THE

### ADAMS NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

Quincy, Massachusetts

ADAM 1

AUTHOR

Wilhelmina S. Harris
Furnishings Report of the
Old House

Old House

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## ADAM - 1

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#### THIS IS THE FURNISHINGS

REPORT

OF THE OLD HOUSE

THE ADAMS NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

QUINCY, MASSACHUSETTS

VOLUME I

PREPARED BY

WILHELMINA S. HARRIS

SUPERINTENDENT

THE ADAMS NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

DATE: 1966 - 1968

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#### PREFACE

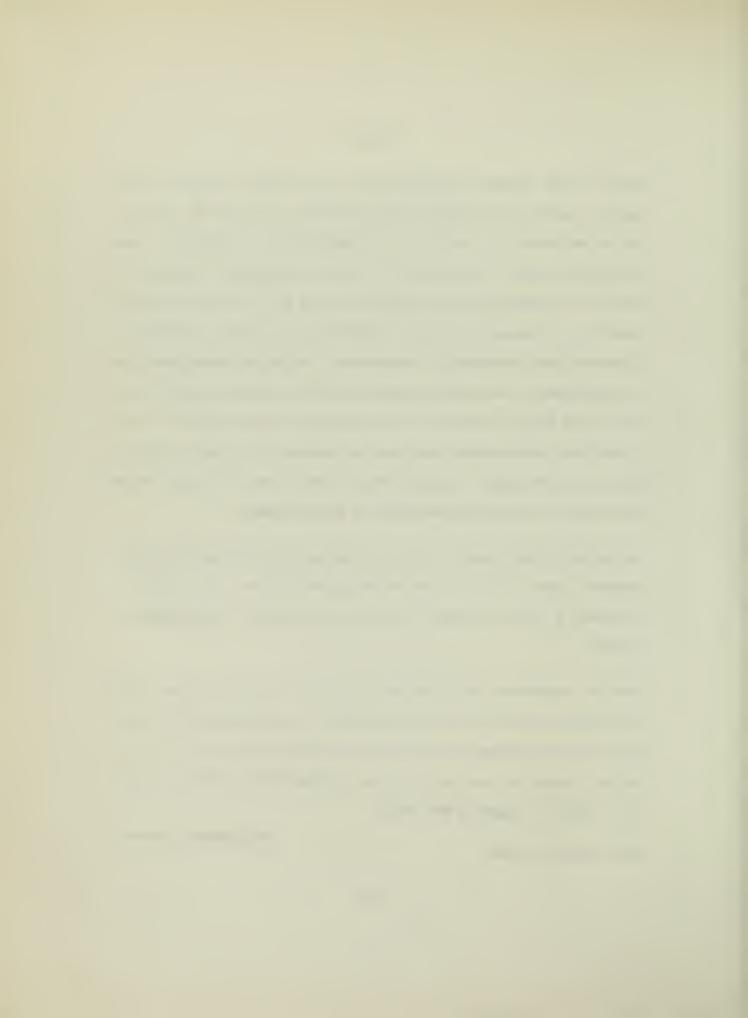
When the Adams family so generously gave the Old House, Library, garden, spacious grounds, the carriage house and old wood shed to the people of the United States for educational and inspirational contribution, there were several people living who knew the area intimately. Henry Adams 2d was able to devote hours of orientation to the new National Park Service custodian, Mr. Raymond H. Corry. The old family gardener, Mr. Martin Hyland was also available for consultation. It was my privilege to add my impressions of the seven summers I had lived in the Old House. Mr. Corry often spoke of the help that he received from each of us. He was a sensitive, knowledgeable young man who approached the house with respect and appreciation. He said that he found those of us around nelped him to keep the personal touch aglow in the Old House.

During the visitor season of 1967, a young man going through the house remarked to Mrs. Parham, one of our Ranger Historians: "This house is different, I feel it is loved." To that, I only add: "It is also respected."

When the opportunity came to me to return to the Old House in May, 1948 as an employee of the National Park Service, I promised myself I would leave such information and impressions as I had with the hope that my intimate glimpse of the family and the Old House would partly fill the gap of those no longer on the scene.

Wilhelmina S. Harris

Quincy, July 1, 1968



#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

From 1948 to the present time, I have passed both official and private time looking for and compiling information relative to the objects in the Old House and the life of the four generations of the Adams family during their residence from 1788 to 1927. The catalogue has been compiled by information from many different sources and I wish to acknowledge the help of the following:

Mr. Moustapha Avigdor has offered advice and assistance and has checked the information which I have compiled on the Oriental Rugs. It was fortunate that in 1960 I was able to secure the services of Mr. Avigdor, one time the Head of the Textile Department of The Boston Museum of Fine Arts. It was interesting to find that during the time of Mr. Brooks Adams, an associate of Mr. Avigdor's had done repair on many of the rugs in the Old House. This added a personal interest for him. I wish to express my thanks to Mr. Avigdor.

Some of the historical notes were supplied by Lyman H. Butterfield, Editor of The Adams Papers. I have had a very warm relationship with Mr. Butterfield since 1952. At all times he has been generous with information pertaining to the Old House and encouraging of our efforts to preserve the Adams atmosphere in the home setting. In low moments it has been Mr. Butterfield who has reminded us of how precious a responsibility the National Park Service carries.

Mr. Richard H. Randall was Assistant Curator of Decorative Arts in The

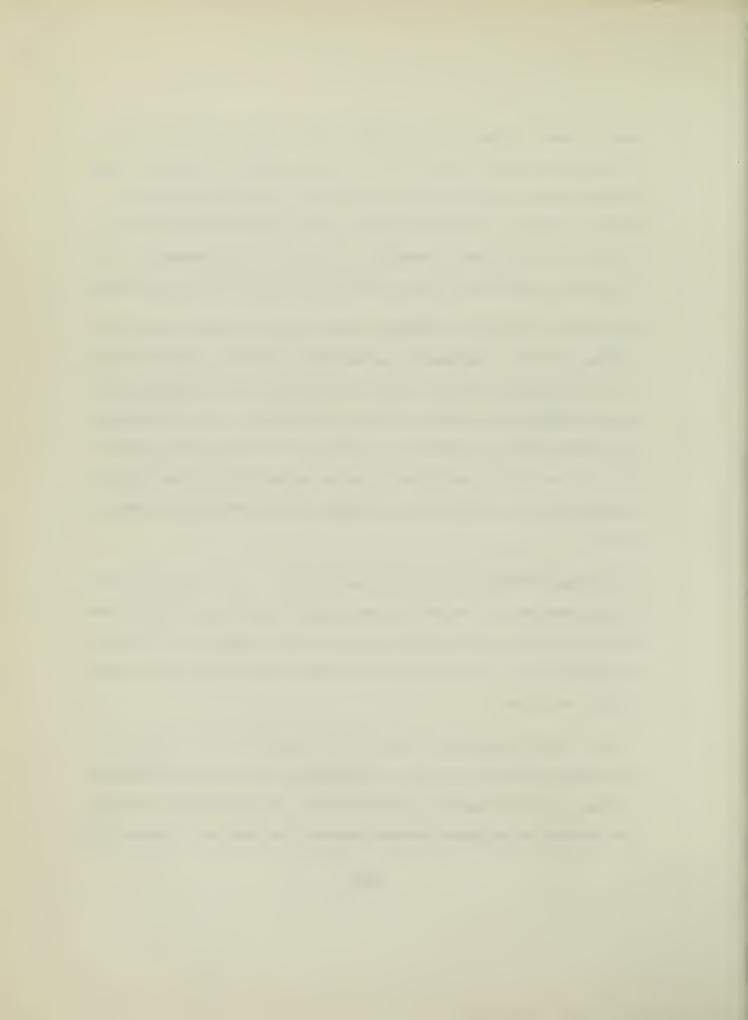


Boston Museum of Fine Arts for several years. While there he became interested in The Adams National Historic Site and was most helpful in the identification of many pieces of the furniture. On two occasions Mr. Randall has given illustrated lectures at the Lecture Series using furniture in the Old House as examples. We appreciate the invaluable contribution he has made for a more knowledgeable record of the furnishings.

For many years Miss Louisa Dresser, Curator of The Worcester Museum Collection, has been interested in our portraits. She has written articles from time to time using Alice Mason, Mary Mason, George Washington and Martha Washington as examples of various techniques. We are indebted to Miss Dresser for her inspiration for better care and protection of our portraits and calling our attention to the unique qualities and artistic importance of the collection of paintings at The Adams National Historic Site.

To Mr. Morton Bradley we owe great appreciation. It has become a habit to telephone him for information, not readily available, and he has never been found wanting. Some of the portraits he has cleaned for "free" because they did not look as well as he thought they should. We can never express our thanks.

To Dr. Richard McLanathan, lecturer, author and art critic from New York and former Secretary and Editor of Publications, The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, we acknowledge help and inspiration. Dr. McLanathan has given two lectures at The Adams National Historic Site using our original paint-



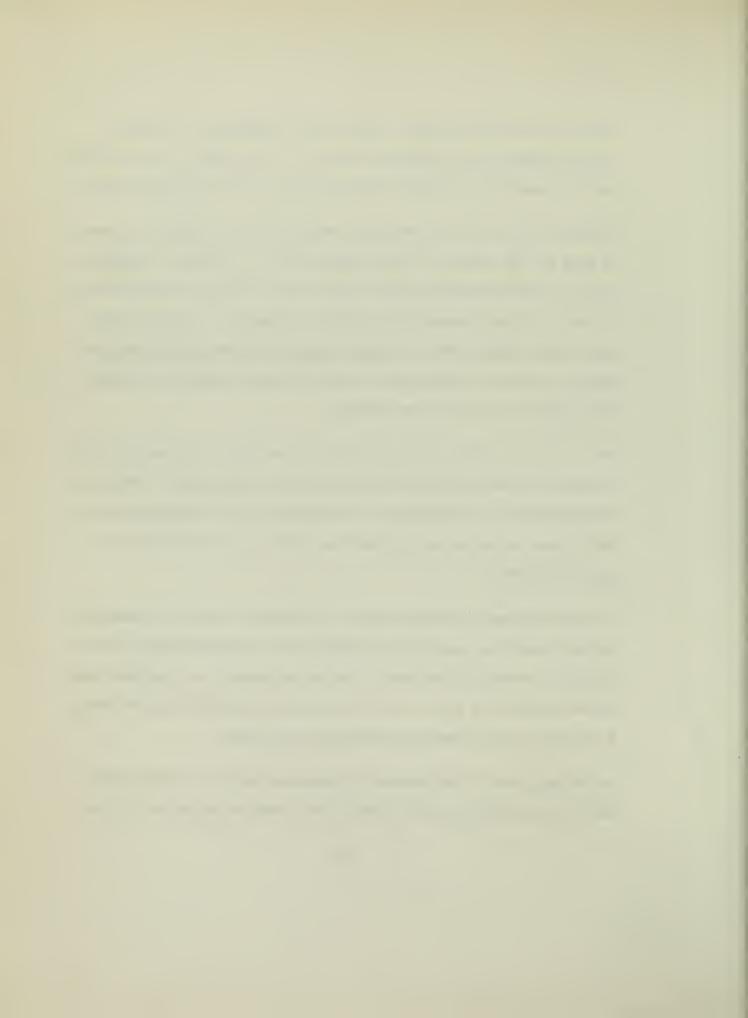
ings as illustration material. He has used photgraphs of several of these paintings in his lectures elsewhere. He is a great personal friend and his cooperation and help to the area has been very much appreciated.

