir
10 Harry Frankland house, 'sung of by Holmes
11 and written of by Nason, was my ideal
12 of all castles of romance or history—
13 It was built before the Revolution by Sir
14 Harry for a country seat, and a safe house
15 for the Lady Agnes of his romance, and
16 was the great source of legend and story of
17 my youth. But of this hereafter.

18 As a junior I went back again to a H'y.
19 room No 12 third story middle entry
20 with my chum, whom I had grown to
21 like very much, with whom I discussed
22 every thing and body, who had been at
23 Concord and our house not a little
24 and with whose relatives in Roxbury
25 I had become acquainted. This year
26 after trying various experiments in
27 living, withdrawing from commons
28 they had got so poor, and boarding our-
29 selves, and at various clubs, I went
30 to Mrs. Clarke's an old friend of Mothers
31 and there joined the best set of table
32 fellows in college. James Lawrence
33 and Coolidge Shaw, and Holker Welsh
34 of the seniors, Tuckerman & Osgood of the
35 schools, and my particular Otis Williams &
36 Ned Stimson who roomed there—

1
2 The table was superior & Mrs Clarke presided
3 in a matronly way that was kindness
4 itself to me, and Ned Clarke her son
5 was our first scholar, and helped
6 me in many ways. Farnsworth who
7 couldnt afford the high price \$3.50
8 per week the highest I think in Cambridge
9 didnt follow me, and this was my
10 only regret. I got acquainted through
11 this with an entirely different strata
12 of society, of which I had no experience
13 The old Boston families with all their
14 pretension and self sufficiency were
15 well represented at our table and in
16 our talk, and it did not make me feel
17 any more tolerant of their notions to
18 see them more nearly and familiarly
19 This term too I began billiard playing
20 with tremendous enthusiasm for
21 weeks together going into Boston every
22 night on foot and walking out at
23 midnight to spend the evening in the
24 only billiard room then kept in the city
25 and which was so carefully kept that
26 we were admitted only on being known
27 This was Bacons in Milk Street, and I
28 after much practise became a good player
29 and what walks those were seven miles
30 and lucky if we had money for the tolls
31 after paying our score, and much more
32 lucky if we could have an oyster stew
33 or something to drink on our return.
34 Deep Red Brown, and Billy Stearns & Benny
35 Heywood generally made up the match game.

1
2 It was this term I think that I first got
3 theatre struck, I had been once or twice
4 before entering college, and occasionally
5 as a great adventure in my earliest years,
6 for it was a serious offence in those days.
7 But when Ellen Tree came to the old Tremont
8 theatre, and made a great hit, I became infat-
9 uated and went in night after night to see
10 her in her Shakespeare characters. How
11 I worshipped her, and how I would walk in
12 and wait in the dark close alley crowded by
13 an ugly illsmelling rowdy gang for the
14 pit doors to open and then rush for the front
15 seats, (as none were reserved) and sit an hour or more
16 waiting for it the curtain to rise, and my idol
17 to appear. How she thrilled me to tears or smiles
18 and when she would come back for the last time
19 in answer to our rapturous applause and
20 greet us youths in the front row with a bit
21 of a smile for our enthusiasm, the glamor
22 of it would light all the dark lonely walk
23 back, and tired, hungry, and exhausted we
24 would dream of her in a restless sleep
25 till the prayer bell roused us cross and
26 ugly enough. This lasted fortunately for
27 my health and purse but for a week or two
28 of her engagement. Then came Thanksgiving
29 and Christmas first beginning to be noticed,
30 and quieter pleasures took the place, and
31 the long vacation of that winter went
32 as the previous ones in homelier joys & scenes,
33 so like the others that I remember no particulars
34 To the summer term of 1840 I returned feeling
35 the stir of the political saturnalia that had
36 begun and was sweeping over the country
37 I had greater interest in it from my fathers share
38 who was trying to be nominated for sheriff
39 but was not successful as Chandler got the place.

1
2 The excitement of the term began with
3 a still greater theatrical craze over
4 Fanny Elsler the famous danseuse.
5 It was my first ballet and it carried
6 me away even more than Ellen Tree
7 It was the rage for a month in Boston
8 and even Mr Emerson who went with
9 Margaret Fuller to see the 'divine Fanny'
10 was quoted as answering Margarets
11 'This is poetry' 'Yes it is religion,' and
12 the wit of the day said it was the 'ne
13 plus ultra' of dancing. I returned to the
14 former method of walking in waiting
15 in the alley and walking out night after
16 night when she danced, and at her
17 benefit we 'college apes,' as the papers
18 called us took the horses from her
19 carriage and drew her to the Tremont
20 House in triumph—What a wild scene
21 of tumult and rejoicing it made and
22 how proud we were of our share in it.
23 I would have given all I possesd to
24 have been introduced to her, but it
25 couldnt be accomplished luckily
26 for me, for when a few years later I
27 went to see her again, the shock to my
28 older eyes was great, and a near view
29 even then would have broken something
30 She gave a benefit for the Bunker Hill
31 monument then approaching completion
32 and it was said danced the cap stone to
33 its place, by a 'pirouette of her toes'—a
34 'tour de force' never since equalled.

1
2 This excitement was soon followed by the
3 celebration of the Fourth of July by the
4 greatest political gathering ever held in
5 Concord, of the Harrison and Tyler campaign
6 The tippecanoe clubs from every town came
7 with banners and flags with log cabins and
8 hard cider, and in teams on horseback in
9 canal boats and on foot filled the streets to
10 overflowing. The preparations were on a
11 grand scale, a speakers stand, and booth
12 of immense proportions was set up on
13 the lot southwest of the present Sleepy Hollow
14 Cemetery and a procession formed in the
15 square that extended to the monument
16 at the battleground, around which they
17 marched with bands and escort flags
18 and devices including the big ball, a huge
19 affair a dozen feet in diameter made
20 of a frame covered with cloth and inscribed
21 with mottoes of all the political bye words
22 songs and phrases in letters that could
23 be read as it rolled on drawn by ropes
24 in the hands of earnest sturdy yeomen.
25 The charm of such an occasion drew me
26 home days before, and I was busier in
27 its work than in my studies, cutting for it
28 recitations and exercises, and even such
29 examinations as we had then which amounted
30 to next to nothing—The great day came and
31 fine weather and entire success greeted it.
32 The Democrats got up a rival affair at Lexington
33 but it was so tame and poor that it only added
34 zest to ours, and it went off with a wild
35 hurrah. I witnessed the gathering and march
36 of the four or five thousand men from the
37 cupola of the Court House, where with a bevy
38 of girls of my own selection, we enjoyed the grand
39 pageant to the utmost. Then escorting them

1
2 to the booth we listened to the stirring speeches
3 partook of the crackers and hard cider so
4 liberally provided for the multitude
5 and saw many of the great leaders of the
6 old Wig party and heard their eloquence
7 for the first time. Especially I recall
8 that several of the speakers were guests
9 at our house and that one of them Hon
10 Myron Lawrence of Belchertown whose
11 great size and powerful voice made
12 him a prominent figure in that campaign
13 had the night before a terrible attack of
14 asthma, that frightened me out of my sleep
15 by his horrible breathing and who I
16 expected would certainly die of choking
17 before morning, but who rallied, recovered
18 his voice, and filled the whole audience
19 and the entire valley with his stertorous
20 tones at the dinner tables. Henry Wilson
21 made his first appearance then, and
22 excited much interest as the Natick cobbler
23 The day ended with R. N. Rices wedding
24 ~~and~~ reception at the Thoreau house on
25 the square opposite my fathers, where we
26 had a jolly time winding up the festivities
27 with a champagne super—
28 I went back to Cambridge after it to finish
29 up the term by recounting the glories
30 of the day to my classmates, and with a
31 growing interest in politics that swamped
32 all studies and scholarship—I should have
33 said before that Father went to Baltimore
34 to the convention that nominated Harrison
35 and his letters from there that I read recently
36 show what a waking up this campaign
37 roused in both old and young that nothing
38 since or before has equalled.

1
2 Of this term at Cambridge I can remember
3 but little save some college scrapes, one of
4 which got into the papers the ducking
5 of Tom Hill, afterwards President of Harvard
6 and our Waltham and Lexington parties
7 These were kept up by me in the vacation
8 much of which I spent with my aunts
9 ~~for Mr. & Mrs Leland were in from New York~~
10 ~~that summer and bought a residence~~
11 ~~for Dr & Mrs Mulliken to occupy after it~~
12 ~~was moved.~~ and at Lexington the Wellingtons
13 Clarks and Smiths as well as Phinneys had
14 high old times that I never missed if I
15 could help it. My acquaintance with the
16 girls of other places increased as I sought
17 every opportunity of meeting with new
18 faces, and my list in the Book of Beauty
19 I kept rapidly grew so general was my
20 admiration of new faces and fair forms.
21 There were episodes with several of these
22 worth recounting if the particulars were
23 not as faded and forgotten as the girls themselves
24 These quite overshadowed the Concord flames
25 of my school days, and I can recall names
26 and places that then thrilled me that are
27 of no interest now, nor have been for years.
28 But Plymouth, Watertown, Malden, Cambridge Port
29 and even Marlboro and Scituate had along
30 then many attractions to my roving fancy
31 But of all these I really enjoyed the Waltham
32 most, and in this vacation had a sail up the
33 river with a large party in a big mud scow
34 brought up the Charles River and fitted out
35 for the occasion very comfortably, and with
36 a picnic lunch and dance under the trees
37 and a moonlight row back was an occasion
38 to be long remembered by those who partook
39 and was marked with the whitest stone in
40 my calendar—

1
2 Our senior year began almost with an incident
3 not very conducive to study, the great
4 Whig gathering on Boston Common early
5 in September. Here 50000 Tippecanoe &
6 Tyler too men formed and marched to
7 Bunker Hill, the big ball of Concord
8 heading the Middlesex Delegation and
9 creating great interest as it rolled on—
10 In the thills were Father Jos Barrett Sam Hoar
11 Dea^s Brown and Wood, Cols Shattuck & Whiting
12 and the other magnates of the village
13 and on the ropes were lots of us boys
14 I so well recall that at a halt in State St
15 I procured a bunch of cigars from some
16 enthusiastic Whig of Boston and handing
17 them round, all the old dons lighted up
18 and smoked defiantly of all city ordinances
19 It was the first smoking I ever saw done
20 openly in Boston streets, for then even college
21 boys walking home would have to put
22 off their cigars till they got to the bridge
23 or run the risks of a policeman's stopping
24 them, so strictly was the rule enforced.
25 We labored at the drag ropes up Bunker
26 Hill, heard Webster, Choate, Everett, and
27 N. Y. and Va orators in plenty and wound
28 up the day at John Skinners house on Main
29 Street, with a great spread and lots of fun
30 and champagne. How I got back to
31 Cambridge I dont remember or when after
32 it I got to studying but I fancy the politics
33 had much more attraction for me than
34 lessons, and I know that it was the begining
35 of many pleasant visits to Charlestown
36 and that family that lasted for more than
37 a dozen years, till Harry Fairbanks time.

1
2 As if this wasnt enough I must needs
3 fancy myself desperately in love with
4 a certain young lady of a town near by to
5 Cambridge, and that my affections were
6 rejected, and so blighted, that I was desperate
7 and tried drowning my sorrow in the wine cup
8 in the most approved Byronic style, I dont
9 think it was very deep seated or deadly in its
10 effects and was relieved by a sound scolding
11 from my father and some kind consolation
12 from my mother, and a new turn of my [word undeciphered]
13 from an old source. One and almost the
14 only incident I remember of college exercises
15 came queerly enough from this despair!
16 Old Channing gave us out as a subject for
17 themes "The world before them where to choose"
18 and it struck just with my moodiness—
19 I wrote pages of dislike disgust and discontent
20 with the world past present and future, all blotted
21 with rage and tears, and copying enough for
22 a theme of twice the usual length sent it in.
23 Something real in it hit the professors fancy
24 perhaps reminded him of what he may have
25 felt, and for the first and only time I got the
26 highest mark in spite of lots of corrections
27 where he put the knife to my turgid rhapsody
28 and a private commendation of it when
29 he kept me to look over it with him that pleased
30 me much more than the marks.

31 At Thanksgiving I came home for the wedding
32 of my old flame to my old school mate now
33 the 'High Joint' &c &c, but a quarrel over the
34 invitation, which I suspected was so intended as
35 to keep me from being present, that I staid away
36 and kept Father and Mother who didnt love him
37 any more than I do their son—and this and their
38 renewed consoling for my other disappointment
39 completed my cure of both flames—

1
2 The election that resulted in Harrisons victory
3 was a terrible rain storm in Massachusetts
4 and I recall driving all day and night about
5 Boston getting returns and waiting at the Atlas
6 office where I already knew some of the staff
7 and the jollification that ensued over the
8 bright prospect of success. Ned Stimson who
9 was with me, and I had a symposium at my
10 room in honor of it, and a champagne bottle
11 that I tossed hitting him in the head floored
12 him so instantly that it seemed like death
13 & sobered the others and frightened me so that
14 I have been careful since—of bottles!—
15 What a hurrah there was over the election
16 and how the excitement kept up till after
17 the inauguration and death of Gen Harrison
18 The effects of the debauch for such it was
19 lasted all winter and into the next spring
20 in the body politic, for it opened a new vein
21 and began a new era in political manage-
22 ment that forty years has hardly ended.
23 If the temperance movement had then began
24 it was a serious drawback to its progress
25 and it as I recollect well set the champagne
26 flowing at private parties as well as in the
27 college rooms, and more public balls.—
28 But I didnt care for anything or any body
29 that winter but myself and good times.
30 & I recall a sleigh ride to a Lexington party
31 at the Phinneys where we drank bumpers,
32 and I upset in the Wellington yard coming
33 home with a pretty Miss W. but without harm
34 and another at Danas in east Lexington
35 where we had magnums of champagne
36 at supper, and I rode home horseback
37 in the moonlight after finishing I should
38 not dare to say whether 3 or 4!

1
2 The winter vacation went like the others
3 in dancing and parties, and I had at last got
4 forward enough to manage even a ball
5 Some ladies visiting here from Boston were
6 very anxious to see a country tavern ball,
7 and I was interested enough to gratify them.
8 So after many small but jolly dances at the
9 'Liberty Hall' in Mrs Woodward's block by
10 the old church, [*in pencil, possibly in another hand: Concord Church*] Col
11 Nelson who had recently
12 married, and I think Manson, and I got out the
13 invitations to a regular ball at the Middlesex.
14 It was to be select and high priced tickets \$2
15 or \$3 including supper. The night came and the
16 ladies, but very few gentlemen as they couldn't
17 well afford so much at the end of the season
18 But alas for my pleasure, the pride of my post
19 as I opened the first set with the Boston belle
20 was too great, and I burst a small blood vessel
21 in my nose that wouldn't be stanch'd—
22 and for hours while the music went on
23 and the dances shook the old tavern, I was
24 being iced, and drenched, and plugged to no
25 purpose in the old kitchen by the anxious
26 maids and old Wesson's daughter. I only
27 got over it in the small hours in season
28 to escort the ladies home, and the next day
29 had a \$10 bill to pay for my share of the
30 deficiency. Both of dancers and of dancing.
31 It ought to have cured me of managing
32 balls but I have done it often since with
33 never quite such poor luck as this first
34 time trying. After this I went back to my
35 last term, with all the grand finale
36 of college life, a little wiser but perhaps
37 not less conceited than when I entered.

1
2 It was destined to be memorable, for there
3 soon came the inauguration balls all
4 over New England and I of course had to
5 attend the one at Concord where Father
6 was a prominent manager and old and young
7 joined in a grand break down in honor
8 of that of the Democracy. Then came his
9 death and the public funerals & eulogies
10 in Boston which the college boys attended
11 in a body wearing crape badges & marching
12 by classes & presenting quite a display—
13 Then the class elections which resulted most
14 disagreeably to me, Orne a drunken fellow
15 of the Porcellian Club being chosen orator
16 when I wanted a very different fellow, and
17 the poet, marshals, secretary, & committee
18 were not more to my satisfaction.

19 The Navy Club of which I was boatswain did
20 not have their excursion, and the award
21 of the jackknife wasnt as it should have been
22 I had some friends, and some bitter enemies
23 in the class but I was never popular nor
24 much considered, only tolerated—

25 But all this was lame to what was coming
26 an old friend of mine Stearns Wheeler of
27 Lincoln who had fitted for college in the
28 Concord Academy, and a thoroughly good
29 but obstinate fellow was Greek tutor and
30 chairman of the Parietal Committee.
31 His room in the east end of Holworthy
32 was the place of their meeting, and they
33 looked after the discipline of the students.
34 Wheeler was conscientious and some small
35 escapades of a set of our class coming to his
36 knowledge, he set out to catch them, and
37 in so doing had a personal collision with
38 Simmons on the Delta I think, spying on him

1
2 For this Simmons was expelled, and his set of
3 fellows severely punished in other ways.
4 The class took it up and bore Simmons
5 off in a barouch and four white horses
6 after prayers at night, with half a dozen
7 of the best scholars as his companions
8 in open defiance of the authorities—
9 That night the college was in an uproar
10 and all rules were openly violated in
11 the yard and buildings. The Parietal met
12 in Wheelers room and occasionally
13 sallied out to stop some disturbances
14 My sober and sedate chum, one of the
15 first eight in scholarship got greatly
16 excited and vowed to lock them into
17 their room when they returned to their session
18 Watching from our window we saw them
19 go back in squads to Hy 20 in the east entry
20 stealing up the stairs Farnsworth quietly
21 turned the key in the lock of the door
22 and he thought he had them fast, but
23 the door was ajar, and they sprang after
24 him. He rushed up stairs hoping to find
25 an open room or an escape but none offered
26 and in the fourth story there was only the
27 open window of the entry. Desperate
28 but bold he got out of the window
29 and held on to the ledge by his hands.
30 Not seeing him his pursuers returned for
31 a light to make a closer search, when he
32 kicked his feet through the sash of the 3^d
33 story window and with this support he
34 climbed back into the entry. The noise
35 of the breaking glass drew the Parietals
36 out into the yard in a pursuit of the stone
37 throwers, and my chum walked coolly down
38 by them and up to our room unsuspected—

1
2 It was a feat of nerve and strength few
3 collegians then would have dared and
4 it made him quite a hero for the nonce.
5 That night a meeting of the class was
6 called for the next morning under the
7 Rebellion tree, and with no debate and
8 but little noise and great firmness
9 we decided to attend no exercises until
10 Simmons was returned, the others let up
11 and Wheeler dismissed, and sent it as
12 our ultimatum to the faculty. Every
13 member with the exception of Higginson
14 signed the paper, and we sent it to the
15 President by a committee. The faculty
16 met and refused it, and threatened—
17 But the other classes joined with us and for
18 several days the college was in full
19 Rebellion, no prayers, no recitations, no
20 anything—but gatherings in the yard
21 cheers of defiance, groans for any officer
22 seen in the yard, and general rowdiness.
23 How it ended I never exactly knew for 'Uncle
24 David' Jr. going home from Cambridge and stopping
25 to leave my washing that he always carried,
26 gave such a wildly exciting account of matters
27 there, that Father started in the moonlight and
28 drove to Cambridge to bring me home. Arrived
29 after midnight a knocking at my door though
30 it waked me yet as I thought it some fellow
31 wanting me for some deviltry I slept on tired
32 with the excitement of the day while poor Father
33 finding the college all quiet was forced to try
34 Willards who wasnt easy to rouse up after he
35 had retired at the call of belated students, and I am
36 inclined to the belief kept the old gentleman cooling
37 his wrath and his heels all night—

1
2 Any way he knocked again before sunrise
3 and after finding Farnsworth, and I quietly
4 abed, and very cool and unexcited over the Rebellion
5 insisted on carrying me home to keep me
6 out of mischief, and as that avoided examinations
7 if there were any I unwillingly consented, and
8 we drove home to a late breakfast. Thus I got
9 an additional vacation of a week or more
10 while the Rebellion simmered down & at last
11 petered out. So after a good time at home I came
12 back to hear my name read out among
13 those having parts at commencement, my
14 first last and only college honor. The class
15 graduated forty four in number, and twenty three
16 or one more than half had parts assigned them
17 Mine was a dis something sertation or quisition I
18 dont remember which with two other fellows
19 Minot and [*in pencil, possibly in another hand: Rice*] subject Rome Athens &
20 Jerusalem.

21 I was utterly astonished, and so was everbody else,
22 none more so than Father who feared much I
23 should lose my degree. The only way I could ever
24 account for it was that the theme I mentioned
25 carried my marks higher than Minots and as he
26 must have a part, I couldnt be left out of one.
27 Any way I got it, wrote it in the 6 weeks before
28 vacation that the senior class then had without
29 lessons for the purpose, and enjoyed those weeks
30 too in many ways till Class Day came.

31 Ours was a failure. Orne the orator was drunk over
32 night and the oration a muddle with out sense
33 or declamation in which he excelled. The poem
34 I dont remember, and the spreads few and poor.
35 The dancing on the green I had anticipated as so
36 many of my lady friends were to be there
37 but it didnt go off well, and the cheering and tree
38 were unenthusiastic. The class supper at the Maverick
39 House East Boston was the best part. Farnsworth
40 and I drove over sat it out and got back at sunrise!!

1
2 I packed my trunk, said goodbye to my room and
3 college and without a regret left for home in
4 the mail stage that stopped at the same gate
5 as I entered at, and landed me in Concord to breakfast
6 How some trifling incidents cling to the memory
7 I can see that morning and the yard and room
8 as distinctly now after more than forty years
9 while all else even of these recollections are blurred
10 and hazy as was the morning I left home to enter.
11 Why this is thus who can say?

12 The summer vacation spun like magic with
13 so many pleasant things to be done & places to
14 visit & I had done so much better than any one
15 supposed, that every thing was lovely at home
16 Father took me on a trip to Nantucket staying
17 over a day and night in New Bedford where we
18 spent a delightful evening with Cha^s Warren
19 afterwards judge and later President of the Boston
20 and Providence R.R. a wonderful wit and most
21 genial companion, and over their wine they
22 discussed the politics of the state in a way that
23 opened my eyes, and gave me a new insight
24 into political management I never forgot.
25 The fine estates of Gov Swain, Mr Arnold, and
26 others were visited and duly admired and
27 after we had seen enough. We took a steamboat
28 for Nantucket. The harbor there was full of
29 whalers, the steamer anchored outside the bar
30 the canals not being ready or in use I forget which
31 and we were rowed to the beach where all the
32 town were waiting in carts backed into the surf
33 for the passengers—In one of these half filled
34 with pretty girls I got and was driven to Mrs Coffin
35 hotel and father coming in another we were
36 soon made to feel at home. Several old friends
37 called and I went to a pleasant party that
38 evening where were lots of pretty girls all
39 wearing quantities of bright jewelry I remember.

1
2 The next day was devoted to seeing whalers
3 and curiosities of the island, and after
4 dinner we were taken in the tip carts
5 over the wide sheep commons to seas
6 sconset or Sconset head with a merry
7 party of old and young men and women
8 and strolled on the beach or climbed
9 the sand hills had a prime supper
10 and got back in the moonlight &
11 made calls afterwards on our hosts.
12 Another day we came to N Bedford &
13 then home by rail Two things stuck in
14 my memory the peculiar walk the girls
15 had occasioned the mainlanders say
16 by a flirt of the heel to throw the sand out
17 of their slippers, and by which you could
18 tell an islander in the streets of New Bedford
19 The other a cinder in my eye that took very
20 much from my pleasure and bothered me
21 for a time after my return. It probably
22 prevented my seeing any thing so attractive
23 in any of the girls as to remember them.
24 It did not prevent the quaintness insularity
25 and peculiarness of the people from making
26 an impression that recurs to me whenever
27 I hear the name—It was a strange island—
28 Thoughts of commencement soon became
29 uppermost, cards of invitation to my spread
30 had to be written and sent to my particular
31 friends, as different from the sleek engraved
32 ones I now receive, as the home dainties
33 that Mother made and Betsy cooked from the
34 caterers luxuries of the present day. My part too
35 had to be copied and committed to memory
36 and sent in for correction, and Mr Goodwins
37 black silk gown borrowed of his widow
38 for the occasion & lots of other preparations.

1
2 I forget how many rehearsals old Channing
3 required but enough to take me back to
4 Cambridge some days before the great day
5 and to have our goodbye sprees duly finished
6 and to take leave of all the college.
7 I suppose it was my fault but I could not
8 recall a helping word or a kind act or
9 a useful hint from any one of my college
10 instructors in my whole course. I found not
11 a friend among them, and our whole relations
12 were that of foes and the course a battle.
13 I did not love either my alma mater, or any
14 of her officers, and did not care to ever see one
15 of them again, unless perhaps our two preachers
16 Drs Walker and Palfrey, whom I respected truly.
17 Of course under this state of things I had got
18 but little advantage from my course, and
19 the 'quos scio idoneos esse' of my diploma was
20 the rankest sarcasm, as many of us thought.
21 I said before that the college was then at its
22 lowest ebb, for before there had been zeal and
23 ambition in its students, if not in the instructors
24 but in my day, the outside interests were taking
25 strong hold of the students, and the professors & tutors
26 had not learned to grapple with these problems
27 in a way to excite or inform their pupils. The
28 whole was to me and to most of those I knew
29 a perfunctory task on both sides—and
30 poorly enough performed. Except some
31 leading of my own choice, and the intercourse
32 with bright fellows of my own age, I never
33 have seen any advantages my A.B. brought
34 or that I got for the time and money spent there.
35 My expenses for term bills, board, clothes, and pocket money
36 were 1st year \$. 2ⁿ year \$ 3^d year \$ 4th year \$
37 in all \$ as I find on looking back to
38 my account books, and I fear it was but wasted
39 principally through my own fault—

1
2 Commencement Day brought its crowds of
3 graduates, girls, and gallants, governor and
4 guards, and the old church on the square
5 was packed full, and the sea of upturned faces
6 that greeted me when I mounted the platform
7 was a sight to unnerve a bolder man. The
8 parts were then all delivered in the inverse order
9 of their rank except the latin salutatory. This
10 being first and serving as it wasnt understood
11 only to get the audience settled in their seats,
12 mine followed and so had the best place
13 in the programm. I was satisfied with it
14 whatever others were, and though it was
15 so jejune sophomoric, and commonplace
16 that I couldnt be hired to read it now, it was
17 a surprise and pleasure to my acquaintances
18 and went off better than even I expected.
19 The others dragged on for hours, and when the
20 orations came the throng were too tired and
21 hungry to enjoy them even if they had been
22 masterpieces as they were not, for there
23 were no brilliant men in the class and
24 Tom Higginson the youngest & perhaps the brightest
25 had the salutatory of which I have spoken.
26 The exercises over, my room was filled with
27 my friends including all the Concordites
28 and Walthamites, and the spread was very
29 agreeable. One young lady an old schoolmate
30 was fortunately present for the first time
31 at commencement, and meeting her
32 with the friends she was with, I brought her
33 in my triumph to my room to see her Concord
34 friends, little dreaming then of the effect
35 she was to have on all my after life, and
36 only glad she should see the proudest day of my life.

1
2 Enough of college, I came back to Concord
3 and taking two or three weeks to think
4 about what I should do about various
5 chances for teaching, including a Kentucky
6 school Dr Jarvis wrote to me of from Louisville
7 and one in New York Mr Shackford
8 knew of, and a plan for going out
9 to India with Augustine Heard that
10 came to nothing, I decided on the law
11 I was not fit for a school master, had
12 no facilities for getting into business
13 and as Father evidently preferred it
14 I entered my name in his office Sept 19,
15 1841 my twentieth birthday and began
16 Blackstone. The office was then in the
17 northwest corner of the Robbins harness shop
18 that stood on the site of the Town House
19 yard, at the corner of Bedford Street, and
20 the business being given up the other parts
21 were in use as Irish tenements. It was
22 a pleasant room facing the common
23 under the shade of the big elm with an
24 open piazza over the door that was very
25 inviting in summer, as from its shelter
26 the Court House, jail tavern stores all the
27 life of the village could be seen. Here
28 I brought Dr Ripleys old secretary, my
29 college sofa, a chair or two, and
30 taking down from the dusty shelves
31 of Fathers law book case a well worn
32 copy of the commentaries, read 8 hours a day

1
2 Into all the life there was going in Concord
3 I was soon plunged. Father had a little law
4 business, but not enough to be much
5 of an interruption to my reading, I
6 kept pretty strictly to my work for the
7 day time, but my evenings were devoted
8 to some thing else. Mr. Emerson had then the
9 habit of assembling at his house all
10 the villagers that were interested in the
11 discussions of the Transcendentalists
12 by whom he was surrounded. Margaret
13 Fuller, A.B. Alcott, et id omne genus held
14 forth in his parlor to any who would listen
15 and an additional attraction to me was
16 'Saint Mary' then teaching his children
17 and living there who inspired me with
18 something of the worship devout Catholics
19 have for their saints, and drew me there
20 oftener than philosophy would. Then
21 my friend of commencement day whose
22 father and mine from being old friends and
23 townsmen in their birthplace, had quarrelled
24 over anti masonry and didnt speak to
25 each other, was visiting at one of my
26 daily resorts, and attracted me the more
27 perhaps from the fact of the quarrel.
28 A photographer or daguerrotyper rather
29 had opened a saloon in Shepherds Hall and
30 to it as a new art all Concord flocked to be
31 taken and criticize. I had seen the plates
32 of Daguerres own work when they were
33 first exhibited in Boston at a show, and
34 became somewhat interested in the art.

1
2 I had kept up my pleasant acquaintance
3 with Thoreau who was at this time living
4 in his shanty at Walden, where I sometimes
5 went to see him, and oftener met him in his
6 walks or on the river. I had some of his
7 naturalist instincts and tastes, used
8 to compare notes with him on birds and
9 beasts, though I was no botanist as he was.
10 His life in Walden, has been somewhat
11 misrepresented as it was by no means
12 so much that of a hermit as is now thought
13 He was at Mr Emersons & the village
14 nearly every day, often partaking of his
15 meals there and at his fathers house
16 and though not intrusive was altogether
17 too egotistic to be either shy or retiring
18 He loved the woods the pond and the river
19 and having met a disappointment in his
20 other love, sought their consolation in
21 preference to that of society.

22 I had built and took great pleasure
23 in a dainty boat named the 'Fanny Elssler'
24 that would barely carry two, and was al-
25 most as crank as the wherries of later date
26 In this I occasionally persuaded a lady
27 friend to risk a row on the river.

28 I recall once at high water landing with
29 Jane Whiting on Egg Rock, and while sitting
30 chatting on the top, seems Fanny Elssler quietly
31 float downstream beyond recall. Waiting
32 and wondering how we should get away for
33 it was an island at that stage of the spring floods
34 old Capt Moore came whistling along was hailed
35 and brought back the truant boat, with a grin on
36 his old face, and a story of the adventure I heard of often
37 At another time with Martha, the oar caught in
38 roping under the bridge, the current tipped the boat
39 and we were barely saved by great exertion from drowning
40 and ending prematurely this interesting story-

1
2 Of my home I have not written much, so
3 here is a good time to describe it. It was
4 except 3 or 4 as comfortable as any in Concord
5 our parlor on the northwest corner being one
6 of the largest and handsomest in the
7 village, with two windows on the north and
8 west sides 15 ft wide and 21 long, a square
9 fireplace on the east side on the bright brass
10 andirons a blazing wood fire, with two back
11 logs to throw out the heat, and the free stone
12 jambs rubbed down every morning to reflect
13 it more perfectly. A wood colored three ply
14 carpet on the floor, a handsome mahogany
15 sideboard opposite the fireplace, whereon
16 all my boyhood stood well filled decanters
17 of wine and liquors that the temperance
18 movement and perhaps Fathers fears for me
19 had banished to the closet. A sofa at the
20 south end, a card table between the windows
21 on the north end, half a dozen cane seat
22 chairs, a large and small mahogany rocker
23 for Father & Mother, the four foot dining
24 table in the centre of the room as we eat
25 there in winter, and Mothers work table by the
26 fireside made the furniture. A chimney
27 glass the length of the wooden mantel, 3 oil paintings
28 and an engraving of taking the veil for ornaments
29 These paintings were part of a dozen that Col.
30 Hurd brought home from China it was
31 said where they were copied from Italian
32 landscapes but I believe they came from
33 the shores of the Mediterranean, and were
34 an old mill on the Tiber, a grotto near Naples
35 and a ruined castle, in tarnished gilt frames
36 Dr. Hurd and Col. Shattuck possessed the others and
37 and they were the only oil paintings in Concord.

1
2 A china closet at the south end filled the
3 rest of that end of the house well stocked
4 with the blue india china for our table
5 and white gilt edged french for extra occasions
6 Opening out of the south end was the middle
7 kitchen or dinning room of summer time
8 and from this an outer end door led onto
9 a broad piazza, and was the generally used
10 entrance. In the ell running back south to the
11 Court House wall was a good sized kitchen
12 and back room in which was the pump and
13 well, and turning east a woodshed in which
14 I have sailed in a tub in spring freshets.
15 Back stairs most generally used led from the
16 door of the kitchen to the chambers and
17 the cellar stairs underneath were only to be
18 got at through the dining room. On the east
19 side of the front entry and stairs a spare
20 front parlor used only in summer with
21 a straw matting and flag bottomed chairs
22 and between this and the kitchen a large
23 pantry called, from a former occupant
24 Mrs Sanderson's room—Two front and three
25 rear chambers filled the second floor of
26 the main house, and one over the ell was
27 finished as a second spare room, and the part
28 over the back room was called the mealchamber
29 for their were the barrels of meal and flour
30 The large garrett of the main house unfinished
31 was the great play place of stormy weather
32 and its dark sides under the eaves, its knot
33 holes and streaks of light through cracks
34 in the roof were noted marks of my childhood
35 There were only open fireplaces to warm the
36 rooms and all the cooking and heating was done
37 by these, and the chambers only warmed in sickness.

Keyes

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1
2 In the small yard at the west and north
3 ends were two lombardy poplars of
4 rather scraggly growth, and a fair sized
5 cherry tree each side of the front door
6 the fruit of which could be plucked
7 from the upper windows—On the east side
8 a much larger yard extended to bank the
9 barn and shed, fronting on this, and below
10 the bank a small garden to the lane, as
11 the road to Sleepy Hollow was always called
12 In the sheltered space between the kitchen ell
13 the piazza and the Court House wall was
14 a flower garden with an arbor of grape
15 vines next the wall. The sink drains ran
16 on the surface in paved gutters one of these
17 enriching the flower garden, and contested
18 the perfume of the flowers. Of these my
19 mothers monthly rose was her joy and pride
20 In a square wooden box painted green and
21 ornamented with picks and scallops
22 it stood in the parlor winters blooming
23 every month with clusters of pale roses
24 and transplanted summers to the garden
25 renewed its vigor. It was older than I was
26 and had required nearly as much care
27 to be kept growing and from freezing—
28 It was as tall as the room 7 or 8 feet, and often
29 bore a hundred blossoms at one time, and
30 these renewed monthly. It was almost the
31 only window plant kept in the town and
32 the admiration of all comers. It lasted
33 till the fire when it disappeared finally.
34 Opposite the house across the road Father had
35 a half acre kitchen garden, in which was
36 a strawberry bed one of the few in Concord and
37 the usual assortment of vegetables—

1
2 He also acquired about this time the lot
3 in rear of the Court House and our barn
4 after many fruitless attempts to buy it
5 moved off a little yellow low cottage
6 that stood on the lane, and tried to grow
7 something on its sandy slope but in vain.
8 In the house my brothers Joe and George had the
9 room next Mothers over the parlor, Betsy
10 the middle chamber, and I the east room
11 over the pantry. A relation or friend usually
12 one or the other staying with us the chamber
13 in the ell, and the front spare room with
14 its high post bedstead tester curtains & canopy
15 easy chair, was the guest room—Our
16 table was handsome not luxurious or costly
17 but plentiful and well cooked. Mothers pies
18 and cake were as good as could be made
19 both I and others thought. The garden furnished
20 all the vegetables in their season and I so
21 well remember in the cholera seasons
22 that Father would himself gather all the
23 varieties and bring them in fresh and
24 then go to his Post Office and get the news
25 from New York of the deaths and when
26 he came to dinner, order away untasted
27 all the nicely cooked dishes of corn, beans
28 cabbage or turnips or beets he had gathered
29 and the melons and fruits for fear of harm
30 while Betsy and Mother sometimes finished
31 them after he had returned to his office,
32 and tho then I did not care for the vegetables
33 guess I had my share of the fruits—Berry
34 puddings were a specialty with our cook
35 and I have never got over my love of them
36 especially when fried the second day—

1
2 The town had changed but little if any
3 thing business was duller, the experiments
4 of book printing that was tried in the new
5 block on the Mill Dam, had failed and
6 the rooms in it were emptys Shepard
7 had left Concord for Manchester NH.
8 and his tavern was running down, the
9 court terms had in part gone to Lowell
10 and the change made by the railroads was
11 beginning to be felt, altho we had just
12 begun to talk of one through Concord.
13 Dr Heywood the old magistrate and town
14 officer was gathered to his fathers and
15 no one had yet quite settled into the place.
16 Politically anti masonry had grown into
17 Democracy Gourgias was publishing the Freeman
18 in their interest, and Bemis the Gazette
19 in the Whig faith, and the Democrats carried
20 the town by a strong vote, electing their
21 candidates with hardly an exception—
22 Socially it was beginning to be more divided
23 by these influences, but the parties were
24 as gay and frequent as ever among the
25 young folks, of whom there were about as
26 many as ever. Singing however rather had
27 the better of dancing and if I enjoyed it I
28 could not do it. Yet we managed to have
29 some jolly dances in 'Si Davis hall on Main
30 st, and military and other balls at the taverns.
31 Thanksgiving we spent alternately at Waltham
32 and at home and this year had a great party
33 of the Waltham friends at Dr Hobbs after
34 dinner at Dr. Mullikens. We had 'Boulangers'
35 there and at Watertown that I attended generally.

1
2 The law progressed fairly well and at the
3 March term of the Common Pleas here
4 I attended closely while my classmate Henry
5 Smith was acting as junior with Ben Butler
6 and Hoar and Nelson were trying cases, to
7 which I listened as well as to Siah Adams good
8 stories, and Farleys brow beating witnesses.
9 Along then my fathers once friend and later
10 foe died suddenly in his prime, and this
11 brought his daughter and myself nearer
12 together, so that I helped her in the study of
13 Greek, and occasionally took a drive if
14 her horse needed exercising, and we were
15 good friends, as our fathers once were. The
16 summer came bringing the civil and
17 criminal terms good schools for me, and
18 some important cases I got interested in,
19 especially the indictment of Sam^l Parker
20 a lawyer for perjury before the Grand Jury in
21 trying to get Farley indicted for the same offence
22 I was asked by Farley to take minutes of his
23 testimony and did so as well as I could.
24 My only vacation was a weeks camping
25 at Sandy Pond in Lincoln woods with
26 Nelson Rice Hoar Dennis Moore Prichard
27 &c &c where we had great fun by ourselves
28 for both days and nights, and wound
29 up by asking the ladies to join us in a sail
30 on the pond, a fry and chowder, and a good
31 time outdoors. It made quite a sensation
32 and scandalized the temperance folk
33 not a little, as that movement was making
34 such headway that I think I even signed
35 some pledge or other at a meeting where
36 a pretty girl Helen Brown dared me to do it
37 with her. But it was in joke and I never
38 tried or intended to live up to it.

1
2 There was some religious excitement too
3 a new minister at the Universalest Church
4 Mr Fay, afterwards a politician and powder maker
5 and I think some Methodist interest started
6 Dr Ripley had died the fall before while the
7 old church was undergoing a thorough
8 alteration, the old spire was with much
9 effort pulled over, the building turned round
10 and raised up, a vestry made underneath
11 and new pews, pulpit, frescoes & hymn books
12 and Mr. Frost freed from the restraint
13 of the old Dr. started up some new life in
14 the old parish. I became interested and
15 not only went very regularly but took
16 a Sunday school class, and read good books,
17 and talked seriously with my friend of these
18 things. That season we were greatly excited
19 and alarmed by the burning of Phineas Hows
20 new store, where my cousin Henry Fuller
21 tended, who was my most intimate friend
22 of the Concord boys. I worked hard on the
23 engine to save the other houses, and as it
24 was discovered that the store had been robbed
25 and set on fire, helped watch and patrol
26 the town for some nights afterwards to try
27 to catch the thieves. It was soon found out
28 that an old school mate Horace Brown had
29 broken in plundered and burnt the store
30 some of the property was recovered from
31 Merrills blacksmith shop where it was stored
32 by Brown, and he arrested examined and
33 sent to prison. It was exciting enough
34 for a quiet village and as How failed
35 and was found hopelessly bankrupt
36 it made more than a nine days wonder.

1
2 At the beginning of the college year
3 I entered the Cambridge Law School
4 taking with my old class mate M^cClury
5 a room in Graduates Hall, over the stores ~~and~~
6 facing the rear, and boarding at Mrs.
7 Clarks, and coming home Sundays.
8 The Law School was in its palmiest
9 days, Judge Story lectured and taught
10 in his absences from the United States
11 Court, and was at the zenith of his
12 powers and usefulness. Simon
13 Greenleaf was the resident professor
14 giving us all the benefit of his long
15 experience and through training.
16 Several other lecturers on special topics
17 Charles Sumner, R H Dana, among them
18 helped, and the difference between the
19 college and the law school was marked.
20 I knew many of the students and soon
21 found the advantage of my office and
22 court experience over those without this
23 in understanding and applying the
24 books to practise. I studied hard, and
25 was helped and really taught much.
26 M^c. was rather boyish for a chum, but
27 I was sobered down enough to keep
28 him in check, and at Mrs Clarkes a new
29 and younger sett looked up to us older
30 ones as I had done on first going there.
31 All began well, and I made many new
32 acquaintances among the students, of
33 whom several became life friends.
34 The weeks went rapidly with Saturday and
35 Sunday at home, I recall my twenty first

1
2 birthday Sept 19 1842, when I felt myself
3 a man—and had a long walk with my
4 friend and I received a present from her
5 that was long remembered. During
6 the Thanksgiving holidays I became
7 engaged to her, and was as happy and
8 as much in love, as ever a fellow was.
9 My father was delighted with the engage-
10 ment, and took the greatest pleasure
11 in showing every kindness and attention
12 to Martha, perhaps from the return of his
13 old friendship for the family so long
14 interrupted, and every one I cared about
15 was satisfied. Her friends were not so
16 well pleased but this didnt trouble us
17 as we could enjoy their dissatisfaction
18 in the fulness of our happiness. So the
19 winter flew on the visits home and
20 the letters between filling the time so full
21 that the law suffered. I wrote and delivered
22 a lecture before the Concord Lyceum on crime
23 and had a moot court case in the school
24 and in the long vacation resumed my
25 desk in Fathers office for as much
26 of the time as I could not spend better.
27 We went together to all that was worth
28 the trouble, and visited at Waltham &c
29 to see and be seen by our relatives, 92½
30 I finished the year at Cambridge and
31 found the summer term and vacation
32 only too short. In June we had at Concord
33 the famous 'Webster week' when at the
34 trial of the 'Phoenix Bank' officers for the
35 embezzlement of its funds they were
36 defended by Daniel Webster Rufus Choate
37 Sidney Barllett and Franklin Dexter of Boston.

1
2 Nathaniel Hawthorne brought his bride
3 to the Old Manse in 1842, and as this
4 was close to Marthas home, we were
5 greatly interested in their establishment.
6 We had been shown as a great artistic
7 work their chamber set decorated by
8 Mrs H's hands with illustrations of
9 night and morning, Venus rising from
10 the ocean &c &c a la Flaxman's
11 illustrations of Homer if not copied
12 from them, then very much in fashion
13 We had seen the shy recluse with his
14 pale interesting face as he rambled over
15 the woods and fields, knew his bright
16 and lively wife, and at last I got
17 to be acquainted with him somewhat
18 by meeting him at a reading room then
19 kept in the Tolman building next the old house
20 His interest in politics took him there to
21 see the newspapers, and mine on the other
22 side helped, and though often silent, he could
23 talk very entertaingly. He accepted Fathers
24 invitation to our house during a pause
25 in the Wyman trial and drank a glass of wine
26 with a gusto, that gave me a new side of his
27 character. I was actively interested in his
28 works as they appeared, read them eagerly
29 & this perhaps he perceived and didnt dislike
30 Later when he came back to the Wayside and
31 after his stay in England I saw him again
32 and remember him best at a reception
33 given him by Mr. Emerson on his return
34 He was genial chatted freely and amusingly
35 over his experiences, and seemed really warmed
36 up to his neighbours by Mr Es sherry-.

1
2 Charles Allen and Huntington Dist Attys
3 and Judge Merrick on the bench. The
4 trial was by far the most famous of
5 the county, the court room was thronged
6 by the ladies of the town, and the bar was
7 full of lawyers, while the witnesses and
8 parties to the quarrel had hardly room—
9 It was before the days of reporting and
10 the course of the trial was followed in all
11 its dry details of figures and law points
12 with great interest day after day.

13 Daniel the great observed of all observers
14 fretted much at the protracted testimony
15 sought relief by a flirtation with a young
16 married woman Mrs Cheney which was
17 scandalizing to the old maids of the village
18 and would come into court and roar an
19 argument on some point or objection, or
20 growl a cross examination question or two
21 and then go off for a drive or a snooze.
22 The evenings were devoted to social teas
23 or parties, and Webster would unbend
24 and Choate gleam, Dexter fascinate
25 and Barllett sarcast the ladies, while
26 we poor country fellows had no chance—
27 It ended in a summing up by each as
28 marked by their individual styles and as fine
29 as that old Court House had ever heard. How
30 Barllett sneered, and Dexter in their
31 openings and Choate scintillated and
32 Webster thundered at the close. I doubt if
33 any trial brought out more eloquence
34 in New England, and all to a disagreement
35 of the jury, and a quarrel between Webster and
36 Allen that was to have a political consequence.

1
2 I voted for the first time at the November
3 election the Whig ticket, and recall the
4 contest over the choice of representative
5 for we had the town system, and had
6 several ballots before we made an election
7 [*two overwritten indiscernible words; the first is underlined*] spring town
8 meeting at which
9 I made my maiden speech on the question
10 of discontinuing the old south bridge.
11 I had paced the two roads and stated the
12 difference, and the saving in expense
13 so that it carried the appointment of
14 a committee to petition the County Com^{ts}
15 I was not put on the committee being
16 too young, and they didnt succeed in getting
17 the bridge given up. Why I never knew till
18 years afterwards when Mr. Cheney told me.
19 It seems that Mrs Hosmer, then living at the
20 cottage, would have the few rods farther
21 to walk if the petition was granted, and Mr.
22 Cheney so forcibly urged this old woman's
23 lameness on 'Siah Adams' then chairman of
24 the com^{ts}, that in spite of all the arguments
25 the saving of cost, and the danger from the
26 rail road, the claims of personal friendship
27 prevailed and Concord was compelled to
28 build a new bridge there, and maintain it
29 ever since. It would have been far cheaper
30 to have built the old woman a house
31 in the village, or hired her a carriage
32 for life! The railroad had been chartered
33 organized, at my fathers expense through
34 the manoeuvres of How Hoar &c with
35 David Loring as Concord director, and was being
36 built entirely out of the proper place!

1
2 This made a start in Concord dulness and
3 that summer was livelier than any before
4 Belknap the contractor with his fast teams
5 came here to live, and houses were bought
6 and moved about at the west end, by
7 him, and Joel Britton, wood lots cut off
8 for sleepers, and Irishmen imported to lay
9 them, till it was no longer a quiet Concord.
10 After the summer vacation, an idyllic
11 one to us in walks, rides, sails and strolls
12 was over. I entered my name in Esq Mellen's
13 office at Wayland. I had got enough of books
14 at the Law School. I wanted to see practise.
15 Mellen had one of the largest in the county and
16 Wayland was a quieter town than Concord. I
17 was anxious to be admitted, that I might be
18 married, for the one step must wait the other.
19 I went after my birthday found a dirty little
20 office, a nice boarding place at Mrs Woods,
21 and a bright agreeable lady in Mrs Mellen.
22 Somerby who had taught in the town & whose
23 name was in the office, was away teaching
24 A younger student was in his place, and the
25 office clients and business was turned over
26 to me while the Squire was off at court.
27 I soon got the run of it and of the Depy Shff
28 Heard, the justice and the trader of the same name
29 and went at briefs, writes, and collections.-
30 I saw all there was of Wayland, its people
31 institutions, and amusements-not much to see
32 Read my lecture to their & the Littleton Lyceum
33 that winter, skated home, walked home, rode
34 home, and drove home, as often as I could
35 and wrote home when I couldnt get there.
36 Read some queer books I found in the office
37 tried my first justice case and won it too,
38 and got through the winter not unhappily

1
2 The year 1844 was much my most eventful
3 and at first was quiet and serene as
4 if it were to be so throughout. In March
5 I said goodbye to Wayland and came home
6 to the term of the C C Pleas which Judge
7 Cummings an old political friend of
8 my fathers held, and to him I applied
9 for admission. Dissy [?] Smith had been
10 admitted a year before and had become
11 an authority on practise to all the bar.
12 I passed an easy examination at the
13 judges chambers in the old Middlesex and
14 the next day was sworn in as an attorney
15 and counsellor at law. Some one I have
16 forgotten who, was admitted with me
17 perhaps it was John Nourse my friend of the
18 Law School. I opened my office with my
19 fathers and began practise March 20th
20 Found something to do at law made an
21 occasionally writ, wrote a few deeds
22 and more damning letters, and tried some
23 small cases before Justice Ball.
24 At June term I entered two or three actions
25 and had some criminal business. But
26 the political campaign was in full blast
27 and another great county meeting
28 was to be held July 4th and I had taken
29 interest enough to be secretary of the
30 Committee of Arrangements of which
31 Hoar E. R was chairman. He was so
32 busy with the district attorneyship pro tem
33 that much of the local work fell to me
34 and I did what I could The gathering
35 was twice as large as the one in 1840,
36 for the rail road was opened to Concord

1
2 June 17, and brought several trains full
3 crowded to their utmost. Maj Allen
4 of Somerville was cheif marshal
5 and I acted as one of his aids. There
6 was a military escort, bands & delegations
7 from every town in the county, with
8 banners and mottoes The big ball was
9 rolled out again its mottoes revised
10 and reprinted, that in particular
11 "With Tip and Tyler
12 We'll bust Van's biler" and this added
13 With Tyler alone
14 We busted our own
15 The procession formed at the R. R. Depot
16 marched to the battleground and on
17 the Ripley Hill opposite closed en masse
18 about the speakers stand at the foot
19 of the hill next to the road. Mr. Hoar
20 presided I think, and the prayer by Rev.
21 Sam^l. Ripley of Waltham was so enthustastic
22 and inspiring that we marshals had all
23 we could do to prevent the crowd cheering
24 [*in another hand: & was hard to hear him*] Webster, Choate, Everett, Berrien
25 of Georgia
26 Winthrop, and others famous in that
27 campaign spoke in 'words that burn'
28 for hours, and the procession reformed
29 and marched to the marquee near the
30 Depot on the plain in front where from
31 8 to 10000 were fed at the tables, and more
32 speeches, made and hurrahs given, and
33 toasts drank in lemonade, till night fell
34 and the tired Whigs got home as best they
35 could. It was more successful than the
36 previous one, if the campaign was not.

1
2 After this was over and cleared up our
3 preparations for the marriage went on
4 with the furniture buying & house fixing
5 as we were to board at Fathers after it
6 and the NE front room & one behind
7 it and the ell chamber were to be ours,
8 and there were several things to be done.
9 So there were trips to Boston with Mother
10 returning from one of these we found
11 Father sick, and the Dr came said it
12 was bilious chollic and prescribed the
13 common remedies, but with no effect.
14 He grew worse for a day or two and then
15 took croton oil, and we anxiously watched
16 the result. He was relieved and though
17 very weak got better and stronger for
18 a few days till he sat up part of the time
19 and I decided to go to commencement.
20 Martha spent the day with him, and
21 I with my classmates and I came home
22 at night to find all right, and walked
23 to her house in the evening. When I got
24 back Father was screaming in agony
25 Dr and Mother doing all in their power
26 to relieve him, and it was toward morning
27 before he was quieted by laudaum. Then
28 I slept a little and found him dying gone
29 beyond reviving with every effort and
30 before noon he was dead. Aug. 28, Aet 58
31 The day had lost its brightness, the sun was
32 paler, there was a blow that darkened
33 every prospect, I had never dreamed or
34 imagined the desolation of our home.

1
2 The funeral, the work of the world to be
3 taken on my shoulders my mother & brothers
4 care, the business and property concerns,
5 I cannot tell the weight they made on my
6 heart. I had not thought I cared much for him
7 but the loss was overpowering by its greatness
8 and its suddenness. Elsewhere I have written
9 my mature life view of his character
10 and ability. I cannot so much later add
11 to that picture, more than is herein shewn
12 I recall now only my grief and distress at
13 his sudden death. But the days went
14 by somehow, and our marriage which we
15 had planned 18 months before for my next
16 birthday, must be postpone or the
17 preparations completed. We decided to go
18 on and were published the next Sunday
19 as the law then required 3 publications.
20 It seemed like Hamlet's funeral bake meats
21 and all invitations were given up save
22 that to my chum to be groomsman that
23 had been sent. It was to be a very quiet
24 family wedding, and fortunately for us
25 the great Whig gathering on Boston Common
26 was fixed for the same day. So when
27 the 19th came it was as quiet as it was
28 pleasant. There was a cloudless sky
29 a bright beautiful September day.
30 After a long walk together in the fore
31 noon, we were married at our own room
32 in the evening only our nearest relations
33 & my chum and Marthas friend besides, by Mr
34 Frost, and a sober wedding it was. After the
35 ceremony I executed my will and wrote a page of my journal

1
2 Our honeymoon was spent quietly in
3 our home, and had no interruption
4 by travel or sightseeing. Our
5 rooms were all we wished nicely
6 furnished with mahogany that we still
7 use, and we enjoyed life there extremely
8 Mother kept house and we boarded with
9 her and the boys, and all was harmonious
10 I found that in the 6 mo I had earned
11 by the law about \$325.00 including
12 charges, and with this I was satisfied
13 Martha had of her own property some
14 \$3 to 4000, which would have been doubled
15 but for the easy going of the administrator,
16 Nathan Brooks Esq. who though he settled
17 everybodys estates, and was as honest
18 as the day if this was a specimen would
19 have done less harm if he had been a sharper.
20 I was determined my fathers estate should
21 be better managed, as I administered
22 and belive of it there was no losses.
23 The inventory was over \$40,000 a larger
24 sum than had ever been inventoried before
25 in Concord, and all earned by himself.
26 It made Mother and us three boys very well
27 off, but not rich, and no difference was
28 made in our style of living. Betsy our
29 girl had gone and we had a Jane instead
30 and as Martha took the care of her own
31 rooms there was not more to do for us
32 Except losing my wedding ring on a drive
33 to Lowell Court I recall nothing special
34 that happened that fall and winter

1
2 In the spring we planned and executed a trip
3 to Niagara Falls with Mother, and Abba,
4 my wifes half sister. We went by rail to Albany
5 N.Y. enjoying the scenery of the Western RR
6 were nearly mobbed by the hackmen there
7 Thence to Trenton Falls seeing them by moonlight, and
8 thence to Rochester stopping at Auburn to see
9 the prison under the guidance of a contractor
10 for the labor whom we got acquainted with
11 in the cars, and came to know very well
12 later on, Julia Woods father. At Rochester
13 we staid some days with Marthas cousins
14 then running that R.R. and went on to Buffalo
15 and Niagara Falls. Here though at first
16 disappointed we remained long enough
17 to get the full influence of the wonder and
18 strength of the cataract, viewing it from
19 both sides and enjoying Table Rock not then fallen
20 and the Canada shore much the most. After
21 several days here we took the cars down the
22 river bank to Queenstown, and queeer carriages
23 on wheels they were, saw Lundy Lane Battle
24 Ground, and met an old schoolmate then
25 engineering the Welland Canal. Had a steamer
26 toll the lake to and returning by rail
27 to Rochester and Troy N.Y. took a days steamer
28 down the river seeing the wreck of the
29 Henry Clay lost the previous summer
30 with many passengers, and staid in N.Y.
31 a few days at my aunts, in Hammersly St
32 where I had been before. Abba staying with
33 our friends the Hudsons then at very quiet
34 housekeeping in the city. We had a good time
35 here seeing the sights, and especially High
36 Bridge, & the Croton Aqueduct & Reservoirs
37 then recently completed. We returned by the
38 sound, and leaving the cars at Framingham got
39 home Sunday morning before June Court.

1
2 I was busy with a full bar of the lawyers
3 at the calling of the docket the Tuesday
4 following when an alarm of fire caused
5 the court to break up, and the old Middlesex
6 Hotel was burnt to the ground. It caught
7 from a defective flue, and in an hour
8 was entirely consumed, no other buildings
9 were burnt tho in much danger, and
10 the prisoners in jail were removed as it
11 was within 30 or 40 ft of the hotel. A good
12 story was told and I think truly of my old
13 law teacher E Millen Esq who rushed up
14 to his room at the first alarm seized
15 a valise and brought it safely out when
16 on looking at it & finding it not his own
17 with a lawyers care and prudence carried
18 it back to the room and bore away his
19 own, leaving that to its fate. I believe
20 it was rescued with much of the furniture
21 but the old hall, bar room dining room
22 and parlor that had seen so much, and
23 heard more of the good old times gone by,
24 were wiped out. It made quite a hole
25 in Concord, and although rebuilt after
26 a year or more the new one never had
27 the business or the success of the old.

28 This season I was chosen 3^d lieutenant
29 of the Concord company, my first military
30 experience, and under Capt Richard Barrett
31 trained for the first time at muster & fall
32 parade. I was also chosen a director and
33 solicitor of the Concord Bank in my fathers
34 place, a trustee of the Savings Bank, and
35 had become a settled well to do citizen

1
2 I think I was older that year than I have
3 ever been since, the cares and responsibilities
4 of life coming so rapidly on me at four
5 and twenty, I recall the joke upon it
6 my wife delighted so much in, of the
7 woman who called to see me, and enquired
8 of her if her father was at home,' 'My husband
9 you mean' she said with a young brides accent.
10 'Oh I beg pardon I've only seen him once or twice'
11 and as Martha was three and a half years
12 my senior she was proportionality pleased.
13 Oct 13th. our first boy was born, and with
14 Rockwood Hoar's first boy christened
15 at church, John and Samuel respectively for
16 their grandfathers. Our's lived but a short
17 year but long enough to show us that he was
18 of a finer make and more promise than any
19 of our other children. His death almost
20 broke down my wifes health, and as soon
21 as she was able we went to Gloucester with
22 her sister for the benefit of sea air and rest,
23 and had a quiet fortnight at the old Niles
24 Tavern and in strolls and rides over the cape
25 and beaches, including the stage ride from
26 Salem, which was very lovely even then—
27 After this I worked away with what heart I
28 could at my profession, losing some cases
29 and winning few, till in May 1847 our home
30 was blessed with a daughter who brought
31 back life and cheer to our hearts. In 1846
32 I was chosen a member of the Social Circle
33 in the place of R N Rice who took Fathers
34 place, and who removed to Michigan after
35 his failure in business in the Green store &
36 keeping the railroad station for a year or two
37 He took letters from me to my wifes cousin there.

1
2 I was nominated by the Whigs for town rep-
3 resentative in 1845, and might have been
4 chosen but for the Fitchburg R.R. interest
5 which didnt like me. I had worked so hard
6 as to have got a Whig majority in Concord, and
7 being over persuaded declined, and Capt Stacy
8 a negative non committal sort of a man was
9 chosen. I once tried it again in 1847 and was beaten by [name undeciphered]
10 155 to 103 I was promoted to second lieutenant
11 of the company, which kept up its efficiency
12 though its rival the old Light Infantry
13 after several resuscitations was about dead.
14 I began to have a voice in town meetings
15 was put in [*indiscernible words canceled*] committees and in short
16 was as forth putting as ever.
17 1848 brought the presidential election,
18 and tho I had but little sympathy for the
19 Mexican War, yet I had a great admiration
20 for Gen Taylor old 'Rough and Ready' who won
21 our victories, and stuck by the Whig colors
22 when the conscience Whigs on his nomination
23 discarded it and went over to Van Buren.
24 Hoar led away most of the Concord Whigs but
25 a sturdy few held on, and fought a good
26 fight. I was rather 'to the fore' wrote to Dr
27 Palfrey a letter asking him if he would
28 support Gen Taylor, and published his reply
29 which defeated him for Congress for
30 several trials. I then 27 was nominated
31 for the Senate on the Whig ticket, then elected
32 by the whole comity six in all, with Col Nelson
33 Tup Wentworth, John Sargent and an old farmer
34 from Natick and another from Ashby. We
35 made a fair run but as a majority was
36 the rule, the Free Soilers and Democrats prevented
37 an election. The victory in the country and state
38 was a compensation for this partial defeat
39 and was rejoiced over with hurrahs by the glorious
40 forty two, in Concord. Here politically Hoar and I
41 parted company and we have staid apart since.

1
2 The Legislature met in Jan'y 1849 and the vacancies
3 in the Senate were filled up with Whigs at once.
4 I remember that we had invited a large party of
5 young and old that night and had a pleasant time
6 when Esq Barrett then state treasurer came in
7 bringing me notice of my election, and adding
8 to the eclat of the occasion what had not been
9 anticipated. I with the others took our seats the
10 next day in that respectable body, and think
11 I was younger than any one before or almost since
12 At any rate I was a mere boy and among forty
13 Whig senators in a very poor place. As the youngest
14 I had the lowest seat with D.C. Baker of Lynn
15 across the aisle he being next me in age, and
16 we formed a lasting friendship. I was put
17 on the Military Com. from my rank I suppose
18 as first lieut to which I had risen, and on the
19 Committee on Education. It was not a very
20 distinguished Senate, but it had some very
21 good fellows in it, and the House had more.
22 I took with the rest a room at the Revere
23 House, attended faithfully to my duties, had
24 some sharp fights in the Committee on Education
25 over incorporating a Catholic College for one
26 and came to know C.W. Upham of Salem the
27 chairman, J Lothrop Motley and Erastus Hopkins
28 of Northampton house members of it very
29 well. Besides the Middlesex lawyers, Lord of Salem
30 Dawes of Pittsfield, Train of Framingham Devins
31 of Greenfield and Bullock of Worcester were in the
32 Legislature and we made a club at the Revere
33 having a parlor, that had much work fun
34 and politics well mixed with hot whiskey
35 for the winter nights. I had but one hobby
36 to fight the Fitchburg R.R. and in this I failed
37 I had some prominence early in the session for
38 Esquire Joe the State Treasurer died suddenly and
39 as his townsman to make the announcement
40 and arrange a legislative com funeral at Concord
41 for him, which was duly attended.

1
2 I made but little talk as was proper for so young a
3 senator, but I knew everybody of prominence
4 in politics and worked for certain friends in the dis-
5 posal of the offices that came with the change
6 of administration. I had rather assumed my fathers
7 place in the county, and as I believed owed my early
8 election to the knowledge the county had of him
9 than to my merits. Indeed our names being so nearly
10 alike many people voted for me thinking it him.
11 We put Devins in as U.S. Marshal, P. Greely as Collector
12 and N.W. Coffin as Navy Agent, and divided the spoils
13 as best we could. Of course Danil Webster Abbott
14 Lawrence and R.C. Winthrop and such magnates
15 really decided these matters, but as we boys had done
16 the work of the campaign, and been well patted
17 on the shoulder by them while engaged in it, we
18 were still pleasantly allowed to do something
19 about the selection of officers. It made a busy
20 exciting winter. I usually staid in Boston 3 or 4
21 nights in a week, and this with attending court
22 at Cambridge where I had some business kept
23 me at work. I recall but little of interest in
24 the legislation of the year, and in the Senate
25 with no opposition we had to be very gingerly
26 about treading on each others toes. I would
27 far rather have been in the House where
28 there was more freedom and interest. The
29 session ended however in a funny incident
30 worth telling I had of course been put on as
31 one of the senatorial overseers of Harvard
32 College, and the exhibition coming the last
33 day of the session when I didnt care to be in
34 my seat for some reason I have forgotten
35 I determined therefore to attend the Cambridge
36 exercises and see how the college was getting on
37 It didnt occur to me that on the last day neither
38 governor nor any of the dignitaries would be
39 able to get away from the Legislature till on
40 arriving I found myself the only member
41 of the board present to examine the college.

42

43

1
2 I had kept somewhat up with college having
3 attended commencement mainly to see our
4 class meetings, while Brooks & Ned. Hoar in 45
5 Friz Hoar G Bartlett, G Heywood had kept up the
6 Concord line of graduates. My brother Joe had
7 entered and thanks to Everetts folly and his own
8 had a chequered course, and got rusticated
9 for a year at Lunenburg with Babcock!
10 His class finished this year and gave me an
11 additional reason for examining the college.
12 Snuffy old Sparks was the President, Everett
13 having resigned, and on reaching University
14 Hall I found the faculty I used so to dread
15 in solemn waiting for the committee!!!
16 Informing them of the reason why no others
17 would probably attend, they began their reports
18 of the condition of their several departments
19 To those professors who used to dead me so often
20 I put questions and comments in their own
21 style and wasn't it nuts to me not seven
22 years out of their clutches to get them into mine
23 old Channing, Beck, and Benny Pierce caught
24 a cross examination, they little imagined &
25 I chuckled mightily over their squirming—
26 soberly pocketing their written reports and
27 gravely informing them I would make my
28 report on the state of the University to the
29 full committee, I led the way to the chapel
30 on the arm of the President and sitting in
31 the seat of honor, heard the exhibition
32 parts, and gravely pencilling notes on my
33 programme, I watched the boys and girls
34 out of the corner of my eye, and hugely en-
35 joyed the queer change of a few short years.
36 I think it was one of the most complete
37 revenges of times whirligig I ever met!
38 As we started off in state again J.T. Austin ex
39 Attorney Gen^l. arrived and after conferring
40 with me, helped to eat the dinner in Commons
41 Hall, but well served, and relieved me of the reports
42 and the response in behalf of the overseers.!

1
2 Returning from the Legislature and Cambridge
3 to the law and Concord, I got ready for June Court
4 and it was well underway, when an alarm
5 of fire broke on the stillness of midnight. Our
6 room in the ell was undergoing repairs and we
7 were sleeping in the front chamber with the
8 windows open, and the first cry of Fire Fire Court
9 House on Fire, took me out of bed and down stairs
10 seizing my pail of water I rushed out doors and
11 not scaling the fence easily went to the front door
12 of the Court House unlocked and opened it but the
13 smoke was too thick to get far inside. Mother
14 who had gone to the pump for water stepped
15 out with her pail to the back door where the
16 fire was kindled and blazing up and where
17 if we had met we might have put it out.
18 As it was we both returned to the house and
19 began preparations to move our things out.
20 The engines came but too late to do anything
21 except save other buildings. The neighbours
22 rushed in and began clearing our house. I
23 sent the baby Annie to the Goodnows, and locking
24 our parlor door & telling Martha to sit there
25 and keep every one out till I came, rallied
26 a squad of the company boys and with their
27 aid safely removed every article of our parlor
28 furniture beyond the fires reach, without a
29 scratch or mark except a nick in the marble top
30 of the centre table. By this time the flames had
31 mounted to the cupola of the Court House and
32 made a splendid show. This two story lantern
33 with its 16 large windows blazed fiercely the
34 gilt eagle on top shone, scorched & quivering
35 and fell with the crash of the roof to the ground
36 At this critical time the water gave out, the
37 engines had to be moved to the brook for a supply
38 and our house caught from the intense heat
39 of the fire and was burned up completely—
40 Every thing of consequence was saved except our
41 school books and some clothing in a forgotten
42 closet, and the morning dawned hot and dry
43 on a scene of desolation and ashes, with
44 all our possessions lining the road & common

1
2 Some amusing incidents were connected with the
3 fire, Judge Hoar black and grimy with smoke
4 heard our pig squealing in the barn cellar then
5 in flames with lighted hay dropping, and going
6 to its rescue, got an addition of dirt and manure
7 lifting it in his arms over the wall, I never
8 have forgotten the scene as I came to his help,
9 and poor piggy freed with some burns ran
10 wildly to Capt Barretts on the hill before he
11 stopped as if knowing there was a friendly home.
12 Old Nealy a big fat course lubberly fellow
13 searching in the cellar for drinkables &
14 finding in his thirst an earthen pitcher
15 filled put it to his mouth and taking a long
16 drink sputtered out 'Soft Soape By Gad'
17 that made a shout of laughter from all who
18 saw it, and this [word undeciphered] of soap and the cordwood
19 were the only matters the insurance co disputed.
20 The question of whether they were provisions
21 was left out to Judge Hoar who after argument
22 recommended 'splitting the difference' and both
23 parties acquiesced.

24 We took up our quarters at Emiline Barretts
25 boarding house next door. Mother soon went
26 to Waltham, Joe was at Cambridge and George
27 in Boston, and we sweltered through that
28 summer in a hot close chamber with our
29 clothes in Shattucks store then given up from
30 business by Henry who had run it out,
31 our furniture in my office building and
32 wherever else we could find a place for it.
33 It was a sudden lively and entire change,
34 and a new and strange experience to us. On
35 the whole we fared more comfortably than
36 we expected, and I do not recall any long
37 absences from Concord that season by it.
38 It changed my real estate operations materially
39 I had taken in the division of Fathers property
40 the office lot and the garden lot as my share
41 of the real estate, and had planned a stone cottage
42 on the garden site some year or two before.

Keyes

1 [context suggests 110 should follow 109 rather than 109½] 109½
2 The Committee on Education had arranged
3 to visit and examine the state normal schools
4 in the summer and did so going to Newton
5 and then to Westfield. We and our ladies
6 met at the Massassoit House in Springfield
7 by appointment. Mrs Upham a matronly
8 Salem lady the mother of a dozen children
9 Mrs Motley a Boston society swell, and
10 some young lady relatives, & some of the others
11 met and we spent an agreeable evening
12 together. The next day we drove over the river
13 to Westfield saw the young ladies at their
14 exercises made speeches &c &c. Then we
15 came back to Springfield and in the summer
16 evening took that delightful ride up
17 the Connecticut in the train to Greenfield
18 and there left the Motleys, having parted
19 with Hopkins & his wife at Northampton
20 Dr Sears was of the party in his capacity
21 of Secretary of the Board of Education
22 and altogether it was one of the most
23 agreeable incidents of the legislative course
24 I think we found and visited Marthas sister
25 then at the Water Cure in Brattleboro and
26 spent a day or two in that lovely town
27 returning by the Fitchburg R.R.
28 Of this I have no such clear recollection
29 as of the crossing the bridge at Deerfield
30 after a summer shower, just as the sun
31 broke out below the cloud, and made
32 a vivid rainbow exactly spanning
33 the river east of our train, as we halted
34 at the station. It laid down on the hill sides
35 as a brilliant shading to the green banks
36 and seemed a [*indiscernible overwriting*] span, crossing from
37 hill top to hill top a pathway for angels.
38 It was the most beautiful sight I ever
39 witnessed, of that sort of phenomenon.