Because there is so much controversy and difference of opinion on china, we have had the opinion of several china experts. They are: Kathryn C. Buhler, former Assistant Curator of Decorative Arts of The Boston Museum of Fine Arts; Carl Crossman of The Childs Gallery Inc., Boston and Mrs. Jean McClure Mudge, author of Chinese Export Porcelain For The American Trade. From each of them we have received a more enlightened attitude toward the china and it's preservation.

Mrs. Kathryn C. Buhler, the noted authority on American silver, has identified all of the silver at The Adams National Historic Site. Among her accomplishments is an inventory of the American silver in Yale University's silver collection and the American silver of other institutions of higher learning.

To Marc Friedlander, Associate Editor of The Adams Papers, we extend our warmest thanks for cooperation on innumerable historical matters, for information relating to the books in the Stone Library, for inspiring each of the personnel to try to rise to his level of excellence and for being a trusted friend of The Adams National Historic Site.

Mr. Wilman Spawn of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia has been the greatest possible help in the preservation and classifica-



tion of the books in the library. He has made rubbings of the books used by the two Adams Presidents. We appreciate his enthusiasm and his help in choosing the books in the Stone Library for rebinding.

Some of the historical notes were compiled by Helen N. Nelson (Mrs. Bert Skeen), former Historian at The Adams National Historic Site. She did outstanding work and it was our loss when she left to be married.

To Mr. Peter Scott, Director of the Photographic Laboratory at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, we wish to express our thanks for his advice and cooperation in the printing of this report. His help has exceeded all expectations.

My thanks to Patricia Shaheen for her care and interest in the typing of this report. She has shown the greatest desire to carry out all suggestions.

Many of the historical references were taken from the 1911 inventory, some from my long associations with Mr. Brooks Adams and the Adams family. I have done research for this report over the past twenty years and the end is not yet. This report is only a superficial study. If it serves to inspire the interest and imagination of future "guardians" of the collection, it will have served it's purpose.

Over a period of forty-eight years I have found the Adams family as varied as there are Adamses; however, several traits are found in each generation.



They are as unmoved by popular opinion as the second President, John Adams, they are loyal friends to those for whom they show friendship, there is a natural sense of integrity in each of them, their generosity to the Old House knows no bounds. It has been a privilege, not given to many people, to have been associated with so remarkable a family for so many years. To them I can only express my gratitude.

W. S. H.



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#### INTERPRETATIVE PURPOSE OF THE ADAMS NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

In 1946, the Adams family, under the name of the Adams Memorial Society Incorporated, 1 gave to the people of the United States about five acres of land and five historic buildings containing the family furnishings. Of these five buildings, the Old House and Library are the most significant. The original portion of the Old House was built in the first half of the eighteenth century and was associated with the Adams family for over a century and a half from 1787 to 1946. From the authentic three-dimensional exhibit of the home life of this remarkable family, visitors enrich their knowledge of America's past. The simplicity and integrity of the family furnishings inspire all visitors with a greater appreciation of those who lived here and contributed so much to our national heritage.

In making this gift to the American people, the intention of the Adams family was that the area be preserved as a historic site to "foster civic virtue and patriotism." Their Deed of Gift further spelled out the part all of the furnishings were to play in their purpose by instructing that:

...if any said articles are not desired to be kept or used on said premises or are removed therefrom without such approval, the same shall revert to said Society and be returned to it.

<sup>(1)</sup> This information is taken from a copy of the Deed of Gift on file at the Adams National Historic Site.



This same sentiment was reiterated by the Adams Memorial Society in September of 1961.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the house, the library and original family furnishings are an interpretive unit which contributes to a better understanding of a family prominent in the fields of literature, law, public service and in the intellectual life of our nation.

<sup>(2)</sup> Letter filed with the Deed of Gift on file at the Adams NHS.



#### THE VASSALL-BORLAND PERIOD (1731-1787)

The Old House was built in 1731 by Leonard Vassall, a wealthy and socially prominent English gentleman who had resided in Jamaica for some years. Little is known of the Vassall family during their occupancy in the house. Their esteem for it, however, may be judged by the fact that Leonard Vassall chose to have his daughter Ruth's wedding here in Braintree<sup>3</sup> instead of in his larger, more luxurious, house on Summer Street in Boston. Leonard Vassall died in 1737, leaving the house, under certain conditions, to his wife Phoebe. The several changes in ownership from 1737 to 1787 are covered in Historian Helen Nelson's Report of August 1963. In November 1787, the property was held by Leonard Vassall Borland, grandson of Leonard Vassall, thus making it possible for John and Abigail Adams to purchase the property from a direct descendant of the original owner.

<sup>(3)</sup> Braintree Town Records, MSS "The Town's Book," 1688-1757, p. 138.

<sup>(4)</sup> Suffolk County Probate Records, 33:210.



# OCCUPANTS OF THE OLD HOUSE THE JOHN ADAMS PERIOD (1787-1826)

From 1774 when he was chosen as a delegate from Massachusetts to the First Continental Congress, John Adams and his wife, Abigail, were active in the movement for Independence. In 1778, John Adams was sent abroad where he served as Commissioner to France, Minister Plenipotentiary to Holland, and in 1783 signed the peace treaty with Great Britain, which recognized the Independence of the United States. He was elected by Congress in 1785 to serve as the first Minister to the Court of Saint James's. To this assignment, Abigail and John Adams had a special dedication to represent the United States as a nation with dignity, ideals, and considerable organization. The formal and dignified quality of John Adams can best be portrayed by quoting his conversation with King George III when he presented himself in his official capacity:

"Sir, -- The United States of America have appointed me their minister plenipotentiary to your Majesty, and have directed me to deliver to your Majesty this letter which contains the evidence of it. It is in obedience to their express commands, that I have the honor to assure your Majesty of their unanimous disposition and desire to cultivate the most friendly and liberal intercourse between your Majesty's subjects and their citizens, and of their best wishes for your Majesty's health and happiness, and for that of your royal family. The appointment of a minister from the United States to your Majesty's Court will form an epoch in the history of England and of America. I think myself more fortunate than all my fellow-citizens, in having the distinguished honor to be the first to stand in your Majesty's royal presence in a diplomatic character; and I shall esteem myself the happiest of men, if I can be instrumental in recommending my country more and more to your Majesty's royal benevolence, and of restoring an entire esteem, confidence, and affection, or, in better words, the old good nature and the old good humor between







Home of John Adams prior to the Revolution.

This is the house in which President John

Quincy Adams was born. Quincy, Mass.

people, who, though separated by an ocean, and under different governments, have the same language, a similar religion and kindred blood.

"I beg your Majesty's permission to add, that, although I have some time before been intrusted by my country, it was never in my whole life in a manner so agreeable to myself."

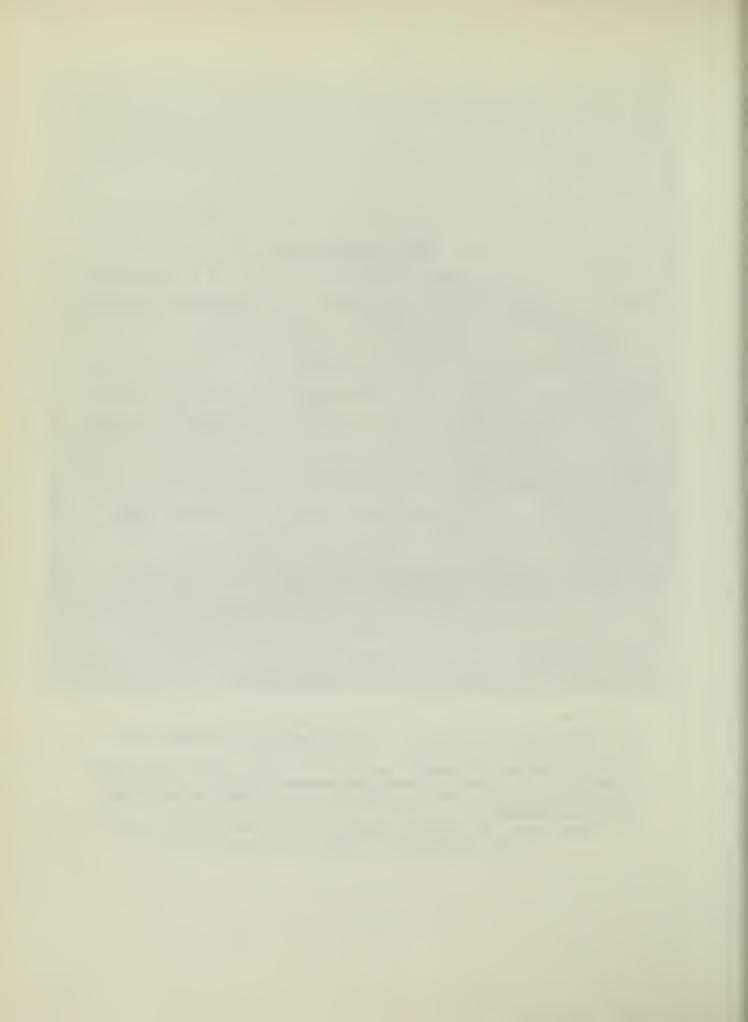
From the time of their marriage, John and Abigail Adams lived in a small Braintree farmhouse located adjacently to the Birthplace: of John Adams.<sup>2</sup> Through correspondence, relatives of Abigail Adams pointed out that this farmhouse was no longer appropriate for them to use as their residence and suggested they purchase the Vassall-Borland house to use upon their return to the United States. In 1787, while still in London, John Adams and his equally distinguished wife, Abigail, arranged through the agency of her uncle, Cotton Tufts, to purchase the Vassall-Borland house. Abigail Adams remembered how pleasant the "Old House" had been when she and her husband had visited with their friends, the Borlands, prior to the Revolution.<sup>3</sup>

Upon his return to the United States in 1788, John Adams had every intention of coming home, settling down as a country gentleman and lawyer, and enjoying his great love-farming. However, it was not to be; for almost immediately he was elected to serve his country as Vice-President in 1789,

<sup>(1)</sup> Charles Francis Adams, ed., Life and Works of John Adams, Boston, 1850-1856.) Vol. VIII, p. 256.

<sup>(2)</sup> Illustration 1 on opposite page. The two houses known as the Adams' Birthplaces are in their original location and are owned and maintained by the city of Quincy. They are exhibited to the public by the Quincy Historical Society.

<sup>(3)</sup> Henry Adams, II, The Adams Mansion, (Quincy, Massachusetts, 1935), p. 5.



and as President in 1796. While he was thus occupied, Abigail Adams managed the farm, improved the economic status of the family, planned and executed additions to the house, and presided over the Old House as the "Summer Vice-Presidential and Presidential Residence."

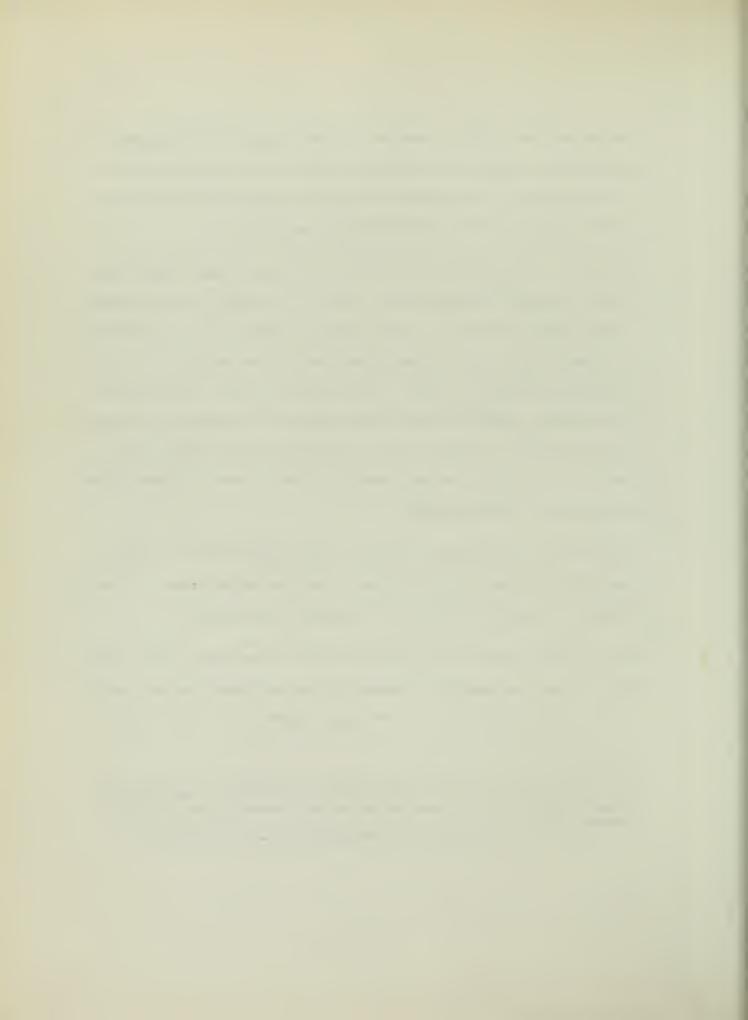
The house, though small, was always open to members of the family. Even with the addition of the East Wing in 1800, it must have been overcrowded accommodating large numbers of the family and friends. In 1789, the widow of an old friend, General Joseph Palmer, and her two daughters came for a visit and remained for a year. That same year, Louisa C. Smith, Abigail Adams' niece, joined the family circle and was still there when President John Adams died -- 37 years later. Her sister, Elizabeth Smith, also made extensive visits, and her marriage to James Foster took place in the Old House on November 15, 1798.

"Peacefield" as John Adams frequently called the Old House was closely associated with each of the children of John and Abigail Adams. The association of each child and his or her children is as follows:

Charles Adams, second son of President and Mrs. John Adams, died in 1801. His widow and two daughters, Susanna Boylston and Abigail Louisa, came to live at "Stony Field." It was here some sixteen years later on August 3,

<sup>(4)</sup> Peacefield was in honor of the Treaty of 1783 which John Adams had signed. In writing to Thomas Jefferson, he also called the Old House "Montezillo."

<sup>(5)</sup> Stony Field was another name which John Adams called his farm.

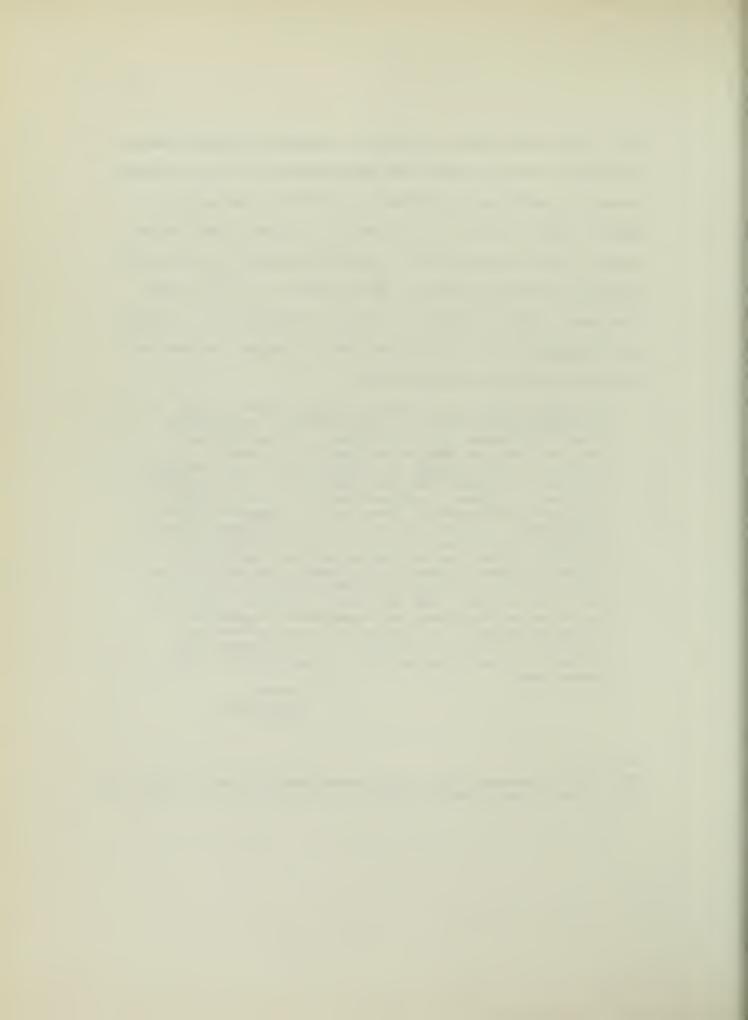


1817, that Susanna Boylston was married to Charles T. Clarke. Charles Clarke lived less than a year after their marriage, so, quite naturally, Susanna returned to her grandmother for the birth of her baby, Susan Maria, on March 2, 1818. After the death of her grandmother, Susanna returned to her home in New York. The following June, the young widow requested permission to return to the Old House to live permanently. John Adams' reply gives both the size of his household at the time and his forthright method of handling the family situation. He wrote her the following letter on June 22, 1819:

dear Child...Mr. Clark's letters and your letters - which your Grand Mother left in a bundle together - are my property and shall remain so for the present. - nobody has seen them, and shall see them for the present, but myself. I should not be very willing to transmit them to you by the Mail for fear of accidents, and from regard to you and your Child - if you return here - I will deliver them to you in person-as to your returning here - you ought to be apprised of the consequences. you know your Uncle and Aunt with Six Children and three Maids are here. Louisa Catherine and myself are also here. I have two Men hired by the year, to work in my Gardens Barn Stable & after all my House is not so full - but it contains Room - whatever Mr. Fearon may say - to contain you - your dear Babe - and your Maid - and if you think these heterogeneous ingredients can be amalgamated together so as to live in harmony - come here and make part of the Group but peace I will have in my Family as long as reason is in my head and breath in my nostrils I am my dear Susan your affectionate

> Grand Father John Adams

<sup>(6)</sup> J. A. to Susanna Clarke, Quincy, Massachusetts, June 22, 1819, Adams Papers, MHS, Microfilm-Reel No. 123.



Susanna accepted her grandfather's ultimatum and was a great source of comfort to him in the last seven years of his life.

In 1805 Thomas Boylston Adams, the "little Tommy" of Abigail Adams' letters, was married to Ann Harrod of Haverhill. His parents extended an invitation to him to bring his bride home to live. They accepted the invitation and resided with their parents at the Old House until 1810, during which time Abigail Smith Adams, Elizabeth Coombs Adams, and Thomas Boylston Adams, Jr., were born. These three children and little Susanna and Abigail Louisa Adams gave their grandfather pleasure and he responded with lively jokes and informal exciting joy and frivolity. In 1810, Thomas Boylston Adams and his family moved to the farmhouse where his father was born and which the family called "Deacon John's cottage."

After Abigail Adams' death in 1818, Thomas Boylston Adams, his wife, and six children left Deacon John's cottage and returned to the Old House to care for the aging John Adams.