1
2 Not liking this site exactly I had bought of
3 J M Cheney the westerly half of the Jones
4 lot on the Main Street running to the river
5 and including the house and the great elm
6 tree by the spring thereon. I had the previous
7 year removed the house from under this
8 tree to the extreme west side of the lot, and
9 let it to W^m E Channing who lived in it with
10 some talk of purchasing it. I wanted it now
11 myself very much but in the confusion
12 of the fire had mislaid his note taking it
13 for a term, and was obliged without this
14 to let him purchase it on the terms talked of
15 [*Paragraph symbol?*] Before planning a house on that lot such
16 as we wished to build, a verbal offer for
17 the lot came from T. B Mackay, and waiting
18 this completion, we hired Mr Eatons new house
19 on our street, now Mrs Richardsons, which he
20 had recently built, and removing to Pittsburg
21 had left with Silas Holden for a care taker
22 of it, to leave if a tenant offered. Waiting
23 a month for Mr Holdens mother in law
24 to get well enough they moved out and we
25 moved in and had our first dinner Aug
26 5th in our own house, my wife housekeeping
27 Here we were quite comfortably established
28 the rooms were pleasant and convenient
29 Mother had the front chamber we the back,
30 with a nursery attached, then the girl, and the
31 boys Joe & George the west in the end of the ell—
32 And here we had my military friends at
33 muster for I had been chosen captain of
34 the co and then very promptly major of the
35 Regiment, and could ride much better and
36 easier than I could march, here too that
37 winter we entertained Dr Sears & Dr Hayes
38 Lyceum lecturers for with Mr Emerson and
39 Mr Frost I was a curator of that institution
40 and had a regular quarrel over Phillips and
41 an abolition lecture before the Lyceum—

1
2 This was an old grievance. Years before the
3 abolitionists insisted upon having him lecture
4 because they could thus get an audience and
5 could not for an anti slavery meeting. My
6 father took up the objection that such topics
7 as abolition and temperance were not proper
8 in a literary course to which all parties went
9 any more than political or sectarian addresses
10 would be. Added to this was his disgust
11 at Phillips attacks on the Constitution
12 and Union, and there were hot debates
13 at special meetings of the Lyceum over the
14 question. I remember one where Father most
15 fiercely attacked Phillips' sentiments and
16 expressions, and charged him with 'leading
17 captive silly women' and foolish men, that
18 made a buzzing like a hornets nest, and
19 Phillips himself was got to the meeting to
20 answer the attack, which he did eloquently
21 I thought but not logically or effectively.
22 This had slumbered unforgotten and came up
23 in my time, when it fell to me to advocate
24 the same views and have another row over
25 it. This time they didnt as they threatened to
26 bring Phillips himself to put me down, but
27 set Dr Bartlett & Col Whiting &c to advocate
28 their cause. I always thought I had the better
29 of that encounter, even if Mrs Brooks their
30 leader did contradict my statements in the open
31 meeting with the words 'Thats false Mr Keyes'
32 and my reply with a low bow 'I had it Madam
33 from your own husband' and left them to settle
34 the dispute. Any how our side carried their point
35 and Phillips didnt lecture on abolition before
36 the Lyceum, and as I remember Mr Emerson
37 for that reason wouldn't. It was the only
38 difference I ever had for a moment with Mr—
39 Emerson and I have often regretted that I let
40 Mr. Frost put me up to that disagreement.

1
2 Leaving my wife child and mother well settled
3 in our new home I started with Dr Mulliken
4 for a trip to Washington. Dan. Baker joined
5 us and we staid over a day or two in New York
6 and on leaving found on the ferry boat at
7 Jersey City, Somerby my old Wayland compeer
8 on his wedding trip. We had a slow journey
9 changed to a steamer on the Deleware River
10 and were delayed by fog reached Philadelphia
11 the next morning, and ran by rail across
12 Delaware seeing our first sight of slavery
13 in a pouring rain after the ferry at Havre
14 De Gras and reaching Washington late in the
15 afternoon of a winters day. I think we
16 staid at the National, it may have been Willards
17 and soon became familiar with the wretched
18 miserable mixture of public buildings and
19 shanties then composing the Nations capital.
20 Dr. M staid but a day or so as business prevented
21 but such politicians as we boy senators were
22 not content with so short a visit. The contest
23 for the speakership was in full
24 and Winthrop was the Whig candidate with Cobb
25 of Georgia Democratic, and a handful of
26 Free Soilers supporting Giddings holding
27 the balance of power. It had kept the House
28 unorganized for weeks and was growing
29 more fierce daily. Admitted to the floor of both
30 chambers as senators, in the old Capitol then being enlarged
31 how we exulted in the place Massachusetts
32 held under the lead of our friend from Springfield
33 Geo Ashmun the Whig leader, and watched the
34 varying fortunes of the discussions & ballots
35 for days, spending hours in the halls of Congress
36 and evenings at the rooms of our delegations
37 there being still a vacancy in my district
38 while Daniel P King of Essex was Bakers friend.

1
2 One scene in the old Senate Chamber now the
3 Supreme Court room I remember vividly
4 The Senate were waiting for the House to organize
5 and having nothing to do, some one offered a
6 resolution of welcome to Kossuth then
7 in this country. It was a fine chance for
8 senators to air their eloquence on both
9 sides of the Chamber, and 'there were giants
10 in those days' eager and ready for debate.
11 In that one morning session I heard finer
12 specimens of their several styles in short
13 speeches from Clay, Calhoun, Crittenden,
14 Benton, Berrien, Cass, Silas Wright, Marcy
15 and many others, than would often be listened
16 to in a months session. In the height of it
17 Daniel Webster made his appearance for
18 the first time that session, and stalked in
19 all his godlike power down the aisle—
20 The speaker paused, the senators bowed as Mr
21 Webster took his seat a greeting that seemed
22 to acknowledge his greatness with almost awe
23 He received it as the homage to a Lord and
24 settled himself in his seat with an air of
25 pride and haughtiness showing how great
26 he felt even among his peers. The debate
27 went on until at last Webster rose and
28 in a deep bass almost growl thundered
29 out a few sentences that covered all the
30 points and so masterly answered all objections
31 and summed up the matter that no one dared to
32 reply, and the vote was carried on his side—
33 Then when the Senate adjourned, how warmly
34 he was greeted and thawed into the genial
35 whole hearted man he really was. I saw him
36 several times during my visit, and had some
37 talk with him over Concord courts & people
38 and called on Clay, Geo Evans, Berrien &c &c.

1
2 I saw during this visit the President Gen^l.
3 Taylor, most of the Cabinet, and went
4 the rounds of the departments in the usual
5 style. Somerby and his wife staid a day or two
6 and introduced me to winsome lassie he met.
7 Dan. Baker at last had to leave for he was
8 very busy, and was making a fortune
9 rapidly in California shipments & shoes,
10 and I was left waiting the result in the House
11 At last it came Winthrop was beaten and
12 Cobb elected. I saw him take the chair call
13 the House to order, and then left for home
14 in company with Gen Schouler of the Atlas,
15 bringing canvass backs from Webster
16 to his wife in Boston, after giving us a taste
17 of them at his rooms the night before.
18 How we ran the trip from Philadelphia
19 to New York inside of two hours, and ahead
20 of the Presidents Message Express, that
21 followed sharply. How we took the train
22 for Boston and I got home to find all well
23 and glad my first long absence was over.
24 I think I saw and learned more from that trip
25 than from all others I have made since
26 as it was my first real entrance into
27 the political world, of our national existence
28 and gave me my first real notion of what
29 a country this was. We had reached across
30 the continent had gained the Pacific Ocean
31 and the whole Union was swelling with
32 the idea of its future greatness under the
33 shimmer of California gold, and the
34 emigration that occasioned. What a hot
35 fever of excitement pervaded the land and
36 what a whirl of stirring adventure poured
37 out over all the land. Fortunes were made
38 gold was plenty, country farms deserted and
39 California widows abounded at the East.
40 It was a good time to see the Capital of the nation.

1
2 At Thanksgiving we entertained the whole
3 family for the first and last time, having
4 the Mullikens 4, Lelands 3 and Keyes 6 at
5 our table. It was getting uncomfortably full
6 and we gave up the [pan?] after that, and
7 we were not so entirely harmonious a set
8 as might be. The Lelands had built and lived
9 at Waltham, and his pork packing had
10 developed too much of the qualities of the
11 animal in him to make him agreeable
12 in his prosperity and lack of occupation,
13 and his only son was developing even worse
14 propensities in that worst position an only
15 son of a rich father and a weak fond mother.
16 That winter was a quiet one at home but
17 I was busy enough arranging the Union
18 celebration for the Nineteenth of April on
19 its seventy fifth anniversary, having been
20 appointed chairman of a large committee
21 that united with Lexington and Acton in a
22 grand commemoration of the day.

23 The question of removing the courts entirely
24 from Concord because of the loss of the Court
25 House had been hotly agitated in the Legislature
26 during the winter, and as one of the committee
27 of the town had attended hearings long and strong
28 before the Judiciary Com^{tee}, but thanks to Emory
29 Washbarns zeal at our counsel, and Sam^l Hoars
30 ability in the House where he was sent on purpose
31 we had succeeded in keeping the courts.

32 Thereupon we invited the entire Legislature as
33 guests, with all the state and national dignitaries
34 and did the thing up in great shape, decorated
35 the entire village, had a great procession a
36 big marquee, an oration by Robert Rantoul
37 and a good dinner with much after dinner
38 eloquence, ably suggested by Judge Hoar as
39 president of the day, and all together a most
40 gratifying success. My part in its work is printed.

1
2 The Legislature behaved very handsomely by the
3 town, holding a session here, and passing
4 a resolve of thanks and voting to print
5 the oration and an account of the celebration
6 which I prepared, and giving us all the
7 copies we wished. Hoar carried off the
8 honors and I had the credit of the day
9 and recall that when all the anxieties were
10 over and the company fairly seated at the
11 tables for dinner, I fairly collapsed after
12 the strain of so much real labor. I had
13 worked nearly all the time for days & weeks
14 and as the weather was most important
15 for an outdoor occasion, actually rode
16 to Acton in a sleigh to a committee meeting
17 three days before, with good sleighing
18 wondering what would happen if it lasted
19 over the nineteenth. We got through it with
20 no difficulty worth recalling except the
21 old controversy that Acton couldnt forget
22 and must needs bring out offensively at
23 the dinner. It is suppressed in the report
24 and consisted of the toast by the Acton Vice
25 'Acton found the men and Concord the field
26 for the Battle of Lexington'!

27 In addition to this I had filled the last year
28 the place of 'Superintendent of Public 'Grounds'
29 for Concord, and worked hard at many
30 little improvements in their appearance
31 which were well received, and are all to be
32 read of in my printed reports published yearly
33 with the town. In fact I was becoming an
34 authority in town matters and few of the
35 old men cared to encounter me in town
36 meeting, and I was the leader of the young
37 men. Even Gourgas the Democratic magnate
38 began rather assiduously to court my approval.

1
2 With the opening of this spring 1850 the county
3 and town began the movement for the
4 new buildings to replace the loss by fire
5 The county bought of us the old house lot
6 to enlarge the Court House grounds and
7 rebuilt a wooden structure of convenient
8 size and well adapted for a Court House
9 The town not to be outdone bought my
10 office lot on the corner of Bedford St.
11 and the intervening lot to the county grounds
12 for a Town House and proceeded to build
13 a brick hall, school rooms and offices
14 beneath. It was a costly undertaking
15 and unfortunately Mr Cheney from his
16 reading some books on architecture
17 when in college, and talking about the
18 doric ionic &c was always put on chairman
19 of any building committee had ruined the
20 fine old church by his disgraceful addition
21 of porch and cupola, was again in command.
22 He employed as before Bond a carpenter of Boston
23 for draftsman, and we got a common place
24 fair looking structure instead of an ornament.
25 The town sold the old building on the lot to
26 be removed, and I bought my office back
27 for \$200. and moved it to the garden lot
28 as a beginning of a new home.

29 I remember going to Salem with the officers
30 of our regiment to attend the funeral
31 ceremonies in honor of Gen Taylor
32 while the moving was in progress, and being
33 detained by a storm for a day or two, badly
34 shocked on my return to find that A. Hosmer
35 had cut a large limb from the great elm in
36 front to get the building out, and the town
37 was enraged enough at the despoiling

1
2 That trip to Salem was one of my few military
3 adventures worth recalling. The Col Lt. Col
4 & staff in full uniform attended the eulogy
5 by my old friend C W. Upham, and a very
6 good one it was, then were banqueted
7 at the Essex house with other guests,
8 and returned to Nahant where we staid
9 at the hotel. In the morning a fearful
10 easterly storm had set in keeping us fort
11 prisoners for the day with nothing
12 to do save watch the waves and hold
13 on to our hair if we venturned outdoors
14 and it was not till the end of the third
15 that we got home to find the uproar
16 about the tree in full blast. The building
17 got safely moved wasnt burnt up as I
18 feared it might be and I went on with my
19 plans. I had previously on the Fourth of July
20 moved a fine elm perhaps 8 inches in diameter
21 from the cellar to the south west corner
22 of the house, with a huge ball of earth on the roots
23 To settle this firmly I brought by a hose the
24 water of the cistern of our old house and
25 the tree never knew it was moved, and is
26 yet a vigorous growing shade to the house.
27 The workmen began about Sept enlarging
28 and repairing, I overseeing every part of the
29 work. They added the parlor with the room over
30 it and the two piazzas, and finished the out
31 side before cold weather. The Court House masons
32 put on the hard finish to the plastering
33 The roof was slated with narrow slate of extra
34 thickness and was the first dwelling house
35 slated in Concord so far as I can recollect.
36 The bay window was certainly the first ever
37 built in the town and I had to go to Waltham

1
2 with Cummings Wetherbee the carpenter to
3 show him a pattern by which to make it
4 It was finished inside during the winter
5 and was ready for occupation by April
6 We moved in on wifes birthday and settled
7 ourselves in the most compact convenient
8 and well contrived house then in Concord
9 I never desired in 15 years use of it to make
10 but a single alteration, the swing of a door
11 and I can even now after twice that length
12 of time commend the pattern to any one.
13 It cost me all told \$3500. and it was well
14 worth it. The location might be improved
15 but the arrangement inside is excellent.

16 The Town House and Court House were
17 opened for use the same season, and as
18 both were close by on the square we could
19 see all that went on in either—and many
20 things worth remembering did. I had my
21 office in the northwest corner of the Court
22 House and could slip over to it easily by
23 the north door, and see all the common
24 and home from the windows. This office
25 was a very fine room well furnished and
26 comfortable and convenient especially
27 at court times.

28 To go back a little Florence our second daughter
29 was born in February 1850 and we had
30 two nice girls to care for and comfort us
31 Mother moved with us to our new house
32 having the spacious front chamber over
33 the parlor, and rejoiced to get back to her
34 old outlook on the square. Martha's
35 sister Abba was married this March
36 to Geo M Brooks and went to housekeeping
37 in the Brown house opposite Mr. Emerson's
38 and thus we formed a curious connection
39 wifes half sister, her husband his half sister
40 married to Judge Hoar. The two rival ends
41 connected by half sisters & half brothers wives
42 It tied us all together as 'brothers in law'

1
2 At the March town meeting this year 1851, the voters
3 having tired of old men for office made a new
4 departure, and chose me chairman of the
5 Selectmen and Kelsey and Fay associates.
6 Of this new work, especially the bridges then
7 in our charge I took hold strongly and did
8 all I could for the town financially and
9 prudentially. We rebuilt nearly all the bridges
10 laying the planks lengthwise instead of cross
11 wise, making an improvement in riding
12 over them, and we had great care and oversight
13 of the new Town Hall. I kept on with my
14 work improving the public grounds and got
15 the grave yards into decent shape removing
16 the engine and hearse houses that marred
17 their fronts, and repairing or rebuilding the
18 walls and fences about them. The iron fence
19 to the Main Street burying ground was the
20 old one that stood on the Court House wall
21 with new rails and the old capstone foundation
22 it made a strong durable and suitable fence.
23 The hedge at the battleground was continued by
24 me to the river, and many of the elms and
25 maples planted in the streets and square
26 that still stand to comfort with their shade
27 and ornament the village. Breaking my leg on page 119½

28 As selectman I had to welcome Kossuth
29 on his visit to Concord on a pleasant day
30 in May 52 His visit was put off by some
31 engagement and came on us with short notice
32 at last. But we were equal to the emergency.
33 He was met in a carriage at the line and
34 escorted by the artillery he came to my house
35 where he rested and wrote out or arranged
36 his speech. The artillery formed a guard of honor
37 about the yard to keep off too ardent admirers
38 and after a substantial lunch at which
39 he eat buttered radishes he went to the Town
40 Hall and was welcomed by Mr Emerson.

Keyes

[JSK labels page 119A] 119A

1
2 During the June term finding that some cases
3 of mine were in order I started of a pleasant
4 Sunday noon with Geo. Heywood to notify
5 my clients to be ready with their witnesses.
6 As the best we could get we took Staples old
7 sorrel plug and his open wagon and drove
8 through Stow to Marlboro, where we rested
9 and took a drink at Wetherbees Pond.
10 Returning we had climbed the long hill
11 this side of Marlboro, when the old horse
12 started at a stray pig, and ran kicking up
13 down the hill. We laughed at his antics
14 and when his leg came into the wagon
15 I tried to hold it there with my foot. As we
16 reached the bottom, his leg caught one
17 rein and that pulled him & the wagon
18 on to the bank, and tipped us over. I as
19 cool as I am now, attempted to step over
20 the wheel, but at that instant the transit
21 bolt slipped out the wheel flew up and
22 instead of alighting on my feet, I was caught
23 by the wheel and came down in a heap—
24 Trying to stand, I found the sole of my boot
25 turned up and that my leg was broken—
26 So I sat down pulled off my boot, and
27 true enough my ankle was dislocated &
28 the large bone broken above the ankle joint.
29 I crawled back to the nearest house on
30 my hands & knees sent Heywood for a Dr.
31 who came set the bone, and the man of the
32 house brought us home at midnight
33 Wife and Mother had been anxious and
34 were frightened badly on our arrival
35 I was carried up to a bed a little faint
36 and exhausted with the ride and injury

Keyes

[JSK labels page 119B] 119B

1
2 Dr Bartlett summoned and the leg examined
3 He insisted it was not broken and that I could
4 stand on it. I declared I coulnt, but the Dr.
5 told of a case he had recently had just like
6 mine, where the man took off his splints &
7 walked home from the office. I thought
8 it wouldnt happen twice, but he added
9 that I didnt want to be laid up six weeks
10 at court time. And as I certainly didnt,
11 I put my foot to the floor & bore my weight
12 The broken bone shot by. Its broke by Faith
13 said the Dr. and he set it again, not nearly
14 so well as before, for the limb was swollen
15 and it never came straight again. I was
16 laid up with it six weeks, confined to my
17 room and bed for part of it, and only
18 crawled on crutches about the house for
19 the latter portion. It was long & tedious not
20 very painful, and gave me a good chance to
21 get acquainted with home wife and babies.
22 While shut up in my chamber the officers
23 of the Regt. were at the Middlesex, and came
24 over, and sent up a glass of champagne,
25 & then as I leaned up at the window they
26 drank my health in a bumper, in the
27 street below. It was slightly fast I admit
28 I was able to go to class supper at commencement
29 by the aid of a cane, and got on very
30 comfortably, but my leg troubled me for
31 a long time, at any mistep or bad storm.
32 I walked for many months with a limp
33 & feared my dancing & marching days were
34 over. In fact I never had a sound good leg
35 after it and it was all the Dr's fault.!

1
2 The speeches were both as eloquent as I ever
3 heard in that hall, and the crowd of prominent
4 men who accompanied him, and hung on the
5 words of both the speakers was a great feature
6 of the occasion. I recall him chiefly for his
7 pertinacity in keeping all waiting for his pleasure
8 and the dash and elan of the man when he
9 came forth and warmed to his reply to Emerson.
10 This was the beginning of many gatherings
11 at my house I may recall, for it continued
12 to be a sort of public headquarters for years
13 when anything of political interest was afoot.
14 That summer after we moved in we visited
15 the Bakers at Lynn in their new house a
16 French roof villa, and spent a pleasant week
17 driving there and back and all over Nahant
18 and the neighbourhood, as we had done before
19 and had visits from them at Concord.

20 This summer too I carried Judge Hoar to my
21 grandmothers to take her pension papers
22 oath and showed him the faded glory of the
23 old place, and this recalls to me a trip with
24 him and his wife and mine and the babies
25 to Hopkinton Springs where we drank the
26 water and left his wife and child for the
27 benefit of the springs, and called at the old
28 Mansion on our journey. T[*in pencil*: this was in 1846]

29 The muster at Lowell that September was the
30 hottest time I ever remember for the three
31 days we were encamped, and many men
32 were sun struck, and even the mounted officers
33 were prostrated by the heat. This was soon
34 followed by the Cattle Show at Concord at
35 which we always kept open house entertaining
36 all our friends that came, for I had been
37 chosen treasurer of the society a position
38 I much desired as a stepping stone to the
39 county treasury I was ambitious to fill
40 partly to oust Sted Buttrick, and more to suc-
41 ceed my father, but I never got it, though I
42 ran for it in 1851 and was soundly beaten.

1
2 I had kept up with the political changes of
3 state and nation, had been on county & district committees
4 taking my share of the work, and especially fighting
5 the coalition that so disgraced these years.
6 That elected Boutwell governor and Sumner senator
7 and I had active in the opposition. Growing
8 out of our parlor at the Revere House was an
9 informal club that dined together on all
10 occasions they happened to be in Boston &
11 that had much influence in Whig politics.
12 Fairbanks, Nelson, Train, and I represented Middlesex
13 Devens, Thorn Davis, Stow and Kellogg the western
14 counties, Lincoln Coffin Suffolk, & Col Wright
15 the Democrats, and jolly times we had in the
16 old Parker's dining room on Court Square. I
17 never enjoyed dinners so much, and at the
18 June term had all I could get of them at
19 my house to a supper that was the best
20 we could get up for them, equal to Parkers.
21 This club was entirely unorganized and did
22 nothing by rule, but the politics poetry philosophy
23 that was discussed was only equalled by the
24 viands and wine. What dinners those were.
25 Youngs and Tafts of the present day are nothing to them
26 At these dinners we settled for ourselves and
27 often for the counties, the nominations, & platforms
28 of conventions, law cases, and law makers, and
29 varied by sails down the harbor, or trips to some
30 suburban hotel, or dinners at private homes.
31 In 1852 after the Kossuth speeches, most of our
32 club went to Baltimore Convention with the
33 1000 young men of Boston, who went in Mr.
34 Websters interests. I got away from June Court
35 to do it, for I could leave my law business
36 to itself and Geo Heywood who spent his days
37 in my office, at any time for politics. I spent
38 a day or two looking on at the convention
39 and seeing Baltimore, and then went on to
40 Washington to see about a Post Office matter.
41 It was high water with the Webster men when
42 I left and I had a warm welcome from his friends
43 who took me to tell him the news I brought.

1
2 The nomination of Scott by the Whigs & Peirce
3 by the Democrats, gave us a lively campaign
4 particularly in Concord. Hawthorne had come
5 back, after his first residence of two years at the
6 'Old Manse', where he was a near neighbour to us
7 and fitted up the 'Wayside' for a residence. Here
8 Pierce his old friend and classmate came to see
9 him, and the Democrats of the town made a call
10 on their candidate. Frank was a little abashed
11 or a little ashamed, so that Jim Adams the
12 cabinet maker pretty well set up, clapping
13 him on the shoulder, with 'Dont be scar't General.
14 Keep up a stiff lip and well put you through'
15 made much fun for the Whigs, who soon
16 heard of it. Hawthorne wrote then what has
17 been called his 'greatest romance' the Life
18 of Franklin Peirce, and contributed by it to
19 the almost unanimous choice of Peirce.
20 Massachusetts stuck to her Whiggery in spite
21 of Free Soilers [word undeciphered] & coalitions. We nominated
22 Clifford then attorney general for governor
23 our club contributing not a little to it and
24 we elected him too, making a clean sweep
25 of the coalition. That summer having been
26 elected colonel of the regiment in the
27 spring I ordered the encampment at
28 Flints Pond in Lincoln, and had my
29 four companies of artillery muster there
30 for the three days. They were from Groton
31 Waltham Concord & Charlestown, and as the
32 orders then were paraded with muskets
33 except the Concord co. had their battery.
34 I had a capital staff. Tom Lord, Abiel Heywood
35 Ned Mulliken, Jim Green &c and we had fine
36 weather and a capital good time. I got
37 over done a little the first day and came home
38 to sleep, but rallied, received the Governor
39 Boutwell, & his adjt gen at the camp all right.

1
2 The ladies and lots of visitors came also and
3 I have seen few military sights finer
4 than our dress parade at evening, with
5 the tents reflected on the still waters of
6 the pond, the woods in the rear, and the full
7 ranks, groups of officers, and ladies on
8 that 'tented field' as the sunset gun was fired.
9 It was a very quiet pleasant agreeable
10 camp, named in honor of
11 and proved my last and only military
12 command. It gave me the title of colonel
13 one that I always have admired and enjoyed
14 more than any other, and it has stuck to me
15 from all who wish to please me by its use.
16 There were then and before lots of colonels
17 in Concord, Buttrick Barrett Shattuck, Whiting
18 Wheeler Nelson Holbrook and others, they are
19 all gone now, and I have lived to be for
20 years the only person entitled to the rank
21 in the town.

22 The election came and after its excitement
23 died away, came the question of state offices.
24 Train who had been removed from the
25 district attorneyship must go back and
26 and he insisted upon my becoming sheriff
27 and so did the club, and the bar generally.
28 Lowell only objected as they wanted the office
29 kept there. I hesitate and considered it long
30 and doubtfully. It wasnt much to my
31 taste, it was uncertain as all political offices
32 it would break up my business, and keep
33 me much from home. On the other side it
34 was lucrative, had the courts to deal with
35 belonged to my profession, had been Fathers
36 last political desire and I finally consented.

1

2 *[There is no page 124 in manuscript]*

1
2 After it was all settled, and Harry Fairbanks
3 was chosen Gov^r Clifford counsellor and
4 and helped all he could to persuade me
5 to accept, I recall little else of that winter
6 We cleaned out the coalition from the State
7 House with much the feeling of the present
8 time among the Republicans at getting
9 rid of Butler, and enjoyed doing it too.
10 I recall nothing of that winter but this
11 and that I went to Washington with
12 Dan Baker in February 1853. When for
13 what, how long, where we staid who we
14 saw all is forgotten. It may have been
15 on business, it may have been to see
16 the last of the administration, it may
17 have been for pleasure only. All I can
18 remember of is that I staid over after
19 he left to attend a ball I think on the
20 22nd of February, and that when I
21 came back to the hotel, it was Willards,
22 our room had been given up and I was
23 put for the night only into a vile
24 smelling remote corner, where I tossed
25 for a few hours & came home early
26 the next morning. Just a fortnight
27 after I received my commission as sheriff and
28 came down with an attack of varioloid
29 on the same day March 12. It was a sharp
30 attack and I broke out profusely with
31 the pimples, but it was soon over. I was
32 pretty effectually quarantined to my
33 room, and all sorts of precautions taken
34 no one but Martha coming near me, except
35 as I must qualify on account of the jail. I
36 had Mr Brooks and F R Gourgas come to ad
37 minister the oaths, and I well remember Gourgas
38 with a scented handkerchief to his nose peeping in.

1
2 This dread disease even didnt keep away the
3 rush of deputy shffs and would be depy shffs
4 but it answered the purpose of giving me
5 time to select them with more care, and
6 commissioning only those at once needed.
7 But I had a hard task to satisfy the dozen men
8 who in half the towns in the county each
9 thought they were entitled and best fitted
10 for the place. I had but one or two competitors
11 for the sheriffalty, but for the deputyships not
12 worth the having in most instances & localities
13 there were a score or more of applicants. Every
14 Whig lawyer in the county wanted one for
15 his special practise. It was my first experience
16 of patronage, and I have sympathized with
17 every case since where an officer had it to
18 bestow. As they each had to give a bond for
19 \$30,000 the same amount as my official bond
20 and as it is about the riskiest of such bonds
21 and the fees were only what they could earn
22 it was laughable almost at the eagerness
23 they showed to get such positions. It made
24 me more trouble, and caused me more un
25 popularity than all other official duties—
26 I succeeded Fisher A Hildreth of Lowell
27 Butlers brother in law, with whom I had
28 very pleasant relations, and who bore his
29 removal very coolly and independently, and
30 took comfort in the success of his friend
31 Frank Pierce. The nasty Lowell politicians
32 disgruntled at the want of success of their
33 two candidates Bancroft and Butterfield
34 made all the trouble they could, and though
35 both were old deputies, and had been retained
36 by my predecessor when I tendered them an
37 appointment, Bancroft at their suggestion
38 declined it, and Col Joe who accepted promptly
39 became one of my most agreeable deputies,
40 as he had been a good friend of my fathers and
41 mine before this appointment—

1
2 On thus entering on official life, and giving up
3 my profession, which I never resumed except for
4 a single year, I can only say that if politics
5 had not interfered I might have been a fair
6 lawyer a great one I never could have been
7 from my lack of memory if nothing else.
8 I had only a moderate practise earning not
9 over 10 to 1200 a year, and that in rather small
10 ways. I never tried any large cases and cannot
11 now remember but very few of them.
12 One victory that I had was for the town of
13 Concord which was sued by Pastor Woodbury
14 of Acton for damages by a defect in the road.
15 Gourgas then factotum of the town and politically
16 sympathizing with Woodbury undertook to
17 settle it, and agreed to leave it out to three men,
18 each to choose one, and the two so chosen to select
19 the third. Woodbury chose his deacon Gourgas chose
20 Banks, and they two agreed that the third should
21 be either of two named. Woodbury found out that
22 one of the two was a relation and a got his deacon
23 ~~and got his friend~~ to write to Banks to name
24 this one and not the other. The referees met and
25 Woodburys ~~friend~~ relative and the deacon made an
26 outrageous award, which Banks protested against
27 and refused to sign, and Gourgas declined to pay.
28 Here the case came into court and I was
29 employed to defend, while Farley of Groton
30 appeared for Woodbury. The trial of our ob-
31 jections to the award, came off in the vestry
32 of the church before Judge Mellen just after
33 the Nineteenth of April Celebration. Farley had
34 imbibed some of the Acton spite at Concord
35 from his client, and sneered about another
36 Concord fight in his opening, and bragged
37 that again the Acton men would obtain
38 the honors of the battle. This put me on my
39 mettle and I faced him more boldly than he
40 expected. Banks had carelessly sent with the papers to

1
2 Gourgas the original agreement to refer the case
3 and Gourgas had kept or burnt it. So they had
4 to call Banks to prove the loss of the paper
5 and I cross examined him until I got out of
6 him all the unfairness of the reference. This
7 obliged Woodbury to call his deacon to meet
8 Banks testimony, and on cross examination
9 I made him acknowledge that he told the parson
10 about the two men they had selected, and that when
11 Woodbury claimed the relationship to one he at
12 W's suggestion got Banks to change to the cousin.
13 It made quite a sensation as it came out and
14 although Farley did his best he was beaten so
15 completely, that Woodbury on hearing the decision ran
16 out of the room jumped into his chaise lashed
17 his horse into a run, and drove to Acton as if
18 there were no defects in the highway, and Concord
19 never heard more of his accident or damages,
20 or of him I might add except that he got up with
21 the aid of his Democratic allies in the coalition
22 the absurd monument at Acton to Davis & Hosmer
23 by the state's contribution of \$2500. In this
24 they followed Lexingtons example as the
25 modest structure on their common was also
26 built by the commonwealth, neither town
27 having any paying patriotism-

28 The other was a divorce case between the
29 parents of Gen. F.C. Barlow, in which after
30 taking great interest for years for the wife
31 and with many interviews and much cor-
32 respondence, I at last succeeded in getting
33 a decree from the court in her favor, on
34 grounds that left no stain or bitterness
35 on either party. It required more care and
36 skill than any case I ever conducted, as
37 both were so sure the other was in the wrong.
38 I entered this and one other divorce on the credit
39 side of the ledger in which I recorded the only
40 two marriages I ever performed on the debtor side,
41 and thus balanced and closed the account.

1
2 The shrievalty brought new duties, and they
3 were faithfully performed. I think I filled
4 the place as well as any other of the entire
5 new crop appointed for every county in Mass.
6 Old Eveleth of Suffolk was more dignified
7 Col Richardson of Worcester more pompous,
8 Payson of Essex more energetic, and Sherman
9 of Bristol more humorous, but taken all
10 together I never yielded to any of the others
11 after I came to know them in efficiency
12 My first court and public appearance was
13 at Concord Chief Justice Wells presiding
14 at the March term of the C.C. Pleas, and I
15 had entire satisfaction in the way all my
16 department went. I was the youngest sheriff
17 in the state, and the youngest the county had
18 ever had, and I knew as much of the duties
19 as any one, and used my knowledge. My predecessor
20 had no acquaintance with the courts or the bar
21 considered the place merely political and had
22 been very unfit and inattentive in the office
23 The change was an agreeable one to all concerned
24 Even I thought to him, and at the next court
25 the April term of the Supreme Court at Lowell
26 Merrik J. was very flattering in his praise
27 and we became good friends though opposed
28 in politics. Seth Ames was clerk, Train was
29 district attorney, and at the hotel table I
30 presided quite to their acceptance. This court
31 adjourned to Cambridge where in May the
32 first capital trial was had, that of Casey
33 for a brutal murder of his employer and
34 wife, at Natick. This was a test and trial
35 that determined my success or failure as sheriff
36 and I made all the arrangements for it with
37 forethought and had no trouble or difficulty
38 After this I felt secure, and the only event
39 I at all dreaded was what never happened,
40 a mob and a call for the posse comietatus.
41 I resigned my colonelcy as incompatible with sheriff.

1
2 My time was fully occupied when courts were
3 not in session, I had sheriffs juries to summon
4 and preside over. Several of this class of cases
5 had accumulated because the late incumbent
6 was not a lawyer, and more were began and
7 tried because I was. They were the pleasantest
8 portion of my work, as they took me all over
9 the county and made me acquainted with
10 many persons in nearly every town. I never
11 thought I was made for a judicial position
12 and dont think I was very useful as such.
13 But I tried to be fair, and I never cheated
14 in exceptions, and I got verdicts always,
15 never once having a disagreement, and
16 I think theise never set aside by the upper courts.
17 I tried my first of these cases in May, and it
18 went off as well as I could have wished.
19 Then came the June civil and criminal terms
20 at Concord, and at the best time I had all
21 the members of the bar I could get at my
22 house and gave them a good gander supper.
23 At the criminal term my old and near friend
24 Train came back to the prosecution of the
25 criminals, and we had plenty of work to do
26 together, and a good time doing it.
27 June 15 the anniversary of my accident,
28 I bought my first horse, a beautiful
29 little mare, of a cross between the Canadian
30 and the English blood stock. She was fast
31 untiring and spirited, and perfect for
32 her weight 700 lbs. I enjoyed her mightily
33 and had many capital drives both long and
34 short. Having a horse involved harness wagon
35 and then a stable and a man to take care.
36 Two of which came soon the last waited a year.
37 My outfit was complete for my purposes
38 and I think I enjoyed the necessary driving
39 about the county most of all my new work.

1
2 Early in July we had another daughter Mary,
3 born on the 8.th and Martha got up nicely
4 from her confinement, and was soon able
5 to enjoy the shorter drives with me—
6 Owing to this and my engagements we made
7 no long trip this summer, tho later on Martha
8 was recommended to the sea shore as she had
9 an attack shutting her up to several days.
10 Cousin Mary Barrett the Capts wife died and
11 broke up his home, badly, and we boarded
12 two weeks at Emelines while our house was
13 painted inside, a nice Florence White.
14 I attended commencement in a new and
15 handsome uniform, received Gov^r Clifford
16 and took his staff up to Porters to lunch
17 with the Lancers, and then after the dinner
18 in Harvard, was escorted with him into Boston
19 and had a pleasant class supper in the
20 evening. Later on I went with him to the
21 Salem muster, and with Sheriff Payson
22 had receptions, dinners, and a gay time.
23 Went to various other places including
24 the Lawrence Cattle Show, and showed off
25 as much as was necessary. Beside these
26 I drove much to Lowell, Cambridge and about
27 the county usually with a cousin or some
28 pleasant lady friend, and enjoyed more
29 than I can recall.
30 In addition to this county and town business
31 and all the politics as treasurer of the Agr.
32 Society whereof Hoar was president had
33 lots of work getting up the lot & building
34 on Bedford St. where we had a first rate
35 show and I had more business than I could do.
36 Besides this the County Convention was held in
37 Concord, and I had to keep open house for
38 all comers that week, and plenty they were.
39 With all this and election and state politics in
40 which I was interested for Gov^r Clifford declined
41 and my old friend and Joes law teacher Washburn
42 of Worcester was nominated and elected.

1
2 After this it was all court varied by sheriffs
3 jury trials dinners at Youngs with our club
4 and nights in town at the Revere House as
5 the emergencies of court required. I saw much
6 of Train occasionally visiting his house
7 or meeting with our wives for a spree of
8 some kind in Boston. I had Joe & Helen
9 at our house at Thanksgiving and was
10 at home only on such holidays and Sundays
11 and at Christmas had a tree for the children
12 The year ended in about the worst snowstorm
13 I ever remember, confining us two nights
14 in Boston as the cars didnt try to run,
15 and making it difficult even to get
16 to East Cambridge and back. Boston was
17 fairly blockaded with drifts, and all the
18 traffic of the city obstructed for those 2 days.

19 1854 opened with the new Governor equally my
20 friend, but not equal to the old in ability
21 The County Delegation in the Legislature very
22 unfriendly to our club, and succeeding
23 in defeating Henry Fairbanks for the council
24 a great blow to him and all of us. So great
25 that poor F took a fever and died from both
26 causes combined, much to our grief and
27 desolation. I recall a visit to New York with
28 Martha spending a week there very pleasantly
29 seeing much of the Hudsons with whom
30 we staid, and more of New York that they
31 showed us. Theatres, churches and sights all
32 open to the editor of the New York Herald
33 and his friends. This was almost my only
34 vacation for a year, from courts & cases
35 and I sported my uniform at a dinner
36 party at the Prichards, and about New York
37 with much satisfaction at the time, but
38 less when I came to think and hear of it
39 afterwards. I was undoubtedly too much 'set up'

1
2 Early in the spring I had a regular row with
3 the Lowellites over Bill Clemences appointment
4 at which they were very mad & threatened even
5 my removal. I wrote them a letter which
6 they had to publish, but with a page of nasty
7 comments, and there the matter ended. All
8 the bar were on my side as he was a good
9 officer, and our club backed me up strongly.
10 Even Gov^r. Washburn to whom I explained
11 it thought better of me for doing it though
12 he was too easy and politic to approve it.
13 I saw much of him during the winter and
14 spring, and through Joe's intimacy with his
15 family had no fears of my opponents.-
16 Meantime I got well acquainted with the
17 other sheriffs saw them frequently at their
18 and my jails &c, and had one meeting and
19 dinner of nearly all while the Legislature
20 sat. In the summer I attended at Taunton
21 the execution of Clough who was hung by
22 Sheriff Sherman, on the gallows of this
23 county I lent to him for the occasion
24 It was my first sight of capital punishment
25 and would never have happened but for
26 this circumstance. The anti capital punishment
27 men had persuaded a coalition legislature to
28 pass the law that required a person sentenced
29 to death to be confined for a year in the State
30 Prison, and then executed only if the Governor
31 issued his warrant. This they supposed would
32 never be done as after that length of time
33 the crime would be so forgotten that if the
34 prisoner behaved well, nothing more would
35 be thought of him. This Clough who murdered
36 a police man, was prosecuted forth by Gov^r.
37 Clifford while atty gen. and vowed revenge
38 on him for his conviction if he got the chance.
39 When the Governor visited the State Prison
40 Clough who was at work there, secreted a knife

1
2 as the Governor approached his bench, and
3 but for the Warden's seeing him take it up
4 and pushing by the Governor and disarming
5 the convict before the party reached him
6 he would have tried to stab Clifford. I saw
7 the scuffle and recall C's surprized look
8 at the Warden's quick push by him and
9 Clough's look as he was caught and hurried
10 off. Nothing was said at the moment but when
11 we got to the guard room, it was explained
12 to us, and as most of the council were present
13 it made such an impression on them, that
14 when the year expired they recommended
15 Gov^r Washburn to issue the warrant for
16 his execution. This being the first case under
17 the law, all others followed the precedent
18 and capital punishment was not abolished.

19 > [*probably indicating page 134½ should go here*] Of course I went to

20 commencement, musters
21 cattle shows and public gatherings as before
22 and was so busy with courts, and jury trials
23 that I seldom had a days leisure at home
24 Little Mary had a short and sever sickness
25 of cholera infantiem, and died in August,
26 and as a rest and relief to my wife we took
27 a trip to the White Mountains in Sept.
28 We had a miserable beginning at Wolfboro
29 in a storm, and had almost decided to give
30 it up when at Centre Harbor the sky cleared
31 and we drove to North Conway on a Sunday
32 in an open wagon, trying the way of living
33 of the natives on the road and finding it
34 very poor and rough. From there we had
35 a lovely stage ride through the notch and
36 to the Profile and Plymouth, and home safely
37 We met some pleasant people, whom we visited
38 afterwards, and came to know very agreeably.

1
2 It led to the issuing of a warrant to execute
3 Casey, and I had to remove him from the
4 State Prison to the Cambridge jail preparatory
5 to hanging him. I made the necessary ar-
6 rangements there, had the gallows altered
7 and erected in the small courtyard by
8 the jail door, and procured him a priest
9 and did all I could for his wants. He
10 was a sullen brutal fellow made no
11 show of any feeling, and was a hard case.
12 Indeed there was a rumor that he had
13 murdered a person in Ireland before he
14 left there, and he certainly kiled this
15 man and his wife in a dispute about
16 half a dollar of wages, and in doing
17 it with an axe, put the edge in and pried
18 open the door instead of smashing it in.
19 I took Judge Hoar with me to see him
20 the day before his execution, and found
21 him apparently stupid and morose, and
22 called again for the last time in the P.M.
23 He had cut off his broom handle into a club
24 and had it on his bed. He was very ugly said
25 I had done nothing for him as I had not
26 got him reprieved, and began nervously
27 hitting his bed with his club. I faced him
28 expecting an attack, which he might have
29 made, but Mayo who was in the dark corner
30 of the cell, stepped forward & caught the
31 club, and I took my leave. In the morning
32 I drove down with Geo. Heywood had my
33 deputies and the 12 witnesses only the law
34 prescribes, and I executed the sentence on
35 him without a compunction. He was unfit
36 to live, and I was glad he didnt any longer.
37 I drove home after it and a dinner with the shffs
38 at the Revere House, and felt much relieved

1
2 We had hurried home to attend my brother's
3 wedding which came off satisfactorily
4 at the house of the bride Mary E Brown
5 and they went on a wedding journey
6 This was finished in season so that they
7 returned to our anniversary on my birthday
8 and we had a family dinner with Joe and
9 his fiancéé Helen Maynard at our house
10 in honor of the occasion. Fall courts soon
11 followed and kept me busy as ever riding
12 to Lowell almost daily, and driving over the
13 county in all directions and so much that
14 I had to get a mate for my little mare, and
15 my team became pretty well known on the
16 road. It surprizes me to recall the amount of
17 of work I had and did of this kind, often 40
18 or 50 miles in a day. With Judge Mellen who
19 was made chief justice after Judge Wells death
20 I kept up frequent and pleasant visits and
21 with Judges Perkins and Bishop I became
22 intimate, and they visited me and I them at
23 their houses, and enjoyed them very much.
24 At the hotels where Ben Thurston entertained
25 us so handsomely with his good stories and
26 food, we had high old times at whist &c in
27 the evenings after court, and I came to look
28 forward to them, as full as agreeable as
29 any part of the shrievalty. The Lowell lawyers
30 gave handsome parties to the court and I had
31 many agreeable evenings there at Butlers
32 Abbotts Morses &c, and quite came to be well
33 acquainted with the best society there.
34 At Cattle Show I had the usual house full
35 of company, and a very good show, and in
36 connection with it got up and put through
37 the plan of taking Sleepy Hollow for a cemetery
38 and had many meetings of a committee the
39 club chose to consider the project on which
40 I worked harder than all the others.

1

2 *[There is no page 136 in manuscript]*

1
2 The American party or Know Nothings as
3 they were commonly called had perfected
4 their secret organization so admirably
5 that when election came they swept the state
6 as with an avalanche. I joined them in
7 the summer and was well posted in all
8 their plans by Simon Brown who was
9 the candidate for lieut. governor on the
10 ticket with Henry J Gardner. In Concord
11 Lodge nominated Bull for representative
12 and he was handsomely chosen to the great
13 surprize of all the Whigs. Indeed this was
14 the end of that 'grand old party' which had
15 out lived its usefulness, and died of inaction
16 to the great joy of all the opposition that
17 had coalesced against it. It was time
18 and the only objection to the KNs their
19 secret organization was of course done
20 away when they had carried an election
21 and chosen every thing from governor down.
22 I was in full accord with the new admin-
23 istration through the Lieut Gov^r. and had
24 my full share in their councils. Train stood
25 out but Nelson and others of our club
26 had joined, and we helped arrange matters.

27 The year ended with a pleasant Thanksgiving
28 at the Browns with the new married couple,
29 and lots of pleasant sleigh rides and dances
30 with good times every where, so much so
31 that at the end I thought it had been the
32 most prosperous and pleasantest I
33 could remember. The office was entirely
34 satisfactory in duties and emoluments
35 netting me \$3500, a year, of which I spent
36 nearly all in keeping up such an establish-
37 ment as I thought suitable, and in the
38 many ways I could enjoy spending it.
39 It was a happy old and new year both.

1
2 The new year opened with the new political
3 administration, and one of the first things
4 I recall was Lieut Gov^r Browns bringing
5 home Gov^r Gardners message to consult
6 with me about. I found a great blunder
7 in it the omitting entirely the state tax of a
8 million or two that I had distributed
9 the warrants for the season before, so Gov^r.
10 Brown and I took it Gardner the next day
11 and showed it to him and had it corrected,
12 in season before he delivered it. It would
13 have been an awful blunder for finance
14 was his strong point as a merchant, and
15 he was properly grateful for saving him the
16 mistake. I felt after that and getting Col.
17 Nelson into his council with Lieut Gov^r Brown
18 that I was safe however much the heathen
19 might rage, and when he came very soon
20 to removing all the Whig sheriffs I almost
21 alone retained my office, and became his
22 strangely attached friend, though I lost many
23 of my old Whig associates who couldnt see
24 why I had changed my politcs. The year and
25 the new administration rolled on smoothly
26 though a set in the Legislature behaved badly
27 and I was obliged to change some of my
28 deputies and appoint some new ones to satisfy
29 the public clamor. I had one amusing encounter
30 in that connection. A certain Lowell doctor
31 wanted very much to be the jailer there, and at
32 the instance of the Lowell politicians I made him
33 the offer of the place. He declined it at first
34 and afterwards wrote me a letter accepting
35 but so full of mistakes and bad spelling that
36 I did not what him. I drove over to Lowell
37 sent for him to come to the Washington House
38 and showed him his letter and my answer
39 refusing to appoint him, and giving him his
40 choice either to have them published, or write
41 another declining—He declined—

1
2 I had been very much interested in the jails
3 and as much dissatisfied with their condition
4 The Lowell one was by far the worst most
5 crowded, and unfit for use. To induce the
6 Co Com^{ts} to build a new one was a hard task
7 but I had finally got them to seriously think
8 about it. Early this year we made up a party
9 including Train, as dist atty, the com^{ts}, the
10 jailer at East Cambridge and we went to N.Y.
11 to examine the prisons there and on the way
12 We were gone a week, saw all there was
13 worth seeing of the prison kind, made a
14 thorough inspection of Blackwells Island
15 under the charge of the famous Chief of
16 Police Matsell, and through Mr. Hudson's
17 courtesy had a very pleasant visit. It
18 gave us all much information and a
19 sight of the dark side of New York life not
20 often seen by visitors there. I also had time
21 to see some of my lady friends there and to
22 enjoy that the more by contrast. The com^{ts}
23 on our return procured plans from various
24 sources and at last decided on much the worst
25 and most expensive of them, simply because
26 the architect came from Lowell as did
27 two of the com^{ts} D S Richardson & L Huntress,
28 and because it would be such an ornament
29 to the city! A jail for an ornament.!!!
30 It was as appropriate as to make the necessary
31 the ornament of a stately mansion. In
32 vain I protested and opposed, I had no power
33 and the huge unsightly granite structure
34 was built, on the highest ground, thus
35 over topping and dominating a city, that
36 after its existence in it for a generation,
37 might appropriately be spelt 'Low Hell'
38 and yet it was greeted with such favor and
39 applause, that it well indicated the public
40 spirit of a community that could enjoy the
41 crowning of their industrial home by such
42 a monument of folly and bad taste!

1
2 This spring I had my great fight with Judge Hoar
3 and the old fogies of Concord. The practise of
4 holding the parish and town meetings combined
5 had existed in Concord always unimpaired even by
6 the starting and growth of a second parish in the
7 town, except that in deference to their existence
8 the parish articles were put by themselves at
9 the end of the warrant. At the April meeting
10 the year before I acted as moderator, and after
11 the town business was finished, and only a dozen
12 or so of the members of the parish remained
13 they attempted to choose a Parish Committee
14 There were several candidates and as no one
15 had a majority I after some consideration of
16 the new law making a plurality elect in all
17 state county and municipal elections decided that
18 it did not apply to this case, and declared no choice
19 From this decision an appeal was taken and
20 the decision of the chair was overruled!!
21 a nice way of getting over the effect of a ballot!
22 Thereupon I resigned the chair, as I not belonging
23 to the parish did not care to preside over their
24 deliberations if they did not like my decisions.
25 Judge Hoar was chosen moderator, and not content
26 with finishing the parish business must
27 to 'rub it in' needs go back to the town business
28 and try to find some article not entirely
29 acted on, to take up and finish. In this he was
30 unsuccessful, but it was so insulting that
31 when he left the chair I toldhim it was the
32 last time the parish would ever have their
33 business done by the town officers or in a town
34 meeting. He laughed at it as an idle threat.
35 Accordingly this year as I had been reelected
36 selectman by a unanimous vote and my
37 colleagues were heartily with me, the town
38 warrant contained no parish articles.
39 A petition for such a meeting to be held,
40 was refused by the Selectmen. Then the parish
41 got a magistrate their deacon to call one
42 because the Selectmen had refused.

1
2 When the time came, the Town Hall was locked, and
3 it was not opened by me till the question was settled
4 that it was a town and not a parish meeting
5 that was to be held in it. Thereupon as soon as
6 the warrant was read, I made a motion to
7 dissolve the meeting. The town clerk put it
8 and declared the meeting dissolved as it was
9 my supporters being in a decided majority
10 The parish undertook to stay and do their business
11 but I directed the hall to be cleared, and it was
12 the boys being willing to have put the parish
13 out of the windows if I had said the word.
14 Mad enough they left and after threatening all
15 sorts of legal measures, finally acquiesced
16 and had a parish meeting called by a justice
17 in their own vestry, and the separation
18 of this 'Church and State Union' so incongruous
19 to the times was complete. They never troubled
20 me or the town more by their business.
21 It was a great fight, made much excitement
22 at the time, and me many enemies for whom
23 I didnt care. The Judge never forgave me for
24 it and it was a sore spot for years in our
25 otherwise pleasant intercourse. When he in
26 the thickest of the fight at the dissolved meeting
27 proposed to me, that the parish should go on
28 and do their business in the hall, and have
29 the right listed by an action of trespass
30 I shut him up, by asking him with one of his sneers
31 If that case should be tried before him in his
32 Common Pleas Court? This will show how
33 bitter the fight was. The town fully backed us
34 up in our course, and the question has never
35 been mooted since.

36 The parish was much divided then Mr. Frost
37 having become unpopular from preaching
38 so much temperance and abolition with
39 a portion of his hearers, and I had withdrawn
40 from all connection with it, after as one of
41 a committee having had a sharp correspondence
42 with him, in which he to me now appears best.

1
2 The birth of Alicia in the summer was the event
3 of the household, and we got through it well
4 and enjoyed another daughter. She was
5 named for Aunt Alicia and has taken
6 from the beginning after and for me.
7 Next to this in importance and prior in time
8 was Joes wedding to Helen Maynard of Waltham
9 which took place at our house, and was
10 large and handsome as we could make it.
11 They went to Watertown to live where Joe had
12 been practising law for two or three years.

13 After Martha was sufficiently recovered
14 we spent a week at the Nahant hotel, and
15 had a good time with the Trains who were there
16 sailing, driving for we took our team, and
17 seeing Dan¹ Baker &c. I went also to Salem
18 Muster again with Gov^r Gardner & staff
19 and had some fun, only I missed Payson
20 who was removed with the other sheriffs.

21 I remember best a grand Know Nothing
22 Council and State Convention at Springfield
23 where I went with Gov Brown and where
24 all the party magnates, if there were any,
25 assembled, for a pleasant episode of mine.
26 After a nights session, quite a party a dozen
27 or more started for the U.S. Armory, where
28 Gen Whitney a Democrat was superintendent
29 On arriving no one knew the Gen¹, and we
30 met him in his office, and he very cordially
31 greeted me, made me introduce the rest to him
32 and showed us through the entire establishment
33 taking especial pains to be civil to me. In vain
34 I tried to recall where I had seen him before
35 till when we had finished the sights, he asked
36 us to the parlor of the dwelling house of the Supt
37 and gave us a most elegant lunch, with
38 champagne and all the luxuries. He proposed
39 my health, and said it was in return for the
40 very agreeable refreshment he had at my house
41 when the Cons Convention Committee came to Concord
42 to Gourgas funeral. Wasnt I considerably set up!

1
2 This was one of the occasions certainly when my
3 bread cast on the waters, or rather waiters came
4 back to me buttered. After this convention
5 had adjourned I went with the Gov^r & Lt Gov^r
6 to commencement at Amherst College where
7 we saw all the orthodox clergy dined with them
8 & had an interview with Conkey, that was the
9 best of it all.

10 At the election that fall I was sick with
11 the cholic, of which I had several so severe
12 attacks that Dr Bartlett said they would finish
13 me, and equally sick of the politics of the hour.
14 Dick Dana persuaded the convention of old Whigs
15 and new Freesoilers not to nominate Gardner
16 but to put up my fathers old friend Julius Rockwell
17 against him, and then take Gov^r Brown for Lt Gov^r.
18 I tried my best to persuade him to decline it but
19 he wouldnt, and so the KN's threw him over, and
20 both he and Rockwell were beaten badly.
21 Nelson went on to the Municipal Court as chief
22 justice, Train wouldnt accept the K.N. nomination
23 for atty gen^l, and was removed as dist. atty.
24 and I.F. Morse put in, and so many changes made
25 that I was not sorry to be laid up with sickness
26 so as to be rather out of the scrimmage.

27 During this summer and fall almost alone
28 and unaided I laid out the cemetery according
29 to Clevelands plan, so far as was feasible, and
30 with my own hands drove the stakes for the lots
31 and saved as many trees as possible from cutting.
32 Made all the arrangements for dedication
33 and had a memorable address from Emerson
34 a poem from Sanborn, an ode by Channing
35 all delivered on a lovely September day in
36 the glen by the lot I afterwards selected. This
37 was followed by a sale of lots the choice
38 for the first bringing \$50. from W^m Monroe
39 and realizing more than I expected some
40 fifty lots sold, and the undertaking successful
41 Thanks to me we have a 'Sleepy Hollow' cemetery
42 I am quite content to take my long sleep in—
43 and for my only epitaph "The Founder of This Cemetery"

1
2 Beside this which took up all my time at home
3 we had conventions and a great cattle show
4 in fact two or three of the last I attended
5 including a N.E. exhibition in Boston where
6 I took Martha to see the trotting, and staid
7 over to see Rachel the French tragedienne
8 by whom I was quite carried away, though
9 she reminded me more of a snake than any
10 living woman I ever saw. Drove back to Concord
11 in the moonlight after the theatre with my
12 ponies which was delightful. S. Hoars funeral.

13 At Thanksgiving went with the family
14 to Joes at Watertown dined and drove home
15 even the little baby enjoying the ride, besides
16 lots of other drives, with lots of people here
17 there and every where, and no rest except when sick.
18 What with courts, cases, calls, caucusses, chowders
19 cotillions, and cholic I had a lively time, the
20 only wonder being that I got through so
21 much, but I did enjoy all but the last.

22 The new year opened with a great row over
23 my retaining the office, to which I held on by
24 means of my fitness and Gov^r Gardners friendship
25 and as I succeeded in checkmating my opponents
26 I rather enjoyed the fight. Courts &c kept me busy
27 and the time was spent as much like the last year
28 as could be, and be different. I recall but little
29 worth telling about save the political part.
30 The Sumner assault roused the anger of Massachusetts
31 as it never had been before, and indignation
32 meetings were held all over the state. At the
33 Concord one large and enthusiastic, I presided
34 and we had some great speeches. Then came
35 the Kansas excitement and we held another
36 meeting at which we raised \$1000. in an hour
37 The county was organized very thoroughly
38 by a committee that met frequently, and
39 though not a member, I helped all I could.
40 Then came Fremonts nomination, and we
41 made a rousing campaign for him all over
42 New England, and I had my full share of work
43 and contributed my mite to the cause. In
44 the spring I resigned all my town offices, and
45 at cattle show was chosen president of the society.

1
2 At the conventions the sheriffs dist. attys clerks &c
3 were to be nominated for the first time as
4 these offices had been made elective by the
5 constitutional amendments. Some half a dozen
6 were called at Concord the same day by the
7 different parties, and there was a great crowd.
8 I had laid in provisions for a siege, and after
9 an open house at cattle show had no time
10 to fill up the larder a second time. But the conventions
11 and the committees sat and quarreled and eat
12 dinners at my house, and met again & fought
13 and adjourned for supper, and at last just
14 before midnight agreed to a ticket all round.
15 The chief fight had been over the sheriffalty,
16 and Gid Haynes of Waltham was the opposing
17 candidate. The Republicans under Trains lead
18 were for me, the Americans for Haynes, and
19 the other offices were make weights in the trade
20 After lots of trunk and dicker, I was nominated
21 with Morse for dist atty, and Ames for clerk &
22 Bull resigned as senator to give Haynes a place
23 on the ticket, and the conventions adjourned.
24 Down came all my friends to my supper table
25 on which I had laid out while waiting
26 every bit of food in the house, & some drink
27 They surrounded it cheered me congratulated
28 themselves, for the hotel had given out & shut up
29 and were making a night of it when the
30 door bell rang, and tramping in came all
31 my opponents, who finding no other place
32 for a bite or a sup had concluded to come
33 over and eat my cake, they hadnt cooked—
34 I was delighted, and we picked the bones, and
35 eat the crumbs, and drank the heeltaps till
36 there was literally nothing left. Then cigars
37 and pipes finished up, they parted, inwardly
38 thankful they hadnt beaten me that day.
39 They all voted for me and I had 10000 majority
40 in the county, and was never so popular in
41 my life. It was my hay day in the public mind
42 and I shaved my beard for the last time that
43 morning, and I never mean to again, never—

1
2 Gardner was elected governor, and my brother Joe
3 a representative from Watertown, and the
4 Keyeses were still in the ascendant. Train was
5 there too, and for three years I was sheriff.

6 After the election Martha and I went to
7 Montreal to the great water celebration
8 and with Joe and Helen who joined us there
9 did that city and Quebec, very pleasantly
10 for all the crowd, and spent a week in
11 sight seeing and travelling quite enjoyably

12 At Thanksgiving the family dined with us
13 and later my brother George gave a great
14 party in the Town Hall, that was a success
15 and socially put the family where politics had his
16 brothers.

17 The year ended with the State Prison tragedies
18 that were very alarming, and disturbed me not
19 a little. The Deputy Warden was first killed by
20 a convict and I as sheriff of the county in
21 which Charlestown then was, was immediately
22 notified, and had some hours work composing
23 the Warden who was greatly shocked and affected
24 Within a few days the messenger came rushing
25 into court with the tidings of the murder of the
26 Warden by another convict, and I had the
27 same only a much harder and more fearful
28 task, to get the excitement quelled both inside
29 and out the prison. I staid there for several days
30 all that I could spare from court, attended
31 the funeral with the Governor and council,
32 and was thankful when the strain was over.
33 The terror of both convicts and officers at this
34 accumulation of horrors was most pitiable
35 and I had a severe trial of my own nerves.
36 It called my attention very strongly to prison
37 discipline, and I studied much on the subject,
38 and made a more careful examination of my
39 jails and the houses of correction than before.
40 I had already improved the management of them
41 materially, but here came a new incentive
42 to work for even better results. Worse couldnt be!

1
2 My first act after qualifying anew as sheriff
3 and appointing my deputies over again
4 was to resign my appointment as overseer
5 of the House of Correction. The board consisted
6 of three old fogies, W^m Parmenter once Democratic
7 member of Congress, Jonⁿ Wheeler a dried
8 goods trader, and ex Shff Chandler, who had held
9 on to the place after being sheriff to spite Hildreth
10 his successor, not one of them was under sixty
11 and they had about as much to do with the care
12 and management of the institution as three
13 sitting hens. They met monthly pardoned the
14 poor devils that couldnt pay their fines,
15 and for the rest did exactly what Adams
16 told them to. I had objected to this sort of over-
17 seeing when the Co Com^{rs} appointed me as
18 one, and made various attempts to effect
19 a change. In vain, the fogyism inertia
20 and routine of such an establishment
21 was too great for a boy like me to alter
22 to resign with my reasons was a wedge
23 that broke the ice, and I followed it up
24 to the best of my ability, imprudently I
25 doubt not but with some good effect.

26 This winter of 56-7 was terribly severe lots
27 of drifting snow storms, high winds and
28 bitter cold days breaking up even the
29 court for days at a time, freezing up the
30 harbor so that we had a good track over
31 Charles River on the ice, driving & walking
32 across to Boston without paying tolls-
33 I remember going down the harbor on
34 the ice for miles alongside the canal
35 cut for the Cunard steamer, and watching
36 her progress to sea through a crowd of
37 curious people lining the edges as the
38 great ship slowly forged ahead. I forget
39 whether I rode or skated on this occasion
40 for I think it had happened once before and
41 that then or this time I skated to the light ho.
42 and I hardly think I should have done that
43 as sheriff, more likely when at Cambridge!

1
2 This stormy weather kept me in town many nights
3 and brought Martha to Boston to stay also
4 rather than be at home alone, and we
5 had some brilliant evenings, at Fanny
6 Kemble Butlers readings of Shakspeare
7 than which I never heard any acting of
8 them that was half as good or enjoyable
9 she seemed to me a woman of immense
10 power both physically and mentally
11 and could give every variety of character
12 a wonderful distinctness by her voice
13 alone, quite equal to any whole theatre company
14 and stage effects. Then we attended the great
15 Tigers ball at the Boston theatre recently
16 opened, and had a good sight of the military
17 and invited guests from the balconies & boxes.
18 Had some agreeable evenings at the Lyceum of
19 course also, with Geo Sumner, Agassiz, Wendell Phillips
20 Dr Hayes and Old John Brown of Ossawotomie
21 to lecture, and quite a number of them staid
22 with me, as one of the curators that winter.
23 I believe, at any rate I recall their visits at
24 my house even now with much pleasure
25 especially Geo Sumner who so entirely different
26 from his brother, was as fascinating and
27 amusing a companion as I had ever met,
28 while Dr Hayes revived all my boyish
29 love of arctic adventure, and gave me
30 much real knowledge of the polar region.

31 At court I had the famous Kalloch case
32 with a tremendous crowd, and great interest.
33 K was a Baptist minister preaching to great
34 crowds in the old Tremont theatre now Temple.
35 He was caught at the Lechmere house with a
36 Mrs Steen a former parishioner of his in Maine
37 and the scandal getting out and he denying it
38 and laying it to the Rum influence, a sensation
39 was made that ended in his indictment
40 for adultery trial and disagreement. RH Dana
41 and Train defended. Morse was no match for them
42 but the facts were thoroughly ventilated and the
43 parson went west to Kansas and California

1
2 The great Central Bridge case against the city
3 of Lowell before a shffs jury, I tried for a
4 week with Rufus Choate on one side and
5 Butler on the other, having more than my
6 hands full, to drive such a team, and finally
7 sent it to an auditor to state an account of
8 the tolls. Meantime Martha and I went to
9 New York and made the Hudsons a visit
10 of a week, having an enjoyable sight
11 seeing and doing up the city & surroundings
12 Stopped into court to see the Burdell murder
13 trial which was going on exciting quite
14 as much interest as the Parkman murder
15 in Boston, and was much amused at the
16 utter want of dignity in the court room.
17 Martha and Mrs Hudson were given chairs
18 in the judges desk behind him and actually
19 presided there an hour of the trial!!!
20 We saw much of the Prichards & dined with
21 them, and went to many theatres. &c &c
22 After our return I arranged with the
23 Supreme Court to have two capital trials
24 at Concord in June the first time that court
25 had met in the town for twenty years.
26 I got my two pictures of the 19th of April and
27 the battleground painted framed and hung in the parlor and had the
28 pleasure of bringing my old governor friend
29 Atty Gen^l Clifford up to my house, where
30 Train Morse and Mellen spent the evening
31 with him. In the morning Ch J. Shaw, Judge
32 Metcalf and Judge Bigelow came, and
33 after a rest of an hour or two at my house
34 went into solemn session over a capital case.
35 They and the Atty Gen^l. dined with me, and
36 Chief Justice Shaw went home after a party
37 at my house in the evening to spend the night
38 at Judge Hoars. The others we accommodated
39 as Mother was away at Hopkinton, and the
40 next morning I took them to drive before
41 court showing them the sights, and getting
42 through the case and dinner, and the [sic] and a
43 large party in the evening at Hoars—

1
2 The morning of the next day was spent in court
3 sentencing the prisoners, and after a parting
4 lunch at my house the Chief & Metcalf
5 went home, declining to attend a chowder
6 at Egg Rock they were much inclined to for
7 fear it wouldnt sound well as a wind up
8 of a capital trial by the Supreme Judicials!-
9 Then Bigelow Clifford and I started in the
10 double team and drove down over the Lex
11 ington Road to Porters, where they had ordered
12 dinner for us three. Now I had often dined
13 at Porters with juries & college suppers &c.
14 and supposed I knew the resources of
15 that establishment. But I found I had
16 no conception. Old Zach met us at the door
17 the house was very quiet and we washed
18 off the dust and cooled after the ride in
19 one of the stuffy parlors, till we were shown
20 out to-well Ive eaten some good dinners
21 in my time-but to by far the daintiest
22 most exquisite and best dinner I ever saw.
23 The host himself carved and served it, and
24 as he never before had carte blanche for
25 three high dignitaries he out did himself.
26 I dont remember the bill of fare with
27 any particularity, but such game, fish
28 meats, soups, puddings & dessert were
29 never before or since I believe served
30 in his house, and the wine! Bigelow &
31 Clifford were connoisseurs if any men in
32 Boston, and their exquisite taste gave me
33 new conceptions of what dinner wines
34 should be, and for the first time I partook
35 of a special kind for each course, this now
36 it has become the fashion at all good dinners.
37 Then the talk and the stories and the jokes
38 and anecdotes they were equal to the dinner-
39 It took us five or six hours to do justice to
40 all that was offered us, and the Judge and
41 the Atty Gen^l went in to Boston, and I drove back
42 home feeling that I had culminated as sheriff.

1
2 My maternal grandmother, Mrs Hildreth widow
3 of Gen. William Hildreth, Sheriff of Middlesex
4 about 1810-14, and before that marriage widow
5 of Dr Timothy Shepard of Hopkinton, Mothers
6 father, and a daughter of Edward Stow, who
7 held a government office under the Crown at
8 the time of the Revolution and owned a fine
9 estate on Sumner St Boston, that was con-
10 fiscated because of his toryism, had died
11 and was buried while this capital trial lasted.
12 As soon as it was over Martha and I drove
13 over for Mother and to say goodbye
14 to the old place. This was to my boyhood
15 a veritable castle of romance, always
16 associated with every novel I read as an
17 ideal prototype of the scene described.
18 It was Sir Harry Franklands country seat
19 where he brought the beautiful Lady
20 Agnes as his misstress and afterwards his
21 wife, and spent much of his summer time
22 in the care and cultivation of its grounds.
23 The stories that lingered about it of his ways
24 and peculiarities, the traditions of the beauty
25 and charm of his Lady, the necromancy
26 of his valet the conjurer Dick Potter, and
27 the witchcraft and fortune telling of old
28 Jule Dicks sister, who had crossed my palm
29 and told my fortune and my wifes & baby's
30 at a visit there, a volume wouldnt hold them.
31 Holmes has made of them a poem, Nason
32 a volume, and yet I feel that these do not
33 begin to tell the romance of the place as it is
34 impressed on my mind. I had as a boy
35 made frequent visits there with Mother
36 It had a terraced court yard in front, planted
37 with box hedges 8 or 10 ft high, huge old cherry
38 trees of delicious fruit, and which on one visit
39 there were in full blossom and covered with
40 a wet snow, and had attracted a great flock
41 of humming birds, scores of which we caught as
42 their wings got clogged with the snow.

1
2 The double door under the front porch, of which
3 the lower part swung on hinges and the upper
4 part was a window raised or lowered by pulleys
5 the only one I ever saw, opened into a huge
6 hall, perhaps 25 X 40 ft with six immense
7 windows, no fireplace, and with three graceful
8 arches of elaborate stucco work over the
9 pillars that supported the rooms above—
10 Then a cosy parlor on the sunny corner with
11 its white marble mantel over the generous
12 fireplace, and the buttery opening off it in
13 the angle of the great chimney, these with the
14 spacious kitchen and servants rooms in the
15 ell part, made the ground floor. A narrow stair
16 way winding round the old chimney brought
17 access to a long gallery over the hall off
18 which opened the great chambers, some
19 of which Sir Harry's ghost or Lady Agnes'
20 or both were said to haunt, but I never
21 saw them, or any one who had seen them.
22 Shut the crazy doors, that would stay shut or
23 open, the creaking timbers, the rattling windows
24 and above all the arras hangings so
25 worn and moth eaten flapping in any
26 breath of air were uncanny to my
27 childish sleep. But the great garret
28 with its old trumpery, and barrels of papers
29 and letters, and relics of the past was delightful
30 for a play place for my cousins and myself.
31 The avenue of old elms that led to the barn, once
32 a famous structure, blown down in the gale
33 of 1814 the great gale of New England, but
34 leaving in its wreck many signs of its extent
35 and style, the old pear trees in the orchard
36 the great hill rising behind the house with
37 its Indian name of Magunka yet adhering
38 to it, and its bubbling spring flowing past
39 the house in a little brook, who ever had such
40 a grandmothers house to go to as a boy.