A third member of the family knew the Old House as home. Abigail Adams Smith, the only daughter, was born in 1765 and was married to Colonel William Stephens Smith, First Secretary of the United States Embassy in London, on June 12, 1786. Upon their return to the United States in 1788, the Smiths lived in New York City. About twenty-five years later, daughter Abigail was suffering from cancer and came home to be nursed by her parents. On August 9, 1813, John Adams wrote his Dutch friend,



## Francois Adriaan van der Kamp:

"My dear, my only daughter lies in the next Chamber consuming with a Schirrous Cancer; my Daughter in Law, Charles's widow, lies in the next Chamber, extremely weak, and low with one of the most dangerous diseases to which We are liable. My wife a valetudinarian through an whole Life of 69 years, is worn down with care, exertion and anxiety. In the midst of all this, my own eyes are attacked by a venom that threatens to put them out." 7

The end came for daughter Abigail on August 14, 1813. During this period of anguish, Caroline Amelia Smith, her daughter, was a great source of comfort to her grandparents. She radiated joy in life and happy anticipation of the future. About thirteen months after her mother's death, granddaughter Caroline and John Peter deWindt were married at the Old House on September 11, 1814. Two days later on September 13, 1814 Abigail wrote her sister, Elizabeth Shaw Peabody:

...my dear Caroline left me yesterday. no former Seperation from her equied this. upon former occasions she was not the principle and I looked forward to times, when she would be again with me as a resident; now I have relinquished her, and given her to an amiable man, who will know her value; and strive I trust, to make her happy. but I cannot my dear Sister say how much how keenly I feel her departure; what a void is left in my bosom; not a creature in the Family, from her Grandfather to the youngest domestic whose face wore not the traces of sorrow - and she dear girl felt her Heart ready to burst, whilst the modest, silent and tender deWindt looked all tenderness and sympathy. never was a child whose conduct was more strongly marked with duty, affection, judgment, prudence, modesty, affability, every virtue - I could almost say she was faultless.

<sup>(7)</sup> J.A. to van der Kamp, Quincy, August 9, 1813, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

<sup>(8)</sup> A.A. to Elizabeth Shaw Peabody, Quincy, 13 September, 1814, Adams Papers, MHS, Microfilm-Reel No. 419.



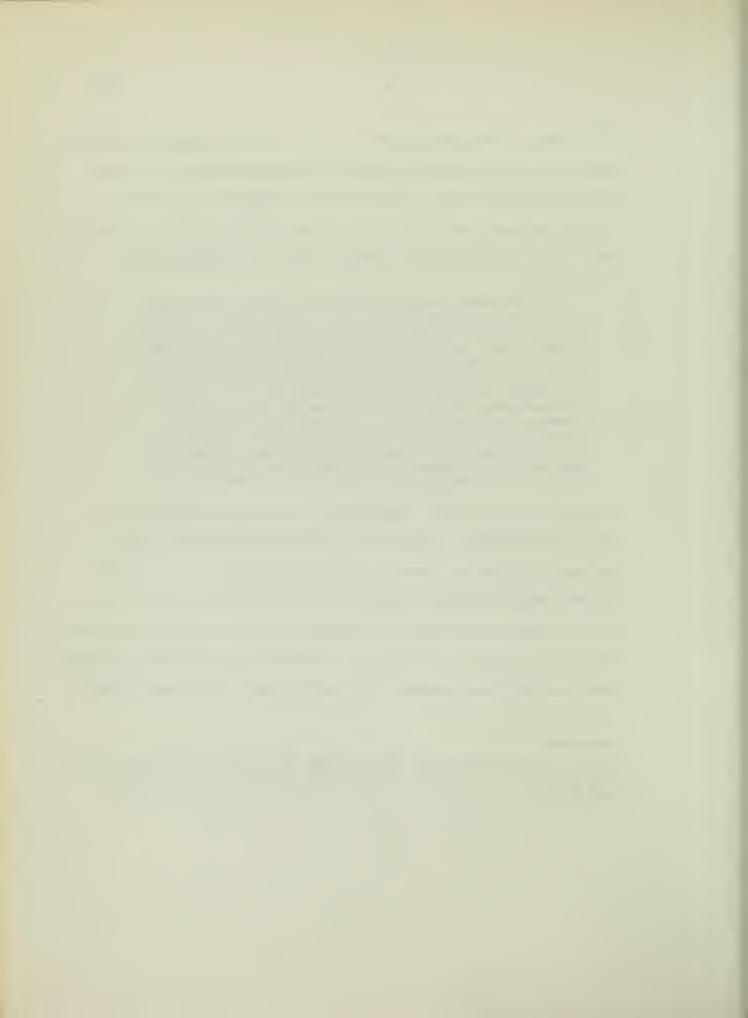
In the fall of 1816, Caroline and John Peter deWindt brought their infant Caroline to see her great-grandmother and great-grandfather. Not only did they bring this "pretty little, active, sprightly pet," but they brought some peach and cherry trees for the orchard and a side of smoked beef. The following spring, John Adams wrote his grandson-in-law:

Dear Sir

You would be pleased to see the pretty Figure your Peach Trees and Cherry Trees make in my Garden. Their buds are at least a fortnight more forward than any of our native Trees. I hope you will contrive to come and see them next fall. - Be sure and bring the sprightly Elizabeth with you. Tell her never to forget how her great grandfather smoked his Segar. Tell her, if she will come and see him again he will endeavour to give her some good Advice for her to remember, and that will be to be good, and to do good. - Thank Caroline for her smoked Beef, which is excellent and will enable me to treat my military and naval Friends now and then with a Sandwitch. Her Beef fumee, is quite a Luxury. - My greatest want, is some one to read to me. 10

The Old House also offered hospitality to the eldest son, John Quincy Adams, and his family. From 1801 to 1809, John Quincy Adams visited his parents during the summers, the exception being from 1803 to 1807 when he occupied President John Adams' cottage where he was born. When President Madison took office, he appointed John Quincy Adams to be minister to Russia and later to England. John Quincy Adams and Louisa Catherine Adams took only their youngest son, Charles Francis, with them to Russia.

<sup>(9)</sup> Page Smith, John Adams, (Garden City, N. Y., 1962), Vol. II p. 1119. (10) J. A. to J. P. deWindt, Quincy, 1 May, 1817, Adams MHS Microfilm-Reel No. 123.



John and George Washington Adams were left under the care of their grandparents. At times away from school the boys were at the Old House.

When Monroe was elected President, he recalled John Quincy Adams to be his Secretary of State. This was heartwarming news for John and Abigail Adams. They felt for a long time that an absence of eight years was too long a time for any American to be outside of the United States.

August 15, 1817 was a happy moment for Abigail. John Quincy Adams, his wife, and three sons arrived from London where, like his father, he had been United States Minister to the Court of Saint James's. Before taking up residence in Washington and assuming the duties of Secretary of State, the John Quincy Adams family joined the large family group in Quincy, and each summer for eight years the Old House was the retreat of a Secretary of State and an ex-President of the United States. Indeed a unique incident in our history!!

All of the interesting events at the Old House during these years are too numerous to include, but a few directly associated with the interpretation of the house are mentioned.

In 1804, Abigail Adams sat for her portrait to be painted by Gilbert Stuart.

Both her portrait and that of John Adams, while still in the possession of the artist, were impounded by the sheriff for the bad debts of Stuart.

Abigail commissioned her son, Thomas Boylston Adams, to try to retrieve



these portraits. Since they had been paid for, Thomas Boylston Adams was allowed to remove them from the court. They were unfinished at the time, but in the opinion of a noted expert, 11 Stuart probably finished Abigail's portrait in 1812.

From the Old House President John Adams wrote the letter to President Thomas Jefferson which renewed their old friendship. The details of this event has been eloquently recorded by Lyman H. Butterfield in The Yale Review Winter 1951. The article, The Dream Of Benjamin Rush: The Reconciliation Of John Adams And Thomas Jefferson points up the urbane attitude of John Adams which the public generally still does not know after more than a century and one half. The article makes delightful reading of two great Americans and two devoted friends.

On July 7, 1817, while President Monroe was visiting in Boston, he paid a visit to John and Abigail Adams in Quincy. The party consisted of President Monroe, Commodore Perry, General Swift, and Mr. Mason (President Monroe's Secretary); they were accompanied by Governor Brooks, his aides, Lieutenant Governor Phillips, President Kirkland of Harvard, General Sumner, Commodore Bainbridge, and other naval officers. After dinner at the Old House, ex-President John Adams accompanied his guests to visit Mr. and Mrs. Josiah Quincy. Abigail Adams gave the President

<sup>(11)</sup> Lawrence Park, Gilbert Stuart, An Illustrated Descriptive List Of His Works, New York, 1926.



a bunch of red and white roses from her garden - "York and Lancaster United" as Mrs. Quincy remarked. 12 The President said he hoped that this was a good omen.

Sorrow again visited the Old House on October 28, 1818, when Abigail, the devoted wife, mother, and grandmother died of typhoid fever. Though frail as a child, she had led a strenuous life, for her family and for the nation. Every phase of the Revolution was followed by Abigail Adams. From her small cottage in Braintree she melted her pewter spoons for bullets; she wrote John Adams at the Continental Congress not to forget to include women in the new government; she taught her children French in addition to the three R's; she advised her husband about his official responsibilities and presided over the social occasions in Paris, London, New York, Philadelphia, and in Washington; she kept her distinguished son, John Quincy Adams, abreast of the public reactions while he served in a half-dozen capitals abroad; and at home she received dignitaries, stored the apples, made the cheese, looked after her garden, and above all else, wrote charming and informative letters to her sister and other members of the family.

Of all the letters of condolence John Adams received, perhaps the most

<sup>(12)</sup> M. A. DeWolfe Howe, ed., The Articulate Sisters, (Cambridge, Mass. 1946), pp. 21-22.



## treasured was from Thomas Jefferson:

...I know well, and feel what you have lost, what you have suffered, are suffering, and have yet to endure. The same trials have taught me that, for ills so immeasurable, time and silence are the only medicines. I will not therefore, by useless condolances, open afresh the sluices of your grief nor, altho' mingling sincerely my tears with yours, will I say a word more, where words are vain, but that it is of some comfort to us both that the term is not very distant at which we are to deposit, in the same cerement, our sorrows and suffering bodies, and to ascend in essence to an ecstatic meeting with the friends we have loved and lost and whom we shall still love and never lose again. God bless you and support you under your heavy affliction.

## Thomas Jefferson<sup>13</sup>

There were exciting times for lonely John Adams. John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State for eight years, was well prepared to become the sixth President of the United States of America. He decided to be a candidate, but true to family tradition, John Quincy Adams wanted the office to seek him and therefore was not a diligent campaigner. The election returns gave no candidate a majority vote, and the House of Representatives finally resolved the issue proclaiming John Quincy Adams the sixth President of the United States on February 9, 1825.

Messages of congratulations were received by John Adams as soon as the news came that John Quincy Adams had been elected President. Visitors came to the Old House to personally express their pleasure to John Adams.

<sup>(13)</sup> Lester J. Cappon, ed., The Adams-Jefferson Letters, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1959, Vol. II, p. 529.