1
2 Then my grandmother herself a belle of Boston
3 in the colonial days, quitting that city with
4 the British Army when they evacuated in '76,
5 and with her father sailing in the royal
6 frigate to Halifax, and later returning
7 by the way of New York when Lord Howe
8 was in command there, to her Boston
9 friends, and of an age to remember and
10 describe vividly those scenes and persons.
11 Marrying while still young Dr. Shepard a
12 surgeon of several privateers of the Revolution
13 who thereby acquired a fortune sufficient
14 to purchase of the brother of Lady Agnes
15 the Sir Harry estate, and make a pleasant
16 home for his large family of daughters
17 as well as for the old loyalist tory his wifes
18 father, who came back after the peace
19 disgusted with the grant of half of St John's
20 New Brunswick, given him by his king
21 for his losses in the royal cause, saying
22 that if he couldnt be better paid than by
23 such fog snow and ice, he'd none of it, and
24 fighting over again his battles with my
25 grandfather, till they both died. Leaving
26 my grandmother a charming widow of thirty
27 with five blooming daughters, to catch or
28 be caught by the Sheriff General and
29 carried to Concord to preside at the Shire
30 and leave the old place to decay. Here
31 in the County House, now the priests residence
32 they kept a jolly hospitable open house
33 where the generals lively daughters and Grand
34 mothers charming ones made Concord gay
35 for several winters. Then the Gen^s death and
36 my fathers marriage sent the doubly widowed
37 back to her old place where for forty years she
38 had lived, letting her farm at the halves, and
39 entertaining her children & grandchildren & old friends.

1

2 *[There is no page 154 in the manuscript]*

1
2 Later in the summer Martha and I with
3 Joe & Helen and half a dozen young men
4 made an excursion to Lake George and
5 saw Old Ti as the fort at Ticonderoga
6 was called, sailed down the lake and
7 had a delightful trip. The ladies had
8 so much attention from the young men
9 that we husbands were of no account
10 and the party was extremely pleasant.
11 At commencement this year I prevailed
12 on the Governor to accompany the Atty.
13 Gen & myself to Porters to dine with the
14 Lancers, and we had a great time there.
15 We stepped out at the back passage way
16 in the old church, and tho he was missed
17 we got back in season for the orations
18 and the dinner. Then I accompanied them
19 back to town, and in the evening went to a
20 pleasant class meeting at M^cCleary's house,
21 and wound up the next day by attending
22 the alumni meeting and hearing E. Everett.
23 I went with His Excellency also to a great
24 celebration at Bunker Hill, and as it was
25 in my county rode in his carriage with
26 the Sheriff of Suffolk as the etiquette
27 required, now too often I fear abandoned.
28 I recall also that Nelly my first little mare
29 brought me a filly while at pasture in
30 the Agr Soc ground, in June, and that I
31 spent much time over training & handling
32 the colt, tho I could do nothing with the mother
33 She had become so perfectly crazy when harnessed
34 that once I kept her tied to the tree all day
35 and night before she would start at all
36 and then she ran half way to Lowell
37 and sprained her shoulder so I had to leave
38 her in a barn at Parkers & walk the rest
39 of the way to Chelmsford, and that from
40 her clear insanity. I was compelled to sell
41 her for breeding purposes as that was all
42 she was fit for, and she went to the White
43 Mountains in N.H. where I heard of her in
44 later years unusable except for raising colts.

1
2 I was very busy with cattle show matters all
3 summer, and once when trying a jury case
4 at Lowell, sent out the jury drove over
5 to Concord and presided at a meeting of
6 the society drove back and received the
7 verdict and returned to Concord that night.
8 It was fast work, but successfully accomplished
9 I moved the Agr. building from the centre
10 of the lot between the Burying Ground and Sleepy
11 Hollow Cemetery, to the southwest corner
12 on higher ground, put a floor into it to get
13 rid of the dust at exhibitions and graded
14 a circle of an eighth of a mile in the level
15 middle of the lot for an exhibition ring
16 where the animals could be better shown
17 We had a great show better and larger than ever
18 before, had Gov^r Gardner here and entertained
19 him at tea at my house, and the dinner
20 and speeches were excellent I remember
21 thinking, and I presided very satisfactorily
22 to myself at any rate. ~~I was~~
23 I was less fortunate at the co. conventions
24 that followed, where I tried to defeat Huntress
25 for co commissioner and failed utterly and
26 laid the foundation for my own defeat
27 by the quarrel this engendered. The Lowell
28 jail was the occasion, but the prison discipline
29 was the real cause, he being merely a tool
30 of Adams &c, at Cambridge, where matters
31 were approaching a crisis.
32 I finished up the central bridge jury case
33 having a ten days conflict before me be-
34 tween Briller and Choate, with whom I spent
35 the time at the Washington House evenings and
36 had much charming talk, and who never
37 was in brighter mood or more brilliant as
38 a lawyer, and a companion. How much I w^d.
39 give to recall those wonderful epigrams and
40 scintillations that he sparkled our nights with
41 The arguments attracted an immense crowd of
42 spectators for two days, and were most able.
43 The result was a verdict for the company
44 of \$21,000, which was afterwards sustained
45 by the Supreme Court to which it was carried on the
46 low points involved in my rulings—

1
2 I remember another agreeable trip that summer
3 with my wife driving to Providence RI
4 and attending commencement at Brown
5 University with the Trains, and seeing that
6 pleasant city, and going to President Sears'
7 levee where was gathered all the beauty
8 and learning of R.I. Thence over to Shermans
9 at Pawtucket, my old friend Bot the Sheriff
10 and going with his family and Trains to
11 a regular Rhode Island clam bake
12 that I voted a great institution. Driving back
13 we dined at Frank W. Birds in Walpole
14 whose wife was an old school friend of Marthas
15 and reached home after a tea at Waltham
16 late in the evening, after an agreeable expedition
17 This was a drive of over a hundred miles both ways
18 and was only a specimen of the way I drove
19 about all these years. In fact I was on the
20 road more than any where else save in my
21 bed, and I was never tired of the longest rides
22 I doubt if they were very useful to me as I was
23 so much alone in them that for want of other
24 thoughts I mulled over my disagreements
25 with other people too much, and acquired a habit
26 of arguing to myself my side of all disputes.
27 The Lowell jail was a great nuisance to me
28 it was nearly completed and Lowell wanted
29 the Sheriff to come there and live and run it
30 I am homesick at the bare thought of such a life
31 for myself and for my wife and babies it is
32 too dreadful, but I fear it is my duty and do
33 not see my way clear. So I rage inwardly and
34 with it, its authors, abettors, and inmates all shut up
35 for life in its walls, and those buried deeper &c!
36 I had one great laugh, one stupendous joke, that
37 really broke the financial crisis of this year
38 by setting every body to laughing &c heartily
39 that they felt better and brighter for it. This
40 was the way of it. I had a jury trial at old
41 Cambridge between the city & a citizen for
42 the value of his land. As there was no hotel there
43 I made an arrangement with Smith the caterer
44 who had opened the Brattle House as a college

1
2 boarding house to get a dinner for the jury on
3 the day of trial, and we tried the case till
4 one oclock when we adjourned to dinner.
5 On arriving at the Brattle House we found that
6 dinner was not ready, and the man in charge
7 said he was ordered that morning to have it in
8 readiness at two oclock. I wondered who had
9 interfered with my arrangement, but told him
10 to hurry it up all he could as we were waiting
11 and in the mean time chaffed some with the
12 jury about our 'family dinner' &c Soon we
13 were ushered into the dining room where the
14 table was most elaborately set for just
15 our number 15, the 12 jurors counsel & sheriff
16 I took the head, the Mayor my old friend J. Sargent
17 the foot and we proceeded to discuss the bill
18 of fare, which had half a dozen courses and
19 glasses for as many wines. We had got through
20 with the fish, roasts, boiled, & down to the game
21 the chaffing over it as a 'family dinner' going on
22 when a great commotion was heard in the hall
23 outside, and heads peeped into the door, and our
24 waiters were in confusion. We kept on however
25 till the farmers of the jury were well feasted
26 up, and tho noticing that some of the courses
27 were diminished finished an excellent dinner
28 and came out into the hall to meet who
29 but the corporation of the University with
30 their invited guests who had attended the college
31 exhibition and were cooling their heels while
32 we had eaten up their dinner Judge Hoar's
33 exclamation, 'Why Mr Sheriff you have eaten
34 our dinner'! I shall never forget. It was too
35 good a joke. In their own house on their own
36 ground to have their first elaborate corporation
37 feast devoured by a sheriffs jury!!! Language
38 fails, I was even at last with the college!
39 They had to put up with what was left, and we roared
40 and retired. Smith had confused the two orders as
41 one. All the rest of the trial, the students who heard
42 of it would peek in, and grin at the jury that had
43 eaten the corporation dinner, & go off roaring

1
2 The next day the newspapers got hold of the joke
3 and for some days poked fun enough
4 at the corporation. All Boston & Cambridge
5 laughed till they were sore at the terrible
6 discomfiture of the college dons, and
7 even Dr Holmes good pun that after all
8 the dinner 'de facto' was as good as the dinner
9 'de jure' didnt stop the merriment.

10 I got more credit for it with the alumni
11 than for all my college exercises and
12 for many years it was a standing joke
13 at our class meetings.

14 This fall I bought the title of the other
15 trust in Grandmothers old place and I
16 owned the farm as was only becoming
17 to the President of the Agr. Soc. It would
18 have been easier to persuade the family
19 to go to jail at Lowell than to Hopkinton
20 or rather Ashland as the new town
21 was called that included Magunka.

22 As the time drew nearer to decide that
23 matter, I had more uncomfortable feelings
24 more quarrels with the Com^{rs}, and got
25 more thoroughly homesick about it than
26 ever. At last in the closing days of the year
27 after a sleepless night tossing over it
28 I suddenly thought of a plan of escape.
29 Why shouldnt Joe go and keep the jail
30 He had but little practise at Watertown
31 had no children, and no love of the place
32 and here was a good opening. I drove
33 at once to see him talked it over with
34 him & his wife, and settled it easily—

1
2 This relieved us all of the nightmare it had
3 been for so long, and the old year ended
4 and the new one began most happily
5 at such a capital arrangement for all
6 The election had resulted in the defeat
7 of Gov Gardner, by the union of all his
8 opponents upon Banks who was handsome
9 ly elected by 24000 plurality, and with
10 him many good fellows heretofore
11 proscribed by the American KN's
12 George Brooks who had taken my place
13 as ch^m of the Concord selectmen was
14 chosen representative and I had a
15 good friend in the Legislature in him
16 Gov Banks was very different from his predecessors
17 and I never liked him half as well as either
18 of the three but I came to know more of
19 him than either, and I early in his governorship
20 had a pleasant evening with him and Mrs B
21 at the Tiger Ball, which had become a regular
22 institution

23 At last the jail was completed & furnished
24 Joe moved in and March 21st. the prisoners
25 were received, and the new chaplain Parson
26 Wood preached a good discourse to them
27 and us, and I felt the incubus fairly laid.
28 It made quite a home for me when at Lowell
29 though not so pleasant as Ben's yet it
30 was safer and the plan worked admirably.
31 Mean time at home Mr. Frost had died of a
32 long consumption, and Martha's old friend
33 Grindal Reynolds of Jamaica Plain
34 had been invited to settle in F's place.
35 He accepted, and the church had been renovated
36 inside and we had got through the condolatory
37 and all was lovely. Accordingly one June day
38 he was settled or rather instated with the
39 usual crowd, dinner &c and we were quite
40 prominent as his oldest friends in the parish
41 among his old friends whom we knew

1
2 With Dist Atty Morse, I made a weeks sojourn
3 in Washington seeing all the sights and
4 people in the Capital and stopping both
5 going and returning in New York to call
6 on friends there. It gave me more familiarity
7 with both places and in that way was
8 of use afterwards. Soon after my return
9 Prescott was born and we were much
10 congratulated on our boy after three girls
11 as well as on staying in Concord. The
12 family kept very well and I was busy
13 as ever till the summer vacation came
14 Then we drove with Annie & Flory to Lynn
15 had a pleasant visit on the Bakers
16 tho Dan has met with losses & became
17 a little hard, and from there we drove
18 to Beverly and spent some days with our
19 White M^t acquaintances the Endicotts.
20 Queer old fashioned puritanical half quakerism
21 people but very kind and hospitable
22 They took us to Beverly Farms & showed
23 us much kindly attention, and we saw
24 many new people they knew & we enjoyed.
25 This helped off the summer heat and we got
26 all the babies through it nicely. Early in the
27 Sept term I went home with Judge Perkins
28 who had brought his wife to Lowell, and
29 introduced me, and I had shewn her over
30 the city, and felt quite well acquainted.
31 He was living at his sea shore residence
32 out of Salem in Swampscott and we drove
33 out there and found a delightful place.
34 I got hindered by a shower from returning
35 and spent a Sunday most charmingly
36 it was a perfect Sept. day. Mrs P. Miss Cox &
37 I strolled to the beach sat on the rocks and
38 talked for hours, enjoying one of the
39 whilest days I remember. Went back to
40 Lowell with the Judge after it greatly
41 delighted with my visit Mrs Perkins was
42 a Brookhouse and her father is very rich
43 and owns a beautiful place adjoining theirs
44 full of African curiosities he brought home

1
2 The fall I spent mainly in electioneering
3 for Train for Congress I visited nearly every
4 town in the district belonging to my county
5 Had some pleasant rides mainly alone
6 and saw some of the active politicians
7 and secured delegates to the convention
8 and on the second ballot got for him
9 the nomination 63 to 61 after a hard fight.
10 He had done even more for me two years
11 before, and it was great fun to repay
12 him, and beat Boutwell into the bargain.
13 I recall after that a pleasant trip to
14 Barnstable with the Gov^r and the Ancient
15 & Honorable Artillery to the Cattle Show,
16 where I was agreeably entertained by S.B
17 Phinney who married Miss Hildreth of Concord
18 and knew all the Concord folks. We had
19 a great ball at the hall in the evening
20 and a generally good time.

21 My own cattle show was a great success
22 Mr Emerson gave us a pleasant address
23 The show was extremely good, and the
24 dinner entirely satisfactory. I had my colt
25 harnessed in a trotting wagon and Annie
26 drove her on the track skilfully & safely
27 Annie 10 yrs old, and she 16 ms only.

28 The election went off safely Train was
29 chosen, and the rest of the year was
30 spent in preparing my side of the quarrel
31 with the County Commissioners over
32 the House of Correction matter, in which
33 I had got much interested and was bound
34 to put it through. If I had taken the bull by
35 the horns and removed Adams and put
36 in the right man, it would have been better
37 but I didnt quite dare the responsibility
38 of such summary work, and it drifted
39 into a legal complication very annoying
40 and with as usual no definite result. The
41 fact was the Com^{rs}. and their county ring
42 were too much for me alone to cope with.

1
2 A club room had been established on the
3 Mill Dam this season, with billiard table
4 and all the luxuries, of which I was made
5 president, and enjoyed very much. It had
6 made much talk among the women as an
7 institution they doubted or disapproved of
8 and it wasnt in very good odor of sanctity.
9 I was attending Mr. Reynolds sermons & lectures
10 rather faithfully and the club room also.
11 Something must be done to reconcile these
12 and the opportunity occurred about New Years
13 A poor family at the factory village living
14 in the old red mill house half under water
15 came down with typhus fever of the worst
16 kind. Father mother and six children all
17 more or less affected, in a forlorn destitute hovel
18 with even the neighbours afraid to go near them.
19 I brought up the matter at club room and
20 was appointed a committee to visit support
21 and take care of the family and authorized
22 to expend any needed amount in doing this
23 So taking my chance I went up there, washed
24 fed, and nursed up the lot, got them a nurse
25 provisions medicines, beds and comforts.
26 Set them to mending and with Dr Bartletts aid
27 after some weeks pulled them through. For
28 several Sundays went each morning, and as
29 soon as they could bear removal brought off
30 the youngest children to better homes till they
31 could go back, in short played the good Samaritan
32 till I could leave them to their work again—
33 This as the work of the B.C.&W. club, stopped
34 all unpleasant remarks, and the club has
35 gone on quietly and comfortably ever since.
36 The family I soon lost sight of in their moving
37 but it was the worst sight I can remember
38 and the danger of infection was very great.
39 We made another visit to New York staying at
40 the Hudsons going to theatres nightly & churches
41 Sundays & spending a week very pleasantly
42 and having a jolly good time, as the Hudsons
43 at last have a boy of Prescottts age.

1
2 I remember a visit to Salem at Judge Perkins
3 where I spent a Sunday and enjoyed the day
4 with them, and saw many Salem people I knew
5 tho it wasnt as agreeable as the sea shore.
6 I went also to several great balls this winter
7 the Tigers, the M^t Vernon for the benefit of the
8 Washington Fund for his home there, which
9 was by far the most brilliant assembly
10 I had ever seen and where Martha & Lizzie
11 Lord accompanied me, and we danced
12 and had a festive time. Also the Masonic
13 Ball at Concord one of Surette's most
14 elaborate and dressy affairs that made
15 quite an excitement for the quiet town.
16 At the Legislature I had lots of work getting
17 the House of Correction matters settled
18 by a statute, and succeeded only partially
19 after much committee hearing & lobbying
20 To do this last effectually N^o 14 Tremont Ho
21 was occupied by the Tunnel and our crowd
22 all winter, and many good dinners, and more
23 good whiskey punches were drank than
24 can ever be remembered. What times those
25 were with Thorn Davis, Train, Col Parker,
26 Brooks, Swift John Green &c &c I dont
27 believe Boston sees anything like it now
28 with all the increase of wealth & luxury.

29 All that summer was devoted by me to the
30 great state encampment of all the Militia.
31 Gov^r Banks proposed it and with the Adj. Gen
32 Stone selected the field near the Fitchburg
33 R.R. (junction that now is) for the place.
34 With Capt Richard Barrett then in command
35 of the artillery as an aid I hired two farms of
36 the owners for that week, and we laid out
37 the grounds, controlling all the land that could
38 be used for the outside shows, so as to exclude
39 gambling liquor &c Geo M Brooks was selectman
40 and I as sheriff took entire charge of the police
41 arrangements. I selected a score of my
42 best deputies for special aids, got a squad
43 of police from Boston Providence Portland
44 and all the cities of Massachusetts for duty.

1
2 I spent the most part of every day there for a
3 month before, leasing the land for some
4 \$12 to 1500 out of which we paid for a bridge
5 over the Pail Factory Brook, wells, stabling
6 for staff horses, and a score of other details.
7 I expected a serious time, with rough & rowdy
8 as this was the first instance in the state
9 or New England of a muster on such a scale
10 and it was expected to draw an awful crowd.
11 I was so apprehensive that I got my life insured
12 put extra bolts on my house, provisioned it
13 for a siege, made it headquarters for Mrs Banks
14 and the Governors lady friends, and really
15 did more work about it than all the rest.

16 The week came, the Governor and his wife were
17 at my house, my deputies in white pants dark
18 coats and black hats with cockades, all mounted
19 and armed were quartered in the Court House
20 where I had the jury beds brought from Cambridge
21 (they were fed at my table) and all was ready.
22 7000 troops mustered and were encamped on
23 the river bank from Derbys Bridge to the one
24 Arch Stone Bridge. The walls were removed
25 for a parade ground from the field between
26 the brook and the main road, and the camp
27 for headquarters was on the bank of the
28 Pail Factory Pond overlooking the whole.
29 I was mounted on my 'gallant grey' a fine
30 parade horse, and in full sheriffs dress
31 and reported to the Governor at his quarters
32 with my score of deputies, who had charge
33 of the police arrangements under my directions.
34 The weather proved magnificent as did the sight
35 and the first day was quietly spent in drills
36 and routine duty, and without the great crowd
37 I had feared, so that after patrolling the outside
38 of the camp we came home to supper, and
39 in the evening escorted Mrs Banks Martha
40 & Mother to see the camp by moonlight, and
41 finely it looked. Slept at home, and reported
42 for duty again the next morning finding
43 they had passed a quiet night with no kind
44 of disturbance and all going on well.

1
2 In the afternoon the whole body of troops were
3 marched off the field by the revolutionary
4 Barrett houses to the battleground, where they
5 cheered the monument halted and then back
6 through the village to camp again. With
7 my deputies we led the march, and except
8 for a plenty of dust it was an imposing display
9 The second day was well spent in camp doing
10 duty, and I found the crowd increased but very
11 orderly and the soldiers very quiet at night.
12 I received Gen. Wool of the U.S. Army who
13 came as the Governors guest, escorted him
14 and Mrs Banks to headquarters where I
15 dined and we had a band concert in the evening
16 with the ladies there, and then the Gen W. & Mrs B.
17 came back with me to sleep quietly-

18 The third and last day was the grand review
19 attended by the Legislature, the judges mayors
20 and all the dignitaries escorted by the Anc.
21 & Hon Art. Co, and a crowd of 50000 people.
22 I had my hands full and with the police
23 kept order, and preserved the peace so well
24 that there wasnt a row, an accident or an
25 arrest during the whole time. After dinner
26 at the Gov^{rs}. and sending off the invited
27 guests, the Governor came home with me
28 and had quite a levee at my house in the
29 evening with a supper &c afterwards.
30 On Saturday the troops, officers deputies police
31 and all left the town, and I wound up the
32 Camp Massachusetts in a rain storm.
33 It was a great success in every particular
34 and did much for the military spirit of Mass.
35 that made it so effective a year or more later.
36 I had much praise for my share in the good
37 order, and arrangements of the camp, and
38 felt that I was entitled to the credit if hard
39 work, earnest thought, and wise counsel
40 contributed to make it what it was-
41 My deputies had a jolly lark of the week and
42 got much satisfaction out of their duties.

1
2 In the convention that fall, although I had
3 visited every town in the county and worked
4 hard for success I was defeated of the nomination
5 by the Co Court and the Ho of Cor. ring. Had I
6 been willing to connive at their management
7 and kept quiet over their cruelty and rascality
8 they wouldnt have opposed my reelection.
9 As it was with three or four candidates in
10 the field, the opposition combined on a Boston
11 school teacher Charles Kimball, who with not
12 a single qualification for the place, no law
13 no experience, no fitness, was nominated and
14 elected, and reelected till his death in 1880
15 Simply because he allowed himself to do as the Co.
16 ring directed. So much for making the office an
17 elective one!

18 Of course I took my defeat sorely to heart,
19 it threw me out of business, I had laid up but
20 little of my salary, and had to begin my pro-
21 fession again, with a growing family and
22 no especial opening. It was a hard setback
23 but I bore it as philosophically as might be
24 and made friends even more in my defeat
25 than I should have in success.

26 With the beginning of the new year 1860 I
27 opened an office in Boston in N°. 20 State Street with
28 Train and Underwood, and began practise.
29 I had quite a docket of suits against myself
30 as sheriff and against my deputies, but
31 didnt make much at taking care of them
32 or get many new clients. Still I worked
33 and waited feeling poor and reducing
34 my expenses as much as possible.
35 I was certainly relieved of a burden when I had
36 become a private citizen again, after giving
37 up the sheriffalty to the new incumbent
38 which I did with much formality after
39 making an address to the court, and intro-
40 ducing my successor, and was thankful
41 enough to be relieved of the responsibility
42 so great that I did not feel the load till it
43 was off my shoulders. I began a new
44 home life with my family and on the
45 whole think this year was even happier
46 than the more public ones though far quieter.

1
2 We had elected Simon Brown representative from
3 Concord, on the river meadow question
4 and his seat was contested and my first case
5 was this before the Legislative Committee.
6 But as John Goodwin was speaker one of
7 our sett it was comparatively easy to seat
8 Simon securely, and the river meadows were
9 not to be considered indifferently.

10 Then came a trip to Washington again
11 with Mrs Train, meeting Train and Rice in
12 New York, and there I staid over a day and
13 then had several days at Washington where
14 was great excitement. Saw lots of people I
15 knew there, and recall a most agreeable
16 evening at Senator Douglass' where as
17 he was busy his wife a most charming
18 woman entertained us delightfully till
19 he came in. The little giant impressed me as
20 a very strong man, and we discussed politics
21 very amicably for an hour. Found Charley
22 Train very much at home in Washington
23 having got the hang of the school house
24 and on the best of terms with all the members.
25 I made a pleasant call on Major French
26 and saw Mary Brady and other Concord
27 friends, and had rather an introduction
28 to the feminine part of W. that I had never
29 seen before. So I enjoyed several days there
30 and returned to my law business at home.

31 This reminds me that I forgot the John
32 Brown excitement of last year and I must
33 recall one of its peculiar episodes in Concord.
34 When the day of his execution arrived we
35 had arranged for a gathering in the Town
36 Hall, and had a wonderful meeting. I
37 had insisted at the preliminary talks that
38 all the speakers should be confined to reading other peoples
39 writings, as there was too much danger of our
40 giving way to treasonable utterances if we
41 allowed ourselves to speak our own sentiments
42 and the plan was cordially assented to.

1
2 The hall was crowded, I think Hoar or Fay in
3 the chair, Mr Reynolds read from the Bible
4 Mr. Emerson from Milton, Mr Alcott from
5 some heathen philosopher, I read the Execution
6 of Montrose, from Aytonns ballads, and never saw
7 a more effective impression made on an audience
8 than did those stirring lines. DH Thoreau with his
9 usual egotism broke the agreement and said
10 some rambling incoherent sentences, that
11 might have been unfortunate if they had not
12 been unintelligible. Sanborn read something
13 and so did Hoar but Ive forgotten what. A
14 hymn was sung perhaps written by Channing
15 and the ceremonies serious and sober as a funeral
16 were over. All of us knew Old John, all admired
17 him, and many rejoiced in his attack on slavery
18 and there was a profound feeling of sorrow for
19 his death. If I hadnt been sheriff I should have
20 gone to the trial to defend him I was so strongly
21 moved by his courage and manliness—
22 Sanborn had I never doubted full knowledge
23 of his plans, and Concord subscriptions had
24 helped his cause without however knowing
25 its purpose. So that when Mason of Virginia
26 began in the U.S. Senate the investigation
27 Sanborn was summoned to testify. He was
28 afraid and unwilling to trust himself in
29 Washington and refused to attend. He consulted
30 with me, and I had a correspondence with Mason
31 on the subject endeavoring to induce the com^{tee}
32 to take his deposition here. I think that was
33 one object I had in going to Washington myself
34 but do not recall any interview with Mason.
35 At length the U.S. Marshal made the attempt
36 to take Sanborn and carry him off as a witness.
37 I was sitting quietly in my house of a moonlight
38 evening when Grace Mitchell one of Sanborns
39 scholars came wildly rushing in with the news
40 that they were carrying him off. I ran to his house
41 next to the high school house to find him handcuffed
42 in the carry all with the 3 depy marshals holding
43 him, and an excited crowd of 30 men & women
44 holding the horse and stopping the road in front.
45 Sanborn terribly excited, and waving frantically

1
2 his manacles and calling for help and rescue
3 I enquired of the officers who recognized me
4 their purpose and authority which they gave
5 and then telling the crowd to detain them till
6 I got back, rushed off to Judge Hoar's house
7 where I found him quietly smoking in his
8 library to which the cries and shouts of
9 the scene almost penetrated. I applied to
10 him for a writ of Habeas Corpus for Sanborn
11 and as soon as he understood the matter
12 he granted it. I writing the petition therefore
13 while he filled out the writ. Armed with
14 this I hastened back to find the crowd
15 swelled to a mob of hundreds, in which
16 some Democrats had mingled trying to
17 take the part of the officers, and getting
18 roughly handled for so doing. Shouting for
19 my old deputy Capt Moore, the crowd gave
20 way he came forward served the writ
21 by taking Sanborn from the wagon and
22 releasing him from the officers and the handcuffs.
23 They who were thoroughly alarmed for their
24 safety, gladly drove off after hearing the writ
25 saluted with a parting volley of stones & groans
26 and when the town clerk had shoved the collector
27 Col Holbrook into the gutter as the fit place
28 for his pro slavery remarks, the women helped
29 Sanborn to his house, the men walked off
30 and when I got through a short consultation
31 with him, and turned homeward Concord street
32 were quiet and the excitement over save that
33 Rufus Hosmer had fallen dead of heart disease
34 in the tumult that had been going on there.

35 My coolness and legal instinct alone prevented
36 a dreadful row. Carleton & Freeman & Coolidge
37 the officers were armed, and but for my
38 prompt interference would have made sad
39 work and a terrible result, instead of the quiet
40 surrender I brought about by means of the writ.
41 It was the best instance of presence of mind I
42 can recall in my whole experience!

1
2 Byron like, I woke the next morning to
3 find the newspapers full of the encoutre
4 and myself famous for my interposition. In the
5 excited state of feeling over slavery and the
6 John Brown invasion, it was almost a
7 declaration of war. I appeared before the
8 Supreme Court hastily collected in full bench
9 with Gov. Andrew as senior counsel for Sanborn
10 while the Marshal with the U.S. District Atty
11 was on the other side. The Court House was crammed
12 the excitement red hot, I suggested the point
13 when the warrant was produced under which
14 the officers were acting that as it was addressed
15 only to the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, he
16 could not deputize his authority to a bailiff
17 for want of any such direction in the warrant
18 and therefore the service by such bailiff
19 was utterly void and nugatory, and cited the
20 decision of our Supreme Court to that effect
21 in the case of a writ directed to a sheriff and
22 served by a constable. Charley Woodbury the
23 Dist Atty, replied. Andrew closed and the
24 court after consultation sustained the point
25 and discharged Sanborn. The crowd cheered
26 Sanborn was the hero of the hour, and though
27 for a month he had been hiding in Concord
28 garrets and writing to me from Patinas, he
29 must make the most of his notoriety by the
30 aid of newspapers, interviews, and cards of thanks.
31 I came home at night to find Concord stirred
32 to its depths, with reporters and emissaries of all
33 kinds, and more foolish stories in circulation of
34 attacks, and captures, than could be imagined—
35 The papers here and in N.Y. Washington were filled
36 with it. Congress got excited, Mason threatened
37 and it seemed as if war might actually begin.
38 Sanborn was carefully guarded, and the story that
39 the Marines were to be sent out in the night to
40 take him, came so straight from Mrs Jackson
41 who was connected with the Emerson & Bartlett family
42 that videlles [?] were sent out mounted to watch and
43 give the alarm. Altogether it was another 19th of April
44 and I sat on horseback for hours on the Lincoln hill watching.

1
2 I had the officers arrested brought to Concord
3 tried before Ball Justice for assault & battery,
4 & bound over to criminal term. Brought a
5 suit for Sanborn in the Supreme Court for
6 \$10000 damages, and with the Atty. Gen
7 appeared in the U.S. Court where the com^{tees}
8 case was carried by Woodbury & in short had
9 lots of business growing out of the affair.
10 The Legislature took it up, and Congress
11 got excited over it, and it was a great row!
12 Meantime politics must be attended to and
13 I went to the State Convention at Worcester
14 where I helped elect the Andrew ticket for
15 delegates to Chicago, and was chosen the
16 member of the State Convention from the
17 Midx Senatorial District, also was chosen
18 with Sweetzer at the District Convention
19 in Concord a district delegate to Chicago
20 after a hard fight, in which my friends
21 rallied to pay me for my defeat as sheriff,
22 and thus I was busy again in political
23 movements.

24 Besides all this the river meadow matter had
25 come up in the Legislature, and I had many
26 hearings before the committees about it
27 where I appeared with Millen and French Jr.
28 for the meadow owners. I brought a 'quo
29 warranto' in the Atty Gen^s name in the S.J.C.
30 against the old Middlesex Canal Co and
31 got their charter forfeited. Then I drew
32 the bill for the relief of the meadow owners
33 by taking down the Billerica dam, and
34 after much consultation, a hearing and
35 a view &c &c with lots of lobbying carried
36 it successfully through both houses and
37 saved it from a veto by my influence with
38 Banks, to whom I explained it satisfactorily
39 and had the satisfaction of a great triumph
40 with Gov^r Brown in this vital interest of Concord.

1
2 As if all this and my other law business was
3 not enough, I had been chosen the year
4 before chairman of the School Committee
5 under a new organization, that abolished
6 the district system, and made a large committee
7 of 3 from the centre and 1 from each of the outer schools
8 Sanborn was secretary, and we chose Alcott
9 superintendent, and brought about a great
10 change in the educational tone of Concord.

11 We had a whole week of examinations that
12 I attended faithfully, followed by a grand
13 exhibition in the Town Hall of all the schools
14 and a glowing report thereon by the Supt. to
15 the town making a volume of itself, and
16 interesting all the citizens in the schools under
17 the new system. Of course there was much work
18 in this, and it led to a great fight in town meeting
19 over some of the changes we proposed, but
20 I carried my points by a great argument in
21 their support.

22 Then came the Chicago Convention to nominate
23 the Republican candidates for President
24 and Vice President, probably the most important
25 body that had met in this country since the
26 Constitution was framed.

27 I started for it, by choice over the Grand Trunk
28 route to be out of the way of the rush of the
29 delegates &c over the other routes, and had
30 a very interesting trip. May 11th up the Fitchburg
31 via Bellows Falls to Burlington Vt. thence to
32 Ogdinsburg N.Y. being much detained by a
33 break down, and getting acquainted with my
34 fellow travellers, several of whom I knew
35 before, and the Browns of Salem I came to know
36 well after, &c and reached Toronto Canada,
37 too late Saturday night to go on Sunday because
38 the 'chenim de fir' didnt run on the Sabbath
39 so we were forced to stay over, go to church and
40 to such other places of amusement as were open
41 and enjoy all we could of our forced delay
42 on this very interesting Canadian city—!

1
2 Going on again Monday we got to Chicago
3 Monday night to find the delegation and
4 the whole Republican party there on hand.
5 Andrew was made chairman of the delegation
6 I secretary and Geo W. M^cLellan a[*indistinct overwriting*] secretaries, at our
7 first meeting, and our rooms at the Tremont
8 House, kept by my old friend David Gage once
9 a conductor on the Fitchburg rail road,
10 were thronged day and night by an excited crowd
11 To secure some rest George M^cLellan and I accepted
12 the invitation of a connection of his to take up
13 our quarters at his private house one of the best
14 in the city, and where his wife the brightest
15 and handsomest lady in Chicago made us
16 most agreeably at home. Massachusetts
17 was a power. We nominated and elected my
18 old friend George Ashman, the hero of the speaker
19 ship fight for Winthrop chairman of the convention
20 and he controlled it and the nomination—
21 Our delegation were pretty nearly unanimous
22 for Seward, and had many conferences with
23 the New Yorkers led my by old friend W^m M Evarts
24 and my new friends Weed and Judge James with
25 both of whom I established friendly relations.
26 In all this and the preliminary skirmishing
27 my training in crowded courts and conventions
28 and cattle shows came into full play. I could
29 more than any other of our delegation keep
30 my head in a confusion worse confounded,
31 make a clear record of what was done or voted
32 even if a hundred noisy men were all talking
33 at once. Could prompt the chairman who was
34 far from being used to such tumult till in a
35 wonder of admiration he declared I was the coolest
36 and most level headed secretary he ever knew, &
37 made so much of me, that I was his right hand
38 man through it all, and as he was one of the most
39 prominent men in the convention, through his defence
40 of Old John Brown, I came in for quite a share
41 of the prominence for the same reason in Sanborns
42 matter that had become almost as national an issue
43 as the original insurrection itself. It was great fun!