One of the visitors, Ralph Waldo Emerson, left a full account of his visit to Quincy:

Cambridge, Feb. 1825. Today I went to Quincy to see its Patriarch. The old President sat in a large stuffed arm chair, dressed in a blue coat, black small-clothes, white stockings. And a cotton cap covered his bald head. When we were introduced, he held out his hand & welcomed us. We told him he must let us come & join our Congratulations to those of the nation on the happiness of his house. He thanked us & said, 'I am rejoiced because the nation is happy. The time of gratulations & congratulations is nearly over with me. I am astonished that I have lived to see & know of this event. I have lived now nearly a century, (He will be ninety next October) a long harrassed & distracted life.' I said, the world thinks a good deal of joy has been mixed with it. 'The world does not know' he said 'how much toil, anxiety & sorrow I have suffered.' I asked if Mr. Adams' letter of acceptance has been read to him. 'Yes,' he said, and then added, 'My son has more political prudence than any man I know who has existed in my time. He has never put off his guard. And I hope he will continue so. But what effect age may work in diminishing the power of his mind. I do not know; it has been very much on the stretch since he was born. He has always been a laborious child & man from infancy.'14

It must have been the finest hour for the Old House as the old and the new President of the United States walked out the door to take the carriage for a drive through Quincy to call upon old friends and neighbors. In 1825 Eliza Quincy wrote of this visit in her life of Josiah Quincy:

...At the visit which he paid to his father in September, 1825, we had frequently the curious satisfaction, never probably to be had again, of seeing two Presidents of the United States together, the one the son of the other. It is a happiness to be permitted to remember the glow of delight which lighted up the countenance and kindled anew the eyes of the father as he

<sup>(14)</sup> Gilman, Ferguson, Davies, eds., The Journals and Notebook of Ralph Waldo Emerson, (Cambridge, Mass. 1961) - pp. 333-334.



looked proudly on his son and successor - a happiness enhanced by the remembrance of the great parliamentary career of John Quincy Adams, which has placed him apart from the vulgar herd of Presidents, and made his name only less illustrious than those of Washington and of Lincoln. The last time that John Adams was in my father's house, where he had been the welcome and honored guest of three generations, was on the 30th of September, 1825, when he entered and left it leaning on the arm of his son, the President. He frequently afterwards drove to the door and held audiences at the carriage window, but his infirmities hindered him from getting out. 15

John Adams, the drafter of the original Constitution of Massachusetts in 1780, the diplomat, the Vice-President of the United States, the President of the United States, the farmer, the statesman, and the author cherished his days at his country home. He died on July 4, 1826, in the house where he enjoyed the affection of his family, where he wrote his Autobiography and other works concerning the problems of the day, where he enjoyed writing to and receiving letters from his loyal friend Dr. Benjamin Rush, and where he carried on voluminous correspondence with his old friend and colleague, Thomas Jefferson.

Throughout his life, John Adams retained his keen interest in political issues and was a delegate to the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention in 1820 at the age of eighty-five. On the occasion of the visit of the West Points cadets in 1821, John Adams stood on the South Portico of the Old House to deliver a speech which contained the same extraordinary quality, dignity, and clear thinking as the one delivered to King George III in 1785. As the speech to the King, written when John Adams was

<sup>(15)</sup> E. Quincy, Life of Josiah Quincy, p. 416.



about fifty years of age, opened this narrative - the one delivered to the West Point cadets written when he was eighty-five years of age will bring it to a close:

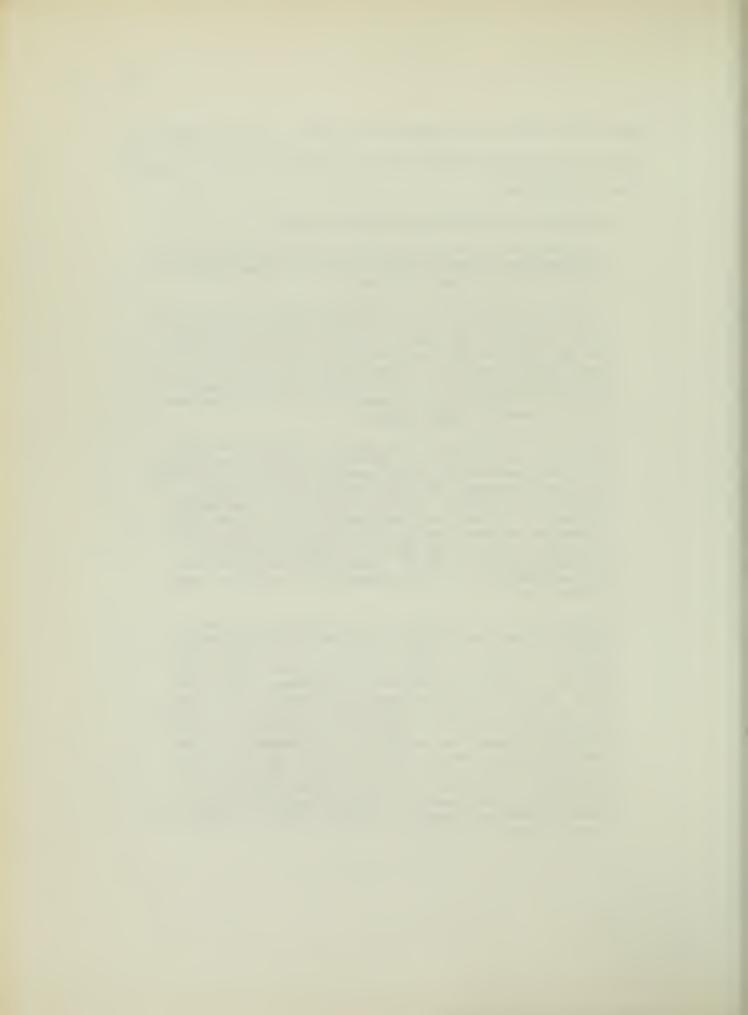
My Young Fellow-Citizens And Fellow-Soldiers, --

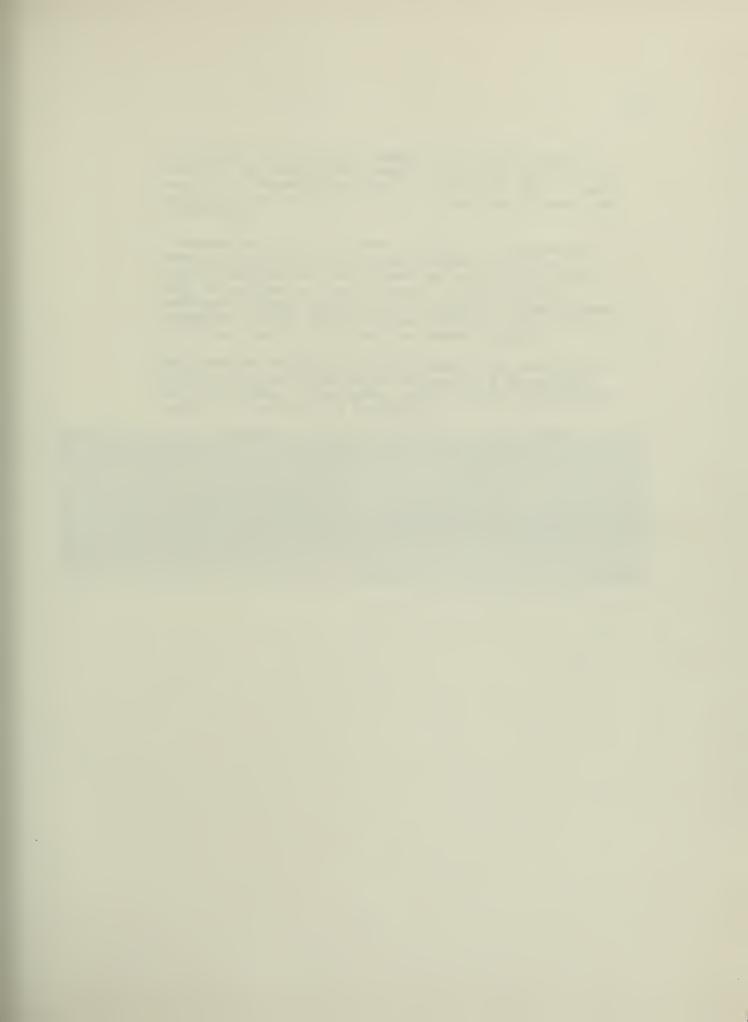
I rejoice that I live to see so fine a collection of the future defenders of their country in pursuit of honor under the auspices of the national government.

A desire of distinction is implanted by nature in every human bosom, and the general sense of mankind, in all ages and countries, cultivated and uncultivated, has excited, encouraged, and applauded this passion in military men more than in any other order of society. Military glory is esteemed the first and greatest of glories. As your profession is at least as solemn and sacred as any in human life, it behooves you seriously to consider, what is glory?

There is no real glory in this world or any other but such as arises from wisdom and benevolence. There can be no solid glory among men but that which springs from equity and humanity; from the constant observance of prudence, temperance, justice, and fortitude. Battles, victories, and conquests, abstracted from their only justifiable object and end, which is justice and peace, are the glory of fraud, violence, and usurpation. What was the glory of Alexander and Caesar? "The Glimmering" which those "livid flames" in Milton "cast, pale and dreadful," or "the sudden blaze," which "far round illumin'd Hell."

Different--far different is the glory of Washington and his faithful colleagues: Excited by no ambition of conquest or avaricious desire of wealth; irritated by no jealousy, envy, malice, or revenge; prompted only by the love of their country, by the purest patriotism and philanthropy, they persevered, with invincible constancy, in defence of their country, her fundamental laws, her natural, essential and inalienable rights and liberties, against the lawless and ruthless violence of tyranny and usurpation. The biography of these immortal captains, and the history of their great actions, you will read and ruminate night and day. You need not investigate antiquity, or travel into foreign countries, to find models of excellence in military commanders, without a stain of ambition or avarice, tyranny, cruelty, or oppression towards friends or enemies.