1
2 The convention met in the great Wigwam
3 with its immense crowd of spectators, a most
4 glorious sight, we organized with Ashman as
5 president, appointed committees, and adjourned
6 for the platform. What an evening of conferences
7 and consultations followed, our delegation staid
8 in their rooms which being central we received
9 delegation after delegation from other states
10 heard their speeches, and replied to them through
11 our chairman, or occasionally a secretary till
12 long after midnight. Then the President Andrew
13 and myself held private confabs with the New Yorkers
14 and western men, had a quiet supper discussing
15 the morrow, and finally I got a little sleep.
16 Bright and fresh I came to the meeting after a good
17 breakfast at Mrs Tuckhams again to astonish the
18 chairman who was nearly used up with his labors,
19 and we held a long session settling the disputed elections
20 and the platform, till at last it was the hour for
21 a ballot. Had one been then taken Seward would
22 have been nominated beyond all question, but the
23 President though nominally a friend of Seward
24 was fearful that he would not carry the country,
25 and Ashman was equal to that emergency or any other
26 Quietly rising amid a howl of tens of thousands
27 voices for a Vote, Ballot Ballot! he hushed the
28 uproar, and coolly informed the convention that
29 the secretaries had not the printed tally lists that
30 would be required for a vote, which would not be
31 ready till morning, and that it would facilitate
32 matters to adjourn over night for their convenience
33 The convention tired and hungry accepted the plan
34 and before the Seward men could prevent it adjourned.
35 I with Sweetzer and some others of our delegation saw through
36 the trick and voted with the New Yorkers No. but in vain
37 and satisfied that we were beaten, I went home to
38 get some rest, leaving the delegation to caucus as they
39 pleased, feeling sure we had lost our best chance
40 After this we had a pleasant time on an excursion in the harbor with the
41 ladies and
42 forgot my dissatisfaction in the hospitalities
43 of the Chicagoans, which were lavished upon us.
44 The charming Mrs Tuckham was the belle of the party
45 and smiled on me, till I fear I became oblivious
46 to the work of the hour, and the necessities of the
47 Republicans. At any rate I had a good time that evening

1
2 The eventful morning came. The convention met
3 more excited and crowded than ever. In our delega
4 tion Sweetzer was swearing mad at the treachery
5 he had smelt in the air, and the 2 or 3 Lincoln
6 men were hopeful, but not disposed to talk.
7 Andrew was rested, and Ashman kept away
8 from our meetings. The others subdued by the
9 importance of the hour, and quietly and almost
10 breathlessly we took the first ballot. The result
11 was announced in silence. Seward 173½ Lincoln 102.
12 Bates 48. Cameron 50½ Mase 40. M^cLean 12 Dayton 14. Wade 3 Read 1. Collamer 10
13 scattering 2. Then such a shout as I never heard before
14 it seemed to move the very roof and shake the walls
15 after quiet was restored a second ballot was taken
16 Seward 184½ Lincoln 181. Chase 42½ Bates 35, scat. 22.
17 Again the shouts came louder than before, while the
18 Sewardites saw the end, and the Linconites did too.
19 On the third ballot Lincoln was nominated by 265 votes
20 to 163 for Seward and 36 Scattering, and then the roof
21 fairly raised, the walls split, the earth shook and
22 the 'welkin rang', cannons fired bands played, delegates
23 embraced, hats went up, banners flapped, hell was to pay.
24 Of our delegation only 4 voted at first for Lincoln and
25 one MD Field withheld his vote, on the second it was
26 the same except Mat came in for Seward, but on the third
27 as it stood at first Lincoln had 18 and Seward 8 and
28 of these I think all but Sweetzer and I changed over
29 The deed was done, and the convention adjourned
30 for dinner. I had tried to get Banks for vice president
31 he was so eminently qualified that it seemed just
32 the thing to complete the ticket. Some of our delegation
33 stood out against him, and I could not persuade them
34 I had prepared a speech of 10 words nominating him
35 if I could have made it, I think it would have carried
36 the convention, Andrew was willing I should try
37 & Ashman would have recognized me to make it
38 But some of the old abolitionists on the delegation opposed
39 and finding at noon from Evarts and Curtis that N.Y.
40 wouldnt second it because we had failed to support
41 Seward unanimously, I refrained and here it is
42 as the convention didnt hear it. 'Massachusetts for
43 whom Abraham Lincoln will 'maul rails'
44 presents in her 'iron man' the wedge to split
45 the Democracy. Nathaniel P. Banks'.

1
2 So we went back into the convention and voted
3 Hamlin of Maine, an utterly unfit, useless, and
4 and amounting to nothing as a candidate was
5 voted for by New York, and lead on the first ballot
6 Banks who had all our delegation but two came
7 next, and on the second ballot Hamlin was nominated
8 I imagine it was done by the New Yorkers to kill
9 the ticket, not to strengthen it, as it certainly
10 didnt. If—now for my ifs. If we had taken a
11 ballot the second afternoon Seward would have
12 been nominated, and if elected we should not
13 have had the rebellion. If—I had made that
14 speech and it had taken the ear of the convention
15 Banks would have been nominated and elected,
16 and reelected and we shoulnt have had Andy
17 Johnson and impeachment and the break up.
18 On such little things does destiny of nations
19 seem to turn, but it was fated not to be.
20 The convention did its remaining business
21 My old colleague in the Senate was put on the
22 National Committee John L. Goodrich of Stockbridge
23 and the usual votes of thanks &c & adjourned.
24 It was a great meeting, in it of the men whom
25 I met for the first time were Gen^l Hersey of Maine
26 Tuck of N.H. Welles and Cleveland of Conn. Preston King
27 John Keyser, A.B. James of N.Y. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey
28 D. Wilmot. Thad Steven. Gov Reeder and Judge Kelley of Penn
29 Frank Blair of Md. David Carter and Tom Corwin of Ohio
30 beside Giddings & Delano, whom I knew before. C.B Smith of
31 Indiana, Ferry of Mich. David Davis, Judd, & Browning of Ill.
32 C Shurtz of Wis. Kasson of Iowa. B Gratz Brown of Miss.
33 & Horace Greely, who represented Oregon & hundreds of others.
34 In the Mass. list were Kellogg Boutwell and Comins at Large
35 and Day Webb, Peirce, Eb Stone John Wells, & Hopkins of my
36 old friends, with Claflin Rogers Hooper & Dunham
37 & Tim Davis & Tim Winn my neighbors, in short a strongly
38 representative delegation I came to know them
39 all well, and afterwards to have much pleasant
40 political intercourse with them. Scores & hundreds
41 of others were there as substitutes and alternates
42 and outsiders, Joe from Lowell, for one who got in
43 through my influence in the place of Bellows
44 who was my substitute and didnt attend, and
45 it was my high water mark politically!

1
2 Andrew urged me very strongly to go up to Springfield
3 the next day with the committee to notify Abraham
4 of his nomination, but I refused thinking it in
5 better taste for someone who hadnt stood out to
6 the end to go, and so I accepted the invitation of the
7 Wisconsin Delegation to go up to Madison the capital.
8 It was a fine railroad ride, through the fertile lake
9 shore counties to that loveliest capital of the states
10 embosomed in sparkling lakes and with superb
11 trees, and hills, fine houses and a hospitable turn
12 out of all the carriages in the town to drive us
13 all about its environs. We had a great dinner &
14 speeches hurrahs & cannon at every station
15 immense enthusiasm over the nomination
16 and a fine show of western breadth & exuberance.
17 I persuaded the Brown's of Salem to go with us
18 and they enjoyed it as I did their company Miss
19 B being a most ardent Republican—enjoyed
20 the trip extremely and can recall even now the
21 capital beer that the whole party were treated
22 to as we halted at the brewery on the road
23 We got back to Chicago at night to a last
24 meeting of the delegation at which the
25 chairman reported his impression of Lincoln
26 and we heard the return echo of the cheers
27 at the nomination, from north east & south.
28 Sunday was spent in seeing Chicago driving
29 with Mrs T. all over the north side and the lake
30 shore, and having an agreeable dinner party
31 with their friends. Reuben Rice formerly
32 of Concord was here and with arranged
33 an excursion to Dubuque over the Ill. central
34 for the delegation and friends on which
35 we started on Monday morning. Buckingham
36 of Cambridge was chief squire, and Tom Russell
37 J.A. Goodwin, and lots of Massachusetts men went.
38 Mrs T. and some of her lady friends accompanied
39 us and we were pleasantly transported the
40 entire length of the great state seeing all its broad
41 acres rolling prairies and wonderful breadth
42 to Dubuque, where we spent the night a merry
43 party with music dancing and merriment
44 till tired out we slept by the side of the great
45 father of waters to the sound of its rapid flow.

1
2 In the most lovely of mornings we took steamers
3 for a sail of a hundred miles down the Missipi
4 and with the party on deck under the awning
5 we leisurley floated down this wonderful
6 river till noon. That sail I noted with the whitest
7 stone in my memorys tablet. I never saw and
8 never expect again to see anything equal
9 to its charm. It was the culmination of my
10 western longing and life wish. Arrived
11 at Fulton I actually did not dare to leave
12 the bank of the stream and go with the portion
13 of the party on an expedition to some falls 20
14 miles off, for fear I should not resist the desire
15 to stay west always, and send for wife & babies
16 to join me. I was so carried away with its boundlessness.
17 Therefore I dined and taking an express train
18 was landed in three hours in Chicago crossing
19 the entire breadth of the state, through one vast
20 prairie a garden of flowers at that season
21 in an almost air line, that seemed never
22 ending still beginning as we looked out on its
23 dwindling distances lost in obscurity both
24 before and behind us. At last I had seen and
25 crossed a prairie! Bidding my kind host goodbye
26 settling up the accounts and finishing up all the
27 last things I got off that night for Detroit.
28 The convention momentous in its outcome awful
29 in its results, inspiring in its grandeur, exciting
30 in its details was a thing of the past, 'un fait
31 accompli' and with Tom Russell & wife & John
32 Goodwin I was homeward bound. We rode very
33 sleepily all night only awakening once by
34 the troubles of a new married couple in the berth
35 opposite. After a wash up and breakfast I got
36 hold of Brooks John Newell, John Hosmer & Henry Hurd
37 and under the guidance of some or all of them
38 spent the day doing the city. Here I called on
39 and saw Gen Cass the great Senator of the state
40 whose estate was the finest property in the loton
41 and enjoyed a brief interview with him.
42 Of the docks railroads and flour mills elevators
43 and business of the place I saw all I wanted.
44 But I did not see Rice who hadnt got back.

1
2 The next day we crossed the suspension bridge taking
3 a look at Niagara, and winding our way home-
4 ward arrived on the next to find all well.
5 From this onwards I gave almost all my time
6 and thoughts to the campaign, attended meetings
7 far and near, organized Wide Awakes, reported
8 our doings at the convention, and occasionally
9 made speeches. I think the law suffered some, and
10 my cases were not always successful, but the
11 campaigning was glorious enough for both.
12 I recall many pleasant meetings of the State
13 Committee and many pleasant acquaintances
14 I made in the political world, especially the
15 part I particularly carried through. The great
16 torchlight procession in Boston in October
17 As chairman of a subcommittee I worked hard
18 and met with a complete success. The details all
19 arranged and they seemed endless Martha came
20 down and went to a friends house in Chester Square
21 where the procession of 20,000 Wide Awakes in
22 uniform carrying torches, and blazing with fire
23 works countermarched in living lines of fire
24 before our winking eyes. Our committee and guests
25 in a great barge had lead the van, and at this
26 point satisfied with the result I left them and
27 enjoyed the sight with my wife, and escorted
28 her back to the hotel, and rejoined the barge
29 and finished the route after midnight.
30 Was sick all night after it, but got out the next
31 day to see the reception of the Prince of Wales.
32 of whom we got a good view as he rode to his
33 hotel. The next day we went to the State House
34 where Gov^r Banks received the Prince and we saw
35 him again, and what was more of a sight the
36 crowd filling Beacon Park and Tremont St full
37 In the evening as Martha had gone home I saw
38 the outside of the great ball & at Music Hall we
39 saw the school childrens festival and welcome
40 to him where two thousand children sang God
41 Save the Queen and America to him. The following
42 day he went to Cambridge, and I followed and
43 saw him again as he visited my old room in Hy
44 lunched in the library with him, and though not
45 presented think I have seen enough of a future king

1
2 Then I took Annie and Flory to Boston and we saw
3 the Prince's departure, went through his rooms at
4 the Revere, and they saw a repetition of the Music
5 Hall festival to their great delight.

6 At the several conventions I helped nominate
7 Andrew for Governor and Train for Congress
8 and was not a candidate for any thing myself.

9 At Concord we had a lecture from Cha^s Sumner
10 who staid at Mr. Emersons and was waited on
11 and welcomed by the Wide Awakes for whom I was
12 spokesman, and we wound up the campaign
13 by a torch light and illumination after a speech
14 by Comins who spent the night with me. In Boston
15 we had a rousing meeting at Fannell Hall which
16 when I called it to order presented a sea of faces
17 such as I never looked on before, and then came
18 the election, and the result. Lincoln was chosen.

19 Some weeks before I had attended with Train a
20 meeting at Harvard where in his speech, he had
21 told the voters "to make a note of it to write it in their
22 farmer's almanacs to score it on their cellar doors
23 that after the election of Lincoln we should never
24 hear any thing more of secession, or disunion"
25 He thought so, and I too busy with the campaign
26 to read much of the southern newspaper stuff believed
27 it so that it was a rude awakening when in the
28 midst of our rejoicings, a shrewd political friend
29 startled me by saying now look out for the southern
30 cannon replying in grim war earnest to our guns,
31 and to find it true, that war was to follow.

32 I confess it blanched my cheek for a time, and
33 I gladly withdrew from politics to law to forget it

34 The river meadows were being cheated out of all
35 they hoped from their bill so gallantly carried
36 by the knavery of the Commissioners appointed
37 under it. When the day came for these com^{rs} to take
38 down the dam, they were met by a bill in equity
39 asking for an injunction on them upon the pretence
40 that the damages were not secure by the obligation
41 of the state to pay them, and Cha^s Hudson & Bellows
42 of the board took that opportunity to go West and
43 be gone so that we could not file an answer
44 for them and have a hearing till it was too late
45 that season to do anything more with the dam
46 who paid their expenses of this trip I wish I knew.

1
2 In December I changed my office in Boston
3 from State St. to N° 1½ in the old Jays building
4 on Washington St. which looked right down
5 State St and was a very convenient location

6 Along at this time a sort of understanding
7 was arrived at about the offices under Lincolns
8 administration, and partly from fitness
9 and partly from my connection with the
10 Sanborn arrest, I was designated for the
11 United States marshalship. Of course it was
12 necessary to have a good endorsement in
13 addition to my record as sheriff, and I spent
14 some time this winter in getting recommendations
15 The electors signed for me, the Supreme and
16 Superior Court certified to my fitness, the Chicago
17 delegates approved, the Governor & Council
18 agreed, the State Committee urged, the ex Atty.
19 Gen^s. and the bar generally endorsed, and
20 the leading members of the Legislature were
21 added to a set of papers that could not be beaten
22 Several prominent friends from other states
23 wrote letters, and I felt sure of Train's support.
24 I had but one opponent. John L. Swift then
25 a drunken, rowdy stump speaker, who had
26 only a set of poor politicians behind him
27 who couldnt have discharged the duties or
28 obtained the bond if he had been appointed.

29 Armed with these recommendations in
30 February I started with Martha and Anne
31 for New York where I staid some days
32 with Hudson seeing the sights and getting
33 well posted on the political situation
34 The Peace Congress was in session in Washington
35 and the President Elect came to New York
36 and had a great reception and escort through
37 the city. I saw him in the carriage for the
38 first time and thought him the homeliest
39 man I had ever set eyes on. I wrote home
40 that he was a cross betwen Jake Farmer
41 and Beauty Wetherbee the two homeliest
42 farmers in Concord. Martha went home,
43 Lincoln remained and I went to Washington.

1
2 Arrived there I found the city in a whirlwind
3 of hubbub and excitement. Congress was being
4 deserted every day by southern members in
5 treasonable speeches for leave taking. I
6 heard Andrew Johnsons famous rebuke
7 to them, and thought it the most eloquent
8 in parts I ever heard, it fully equalled and
9 almost paralleled Cicero's oration on Catiline
10 The Peace Congress were trying to patch up a
11 settlement but with no hope of success.
12 State after state was seceding at the south.
13 The local Republicans were trying to arrange
14 for the inauguration, while the local society
15 was breaking up, and the oldest families were
16 clearing out, while business was at a stand
17 still and property all most valueless. I looked
18 about for a day or two, found Major French
19 in charge as chief marshal of the inaugural
20 ceremonies, who at once secured me to take
21 charge of the President with such aids as I
22 should choose. It was the most dangerous duty
23 of the day. Fears of an attack, assassination
24 were rife, and rumors of real war were in the
25 air. I accepted without hesitation, secured
26 a dozen Massachusetts men on whom I
27 could rely. Col. NA Thompson Gen Devens, Col
28 Rogers, I.P. Hanscom &c I cant recall all of
29 them, engaged our horses, and badges, conferred
30 with my namesake Col Keyes of Scotts staff
31 and Capt Stone of Mass in command of the local
32 troops as to the details of the march &c. &c. &c.
33 As the magnitude and danger of the occasion
34 grew on me I couldnt sleep, and after tossing
35 all night I came down at Willards very
36 early and was sitting in the hall when who
37 should arrive but Lincoln in a cap and
38 cloak, looking worn and haggard with a
39 night ride, and with only Lamon with him.
40 No one was about but the night clerk to whom
41 it was whispered who the guest was and
42 he retired to his room. I recognized him from
43 seeing him in N.Y. and he & his friend Lamon
44 eyed me suspiciously as the only guest of the
45 house visible at that strange hour of day down.
46 With Lamon I soon became well acquainted,

1
2 and was introduced by him to Mrs Lincoln in
3 the evening at a sort of reception she gave
4 after her arrival to the ladies &c at Willards.
5 Though she tried to be agreeable she was very
6 distasteful to me, reminding me strongly
7 of Aunt Hannah Leland whom she resembled
8 exactly except in not being lame, but with
9 a thoroughly southern manner I detest.

10 On Sunday I had my first interview with
11 Lincoln, in his parlor where Lamon took
12 me to confer about his wishes as to the next day.
13 I shook hands with the long, lank, lean rough
14 looking ill dressed president elect, and telling
15 him my purpose in calling, was struck with
16 his reply, as throwing his long leg over the
17 top of the centre table he answered My only
18 wish is to go to the Capitol take the oath
19 and return to the White House as directly as
20 possible to begin the duties of the office.' Then
21 we talked of details, and he left all to me to
22 arrange, with the committee of the Senate
23 Baker and Collamer, while Lamon with Phillip
24 the Dist U.S. Marshal were to see to Buchanan
25 the out going President. After half an hours
26 talk in which Lincoln told several good
27 stories, and made me feel very comfortable
28 I retired to try my saddle horse. Riding very
29 leisurely over the route seeing the positions
30 Scott had assigned for the troops, I met Col
31 Butler Bens brother an old frontier Indian
32 campaigner whom I had seen before and
33 who asked me what I was trying that horse for.
34 I told him to escort Lincoln tomorrow. The devil
35 said he Ive been in lots of fights but I dont
36 envy you. Why said I. Because Id rather take
37 my chances in any Indian scrimmage
38 than be in your place. Then we talked and he
39 gave me some points for which I thanked him
40 and rode off. It was a lovely quiet afternoon
41 but the quiet was ominous, and foreboding
42 There was a hushed expectancy in the city that
43 betokened anything but a festival for the morrow
44 and yet I had a pleasant ride and liked my horse.

1
2 It was the last night of Congress which had
3 nominally been in session all that day
4 and in the evening I went to the Capitol to
5 see the sights usually attending the close.
6 Here too was the same foreboding, knots
7 of members anxiously conferring, every
8 one sober, and serious, nothing of interest
9 doing only waiting in gloom and distrust
10 for what the morrow might bring. There
11 were but few visitors in the corridors or
12 galleries, only some haggard claimants for
13 legislation hoping against hope. It was
14 dispiriting enough and I went back to
15 Willards wrote a long letter of goodbye
16 to Martha and slept an hour or two.

17 Rising early the bright sun, the busy throng
18 of sightseers occupying every favorable
19 point, the moving troops, and the general
20 bustle of the great day in Washington, drove
21 away the clouds and fears of the night before.

22 Mounting our horses at Willards we waited
23 the arrival of President Buchanan from
24 the Capitol, where he had been signing the last
25 bills, and we waited long. The escort & procession
26 were drawn up on Pennsylvania Avenue
27 Major French and his aids in the advance
28 and at last Buchanan arrived. He went in
29 shook hands with Lincoln and they came out
30 together, Lincoln and he taking the back seat
31 of the carriage L. on the left with the Senate
32 Committee on the front seat. Lamon and the
33 U.S. Marshal on Buchanans side of the carriage
34 I and my aids on Lincolns side, I so near I could
35 have touched him by extending my arm.
36 Col Thompson in front of me with Col Rogers, Gen Devens
37 at my left and the others in the rear. Thus we
38 slowly moved down the avenue, between files
39 of troops and troopers keeping the wide street
40 clear from curb to curb, with detachments
41 of artillery posted on all the side streets with
42 their horses mounted canons loaded & post fires lit.

1
2 The sidewalks windows and house tops crowded
3 with a dense mass of humanity chiefly
4 men. In comparatively silence we passed
5 along occasionally a faint cheer from a
6 knot of Republicans on the walk, or a waving
7 of handkerchiefs from a bevy of ladies at
8 a window, no enthusiasm no warmth of greeting
9 In the carriage Buchanan nervous faint
10 almost collapsed, rode silent and trembling
11 as if to his execution. Lincoln calm cool quiet
12 bowing to every greeting from the crowd and
13 occasionally speaking to the committee men
14 on the front seat. Baker on my side vigilant
15 but anxiously watching every motion or pause
16 scrutinizing every group, while I keeping
17 my horse exactly between the wheels of the
18 carriage, shielded Lincoln all I could the
19 entire way. All went without incident till
20 we got to the foot of Capitol Hill, where the crowd
21 was densest, and there was some delay while
22 the troops were taking their places in front of the
23 eastern portico. Baker got very nervous & excited
24 called on me to push on and clear the way while
25 Buchanan shrank into his corner as haggard
26 and frightened as if his doom had come.
27 Old Collamer and Lincoln cool and collected
28 talked on unconcernedly, while I sent Col T.
29 ahead to see what caused the obstruction. As he
30 returned a sudden sway of the crowd caused the
31 carriage horses to start, and the pole as it lifted
32 catching the Cols saddle unhorsed him instantly
33 This added to the confusion, but was soon righted
34 and before Baker's order to 'Drive on' Drive on
35 was repeated we advanced and alighted at door
36 of the Senate wing. Here the Major Chief Marshal
37 met us, and escorted the presidential party to
38 the Presidents room. After a brief tarry here
39 we entered the Senate Chamber, where we found
40 places, and after some proceedings there formed a
41 procession and marched to the east portico
42 where Lincoln took the oath and delivered his
43 famous inaugural to a vast crowd filling the
44 steps and front square, and amid profound silence.

1
2 As a part of my duty I stood within 10 feet of him
3 hearing every word, and greatly impressed by
4 the good sense and homely strength of his phrases.
5 It was not very well received, his awkward
6 appearance was not favorable and it hardly
7 elicited a cheer, though he had a rather warm
8 greeting from the ladies and the friends close
9 to him as he first appeared on the platform.
10 This over we returned to the Senate Chamber &
11 the Presidents room, the procession reformed
12 and Lincoln escorted by us as before resumed
13 his place in the carriage, and we returned
14 over the route. Lincoln was relieved and so were
15 all others, I forget whether Buchanan came
16 back to Willards with Lincoln or left him at the
17 Capitol. At any rate the chat of the party was lively
18 the crowd was relieved that all had gone well
19 the greetings were more enthusiastic, and the
20 return much pleasanter than the advance.
21 As we turned up the Treasury building there was
22 a great cheering and much heartiness shown,
23 and in front of the White House we reviewed
24 the society's & delegations which composed the
25 escort who being all Republicans were very
26 enthusiastic. I recall with pleasure the praise
27 Lincoln and Baker bestowed on me for keeping
28 so exactly in my place the whole route, and it
29 well paid for all my trouble work and anxiety.
30 The White House reached we dismounted were
31 invited by the President inside, warmly thanked
32 by him for our attentions, introduced severally
33 by Col Lamon, and then forming a body guard
34 staid for an hour or two while he received all
35 that desired to be introduced of the waiting
36 crowd outside. This over the President again
37 made his acknowledgments to the Marshals
38 and we took our leave of him, ready to begin
39 his duties. I was entirely delighted with the success
40 of the day, satisfied with my horse my aids my
41 position and myself, and felt as relieved, as
42 assured that I had helped inaugurate a Republican
43 President who would appoint me his marshal for Mass.

1
2 After this came the Cabinet nomination,
3 and calls on the several secretaries most
4 of whom I knew before. I remember the
5 one on Edward Bates the Secretary of the Interior
6 in whose department the Marshal belonged
7 I went with Mudgett of New York who wanted
8 to be marshal of that district, he was
9 as forth putting boasting and cheeky as
10 I modest retiring and unassuming. He was
11 opposed to Seward and had no more chance
12 of the place, while I was quite as certain of
13 mine as a candidate could be. What
14 Bates who was a snuffy old foggy thought
15 of us I didnt make out, or any thing else
16 except that he was very small potatoes.
17 Montgomery Blair I liked best of all
18 and was satisfied with the Cabinet as a
19 whole, though disappointed in the N.E. men.
20 I went to Frank French's wedding at the
21 Major's that week, where he married Ellen
22 Tuck. Amos' Ts daughter, and as both the
23 fathers were great friends of Lincoln he
24 came for the ceremony at which many
25 of the senators & cabinet were also present.
26 The major was expecting to be marshal of
27 the district but Col Lamon took that as
28 the best plan, and had interested himself
29 for me, but Lincoln left all the offices
30 to the Massachusetts Delegation to decide
31 how they should be distributed. Gen Devens
32 was in Washington very desirous to be the
33 District Attorney at Boston, and consulted
34 me and laid down on me strongly for
35 help to get it. I gave him my best advice and
36 took him to see every one who could help him
37 but it was entirely useless, the man who sent
38 back Burns to slavery had no chance in the
39 first Republican administration—

1
2 We came home together after getting the
3 things running along and finding that
4 nothing more could be done in Washington
5 Soon after the Senate adjourned, Sumner and
6 Wilson came on the delegation met and
7 divided the offices. Sumner took the P. Office
8 to which he named Palfrey, Wilson the Surveyor
9 ship to which he named Phelps, Adams the
10 Dist. Atty for Dana, Hooper Naval Office for Tuck,
11 Train the Marshal for me, Dawes the Collector
12 for Goodrich, and the others their offices for the
13 several district places, and sent on the slate
14 to Lincoln. Mean while the South were setting
15 fire to the building in which the President
16 said he was letting rooms at the other end,
17 and we were feverishly excited and worried
18 at the prospect ahead. I had some relief in the
19 river meadow case before the Legislature
20 which was in a bad way, and for which
21 I had much work to do.

22 I saw considerable of Gov^r. Andrew who
23 was very busy equipping the militia with
24 overcoats and corresponding and advising
25 in every direction. He wanted me to give up
26 the marshalship and take the Adjutant Gen^l.
27 of the state. I declined because I knew I was
28 fit for the one, and not fit for the military
29 duty of the other.

30 In the height of all this turmoil came the
31 guns of the Rebels on Fort Sumter that startled
32 the country from its politics its business and
33 and its pursuits. It reached us at Concord
34 on Sunday, and the news as we came out
35 of church, took away all other thoughts.
36 I rushed off to Boston in the first train to
37 consult as to what should be done next
38 and found that my commission as marshal
39 had arrived and waited my qualification.
40 But for this I should have volunteered and started
41 for the war with the first regiments in some place

1
2 The Presidents proclamation came in answer
3 to the rebel attack on Sumter, and Gov Andrew in
4 answer to it sent his two best regiments. He
5 consulted me as to sending Butler as brig. gen^l
6 with them, and I advised his doing it knowing
7 Bens zeal and interest in military matters and
8 believing his fertility of resource would be
9 worth much to the Mass. troops. He was sent.

10 I was busy getting my bond signed and in
11 making arrangements to take the office
12 as the first regiments moved off to the war.
13 My old command the Concord company
14 was in readiness and prepared to start
15 when Capt Richard Barrett called on me
16 to say that he could not go, with a large
17 family dependant on him with his
18 pecuniary affairs in great confusion
19 and needing his personal attention to
20 straighten them out he felt that it was
21 neither right nor honest for him to leave.
22 After a full explanation I told him he must
23 be the judge, that there were plenty of officers
24 anxious to go that his lieutenants George L
25 Prescott and Jos Derby Jr were either of them
26 capable of taking the company and that
27 if I were in the situation he described as his
28 I should resign, and let Prescott take the co
29 He did so, and the company started on the
30 19th of April, the Concord anniversary amid
31 the tears and cheers of those left behind.
32 It was the day of the Baltimore riot. I had
33 chosen it as my day to qualify and I took
34 possession of the marshalship that day.
35 I came home at night after a busy day with
36 the news of the Baltimore riot exciting every
37 body almost to frenzy. It had pervaded our
38 usually quiet town, till at a crowded meeting
39 in the evening, they got so wrought up that
40 they would have torn Capt Dick to pieces and
41 were ready to mob me for advising him-

1
2 The meeting was called about the departure of
3 the company, Judge Hoar presided and I was
4 urged to stay away, but refused, I had never
5 been afraid of my townsmen, could always
6 control them, and did not doubt I could again.
7 But I had not considered the tremendous strain
8 the war had brought on every mind, and I
9 soon found myself a defendant on trial.
10 This was Judge Hoars opportunity as he thought
11 to kill off both me and the Capt who always had
12 backed me. He did all he could to convict me.
13 And with the help of B. Tolman and some other
14 Democrats who really cared more to injure me
15 than for the war, I came off very badly. It
16 was a very outrageous affair, ending in the
17 hanging Dick in effigy, and in my deciding
18 that popular favor was not worth having.
19 It took all my interest in the town or its action
20 entirely away. I had enough other interests to occupy
21 me, in my new duties, and for the next five years
22 I gave as little thought to Concord matters as was
23 possible. I voted and that was all I cared to do for them
24 as much as possible I was away, and except for
25 the friends who stood by me I let the rest go-

26 In the office I found a very efficient deputy
27 Fred Warren who knew all the special duties
28 and matters of account very thoroughly from
29 twenty years experience, I got rid summarily of
30 all the rest except the Marshals son Watson Jr.
31 whom I allowed to stay till I decided on his successor
32 but Carlton Coolidge and that crew I bounced as
33 much for that Sanborn affair as for their general
34 cussedness. I found that the marshalship combined
35 the work of a co. treas^r. and a sheriff for the U.S.
36 and in both these capacities I was entirely at
37 home. I soon learnt all that I didnt know of
38 the new place. Found R. H. Dana the Dist Atty well
39 disposed, and fully believing in my operations.
40 Thornton Lathrop his assistant and I became
41 good friends at once. Judge Sprague of the District
42 Court was a little offish at first, but Judge
43 Clifford of the Supreme Court who held the circuit
44 and I got very intimate, as I remember his early
45 appearance in Concord in the old Common Pleas Court.

1
2 I found myself very pleasantly situated with no
3 more to do than I wished, and that chiefly attending
4 court, and with leisure to help on the war movement
5 that engrossed every ones thoughts. There was no new
6 business in courts at such a time, and it seemed
7 as if there would be no use for the office except
8 to stop the slave trade which had started up anew
9 with the pro slavery sentiment of the late administration
10 Seward was specially anxious for this to be done
11 and I was soon called to a conference in N.Y.
12 with the marshals of that city Philadelphia and
13 Baltimore. I found Murray of N.Y. a thorough
14 politician devoted body and soul to Seward for
15 whom he had been a striker and willing to serve
16 him in this as in any scheme, but ignorant
17 of any thing outside of New York harbor where
18 he had held some small place. Milward of
19 P. I had known in Congress as a great friend of
20 Trains, and found him a hearty bluff good
21 fellow only anxious to make all the money he could
22 out of his office. We agreed on our measures of
23 vigilance, and I set up John C Warren as a special
24 detective meeting me daily in my old office
25 in Jays building and reporting every suspicious
26 vessel or movement. We caught nothing, and
27 but one escaped our vigilance, and that deceived
28 an old Free Soiler himself the ships agent.

29 But the blockade of the southern ports soon put a
30 stop to the trade, and gave me quite another sort
31 of occupation. Prizes—My first was the brig Amy
32 Warwick with a cargo of Rio Coffee, of which
33 I took charge, and appointing my brother George
34 a deputy, set him up on Lewis warf in what
35 proved the largest business done in Boston during
36 the war. We went into this as a regular mercantile
37 business manner, took the same care and attention
38 of the prizes a merchant would if consigned to
39 him by a firm that he dealt with and I soon
40 had all I wanted to do in such a line of business
41 I became quite familiar with merchants' ideas
42 ways, and got into quite a different set from
43 the lawyers and courts I had hitherto known.

1
2 The war went on and in spite of Judge
3 Hoars prediction in my parlor that the
4 75000 men called for by the President
5 would march through all the southern
6 states, there was no signs of its being over
7 in Swards 90 days, although the Judge
8 and the chairman of our selectmen went
9 on to Washington 'in a body' to see what
10 it meant. As they didnt find out and
11 Congress had met I decided to go, and
12 having got the office into such shape
13 that I could leave, I started and as the
14 bridges had been rebuilt and the steamer
15 was back at Harbre De Gras, I had
16 no trouble in getting there. Previous to
17 this I had seized all the telegraphic messages
18 in Boston under the orders from Washington
19 and as Sicy Cameron wanted some keen
20 loyal man to help in their examination
21 I recommended my brother Joe who
22 was out of the jail and business too, and he
23 was at work in the department on them
24 so I had another reason for going.
25 I got there to find Train Rice and Delano
26 rooming together and as I meant to stay
27 some time I took a room in their house on
28 14th St back of Willards and was comfortable.
29 It was a very different Washington from
30 what I left or had seen before, soldiers
31 every where, guards every where, that even
32 my marshals buttons would not pass, and
33 more Massachusetts men than I had left
34 at home, so I spent some days in looking
35 about, went to Alexandria to see the Concord
36 company, to the White House to see the President
37 and to the Capitol to see a Republican Congress
38 It was the eve of a forward movement, to see
39 which made lots of people had come on.

1
2 After several days in the city I joined a party
3 of Bostonians for a drive to Fairfax Court
4 House to see the advance. We rode out over
5 the Long Bridge saw the signs of the advance
6 every where, the deserted farms between
7 the rebels and the city, and soon found
8 ourselves at the front, and full near enough
9 to the enemy. We heard only a pistol shot
10 but that was enough to show we had better
11 get back and we turned off from Fairfax
12 and came back over Chain Bridge, without
13 seeing a rebel, but like a reconaissance with
14 some idea of the lay of the land fortunately.
15 A day or two were spent with the ladies for
16 Dr Bartlett had come on bringing my
17 mother and Joes wife, & Emeline Barrett
18 to look after Nathan Henry, and Saturday
19 night we had a tea party at Major Frenchs
20 with a dozen Concord people present more
21 than were ever together in Washington before,
22 at once, except the Concord Art. Co.