John Adams

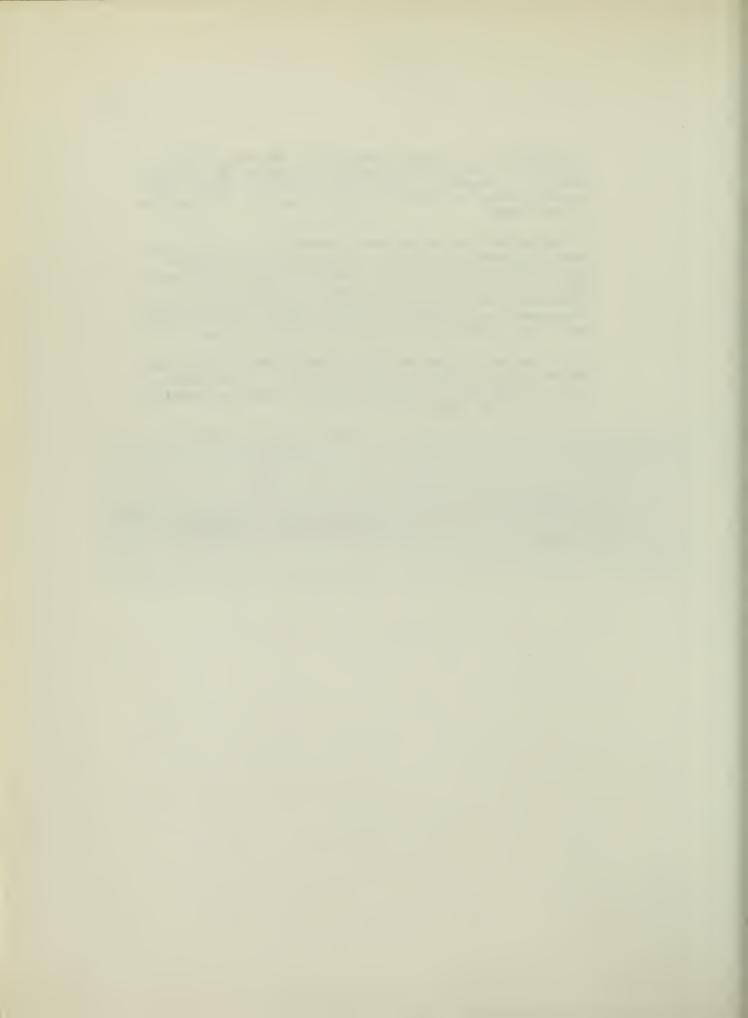
In imitation of such great examples, in the most exalted transports of your military ardor, even in the day of battle, you will be constantly overawed by a conscious sense of the dignity of your characters as men, as American citizens, and as Christians.

I congratulate you on the great advantages you possess for attaining eminence in letters and science, as well as in arms. These advantages are a precious deposit, which you ought to consider as a sacred trust, for which you are responsible to your country and to a higher tribunal. These advantages, and the habits you have acquired, will qualify you for any course of life you may choose to pursue.

That I may not fatigue you with too many words, allow me to address every one of you in the language of a Roman dictator to his master of the horse, after a daring and dangerous exploit for the safety of his country,

"Macte virtute esto."16

<sup>(16)</sup> Charles Francis Adams, ed., Life and Works of John Adams, (Boston, 1850-1856), Vol. X, pp. 419-420. Illustration 2 is a sample of John Adams' handwriting.



## THE JOHN QUINCY ADAMS PERIOD (1826-1848)

For the second time in a quarter of a century, the Old House and surrounding properties were owned and occupied by a President of the United States. John Adams, the second President, died on July 4, 1826, leaving the Old House and about ninety-three acres of land to his son, John Quincy Adams, the sixth President of the United States. It is a unique incident in our national heritage for a house to be the summer Presidential residence of both a father and a son. In addition, American history has not recorded, as yet, any newly elected President with a background of education and experience in public service at home and abroad equal to that of John Quincy Adams. As a young boy in Braintree he saw the British redcoats march in the street, he watched the colonial militia drill in his own yard, later passing the night in his Penn's Hill Cottage, and he was present when his mother, Abigail, melted her pewter spoons and moulded them into bullets. These experiences made him, in truth, a son of the American Revolution. Then there were eight years of schooling in France, Amsterdam, Leyden and the Hague, as well as travel abroad. When John Adams was sent abroad to serve on the Peace Commission, Abigail insisted that "Young Johnny" go along. She felt

<sup>(1)</sup> Charles Francis Adams, ed., Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, (Philadelphia, 1876), Vol. VII, p. 130.



that one day John Quincy Adams was destined to be a "guardian of his country's laws and liberties." As soon as the young lad reached France he was placed in boarding school at Passy. His subjects included Latin and French as well as fencing, music, dancing and drawing. At the theatre in the Bois there was a company of children who staged French classics. John Quincy Adams attended these performances with great regularity. Not only did this add fluency to his French, but it also kindled an interest in the theatre which afforded him pleasure throughout life.

John Adams and Abigail were disturbed that their son's schooling was not as well rounded as his age group in Massachusetts. To help balance his school program, his father devoted evenings teaching the young lad mathematics; 3 and by correspondence, his mother kept him reminded of preparation for future national responsibilities. On January 12, 1780, she wrote him:

These are times in which a genius would wish to live. It is not in the still calm of life, or the repose of a pacific station, that great characters are formed. ... The habits of a vigorous mind are formed in contending with difficulties. All history will convince you of this, ... Great necessities call out great virtues. When a mind is raised and animated by scenes that engage the heart, then those qualities, which would otherwise lie dormant, wake into life and form the character of the hero and the statesman. ...

<sup>(2)</sup> Samuel Flagg Bemis, John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy, (New York, 1956), p. 9. Hereafter referred to as Bemis, Vol. I.

<sup>(3)</sup> Bemis, Vol. I, p. 17.
(4) Charles Francis Adams, ed., Letters of Mrs. Adams, 4th edition (Boston, 1848), p. 111.

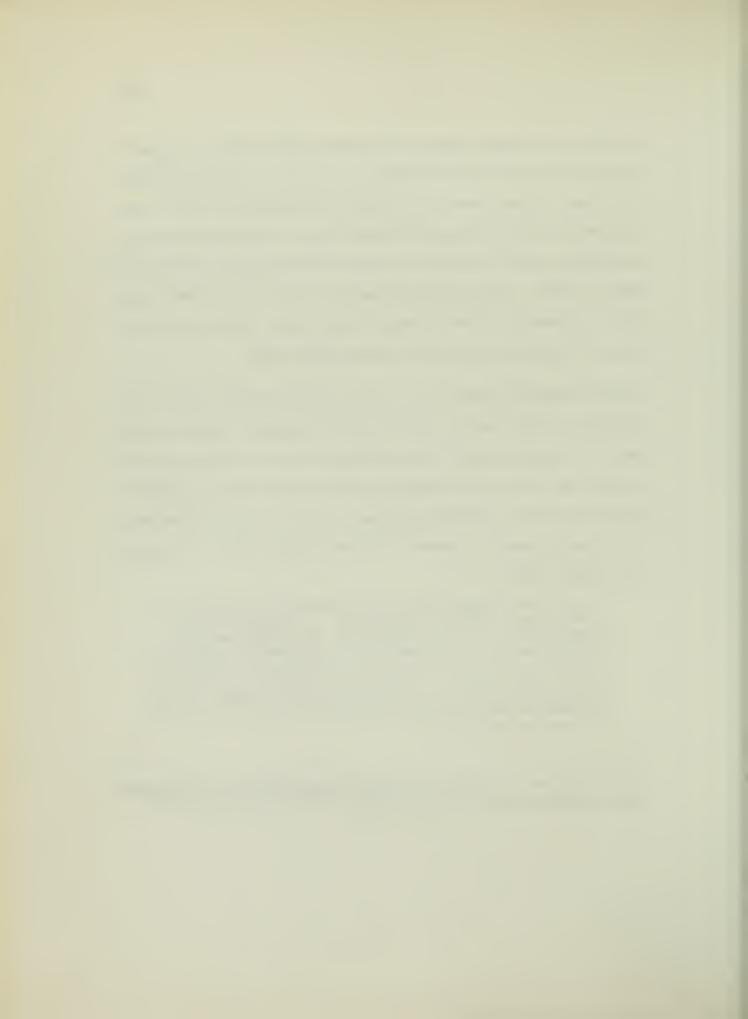


In France, John Quincy Adams had many unusual opportunities. He saw a great deal of such intellectual giants as Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson. He even tried out his skill teaching English to the French diplomats who were to come to the United States. The most meaningful experience, however, was when he accompanied Francis Dana, United States Envoy to Russia. He was only fourteen but he spoke, interpreted, translated, and copied official documents for Mr. Dana. French was the language of the Court and John Quincy Adams knew it well.

It was with great reluctance that young John Quincy Adams abandoned his intention of preparing for college at Andover Academy. Now with eight years of study and travel in the capitals of Europe he was determined to leave the sophisticated diplomatic circles and return to the United States to graduate from Harvard College. He did so, entering Harvard in 1785 and graduating a member of Phi Beta Kappa in 1787. Of Harvard he had this to say:

... It is not without many melancholy reflections that I bid a last adieu to the walls of Harvard. ... I have formed an intimacy with a number of amiable and respectable characters of my own age and with dispositions corresponding to my own. I have never once regretted but have frequently rejoyced that I left Europe to come... It has been productive of very good effects, particularly in reducing my opinion of myself, of my acquirements, and of my future prospects, nearer to the level of truth and reality. ... 5

<sup>(5)</sup> Henry Adams, II, Notes on the Books from the Library of John Quincy Adams Deposited in the Boston Athenaeum, (Boston, 1928), pp. 51-52.



After graduation he went at once to read law with Mr. Theophilas Parsons at Newburyport, visiting his aunt, Mrs. Richard Cranch, in Braintree frequently. On April 20, 1788, during one such visit to his aunt, he went to see the Vassall house which his parents had purchased. He had this reaction:

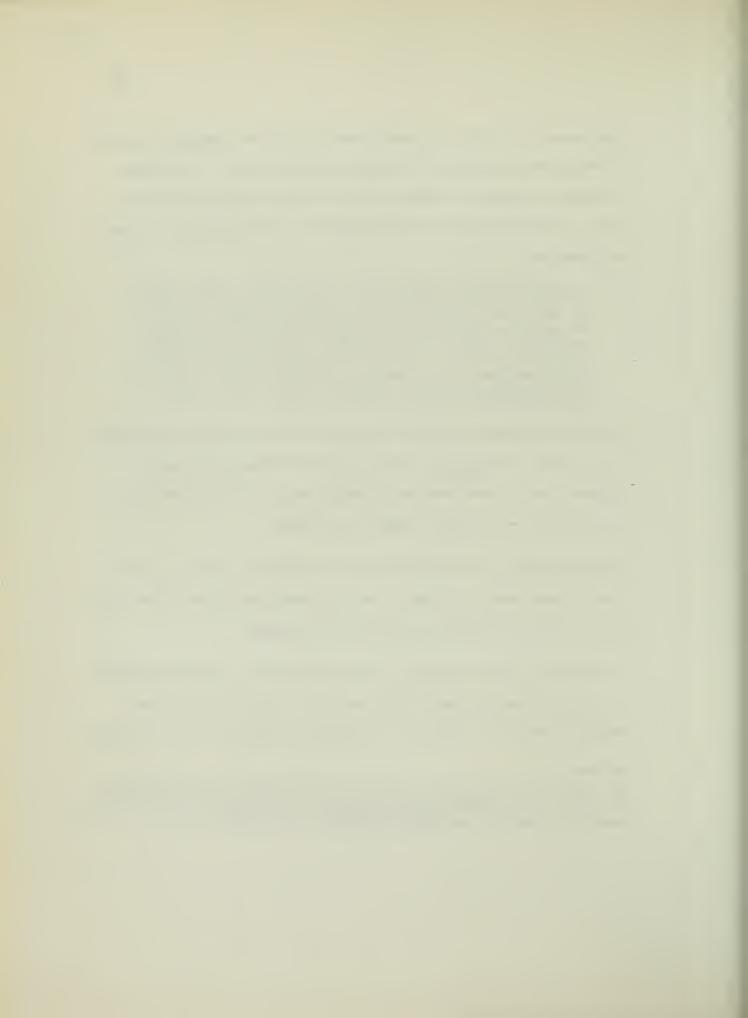
... After meeting, I went down to view the house, which they are repairing for my father, I was not perfectly pleased with it; but it now appears in a very unfavourable light. They are obliged to make the most necessary repairs very hastily, expecting my father in a few weeks. I am in hopes that after my parents return, this place will be more lively and agreeable to me than it is at present. I think I shall never make it the standing place of my residence; but I shall wish to pass much of my time here, ...