23 I had arranged a party to go out Sunday to
24 see the battle. Rice and Delano for Train couldnt
25 leave as his son was coming from Annapolis, N. W.
26 Coffin and Jim Dolliver, Dr Bartlett and myself
27 would just fill a six seated Jersey wagon that
28 with a pair of grays I had hired for the trip.
29 They came round to the house at 3 A.M. and with
30 some lunch, cold tea &c we packed in and drove
31 off in the quiet streets of that Sabbath morning
32 before the city had waked up. Passing the guard
33 on the Long Bridge as soon as it was light enough
34 to see to read our passes, we kept on having a
35 lovely drive in the cool fresh air, and passing
36 all the teams we overtook till we came in
37 sight of Fairfax. Driving through a brook
38 to water the horses the load 'sprung the axle'
39 and we feared our fun was spoilt, but as we
40 crawled into the village, a likely looking soldier
41 in uniform at an abandoned blacksmith shop
42 agreed to mend the wagon for us in an hour—

1
2 So we stopped for breakfast at the Fairfax tavern
3 where Gen^l Washington had so often dined
4 during court sessions, got a very fair meal
5 in the quaint old dining room, with a paper
6 fly scarer over the table pulled by a darky boy
7 out side the room, that brushed the innumerable
8 flies off the food while we were eating. We had
9 for companions at the table Ely a N.Y. M.C.
10 and Senator Foster of Conn who were driving
11 in a hack to see the sights. As our wagon was
12 not quite done, they got away first, and we
13 strolled over to the Court House to find Col.
14 Marston of N.H. in command of that post
15 and to look at some of the old records that
16 were getting pretty roughly handled by our soldiers.

17 When the hour was up we called and found our
18 wagon as well and neatly mended as if done
19 in New England, and that the blacksmith was
20 a Yankee soldier whose company was stationed
21 near by, and who had opened the rebels shop and
22 had earned a good months pay that morning
23 shoeing horses, and mending breaks for any
24 who came along in need. All right we pushed on
25 and about 10 oclock arrived at Centerville
26 where we could see some regiments of soldiers
27 in position on the hill facing the enemy
28 and could begin to hear musket shots & cannon
29 from the front. We drove to the tavern engaged
30 quarters for the night and stabling for the
31 horses, and strolled about to get some news
32 but there was none. I remember going to a spring
33 for some water around which some darkey urchins
34 were playing while the cannonade grew louder
35 and being shocke at their unconcern rebuking
36 them for their noise, and seeing they did not understand
37 why they should not play, had to tell them because
38 it was Sunday, a fact probably as new and strange
39 as the battle, to them to judge by their faces. Finding
40 no more to be seen there we met and as dinner

1
2 wasnt forthcoming we decided to push on
3 and get as far as we could to the front. We
4 drove leisurely down the long hill and on
5 for a mile or two passing Cub Run over a
6 very rotten bridge, till we came to a solitary
7 farm house in a grove, which had been con-
8 verted into a hospital, where we saw some
9 wounded men, and the Dr. went in to find
10 his services not needed. I had a presentment
11 all the forenoon that things were not going
12 right at Bull Run, a mile or more in front
13 and various little circumstances so confirmed
14 me that I declined taking the party any further
15 note especially as a train of mull teams we
16 had passed loaded with heavy bridge timber
17 that I knew would never get safely over
18 the bridge behind us, and that I could see on
19 the road approaching it. So collecting the party
20 we were discussing the matter when a shell
21 burst in the road forty rods ahead of where
22 we sat. Elys carriage was close by it, the
23 horses took fright plunged into the woods
24 overturning the carriage. Ely got out, and-
25 we next heard of him in Richmond-
26 This decided me and turning about I whipped up
27 got over Cub Run Bridge just before the timber
28 wagons reached it, and looked back to hear
29 the crash and see the wagon break through it.
30 As we drove back to Centreville we met the regiments
31 we had seen in position when we arrived rapidly
32 marching down the hill, a German regiment
33 under Bliker singing John Browns body's-
34 and the men throwing away their blankets &c as
35 if they were going into action. From the hill
36 we could see the dust & smoke rising along the road we
37 had passed as if there was fighting going on there
38 and while we rested at the tavern yard asking
39 if dinner was ready and getting no answer for
40 no one seemed to know. Who should ride up to the
41 top of the hill but Gen^l M^cDowell and a full staff.

1
2 As they halted to examine with their glasses the
3 movements in front Rice who knew the Gen^l
4 left us to go and see what could be learnt from
5 him as he was the commander in chief that day.
6 Not returning, and finding a large train of army
7 wagons were moving to the rear I watched
8 for an opening and when a break in the long
9 line came pushed out into it, and took the road
10 back. It was none too soon, the firing became
11 louder and as we left Centreville for Washington
12 a panic seemed to seize all the wagons on the
13 road, and we soon found ourselves in the rush
14 and confusion of a retreat. Luckily our
15 load was lighter for Dolliver had found other
16 friends, Rice was off and the horses fresh for
17 their rest. So we could keep out of the way of
18 the running wagons behind us. But those Virginia
19 roads were not made for fast driving, a deep
20 gully on each side down every hill made
21 by the spring rains, had left the centre track in
22 places 3 or 4 feet higher than the sidetracks
23 in these gulleys, and as one had to choose whether
24 to be crowded by a wagon off into these gullies
25 or take a side track and be stopped by any obstruction
26 in it, it wasnt a good road for a retreat. Then
27 too the panic soon increased so much by its own
28 motion, that the loaded wagons going up hill
29 would be opened at the rail board, and their loads
30 of barrels of beef shovels spades or what not
31 would be spilled out to come rolling down on
32 those behind, or the teamsters getting more scared
33 would cut loose their mules and gallop off
34 leaving the wagon to its fate. Thus the retreat was
35 soon a rout, and an occasional straggler or
36 wounded soldier getting to Washington helped it on
37 by giving the impression that the rebels were coming
38 One such wounded soldier we picked up and helped
39 on his way till he overtook some comrades in an
40 army wagon and relieved us by joining them.

1
2 A mile or two on the road in this ruck we
3 overtook Rice heading on foot for Long
4 Bridge as fast as he could walk. He had
5 learned enough from the General not
6 to trust himself in Centreville any longer
7 and was glad enough to be picked up and
8 helped on. The rout continued intensified
9 at every mile. Now we would pass a light
10 carriage come to grief, again a hack
11 demolished by contact with an army
12 wagon. Now our wheels would crumble
13 the edge of the gully and all our weight
14 would barely save us toppling over into it
15 Now we would nick whiffle trees with
16 an army wagon hub or tree both going
17 their best, I never drove such a dangerous
18 ride, and never drove so coolly & skillfully.
19 A dozen times the Dr on the seat with me held
20 his breath, or screamed a warning that
21 was too late, but the gallant greys were in
22 perfect control excited and eager but well
23 in hand and doing their level best. And so
24 we plunged on for nearly ten miles every
25 rod of which was a peril. It was getting
26 too much for even my nerves, as we approached
27 Fairfax I was on the lookout for a road
28 to the left that would lead to the one by which
29 we had returned on the reconaissance. At
30 last I saw one, and deftly runing out of
31 the ruck of the retreat, was in a few rods
32 entirely out of sight of even a person or team
33 in a quiet wood road, with only the roar of the
34 distant rout and the cannonading reaching us.
35 The change was striking and grateful to drivers
36 and horses, but our troubles were not over
37 for pursuing this track we soon came
38 upon trees felled across it, and after getting
39 by the first half dozen were confronted
40 by a regular abattis formed on each side
41 into the woods, and stopping our farther progress.
42 Here all got out but the Dr. searching for relief

1
2 I consoled them with the thoughts of spending
3 the night in the woods, where even the rebs
4 wouldnt find us. Rice relieved himself
5 of every scrap of writing about his person
6 by which he could be identified, at the
7 sacrifice of some money and more sentiment.
8 But after the horse were well breathed
9 from their run I went ahead and piloted
10 the team through the woods, Dr [word undeciphered]
11 at a walk and the others swinging the wagon
12 round any trees it hit. After a hard hours
13 work we got into the track again and soon
14 came out on the road I had been over before
15 and on this we drove rapidly discussing
16 the movements we had seen, the probable result
17 and speculating as to whether it was a victory
18 or a disaster. We had the road to ourselves
19 the full moon had risen, and but two incidents
20 occurred all the way back, a dead horse by
21 the road side frightened mine, and after we
22 passed Chain Bridge a balloon in the hands
23 of a company of regulars, showed us there
24 was anxiety for information at head quarters.
25 It was midnight when we reached the War
26 Dept where we left Rice to report what he
27 knew, and the others at Train's who swore
28 at us awfully as a damned scared set of cowards
29 and wouldn't believe our troops were whipped.
30 I went to the Majors with Dr Bartlett and
31 roused up the ladies and told Mother Helen
32 and Emeline to start with the Dr for home
33 in the first train in the morning. Then
34 I got back to supper in my room over which
35 we discussed the day and at last I slept.
36 After the longest hardest most exciting and
37 eventful day of my life. My first and
38 only battle in which I didnt see an enemy
39 or get in range of their guns, and yet I got
40 all I ever want to see of actual warfare.

1
2 I woke to a pouring rain storm, and at a late
3 breakfast with the woman of the house
4 a southern secessionist as I found, heard the
5 rebel side of the Bull Run. A friend of
6 hers had come from Beauregards head
7 quarters that night to Washington had
8 made all the inquiries he desired got all
9 the information he wanted breakfasted
10 with her an hour before and returned to
11 report the frightful condition of the city.
12 I swallowed my coffee rushed to the War
13 Department and told them of this spy and
14 the necessity of guarding the approaches &
15 securing him. It was too late if not useless
16 for the demoralization was complete, the
17 city entirely at the mercy of the rebels. The
18 army that had so proudly advanced into
19 Virginia was crowding back shattered and
20 beaten struggling like sheep into Washington
21 and nothing but confusion reigning there.
22 It was indeed a black Monday, the storm increased
23 the rain came in torrents, and to this alone
24 I attributed our safety. The rain made those
25 roads rivers of mud, and the rebels with
26 shoes worn to tatters couldnt march in
27 that mud, and their opportunity was lost.
28 It was an awful storm and day both.
29 After dinner I heard the Concord company
30 were back, and loading my pockets with
31 bottles of brandy I went with Heywood and
32 Fay to an empty block near the bridge and
33 there found a worse looking more worn out
34 and wet muddied tired and used up set of
35 men than I ever saw before, one half of them
36 sleeping from mere exhaustion, the rest groaning
37 with bruises and sore with their march in the dark & rain
38 Turning them up as they lay we dosed them all
39 round with brandy, got them a supper and
40 made them as comfortable as possible. But
41 their accounts were as bad as their condition.

1
2 They reported half a dozen killed and as many
3 missing but these last all turned up and
4 the six killed proved to be prisoners in Richmond
5 and although Sid Rices head was shot off
6 by a cannon ball, and Gen [?] Dennis entrails
7 were strung out over a fence rail they
8 all returned in a few months entirely
9 cured by their confinement in Libby prison.
10 The howl that the northern news papers
11 brought the exultation of the South and
12 the dismay of our friends were beyond
13 my poor words to describe. Suffice it
14 to say that as soon as I could I got away
15 from the Capital and got home to find
16 Massachusetts recovering from the defeat
17 and ready for new exertions in the cause.
18 The 75000 hadnt cleaned out a single county
19 of one state, and more were needed and sent.
20 The three months men were sent home as their
21 times expired and we gave a great reception
22 to the Concord company tho they had no vic-
23 tory to boast of, but they had done their duty
24 and were welcomed by an outpouring
25 of all Concord to greet them at the Town Hall
26 and carry them to their homes rejoicing!
27 Capt Prescott had proved a very useful and
28 efficient officer, and was petted and praised
29 beyond bounds. But the romance and the
30 excitement of their going had died out and
31 the feeling it had aroused was not shown
32 by any who had seen service. They had seen
33 and felt enough to know that their old captain
34 was right in staying at home and they formed
35 anew the company under his command.
36 It was only the stay at homes that had mobbed
37 him and would have me if they dared, and
38 those who had smelt the powder respected
39 one who had a good reason for not going
40 when they did. With soldiers I never had trouble.

1
2 To make up for Bull Run we soon got Grants
3 victory at Fort Donilson and Buckner & Pillow and
4 were sent to Fort Warren. I had through Seward
5 committed and released several prisoners there
6 the Baltimore rebels among others, and now the
7 War Dept telegraphed me to be ready for those
8 generals. I met them at the train, was duly
9 introduced by the officer in charge and
10 having the tug ready soon had them safe
11 under the guns of the fort. This was quite
12 an agreeable part of my marshalship
13 as it took me to the fort on pleasant days
14 a pretty trip, and I was on very friendly
15 terms with the U.S. officers there, and
16 it was a pleasure to witness the hard
17 fate of the rebels confined there, many
18 of them were good prisoners and some good
19 fellows in all but their treason, and
20 I spent many an hour chatting with them
21 over the differences between North and South.
22 I was as kind to them as they deserved and
23 they appreciated it. Gen Pillow, Buckers companion
24 was a very agreeable gentleman, and had
25 connections in N.Y. or N.E. that helped him
26 to get exchanged. The Trent affair brought
27 the Mason and Seidell, the forme of whom
28 with whom I had corresponded in Sanborns
29 case, and whose pompous slave driving manners
30 were very offensive, made it nuts to me
31 to tack up in Fort Warren, and to commu-
32 nicate dispatches from Seward &c that
33 riled him to the utmost. Slidell was more
34 polite but he was so chagrined at his capture
35 that he took to his bed and was really sick
36 during most of his confinement. I got
37 on better with their secretaries, of whom
38 I saw more, and had much intercourse.
39 Another part of my duty was to look after
40 suspected rebels on the Cunard Steamers.

1
2 And I became quite at home on these
3 trips up and down the harbor with
4 them. I remember especially boarding
5 from the revenue boat the steamer from
6 England just after the news of the taking
7 of Mason and Slidell reached England,
8 and the trembling anxiety of the passengers
9 at the trouble we had got into on that score.
10 They had been looking off all the way over
11 for the British warships they expected
12 sent to release the prisoners—and my
13 untroubled coolness as I pointed them
14 out when we passed Fort Warren safe
15 in custody there, astonished their weak nerves.

16 The diplomatic discussion that was
17 so well carried on by Seward through
18 the winter, was of great interest to us
19 at the office where prize law was studied
20 so much in all its practical bearings.
21 When the decision to release them was revealed
22 Ned Webster with whom I was well acquainted
23 by meeting him at the slave trade conference
24 in N.Y. came on took a little tug and in a
25 very rough sea put them on board with
26 the waves washing the deck and wetting
27 their feet, and under a guard sending
28 them to Provincetown to the Renalds.
29 Then he came to my office in Boston and
30 we dined, over their discomfiture, and as
31 the gale increased every hour drank to
32 their speedy deliverance at the bottom of the sea
33 where it secured most probable they would be.

34 The tug weathered it however, and the Renalds
35 was blown well over to the Bermudas and
36 nearly foundered. It was a good riddance
37 to us, and was a good punishment to them for
38 their treachery and insolence.

1
2 The war spirit that prevailed so extensively
3 kept me immensely busy investigating
4 all sorts of exports that reached me from
5 every quarter, of rebel ships, contraband
6 goods, and letters and communications
7 from southern sympathizers. Gov Andrew
8 sent me all that he thought worth looking
9 after. The mayors of the chief N.E. cities
10 seemed to follow his example, and as the
11 papers published many of my seizures
12 I soon acquired a very unenviable
13 prominence in this respect. I had lots
14 of work for every officer I had, and in
15 this respect fully satisfied the departments
16 at Washington with my zeal and activity.
17 But it all amounted to next to nothing in
18 its effect on the result, it drove away
19 from Boston any secessionists who could
20 have been mischievous, put loyal men
21 on their guard as to shipping merchandise
22 that would reach the rebels, and stopped
23 some transfers of property to the South
24 notably a large lot of treasury notes given
25 in pay for the steamers that ran between
26 Boston & So. Car. that proved as good as gold,
27 by the terms on which they were issued.
28 In short I ran the civil and criminal part
29 of the U.S. in my district, leaving the military
30 to the Gov^r and the President. In this work I
31 made so many trips to New York, New Bedford
32 and all the neighboring seaports that I
33 had a free pass over many roads & steamlines.
34 Much of the work was high handed and
35 illegal, but the war excused everything and
36 inter arma silent leges was the motto of the
37 U.S. Court House. Dana believed in it, and helped.
38 Judge Sprague didnt, but he never interfered.

1
2 In the winter I took Martha to Washington
3 with me for a visit. We stopped of course
4 in New York with the Hudsons who as usual
5 had made us a visit in the summer and
6 then went directly to the 'Rugby' where Train
7 and his wife were quartered for the winter
8 It was quieter than a hotel, had S.S. Cox and
9 wife Ophelia a bright little woman. Mr Abbott
10 of the State Dept. and Mr Bridge of the Navy
11 whose wife had been quite prominent in the
12 old Washington society, and was a great friend
13 of Mrs Jeff Davis with whom she even then
14 corresponded at every opportunity.

15 Washington was buried in mud, the weather
16 and the getting about alike detestable, and
17 M^cLillan was the hero of the hour, but as
18 ever, not quite ready, and the army officers
19 soldiers camps and wagons were everywhere.
20 Of course we saw all the sights old and new,
21 visited hospitals, and forts, and in addition
22 saw all the society there was that winter.
23 Mrs. Train and Martha went to receptions made
24 calls, saw the wives of the secretaries, and
25 senators, went to Lincolns receptions and
26 were presented at court, such as the court was!
27 I had leisure to accompany them generally
28 and we staid a fortnight, entertaining at
29 the Rugby Gen Butler and Col Devens and
30 seeing at the hotels and departments every
31 one of note that I cared to meet, including
32 a very lovely lady a Mrs. O Sullivan who
33 made quite a sensation that winter by her
34 beauty and whom we were invited to meet
35 at some private house whose I forgot now!
36 I contrived to do considerable official business
37 and especially to get on good relations with
38 the Treasury Dept where my accounts were settled
39 and change the old order of suspicion of our office.

1
2 This summer as the prizes were numerous
3 and I liked to be within reach, we took
4 rooms at the Rockland Nantasket
5 for a month. George and his family
6 found us, and Joe & Helen came for a visit.
7 We had many friends in the house, the
8 Colts of Pittsfield, Goodrich the collector
9 and with my ponies, and his Revenue Cutter
10 we had much pleasure driving & sailing
11 I went down every night in the steamer
12 and saw the usual life at the sea shore
13 under more favorable auspices than ever
14 before. We had our friends the Trains and Fords
15 down occasionally and of course gala
16 days. My income was at least \$10,000 &
17 I felt with the uncertainties of the war
18 like spending all I wanted to of it. Of
19 this year I recall the draft troubles out
20 of which I had considerable work as
21 under the secretary's order I issued permits
22 to travel to persons who might otherwise
23 be held as avoiding drafting, and had
24 some amusement and much notoriety
25 all over the district by my course in so doing
26 Then I caught and convicted Appleton
27 Oaksmith the chief confederate slave trader
28 and had much connection with Marray
29 of New York over this case and Gordons
30 whose execution in the N.Y. tombs for
31 slave trading & piracy I went on to witness
32 These and pleasant official trips to various
33 seaports on official business made life
34 full and interesting, where the knowledge
35 that I was useful to the government
36 and doing good service to the Union gave
37 me a satisfaction, quite as agreeable as
38 the praise of the departments of which I heard

1
2 Not to dwell too long on matters of detail
3 or the confused recollections of such multi
4 farious business, many cases where of
5 were extremely interesting, I recall more
6 distinctly one against Charles E Fuller
7 Josie Whieldons husband. He had been quarter
8 master at Beaufort S.C. and I was ordered
9 to seize any property he had brought home
10 belonging to the U.S. so I had to go out to
11 their place at Newton, and soothe Josie's
12 fears and make out a list of odds and ends
13 he brought home, and have a long correspondence
14 with the department. Luckily Fuller was
15 away from home or he might have got
16 shut up in Fort Warren.

17 Then the new regiment Col Prescott raised
18 to garrison Fort Warren were ordered off and
19 a heavy artillery regiment took its place
20 of which Chaplain Barker, Jane Whittings
21 husband were also ordered to Washington
22 from the fort, and Jane joined her husband
23 there and got interested in the sanitary com.
24 Her brother my old teacher William Whiting
25 was made solicitor of the War Department
26 and thus I had many friends there, with
27 whom I had very pleasant relations, as I
28 often had to go on for official duties I got
29 to feel quite at home there, and in my trips
30 had as 'compagnons de voyage' Mrs Train
31 or Mrs Clifford or Mrs Barker that helped
32 the tedium of such long journeys. One winter
33 I spent a fortnight at Willards where Jane
34 and I occupied seats at the same table with
35 Mrs Gen Grant, who was very pleasant and
36 social, and with whom and many other
37 of the ladies in Washington she was very
38 intimate, and introduced me agreeably,
39 but this was later on in the war. This year
40 1862 was M^cLillan, Burnside & Hookers fights
41 and the varying scenes of their disasters.
42 That fall I found I had lost my grip of district
43 politics and in spite of all I could do for him
44 Train was defeated for Congress by Bontwell.

1
2 The year 1863 found me more busy than ever
3 with prizes after my controversy with old
4 Welles was settled in my favor. He undertook
5 because Judge Sprague wouldnt condemn
6 a prize without any evidence until a year
7 and a day had elapsed to show a default
8 to direct that no more prizes should be sent
9 to Boston. Dana and I rebelled at once, Dana
10 proved that this decision was good prize law.
11 I showed conclusively that it cost less than
12 10 pr ct in Boston for expenses of adjudication
13 while New York cost 33 and Philadelphia
14 nearly as much. This comparison I mailed
15 to every blockade commander, and spent a
16 week in Washington inducing the secretary
17 not only to rescind his order, but to counteract
18 its effect, by a new recommendation—
19 After this I got my full share and sold their
20 cargoes of cotton for immense sums. So
21 large that I once drew a check for a round
22 million of dollars from the State Bank, and
23 deposited it with the sub treasurer where I
24 kept my accounts. Most of these prizes were
25 cotton cargoes captured going out, but once
26 in a while we had one caught running in
27 and then such a miscellaneous lot of things.
28 Medicines, dry goods, leather, &c. &c. I remember
29 an entire infants wardrobe going to a lady
30 about to need them, that made much trouble.
31 I tried to persuade Martha who expected a child
32 to buy it, but after examination she declined
33 luckily, for the British Minister tried to reclaim
34 it as it was destined for an English lady at Nassau
35 and too late for it had been sold to a Boston dealer.
36 I got at the auction a big trunk full of every sort
37 of linen, clothing, ornaments, and nice articles
38 George got a similar one, and our households
39 rejoiced for years in their several prizes. Many
40 of these things are still 'heirlooms' in the house
41 and their constant use brings frequent notice
42 of their origin and destination. I made one or
43 two good speculations in buying through a
44 third party some of the lots of cotton holding
45 it and selling for a handsome advance.

1
2 George secured some huge record books intended
3 for confederate government purposes and
4 gave one of them to Gov^r Brown for his diary
5 and one to the Social Circle for biographies.
6 My great treasure is the most comfortable old
7 mahogany rocking chair that I have used
8 daily ever since the war, and was the most
9 comfortable seat I ever saw in a steamer.

10 Train after the close of his congressional
11 career went on to Gordons staff and was at
12 Antietam, and then came Gettysburg at
13 which we all held our breaths, and when
14 the anxiety ended were gloriously victorious.
15 I was commissioned by Gov Andrew with
16 Sheriff Clark to act as Marshals for Mass.
17 at the dedication of the cemetery there in
18 the fall of 1863 and with the Marshals of Maine
19 and Rhode Island, my old friend Bob Sherman
20 we made a party that was very jolly. Two better
21 story tellers than the two last named couldnt
22 be found in a days journey, and as the older
23 & the more prominent I introduced them to each
24 other, and a flow of stories that lasted the
25 entire journey. We were joined in New York
26 by Murray and Milward and arrived at
27 night fall in Gettysburg to find Col Lamon
28 of Washington in supreme authority and
29 nothing arranged or like to be. Sitting up
30 all night with him and his personal staff
31 we got a little order out of chaos that reigned
32 and spent the next day in going over all the
33 scenes of that great battle. Everywhere
34 piles of shot marks of bullet rusted bayonets
35 and equipments, dead horses & splintered gun
36 carriages met the sight, and the varying
37 fortunes of the fight could be almost told
38 by the marks of shot and shell visible all about.
39 It was more interesting and almost as exciting
40 as the day at Bull Run, and tired out with the long
41 tramp, the night wasnt half long enough to perfect
42 arrangements as they ought to have been—

1
2 The morning of the dedication broke cloudy and
3 threatening, President Lincoln and his Cabinet
4 the orator and dignitaries had arrived, and
5 with the escort of U.S. troops we managed to get
6 a straggling procession to the Cemetery Hill,
7 in an occasional shower of rain. I had been
8 detailed to the division of states delegations
9 but as these were conspicuous by their absence
10 I took charge of Mr. Everett of Massachusetts
11 and saw him safely to the grand stand for his
12 oration sitting my horse within a few feet of
13 him I heard his rounded periods, and then
14 those few immortal sentences of Lincolns
15 that will always be his best remembered
16 words, and be declaimed for generations as
17 are Cardinal Walseys or Hamlets soliloquys.
18 It was the supreme moment of the war!!!
19 Returning in the Presidents train that night
20 to Washington our party spent several days
21 very pleasantly in that city and then
22 came leisurely home, making it on the whole
23 the most interesting episode of my marshalship
24 I had a successful expedition to N. York
25 with Lathrop in which we staid at
26 the Brevoort House and prosecuted
27 a search for evidence against the owners
28 of the stock in the Charleston steamers.
29 I advanced in the Herald over the initials
30 C.S.A. for information about persons
31 in Charleston and Savannah, and received
32 scores of letters in reply. Going to New York
33 I hunted up lots of the writers and found
34 some queer characters, but at last I
35 got hold of the exact persons I wanted
36 one who had been employed in the office
37 of the Telegraph Co in 1860-1 & 2 and who knew
38 the rebellious tendency of all these owners.
39 We took long depositions of these witnesses
40 and went back with full evidence to
41 confiscate the property. The case came
42 on at the next term of the District Court

1
2 at which Judge Sprague gave such a sound
3 charge to the grand jury that it was
4 printed for its effect on the community
5 We had a jury that was thoroughly loyal
6 and were itching to try the case against
7 these southern rebels. But Judge Sprague
8 defaulted them, and gave judgment in
9 favor of the United States without taking
10 any verdict, a proceeding afterwards
11 held by the Supreme Court to be invalid.
12 It was never questioned in this district,
13 however, and the treasury notes given for
14 the steamers were confiscated and I got
15 one half the net proceeds awarded to me
16 as the informer by the court and received
17 the pleasant little fortune of \$25,000.00
18 for my share. I took it because but for
19 my seizure the rebels would have got it &
20 because the notes had advanced with gold
21 so that they sold at nearly 100 prs ct premium.
22 It made me quite independent for my
23 wants, and I began to think myself a rich man.

24 On the strength of this and all my business
25 I took a house in Chester Square for the
26 winter, and moved my family and what
27 furniture we needed beside that in the house
28 and set up my city establishment. It
29 was a great change, for Mother Wife & babies
30 Less for me, but still great in many respects.
31 We made many friends at the south end
32 went to Mr Hepworths church, by mistake
33 as we meant to have gone to Mr Hales, and
34 had all the luxuries of city life. Hallett
35 our near neighbour was very attentive
36 My cousin Henry Mulliken lived near us
37 Frank French was nearby and we had a very
38 clever winter, only Prescott had a dreadful fever
39 in which Dr Rupperer saved his life after
40 a long struggle, Annie and Flory had been at
41 school in Boston for some years, Lillie & Prescott
42 went to a kindergarten, and I was at home nights

1
2 and to dinners. It was luxurious living the
3 house was handsome, the square famous
4 and the Marshal of much account. We
5 went to theatres, balls and the opera, heard
6 music, had visits from our Concord friends
7 and enjoyed the winter in town immensely.
8 George Keyes took my Concord house while
9 he repaired his own and enlarged it one half,
10 and I went up to the Social Circle there
11 once or twice and to a great military ball
12 taking Martha and Mrs Rupaner with me.
13 Fred Warren left the office July 1863 going
14 to Europe, and my brother Joe took his place
15 as chief deputy. It was just the place for
16 him, and he was entirely satisfactory to
17 me, more than making F. Warrens place
18 good as I could trust him more implicitly
19 on private matters, especially those involving
20 questions of loyalty. Warren had a beautiful
21 Black Hawk mare, of which he was very
22 fond. He sent her to Concord for me to use in
23 his absence, and I brought her to Boston
24 and kept her there for the winter going
25 out sleighing on the Brighton Road and getting
26 an occasional smash up. We drove up to this
27 ball went to George's in our own house, and
28 had a delightful dance, starting back in the
29 morning the mare passing the church trod
30 on a limb of a tree kicked plunged and on
31 examination was found to have pierced her
32 belly with the end of the stick, and before
33 she could be got to the stable and under treatment
34 had the intestines protruding and in spite of all
35 that could be done, died in a day or two.
36 It was a great loss and grief to us all, sad and bad!
37 Speaking of the Rupaners, I had been in the habit
38 of dining at the Tremont House all my marshalship
39 as Judge Clifford stopped there, and it was convenient
40 In that dining room I first saw the Dr & his wife
41 and thought her the most charming lady I
42 had ever seen. I came to know them intimately
43 The Dr became our family physician and our wives
44 became acquainted and visited each other.
45 Their house on Tremont Street and afterwards on

1
2 Boylton St was the one place in Boston where I
3 was always welcome, and enjoyed myself. We
4 took a summer trip together to Vermont
5 Clarinda Springs, and Saratoga, and had
6 a jolly good time. Martha believed in the Dr.
7 and I admired Madame extravagantly.—
8 This year 1864, after our return to Concord I found
9 that George had left our house, and moved into his
10 own again, and I took up Concord life with
11 new interest. On Marthas birthday, her 45th in 63
12 she had the deed of the Jones farm on Monument St
13 adjoining her old home, that I bought for her &
14 I added farming on a large scale to my other
15 business, and began extensive improvements on
16 it. The barn which had stood for a hundred years
17 opposite the house, was moved across the road and
18 fitted up neatly. Darby Ferguson and his wife
19 Julia our old cook were living in the house on
20 the farm and carrying on the work of it. Jersey
21 cows & a work horse, were bought and put on it,
22 and it became quite a pet with us all. Judge
23 Clifford and his wife and daughter in law
24 came up and spent Sunday with us driving
25 up over the Lexington Road and back and
26 enjoying that and the visit extremely. It was
27 a sight to see the immense form of the old
28 Judge in our pew at church, for he was
29 6 ft 4, weighed nearly 300 and when sitting
30 looked larger than any man I ever knew.
31 Standing he was so erect and active that
32 he didnt seem so large, and on this occasion
33 he filled both the pew and the carriage to
34 the utmost. He was glad to revisit the scene of
35 one of his earlier efforts, and was patriotic
36 to the last extent over the Revolutionary
37 relics in Concord. For a Democrat he was
38 very well behaved in the war matters and
39 made no trouble, as he might have done.
40 Some of this I attributed to his friendship for me
41 for whom he had a real regard, as was shown
42 in several habeas corpus matters where he
43 accepted my excuses for not serving precepts
44 at Fort Warren, when by insisting he could
45 have made matters very uncomfortable
46 if not absolutely dangerous for me.

1
2 I attended as a spectator the Baltimore Convention
3 that renominated Lincoln, and was on the floor
4 as a substitute for Train who was a delegate
5 W. Whiting was also a member, and I mingled
6 much with the N.E. delegates all of whom
7 knew me and I them. I worked hard for
8 Andrew Johnsons nomination with the
9 recollection of his union speeches in
10 the Senate, and was greatly pleased at his
11 success over Horace Maynard for whom as
12 a native of Massachusetts most of our men went.
13 Then I went on to Washington and saw the
14 President, Lamon Webster and all the rest
15 and had as usual an agreeable visit.
16 During the summer we made a trip to the
17 Vineyard and saw Edgartown, and my
18 deputy there Mrs Warren's brother, and
19 several other shorter journeys, and decided
20 not to go to Boston again for the next winter
21 as there was so much for the children in
22 Concord and we could find no house we liked.
23 I ought to have bought the one in Temple Place
24 that was offered me for \$12000 and sold for
25 twice that as soon as it was opened for a street
26 to which I contributed not a little by taking
27 the responsibility of signing for the Court Ho
28 the petition. The Rupaners having left the
29 Tremont House and gone to housekeeping
30 I left for dinners and went to Blane's in Water
31 Place, and in my good nature lent him the
32 cellar of the Court House for his wine storage
33 He abused the privilege and went to bottling
34 in it and I came near getting into serious
35 trouble from a conflict of laws about liquor
36 seizures, but I escaped and got rid of him & his
37 wine at last. It was this summer I think that
38 we went to Chester N.H. with George and Mary
39 and saw that old town and the French mansion
40 I had too the romance of my prize matters
41 that if I were to read in a dime novel I should
42 say was too improbable for belief but is
43 literally and strictly true. The steamer

1
2 laden with cotton captured running out
3 of Charleston was sent to Boston and on
4 her arrival a boyish young middy
5 reported at my office her arrival.
6 Taking George and some friend with me who
7 happened to be at the office I proceeded
8 on board. There I found the most dilapidated
9 cabin in which were a middle aged and
10 a rather young lady with a black servant
11 and a rather truculent looking southerner
12 as passengers. To the ladies I was introduced
13 by the midshipman who had brought home
14 the prize, they passing under the names of Lewis
15 and to the man as Mr Pollard. I had been
16 warned by a telegram from Newport where
17 they stopped for coal of who they were and
18 after a little talk, I passed over the steamer.
19 Beside the cotton there was a blazed stallion
20 on board in a sort of pen made by cotton
21 bales, and a game calk. This last I found
22 had been the cause of the condition of the
23 cabin, as every mirror on board had been
24 used up in his fights with the reflection of
25 himself in it, for the amusement of the ladies!
26 Young Harding the middy in whose charge the
27 vessel was sent in, then coolly informed
28 me of the escape of the captain as they
29 came up the harbor, and I at once sent
30 my officers in pursuit, but without avail.
31 Taking the passengers off to the Tremont House
32 I telegraphed to the Navy for instructions
33 as to what should be done with them, after
34 an interview with Miss Lewis in which I
35 told her of my information that she was
36 Belle Boyd the famous rebel spy who had
37 bamboozled so many Union officers! She
38 admitted the charge and acknowledged the
39 real name, but desired for many reasons
40 to pass under her assumed name. On examining
41 her baggage, I found that she was really the
42 Belle who the [ms damaged: daughter of a former member of]

1
2 Congress had played such tricks on our soldiers
3 as had been reported in the news papers, and
4 had caused her to be sent to Richmond Va
5 to be out of harms way. There she had seen a
6 hard winter and spring, and was on her way
7 to Europe to recruit her health well night gone
8 by her life of dissipation. She had lost much
9 of her beauty but still had a grace of manner
10 and some fascination that she had exercised
11 with great effect on young Harding. An old
12 salt sent along as sailing master and pilot
13 reported the next day many incidents of the
14 voyage, that made it as sensational as the
15 stories of pirates or bold buccaneers. Pollard was
16 released on his parole, and Belle and servants
17 remained at the hotel on their word not to escape.
18 Harding went to Washington to report to the dept
19 and after some days Mr Secretary Wells sent
20 me an order to put Pollard in Fort Warren
21 and see Belle &c safe to Canada. I was much
22 relieved by this for her ladyship when she had
23 got over her sea trip, started out shopping and
24 my office was soon filled with startling reports
25 of her presence in the stores, and her gold coins
26 with which she paid for her purchases &c. &c.
27 She was proving a troublesome customer as she
28 was overrun with curiosity seekers and had
29 no discretion herself. I took the party in a
30 sleeping car for Montreal, put them safely
31 in their berths, told the conductor who they
32 were, and got his promise to see them safely
33 through, and caught the down train at Rutland
34 Vt and came back home to breakfast, glad
35 to be so well rid of her. Gradually it leaked
36 out that young Harding overcome by her
37 fascinations, had allowed the capture of
38 the blockade runner to divide with her and the
39 servants and crew of the prize, a key of gold on
40 board, and then to wink at the captains escape.
41 For this he was discharged from Fort Naby [?] and
42 only escaped a court martial by his youth
43 and inexperience counting in his favor.

1
2 Belle went to England, in a Montreal steamer
3 Harding followed in another as soon as he was
4 released, and I had full particulars from a
5 Boston merchant who was on board with him
6 of how thoroughly traitorous she had made him
7 on the voyage over Harding quarreled with him
8 on political matters challenged him to a duel
9 and generally behaved scandalously. On his
10 arrival at Liverpool Belle met him and
11 they were married at once. On the return of
12 my informant he stopped at the hotel in Liv.
13 erpool and met Belle, the honey moon
14 not yet over, who invited him to their room
15 to see Harding whom he found dead drunk
16 on the floor, and Belle pointing at him with
17 scorn as the fool who had married her, and
18 had wasted their ill gotten money in drink.
19 It took some time for this all to happen, and
20 as if I were never to be done with them more
21 happened. I got into a Boston train at Springfield
22 after the horse show there, crowded full and
23 walking through the cars to find a seat at last
24 saw one occupied by a rather pretty girl
25 with a plenty of bundles, &c. She made room
26 for me, and setting down I opened the N.Y.
27 Herald of the morning and began to read.
28 The news of Hardings marriage to Belle Boyd
29 was prominently displayed in startling head
30 lines on the first page, and I soon saw that the
31 lady was greatly excited and interested in the
32 paper. Handing it to her read, I was disturbed
33 by her agitation on reading this paragraph
34 and her inquiry if I was in the Navy and if
35 this account could be true! The gilt buttons of
36 my uniform led to the first question, and in
37 answer to the second I told her who I was and
38 what knowledge I had in the matter. She was
39 greatly distressed nearly fainted, sobbed and
40 cried, and was only partially soothed by all I
41 could do or say to her. It turned out she was the lady
42 to whom he was engaged to be married, and to this

1
2 circumstance he owed his selection as prize officer
3 to bring in that prize, to enable him to fulfil
4 his engagement. That on his arrival in Boston
5 he had written to her, telling her he would soon
6 visit her near New Haven where she lived,
7 and then she heard nothing more from him
8 and got no answers to her letters or telegrams.
9 Anxious almost desperate she had started to
10 visit some friends near Boston to endeavor
11 to find out something about him, and on the
12 journey had met me and read the account
13 of his marriage to another and that Belle Boyd!!
14 Imagine, for I cannot describe the shock to her
15 or the distress she was in. I could only confirm
16 the story and try to comfort her by showing
17 what an escape she had made from such
18 a worthless scamp. She behaved well after
19 a time, grew calmer, and listened eagerly to
20 all I could tell her of him and his captor Belle.
21 On our arrival her friends met her, and she
22 went with them out of the city a short distance
23 and after some days I had a note enquiring for
24 any news from Harding. The months went by
25 and as if coincidences would never cease
26 in the winter she appeared at the office one
27 day looking weak pale and thin, to ask for
28 news of him. She had been sick with a fever
29 and but just recovered, I told her that it
30 had within an hour previous been reported
31 to me that Harding was in Boston on his
32 way to Va, to get some money from the estate
33 of Belle's father, that I had sent an officer
34 after him, and that if she would call again
35 in a little while I would probably present him
36 to her in person. She called but he escaped my
37 deputy by a few minutes, and on my telegraph
38 was arrested and confined in Fort Delaware
39 till the end of the war. Belle returned went on
40 to the stage, and died the papers said in an insane
41 asylum in San Francisco. Harding was lost in the
42 'Star of the East' on the way to Cuba with a band of fili-
43 busters. His lady love I never heard of again

1
2 The election passed off quietly in Massachusetts,
3 I went with Mrs R and some ladies to hear Dan
4 Dougherty in Faneuil Hall, and saw him at
5 a supper party afterwards at the Tremont. I
6 witnessed the taroh light procession from the
7 Dr.'s house, and thought it far inferior to
8 mine of the previous campaign. I spent the
9 winter at Concord mainly interested in the
10 planning of alterations in the farm house
11 over which we studied much and as we had
12 the experience of building that we lived in
13 it was a useful and pleasant task, taking up
14 many evenings & otherwise idle hours.

15 At Christmas time I had yet another exciting
16 incident, about the middle of December I
17 received a telegram from Stanton directing
18 me to board the Canard Steamer then due in
19 Boston, arrest Mrs Preston the wife of Gen^l
20 Preston of Kentucky then in the rebel army
21 and her daughter, secure their papers and
22 prevent their landing at all hazards using
23 any needed force, and send them back to
24 Halifax in the steamer on her return—
25 It was in Stantons most peremptory style, and
26 on the arrival of the steamer I complied
27 with the order, got their papers, and kept
28 them on board. It seemed that Mrs Preston and
29 a charming daughter of seventeen, had been
30 to Halifax to meet the Gen^l on business matters
31 and that he had returned to the South via Nassau
32 while the ladies took the steamer to Boston
33 in order to return to Montreal by rail and
34 not undergo the long sledge ride across
35 Canada in the winter. On the steamer they
36 met John P Hale and daughters, and quarrelled
37 and Hale had telegraphed Stanton with this
38 order as the result. It was rough weather
39 the steamer was to lay in the dock at East Boston
40 a fortnight, steam was out, the boat was to be
41 overhauled and the ladies could not be made
42 comfortable on board with no warmth
43 or food or cabin accomodations. I was mad
44 didnt believe in making war on women and
45 children, and found in all their papers not a
46 line or a scrap of any thing treasonable.

1
2 Their writing desks contained only misspelled
3 drafts of letters of acceptance of invitations
4 from the dignitaries of Halifax, and such
5 school girl copies as a Yankee girl would have
6 been ashamed to have written before her teens
7 and the usual memorandums of shopping
8 and washing of a travelling lady. These
9 I sent to Stanton with a protest against the
10 hardship of such a confinement on the steamer
11 He let up on them a little, allowed me to take
12 them to a hotel, and make them comfortable
13 but go back in the steamer they must & should.
14 Mrs Preston who was a fine specimen of the
15 southern lady, agreeable, intelligent and
16 used to good society, behaved extremely well.
17 Mr Everett, Mr Winthrop and other Boston
18 gentlemen called on her, and by their aid
19 in return for the hospitalities they had received
20 from the Gen^l when Minister to Spain, and at
21 his home in Kentucky, they succeeded after
22 several days in getting Stanton to consent
23 to my taking them to Montreal in close custody.
24 When I called with the telegram, a pleasant
25 gentleman was presented to me by Mrs Preston
26 as President Peirce, whom I had never happened
27 to meet before, and who was very agreeably
28 impressed with my news, and warmly thanked
29 me for my courtesy to the ladies, in their
30 situation. We arranged our train &c to suit
31 their convenience, and I met them at the
32 station and we took the sleeping car at dark
33 for Canada over the Fitchburg rail road.
34 We had a delightful trip they were in fine
35 spirits at the result and glad to get to their
36 friends in Montreal for Christmas. We
37 sat up late discussing the South, slavery &
38 the war, with just enough of difference in
39 our views to make it spicy and not quarrelsome,
40 I wasnt converted to slaveocracy, and she saw
41 in the winter moonlight more of New England
42 than she ever dreamed or imagined existed.

1
2 After a short sleep, we got ready for a
3 comfortable breakfast in the car and
4 chatted on like old friends till we arrived
5 I accompanied them to their hotel, wearing
6 my full uniform, was presented to all the
7 southern refugees staying there, who though
8 at first disposed be cool and distant
9 to a Yankee officer, were soon brought to
10 their bearings by Mrs Prestons account
11 of her reception and my treatment of her.
12 I found her quite the queen of a little court
13 of rebels collected there, and was not
14 unwillingly persuaded to stay over the
15 holidays, and receive much attention from
16 herself and her subjects. I saw all I cared to
17 of many southern notorieties staying there
18 but to them all carried myself as became
19 a Union officer among traitors and rebels.!
20 I abated no jot of claim to victory in the end,
21 gave then good advice as to how to get back
22 to their citizenship in the Union, and promised
23 pardon when they showed repentance.
24 We had a pleasant supper Christmas Eve
25 in Mrs Prestons parlor, with music &c
26 after it, and I slept soundly in the midst
27 of fierce rebels without a thought of trouble.
28 Christmas I called on the U.S. Consul whom
29 I knew, and had a good Union talk, saw the
30 cathedral ceremonies of the day, dined with
31 the Prestons, took a long drive in the afternoon
32 seeing Montreal in its winter garb, & gaiety
33 made a pleasant acquaintance with a Dr N.
34 Edwards formerly of New York who was very
35 polite, and took me to see everything I wanted
36 to in the city. I enjoyed the visit, staid till I was
37 satisfied, said goodbye to the ladies, whom I have
38 never seen since, and got home safely to find
39 all had gone smoothly in my absence of a merry xmas.

1
2 With the end of winter came the invitation
3 from Lamons to all the U.S. Marshals to attend
4 Lincolns second inauguration, and I met
5 others Clark & Bob Sherman, Murray
6 and Milward some days before and had
7 a pleasant dinner at Lamons house
8 I took on with me D. & Mrs Ruppenner
9 and established them at Willards where I
10 introduced them to Jane Barker and as rooms
11 were scarce I took Mr Whiting in a
12 private house, as he went to Boston on business
13 George & Mary Keyes were there with Anne
14 staying at the Majors, and I had a round
15 of visiting to do with all the ladies We
16 went to all the receptions, parties, &c that
17 were had, called on cabinet minsters and
18 senators wives, and when the day came
19 I acted as Lamons aid in the procession.
20 What a contrast to the four years previous
21 no thought of danger, no lack of enthusiasm
22 Grant was victorious, Lee and the Confederacy
23 drawing to the end, pomp and display on
24 all sides, and yet Lincoln care worn, haggard
25 almost as if with a presentiment of his
26 impending fate. What a rush there was
27 to the Capitol, what crowds inside its doors
28 where the last hours of Congress had barely
29 closed over scenes. I watched curiously
30 till long after midnight, and that made some
31 faint approach to the traditional stories
32 of congressional riot and drunkenness.
33 How we scrambled from the Senate Chamber
34 in the hurry to get places on the platform
35 after seeing Andy inducted into office as
36 Vice President so barely over the effects of his
37 last nights drunkenness, as to hiccup the oaths.
38 How I helped my ladies to perches where they
39 could see and hear the inaugural address
40 and how when it was over we waited long for
41 the stairways to be cleared for the Presidents return
42 Then as I was mounting my horse I noticed the
43 same man skulking about, who was there when

1
2 we entered the Senate wing, and who attracted
3 my attention again as he did before, and though
4 not a suspicion existed then, was undoubtedly
5 Booth seeking a chance, as afterwards clearly
6 appeared in evidence. I often wondered if any
7 thing I looked or did about it, prevented his attempt
8 I remember thinking him impudently out of his
9 place, and eyeing him so sharply that he turned
10 away and walked off. Then came the grand
11 inauguration ball, that was a complete
12 success, and where I had many lady friends
13 to see to and dance with. Later on in the week
14 President Lincoln gave a grand reception
15 to which I took Jane and the Dr & Mrs R &
16 Annie & the Frenchs party along. It was simply
17 an awful crush till we got in to the White
18 House, but once there with Major French
19 & Lamon in command we were all right.
20 We got good places staid till the crowd was
21 over, had a nice supper, and enjoyed it all.
22 Jane was a great favorite by that time
23 in Washington society, and took us to all
24 the best houses and saw the best people there
25 and they all petted and praised her. Mrs Rupperer
26 looked finely, Fred Warren & his wife were there
27 and Mrs Rs cousins the Townsends of N.Y &c
28 It was my last sight of President Lincoln
29 as I shook hands with him on saying good
30 night, after a talk over the contrast with his
31 first inauguration, and the motley crowd at
32 his reception then, and the brilliant throng
33 of this night. He had succeeded. He was
34 his own successor. He was success itself
35 and yet he was within forty days of his
36 Easter morning. When all this was to
37 be rolled away and vanish in the hour
38 of triumph. His was the work, but not the
39 reward. And yet I believe he was better so—!

1
2 My cousins son, Nathan Henry was at this time
3 through Major French, quite at home with
4 Mrs Lincoln and rather a favorite of hers.
5 He secured a presentation of the ladies of our
6 party to Mrs L. but I think I didnt attend
7 I could never see anything pleasant in
8 her face manners or conversation, and
9 the Washington scandals never spared her
10 for she richly deserved it and more too than
11 she received. I cordially detested her and
12 all I heard and knew about her—
13 After the gaieties were over we made up a
14 party to go back, and left in a thaw and rain
15 that on our arrival at Jersey City was the
16 blackest foggiest night of the winter. A
17 thousand people poured from our long
18 train at midnight on to the ferry boat
19 loading it down to the guards and with
20 barely standing room. As we left the slip
21 and got into the stream we ran into the
22 ferry boat coming into the slip, and as
23 she was lightly loaded her guards shot
24 over hours the cabins crashed together
25 and we were jammed fast together. Such
26 a panic I never saw before and hope never
27 to again. It was too frightful to describe
28 I tried to soothe the fears of Mrs R & the ladies
29 who clung to every arm that could support
30 them, and when the shock was over and the
31 boilers didnt explode nor the boat sink we
32 began to get quiet and look about for help.
33 The engines had stopped, and we were drifting
34 in the rivers swift current full of floating
35 ice and in perfect black darkness, save the
36 lights of the craft lying at anchor. Right on
37 to one of these schooners with some barges in tow
38 we drifted with another shock, and a crash
39 of a bowsprit through our cabin or what was

1
2 left of it, and carrying away this fleet with
3 its anchor dragging we kept on our way
4 to sea picking up several more vessels in
5 our course, each time with a new fright
6 and another panic. And at last after we
7 had got down below the battery, they got
8 an anchor down at last that held &
9 we were saved from going out to sea.
10 Hours passed, and by the fog lifting and
11 burning blue lights we were met by a
12 ferry boat sent on a rescuing voyage
13 taken off safely and in the wee small hours
14 landed at last in New York. To get the ladies
15 to the 5th. av. hotel, and then to sally forth
16 ourselves and get supper at some of the
17 Broadway all night open cellars was
18 the only way to recover from the strain and
19 fright of that peril. It was the worst I
20 ever experienced, unless the Bull Run rout,
21 and there the reins were in my own hand
22 Here a thousand men women and children
23 were powerless.

24 The next I recall was the greater horror of
25 Lincolns assassination, I was walking
26 to the station of a pleasant morning to
27 meet this terrible news, that stunned
28 me, I hurried to Boston to find a stricken
29 community paralysed with the shock.
30 Murray telegraphed to me to come to the
31 Capital where he had gone from N York
32 but I could not do it I was too unnerved
33 to be of any use, and there were plenty
34 there for any good they could do. All that
35 I could do was to bear the affliction, and
36 keep up as well as possible under it. There
37 was the fatal fact, nothing could alter or
38 soften it and to come so on the heels of our
39 final victory and the fall of Richmond & the rebels

1
2 I draped the Court House in mourning
3 it was only a symbol but it relieved my
4 disgust at the Easter display of the
5 Episcopal Church next door, that typed
6 the want of patriotism and the copper-
7 head feeling of that unamerican sect
8 so manifest through the rebellion-
9 I fear if Dana hadnt been such a high
10 churchman, I should have undertaken
11 to stop their parade. I hated them for it
12 and have alternately cursed and despised
13 them ever since and long before as well
14 But the world went on, Lincoln was
15 buried the Rebellion was wiped out
16 as with a sponge, and at Concord
17 Mr Emerson voiced our grief and homage
18 better than it was done else where-
19 ~~I saw his murderer tried, I did not stay~~
20 ~~to see him hung, but I approved it all.~~
21 When Jeff. Davis was captured, I planned
22 a punishment for him that ought
23 to have been inflicted. I would have put
24 him in a cage guarded by Libby prisoners
25 and have carried him through every
26 village in the northern states so long
27 as his life lasted exhibiting him at
28 every cross roads to the ignominy and
29 shame of the bystanders only protecting
30 him from violence, till his fate had been
31 a warning and his name a reproach to
32 the civilized world, and his punishment
33 greater than he could bear. He should never
34 have been released to be caressed and honored
35 by his sympathizers at the South, but he
36 should have borne the taunts and reproaches of the
37 North to the uttermost.

1
2 Having got my plan perfected for the
3 house alterations, I began work on it
4 with Nathan S. Hosmer as a carpenter in the
5 spring of 1865. I had got Darby moved out into the
6 house at the corner of the roads north of the
7 bridge beyond my house, and I found mine
8 as I proceeded very dilapidated and rotten. So
9 much so that after a few days work by
10 the men tearing away the decayed timbers, I
11 was strongly advised to pull it all away and
12 build new. This was such sensible advice that
13 after conferring with Gov^r Brown, I went home
14 and confessed to my wife that I ought to do it
15 but that it would take away all my interest
16 in it, and I fairly cried over the disappointment
17 she comforted me, by rather suggesting that I
18 could afford to do what I pleased with it
19 and after a nights sleep over it or rather a
20 nights sleeplessness I decided to stick to my
21 original purpose, carpenters masons and
22 practical men to the contrary—
23 I had new sills put in all round had the old
24 oak parts spliced down where they were rotten
25 then as the chambers were barely 6½ ft high
26 I gave up the attic entirely and removing
27 the cross beams raised them into the garret
28 2½ ft with a slant on the sides of the upper
29 2 ft. The old lean to on the east side was so far
30 gone that I tore it all away and rebuilt in
31 its place the back parlor and the chamber
32 over it to the same height as the others putting
33 on a hip roof to agree with the rest outside
34 By adding a dormer window on the north
35 lean to I got headway for the back stairs
36 I bought the old porch of the Thoreau house with its
37 flat stone floor and fluted pillars, in which I
38 had spent so many pleasant hours of my boyhood
39 and moved it over the front door. I moved the
40 old shed that held the quintals of fish in 1775, up to
41 and joined it to the main house, raised [?] the roof

1
2 so as to get a chamber over it for clutter & place
3 for a bowling alley for the children.
4 Then on the front side I put on a sheathing over
5 the old clapboards, and leaving the old plastering
6 for back plaster, got five thicknesses between
7 the rooms and the cold outside. Cutting down
8 the front windows to the floor, adding a bay
9 window on the south, and French windows
10 in the back parlor, that George gave me from
11 his old cottage with the side lights to the front door
12 I had before fall the outside completed
13 the inside plastered, the chimneys built
14 of the old brick in the huge structure with
15 its four different sized fire places in the living
16 room, each made smaller than its predecessor
17 by partially bricking up as the wood grew
18 scarcer. Inside and out we searched carefully
19 for a date to fix the age of the house. But no
20 sign of one could be found any where.
21 The house as early as the first settlers 1635-40
22 was standing across the road from its present
23 site. Whether to judge by the outside boarding of
24 the present dinning room, it was moved from its
25 first site or taken down and rebuilt is quite
26 undetermined. The whole structure was not
27 built at once, first the dining room & the room
28 over it were built against the front of the
29 great chimney, the rest of the chimney being out
30 doors, the side of this room next the front stairs
31 showing the weathering of the boards by many
32 years exposure. Then the lean to on the north
33 was added, then at a later time the Holland
34 front parlor, and last the lean to over the
35 east side of the south end. Approximately these
36 dates from the best information I can
37 obtain, and from the character of the work
38 are 1650, 1700, 1730 & 1750. At any rate it was an
39 old house when the Manse was built and
40 when the British came here in 1775.

1
2 In the oldest room now the dining the ceiling
3 was originally made of oak studding planed
4 and the wide floor boards above the joists also
5 planed smooth, and certainly cut from the first
6 growth, the original forest. This was blackened
7 by a century of use and smoke, and had then
8 been lashed and plastered, the laths made of splits
9 of oak and nailed with hand wrought nails.
10 I wished much to restore this wooden ceiling but
11 the nails had so rusted into the oak that it was
12 impossible to draw them out or hide their marks.
13 I had early decided to have no painted finish
14 inside but to use the natural woods. The
15 upper rooms were finished in pine oiled—
16 The parlors in butternut, the dining room
17 in chestnut the front hall in oak the end
18 entry in birch, the bedroom in curled maple
19 and my room in chestnut stained with lime.
20 The kitchen was chestnut, and the doors
21 of the several rooms corresponded to the wood.
22 It was the first house in Concord in which
23 natural wood without paint was used for
24 finish, and all these except the butternut
25 and maple, grew in Concord.

26 For the parlor mantel and fire place I was
27 lucky enough to secure when in Washington
28 one of the old marble that stood in the recess
29 behind the speakers desk in the old Hall of
30 the House of Representatives in the Capitol.
31 This was being removed to make room for the
32 steam heating apparatus, in the Statuary Hall
33 as it is now called, and was to be sold for old marble
34 I was the purchaser, at a song, and shipped it on
35 by water to Boston. Old marble was such a dreg
36 in Washington in those war times, that a
37 part of another mantel from the speakers room
38 adjoining this recess was shipped with the one
39 I bought. After vain efforts to get the two to go
40 together as one, I had the second placed in the back

1
2 parlor, where with a new frieze and shelf it
3 answers for a companion to the first.
4 If these marbles could only repeat the talks
5 they have heard if they had not been stone deaf
6 every prominent man from the war of 1812
7 to the war of the Rebellion has sat by this fire
8 place, toasted his shins and spit his tobacco
9 into its capacious jaws. Madison & Monroe
10 Jackson and Van Buren, Calhoun & Clay
11 Benton and Berrien, Woodbury and Wright,
12 Webster and Winthrop, M^cDuffn & Hayne.
13 Adams J.Q. died in front of it, and all the
14 secretaries senators and representatives may
15 from its position, have chatted or chawed
16 before it. It is in itself a good illustration of
17 the art of the country in 1815. The pilasters
18 have the fasces surmounted by a liberty cap,
19 with a sheaf of wheat heads for the capitals.
20 The frieze on each side has the thirteen
21 stars in a circle around the suns rays, and
22 in the centre an elaborate piece of sculpture
23 showing America or the Goddess of Liberty
24 crowning with olive wreaths with her right hand a female
25 figure in a flowing veil, holding a book in her
26 hand with her foot on the globe, and a bale
27 of merchandise behind her intended for both
28 science and commerce, and with the left
29 hand wreathing another female figure holding
30 the mallet and square, and resting her foot on
31 the plough, meant for agriculture & mechanics.
32 There are bas reliefs wrought undoubtedly
33 by the artists imported to finish the Capitol from
34 Italy, on tablets of soft cream white Italian
35 marble, and very well done, the figures only
36 6 inches high, but very distinctly executed.
37 Commerce is touching with her hand the wreath
38 while agriculture more modestly waits the gift.
39 Was that intended also to be typical of the nation.

1
2 For my own sanctum which looks out on the
3 field and the barn, as a farmers office should
4 I secured at an auction in Boston, an elaborate
5 carved black Irish marble mantel quite
6 old but never used, and so hard that the work
7 on it must have cost many times what I
8 paid for it \$25.00, and for the other rooms in
9 each of which is an open soap stone fireplace
10 I selected white marble mantels, plain and
11 simple, but safe, as wooden ones are not!-
12 The great difficulty to be overcome was how
13 to effect the discharge of the water from the
14 back roof, a wide valley being required and
15 this was at last got over by making it a top
16 of the closet in a back chamber. I spent
17 as much time morning and night on the
18 work, but it was not in many particulars
19 as well done as I wished. It was finished
20 off in the winter. Messer doing the bathing
21 room, and Hosmer the rest, including the
22 chestnut doors to the kitchen, while the
23 others were bought of the manufacturers.
24 The old milk cellar of brick outside the house
25 was converted into a cistern for rain water
26 and the old well in front supplied water
27 to the kitchen sink. Drain pipe were laid
28 to the barn cellar and a cesspool built in
29 it under the horse stalls for all the house
30 drainage. It was a very perfect & complete
31 farm house, containing a score of rooms
32 ample for our present and future wants.

33 With this work and the business of the office
34 I spent the summer and fall mainly at home
35 taking only rather short business trips going
36 I recall to Berkshire county and driving
37 its whole length to serve some processes and
38 seeing all its glorious hills and streams in a
39 lovely sunshiney day, and again with Martha

1
2 to Pittsfield and North Adams by rail road
3 and up to Williams College with Tucker
4 and then over the Hoosac Mountain
5 stopping at the tunnel works to see that
6 expensive result of N° 14 Tremont House
7 and finishing our drive at Greenfield
8 after a nice dinner at Charlemont in a
9 well kept old fashioned country inn-

10 For the winter I had in my keeping as US
11 Marshal a partly furnished house in
12 West Newton Street, on which I had an
13 attachment and that was unoccupied.
14 We decided that it would answer for us as
15 well as we needed, as Mother wanted to
16 stay in our house at Concord, and Lily
17 wanted to spend the winter at the Emersons
18 with Miss Ellen. So we packed up before
19 cold weather, and moved to the city-
20 Here the winter was much like the other
21 one in Boston, we found the house very
22 comfortable, large enough, and quite as
23 pleasant though not as fashionable,
24 as the one in Chester Sq. We saw many of our
25 old friends made a few new ones the
26 Robbinses, Bassetts, Stones &c. Had the opera
27 concerts theatres &c. I got into a habit of
28 spending an hour at noon in Music Hall
29 listening to the great organ, to compose
30 my brain when confused by the worry
31 of business and politics, for these last were
32 getting ugly again under Andy Johnson.

33 I went on to Washington at the opening
34 of the new Congress in December, and heard
35 Sumner's attack on Grant for his report on
36 the condition of the South. I foresaw then
37 the quarrel this would inevitably follow
38 and which is sure to come by the change of
39 administration from a president to a vice.
40 I saw the new cabinet officers and new men

1
2 On my return I had Phil bring my colt
3 and sleigh to Boston and tried to use
4 her with Nelly in double harness, but
5 it was no use. The colt had inherited all
6 the vice of the grandmother and none of
7 the quietness of the mother, and as we
8 were driving down Hancock Street she
9 bolted onto the sidewalk, broke the
10 pole and had to be sold for an unbroken
11 colt at auction for what I could get.
12 Phil Dolan who had been captured and
13 in Libby prison, came home to recruit
14 and was with us much of the winter
15 Geo. Brooks was [word undeciphered] at Thanksgiving
16 and lived at Concord and made us a visit
17 as did some of our Concord neighbours.
18 This helped away a busy winter, and
19 at the Court House I planned and executed
20 some important alterations of rooms
21 that accomodated Judge Clifford &
22 Judge Lowell who had taken Judge
23 Spragus place, getting by this a new light
24 court room, a better clerks office, and
25 a pleasant private room on the front
26 for my own use instead of the little closet
27 that was all I had for my private office before.
28 This kept us in great confusion while it
29 was going on, and with the political
30 troubles made me quite willing to give
31 up the marshalship. There were plenty
32 of applicants but as yet none that were
33 fit for the place. So I held on till my
34 new paper commission was about to
35 expire, having qualified under it with
36 Col Thompson and my brother George as
37 bondsmen, though I did not like going to
38 farming with the income of the office to
39 increase the extravagance of my living-

1
2 I had planned to give up and wholly change
3 my active busy life for the quiet farm
4 when the spring came, and though Dana
5 resigned and Hillard was appointed dist.
6 atty, and Lathrop doubled the wisdom
7 of my making such a change, I wished
8 much to bring it about. Complications
9 of my successorship prevented and I
10 was still in office. Spring came early
11 that year 1866, and we had got the house
12 done, the furniture for it all ready and
13 the family were anxious to move home.
14 At last we started, and on a pleasant day
15 the 4th of April Marthas birthday went up
16 settled ourselves in the renewed farm house
17 and began an entirely different life.
18 It was quite a change for all of us, only
19 Mother decided to remain in the house
20 down town, on the corner where she had
21 so long lived and keep house for herself.
22 I had two men for the work outdoors and
23 Martha two girls in the kitchen and we
24 interested ourselves in the quiet work
25 of the fields and the dairy. We enjoyed it
26 more than we anticipated, had our friends
27 to visit us, and our only trouble was Lily's
28 health. This had always been delicate &
29 as Dr Ruppenner had moved to New York
30 after we were well settled we took Lily to
31 that city to consult him about her throat.
32 The Dr was at the Fifth Avenue Hotel in a
33 pleasant set of rooms in full practise—
34 We staid a fortnight doing New York
35 very thoroughly and getting much relief for Lily.

1
2 After our return all went on quietly at
3 home and at the office for some time I
4 going to Boston usually everyday to
5 look after Joe who could run the office
6 well enough alone, and spending the
7 rest of the day driving about Concord.
8 I bought at J.B. Farmers auction his
9 horse General, that he had raised and
10 used on his farm till then when he was
11 a dozen years old and found he'll make
12 a very good mate for my Nelly. General
13 was a very perfect specimen of the Morgan
14 breed, had been the smartest horse on the
15 road among the market teams. Would do
16 any kind of work, and knew more than
17 most men. He would without guiding
18 turn up to the church on Sundays and to the
19 Post Office on week days, and he was said
20 to have once drawn the wagon over the
21 sleepers of the bridge when the planks were
22 up without accident. I never could tell
23 which was the fastest he or Nelly though
24 they often had sharp trots to decide it for
25 themselves in double harness. They made
26 a capital tandem team as he was a good
27 leader, and I drove them many thousand
28 miles, in long and short journeys—
29 I had in my stable these two, an old black
30 workhorse Phillis, and the Belle Boyd stallion
31 Comet, who was a very fast runner going his
32 mile in about 2°. 10', a Jersey herd of 6 cows and
33 a bull, a young ram, and an old sheep, a
34 Suffolk boar, and a sow with a young litter,
35 a flock of hens, and a brace of ducks and
36 was well started in fancy farming—

1
2 The farm had ten acres of mowing and meadow
3 land in front of the house, in which was the
4 garden and a pear orchard, ten acres more
5 behind the house, with an apple orchard and
6 a vineyard on the hill, then half a dozen
7 acres of brook meadow back of the hill
8 that was pretty much grown up to alders &c
9 and beyond that at some distance a scrub
10 woodlot of twenty acres, recently bent over.
11 It was large enough for all the experiments
12 I cared to try, and it needed all I could make
13 for it had been hardly used for a generation.
14 I studied the books, worked hard on it myself
15 expended some money and improved it to my
16 satisfaction, and that of some of my neighbours.
17 At last in midsummer Gen^l George H Gordon
18 who had received the West Point appointment
19 I wanted instead of going to college, turned up
20 as a candidate for marshal. He was a friend
21 of Trains had done good service in the war, was
22 a lawyer before the rebellion, and I thought
23 fitted for the place. I resigned in his favor—
24 But there were hitches in his appointment. I had
25 brought the office into such good repute that
26 the department sent all the new marshals
27 in N.E. to learn my ways and take pattern by
28 mine in their methods. The secretary and Atty Gen
29 were very friendly and wished me to remain—
30 Even Andy to whom I was known through Major
31 French didnt like to make a change though
32 he knew I did not entirely agree with his politics
33 So Train and Gordon went to Washington to see
34 to the appointment, and soon telegraphed for me
35 to come on and join them. It was in the middle
36 of haying, and I hated to go in the hot weather, it
37 seemed hard to have to go so far to get rid of so good
38 an office. But I went, and staid several days in
39 the hottest weather I ever experienced, about
40 July 4th. and I found Washington 'en dishabille'

1
2 The Cabinet were in [*ms torn*: their short] sleeves, the [*ms torn*: President]
3 in a linen coat, the hotels deserted, and even the clerks
4 idle from exhaustion. I staid several days dining
5 with the Atty Gen¹ &c, calling on all those of influence
6 and trying hard to keep comfortable and jolly.
7 I helped Gordon at last to the promise of the place
8 though I found it very difficult to make any
9 one understand why I wanted to give it up—
10 and at last came home successful in resigning.
11 During the summer we made a pleasant drive
12 to Wachusett Mountain that is in sight from our
13 windows and is an excellent barometer, stopping
14 at Lancaster on our way both going and coming
15 and finding after all that these driving trips
16 are far more enjoyable than railroad rides.
17 We climbed the mountain, saw the fine view
18 and had good attendance and fare at the
19 Mountain House. Then the summer ended
20 almost before Gordon got his commission
21 and I was relieved at last from office
22 He retained Joe, and all my subordinates
23 and I was at last a private citizen.
24 I felt more relieved than I could have
25 thought possible. It was the schoolboys
26 feeling at the end of school, I was free
27 and had no longer any responsibilities.
28 It was fortunate that I was wise enough
29 to know when to stop, a few months more
30 of it and I should have stopped entirely
31 Life was getting too fast I could not have
32 borne it much longer. I had not till
33 it was ended realized the strain of the five
34 years and a half of the war. It was time to
35 rest, and the rest was welcome, I was content
36 with my situation and surroundings and
37 philosopher enough to enjoy what was left
38 of health and life. It was young to retire
39 but on my forty fifth birthday I felt that
40 my work was done and I had earned rest.
41 With that date my journal begins, and this ends.

Keyes

- 1 Mary b March 24 1827. d Oct 3 1834
- 2 Joe May 13 1829 d May 6 1870
- 3 m May 17 [55]
- 4 G " 12 1832 m Sept 14 1854
- 5 JK Oct 13 45 d Aug 2 46
- 6 ASK May 4 47
- 7 FK Jany 26 50
- 8 MK July 8 53
- 9 AMK June 13 55
- 10 PK March 26 58

Keyes

- 1 1821
- 2 Vaccination & hooping cough
- 3 1837.
- 4 West Point intentions
- 5 1834
- 6 Cholera in New York
- 7 1830 [?]
- 8 Jordans painting floors
- 9 [*several canceled words*]
- 10 1835
- 11 Breaking my front tooth
- 12 1837
- 13 Sarah Storer's wedding

Keyes

- 1 1839
- 2 Rufus Hosmers party.
- 3 1840
- 4 Tree bee at monument
- 5 1841
- 6 The [bout.] Fancy Elssler
- 7 & Thoreaus shanty
- 8 1843
- 9 Spring ride to Stow with J Nourse
- 10 Hawthorne in Old Manse
- 11 1849
- 12 ~~Woodbury case against town~~
- 13 Com on Education at Westfiel[*ms damaged: d?*]
- 14 1861 or 2
- 15 Gordons execution in N.Y.
- 16 1864
- 17 Julias sister death at [word undeciphered]

Keyes

- 1 1834 Father & Jos Barrett Reprs
- 2 1837 SB. Co Treas^r.
- 3 1842 Anthoney Wright Rep
- 4 1845 on com on armory & hay reeve
- 5 " John Stacey, chosen 155. [Lee]118
- 6 1846 Com on list of Jurors
- 7 47 Tything man
- 8 47 Staples Rep 155 Keyes 103
- 9 Apr
- 10 1848 Moderator
- 11 Nov^r "" ---- " 58 for senator. Ticket 68.
- 12 Jany 49 " President 62 Whig
- 13 140 Free Soil
- 14 June " Supr Public Grounds 147 Demtc
- 15 Sept. " Mdorator
- 16 Nov^r 49 Senator 138. For K. 67 for Tuket
- 17 1850 April Fire Dept
- 18 about guidance to [George ?]
- 19 March [Word or words undeciphered] com. Org. My house
- 20 Aug Mod.
- 21 1851 Jan'y. "
- 22 [ms torn]