This feeling regarding the Old House was reversed forty-one years later for he wrote in his <u>Diary</u> on July 18, 1829: "At half-past eleven alighted at my paternal mansion in Quincy; which if it pleases God, is to be my home for the short remnant of my days."

John Quincy Adams was delighted to see his parents in 1788, the first time in three years. Although he was absorbed in the study of law with Parsons, he was a frequent visitor at the Old House.

When President George Washington visited Newburyport, John Quincy Adams wrote the welcoming address and attended every event given for this celebrated visitor. From then on, President Washington knew and admired

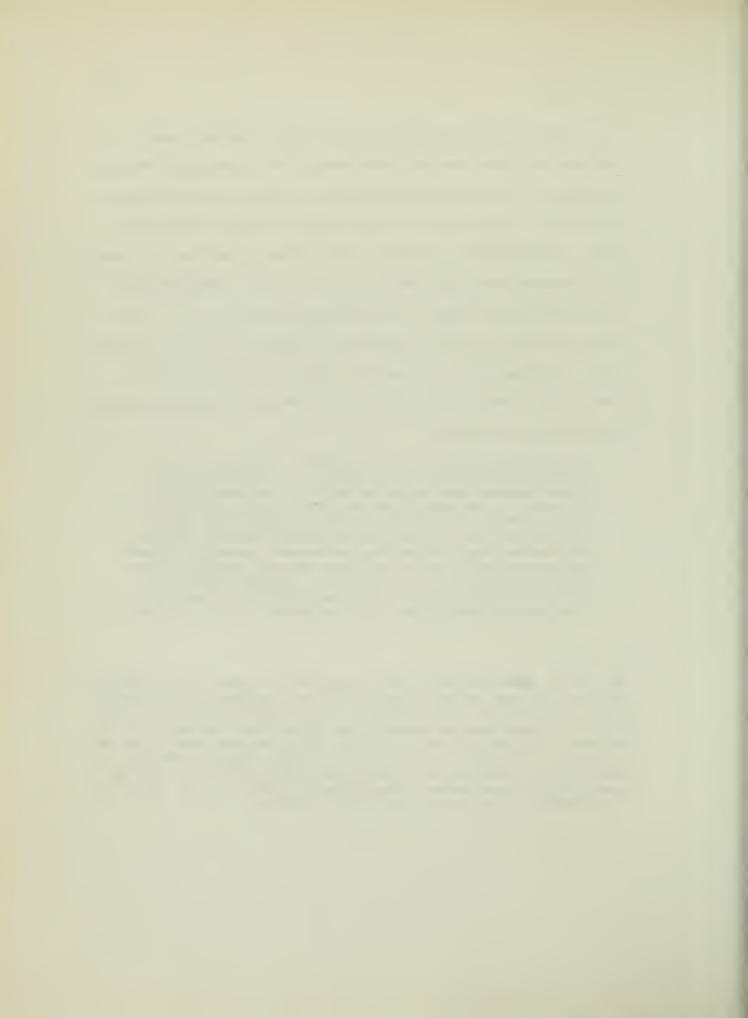
<sup>(6)</sup> Life in a New England Town: 1787-1788 (Boston, 1903), pp. 126-127.
(7) Samuel Flagg Bemis, John Quincy Adams and the Union, (New York, 1956)
Hereafter referred to as Bemis, Vol. II.



him. Knowing how knowledgeable he was from his schooling abroad,
President Washington appointed John Quincy Adams at the age of twentysix Minister to the Netherlands, and later as Minister Plenipotentiary
to Portugal. This appointment to Portugal was changed by President
Adams to an assignment to Prussia. He was later to serve in other capitals of Europe<sup>8</sup> covering a period of sixteen years. President Monroe
recalled John Quincy Adams to become his Secretary of State. In this
important post he served his country well, inspite of frequent interuptions by visitors who took up so much of his time that his official
work suffered. One visitor passing through Washington called upon him
and published this account:

... I called upon Mr. Adams, Secretary of State. .. Mr. A received me with that ease of manner, ... he saluted me in softest accents, and bid me be seated. I had heard much of Mr. Adams. I had admired him as a writer, and applauded him as a statesman. ... While beholding this truly great man, I was at a loss how to reconcile such rare endowments with the meek condescension of the being before me. He neither smiled nor frowned, but regarding me with a calmness peculiar to him, awaited my business. Mr. A appears to be about fifty years of age, middling stature, robust make, and every indication of a vigorous constitution. His complexion is fair, his face

<sup>(8)</sup> One of these assignments was commissioner to Ghent. When John Adams received word that his son, John Quincy Adams, had signed the Treaty of Ghent on December 24, 1814, and that it was ratified February 17, 1815, he was so pleased that he ordered a new die made for the seal which he had used in signing the Treaty of 1783. This time there were to be the 13 stars, the pine tree, the deer and the fish swimming in the sea, but underneath was added the Latin inscription which translated "Fish and hunt we will as heretofore." Henry Adams, II, Ibid. p. 140. This seal is on exhibit in the museum room of the Old House.



round and full, but what most distinguishes his features, is his eye, which is black; it is not a sparkling eye, nor yet dull, but one of such keeness that it pierces the beholder. Every feature in his face shows genius, every gesture is that of a great man, his countenance is serene and dignified, he has the steadiest look I ever witnessed, he never smiled whilst I was in his company, it is a question with me whether he ever laughed in his life, and of all men I ever saw, he has the least of what is called pride, both in his manners and dress. 9

It was while John Quincy Adams was Secretary of State that Congress directed him to prepare the work, A Report Upon Weights and Measures. He sent the report to Congress on February 22, 1821. At this time he recorded in his diary:

The report on weights and measures is a work of a different character. The call of both Houses of Congress for a report upon a subject which has occupied for the last sixty years many of the ablest men in Europe, and to which all the power and all the philosophical and mathematical learning and ingenuity of France and of Great Britain have been incessantly directed, was a fearful and oppressive task. It has now been executed, and it will be for the public judgment to pass upon it. 10

After eight years as Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams became the sixth President of the United States. Although he was a minority Presi-

<sup>(9)</sup> Sketches of History, Life and Manners in the United States. By a Traveler. New Haven, 1826 p. 166.

<sup>(10)</sup> Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. V, pp. 290-291. Reference is made by John Quincy Adams on Sept. 6, 1824 - "I received at Boston this morning a letter from C. H. Pasley, Colonel of Royal Engineers, in England, dated Chatham, 20th June, 1834. ...acknowledging that my historical account of English weights and measures is more correct than any that has been given by any English writer, including the reports of the committees of the House of Commons. ...The report, from the day of its publication, has, in this country, scarcely been known to exist; and this commendation of it, coming from England, is, therefore, the more welcome to me."



dent with few followers among the political leaders in the United States, dignitaries abroad knew and respected him. LeVassuer, who accompanied Lafayette in America, was invited by President Monroe to attend a reception for the President-Elect, John Quincy Adams. Mrs. Monroe and her daughters received the guests with "amiable simplicity." One gets an interesting picture of Mrs. Adams and the President-Elect from LeVassuer's account of this affair.

On the evening of the day in which the president had received a notification that his successor had been appointed, there was a large party at his house. ... on this occasion, the crowd was so considerable that it was almost impossible to move. All the inhabitants of Washington were attracted by the desire of seeing the president-elect... After having made my bow to Mr. and Mrs. Monroe, to reach whom I found considerable difficulty, I looked with impatience for Mr. Adams... On entering one of the side rooms, I perceived Mr. Adams; he was alone in the midst of a large circle which was formed around him. His countenance was as open and modest as usual. Every instant persons pressed through the crowd to offer him their congratulations, which he received without embarrassment, and replied to by a cordial shake of the hand. At some distance, in the midst of a group of ladies, was Mrs. Adams. She appeared to be radiant with joy; but it was easy to be seen that she was more pleased at the personal triumph of her husband than for the advantages or pleasures that would result to herself. ... 11

After John Quincy Adams' inauguration, LeVassuer called upon him and had this to say:

It is difficult to find a more upright and better cultivated intellect than is possessed by the successor of Mr. Monroe. The beautiful reliefs of the capitol, to which he is not a stranger; his treatise on weights and measures, and the numerous diplomatic missions he had discharged with distinction,

<sup>(11)</sup> A. LeVassuer, Lafayette in America, Vol. II, pp. 22-24







bear witness to his good taste in the arts, the correctness of his scientific judgment, and his skill in politics. ... 12

The new lady of the Old House, Louisa Catherine Adams, had a different background from her famous mother-in-law, Abigail Smith Adams. She was one of seven daughters of Joshua Johnson, the first American Consul to Great Britain, and Catherine Nuth, an English woman. She attended school briefly in England but later had the advantage of living and studying in France. Her prowess in French stemmed from this experience. In London, on July 26, 1797, she married the young American diplomat, John Quincy Adams. They resided for the next four years in Prussia, and while there she accompanied her husband on his diplomatic wanderings throughout Germany. They particularly enjoyed the galleries of Dresden, and their excursion through Silesia. This type of life did not prepare Louisa Catherine for rural Quincy where she arrived around Thanksgiving of 1801. Of this experience she had this to say:

Quincy! what shall I say of my impressions of Quincy! Had I stepped into Noah's ark I do not think I could have been more utterly astonished. ... Even the church, its forms, the snuffing through the nose, the singers, the dressing and the dinner-hour were novelties to me; ... Mrs. Adams was too kind. ... The old gentleman took a fancy to me. ... To a woman like Mrs. Adams, equal to every emergency in life, I appeared like a maudlin, hysterical, fine lady, not fit to be the partner of a man who was evidently to play a great part in the theatre of life. 14

<sup>(12)</sup> Ibid., pp. 241-243.

<sup>(13)</sup> Illustration 3 - Portrait of Louisa Catherine Johnson Adams, painted in London in 1797, "The Year of Her Wedding-Day, in the Shadow of the Tower of London," owned by a descendant.

<sup>(14)</sup> Henry Adams, MSS - Houghton Library, Louisa Catherine Adams, (Quincy, 1801).



John Quincy Adams reached Quincy in September, 1801 several weeks before his wife's arrival. As might be expected his reaction to the family setting was more pleasant. We read this account:

21 September. ... in the evening I reached my father's house at Quincy - Here I had the inexpressible delight of finding once more my parents, ... My parents received me with a welcome of the tenderest affection. 15

## The following day he wrote:

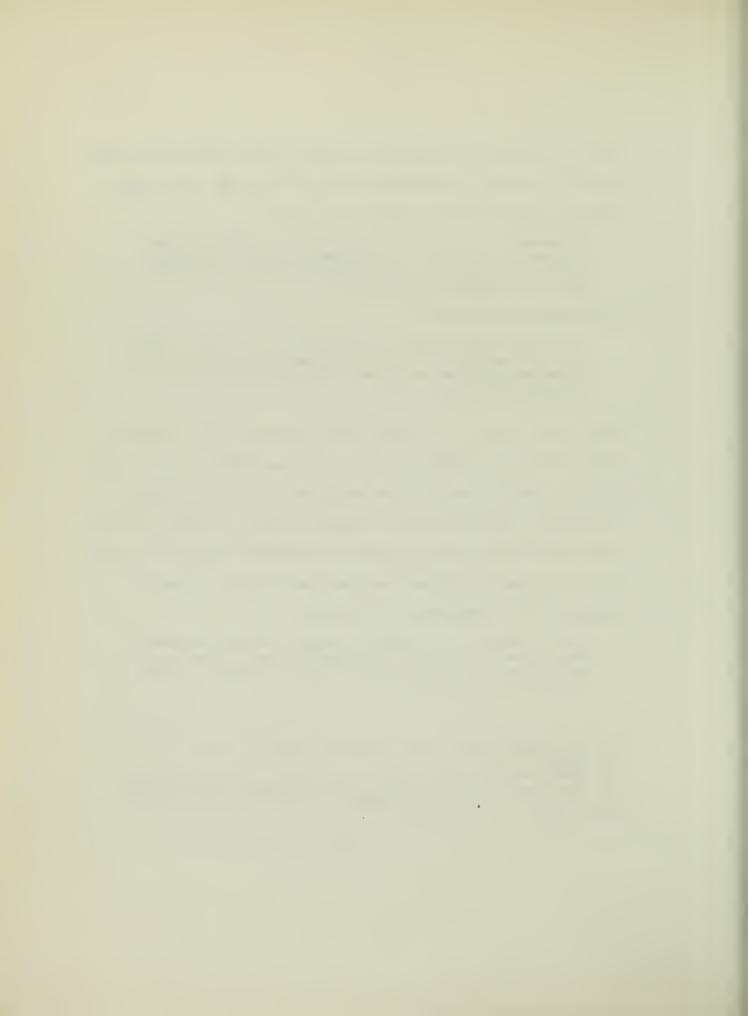
... I had the satisfaction of spending this day almost entirely with my parents. ... In the afternoon I walk'd out with my father upon his farm, which has during my absence been much altered and improved - ...

After a visit with John and Abigail Adams, the young couple bought a house in Boston in December of 1801. Very soon, John Quincy Adams was elected to the State General Court and later as United States Senator. At this time the Boston house was disposed of due to financial reverses. Again Louisa Catherine Adams visited at the Old House until they bought John Quincy Adams' Birthplace from John Adams in 1803. On April 25, 1805, John Quincy Adams wrote in his diary:

My wife came up to our house this morning and here remained after dinner I came with Eliza Johnson (sister-in-law) and the two children. ... - No funds - Here I propose to reside during the summer months. 17

<sup>(15)</sup> John Quincy Adams' Diary, Quincy, 21 September, 1801, MHS, Microfilm Reel-No. 27.

<sup>(16)</sup> Ibid., 22 September, 1801.(17) Henry Adams, II, The Birthplaces of Presidents John and John Quincy Adams, (Quincy, 1936), p. 21.



Brooks Adams always spoke of his grandmother as the "poor unfortunate Louisa Catherine." It did seem that problems awaited her on every turn. One month to the day after moving into their own little house, a near tragedy occurred. It was the custom to catch rain water from the eaves of the house to help supply the household demands. Tubs for this reason were placed under the eaves of the cottage. On May 25, 1805, John Quincy Adams made this entry in his Diary:

My youngest child John aged two fell in a tub of rain-water, and was almost drowned when Eliza Johnson took him out of it - the maid had carelessly left him. ...two minutes more he must have perished. 19

Louisa Catherine Adams then had to nurse the child through an illness complicated by threatened pneumonia. There were pleasant moments though - Louisa Catherine took long walks with the boys and their father, and she was interested in the flowers and trees they planted to beautify their home. Though small, their house was near the Old House and visiting their parents was an easy matter.

In April of 1807, they moved their furniture to a new home in Boston.

This house was on the corner of Boylston and Tremont streets where (1966)

the Hotel Touraine stands. It was here that Charles Francis Adams was

born on August 18, 1807.

<sup>(18)</sup> From the personal conversation of Wilhelmina S. Harris with Brooks Adams.

<sup>(19)</sup> J. Q. Adams' Diary.







Louisa Catherine Adams

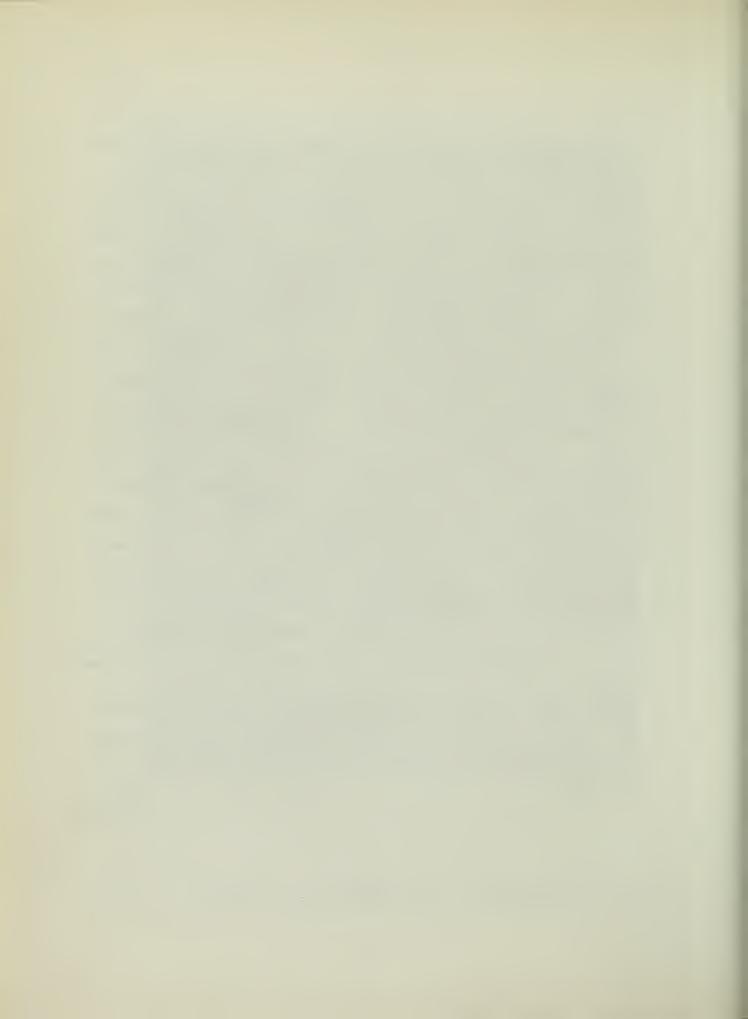
In 1809, President Madison had taken office and another big change came for the Adamses. John Quincy Adams was appointed Minister from the United States to Russia. This was a real challenge for Louisa Catherine. The diplomatic language was French, a language in which she was especially fluent. From 1809 to 1817<sup>20</sup> she lived abroad moving in European court circles. These experiences were a far cry from rural Quincy. However, when her husband became Monroe's Secretary of State from 1817 to 1825, she visited Quincy frequently and began to feel more at home there, particularly since John Adams showed increased affection and appreciation of her. At the Old House she received both the West Point cadets and Lafayette upon their visits to her father-in-law.

The summers in Quincy during the Presidential years were difficult for Mrs. Adams. She had official responsibilities with little space in which to carry them out. The Old House which was the center for all the family during John Adams' last years was to continue for at least three years longer. In 1826, the family consisted of Thomas Boylston Adams, his wife, and six children; Louisa C. Smith, 21 Susanna Boylston Clarke, 22 President and Mrs. John Quincy Adams, their sons, George, John and Charles, 23

<sup>(20)</sup> Illustration 4 - Louisa Catherine Adams from a portrait by Charles Robert Leslie, painted in London, in 1816. Owned by descendant.

<sup>(21)</sup> Louisa C. Smith who had lived for thirty-seven years with President John Adams continued in residence for a total of fifty-seven years.

<sup>(22)</sup> Susanna Boylston Clarke left Quincy in the fall of 1826.
(23) George Washington Adams had living quarters in Boston, but passed much time at the Old House; John Adams, II, lived with his parents in Washington; Charles Francis Adams was referred to by his parents as Charles.



and briefly Johnson Hellen (Mrs. John Quincy Adams' nephew). Another complication which militated against Louisa Catherine Adams finding life easy in Quincy was that she, as well as her sons, did not enjoy Mrs. Thomas Boylston Adams. This was a handicap which both President and Mrs. Adams accepted with restraint.

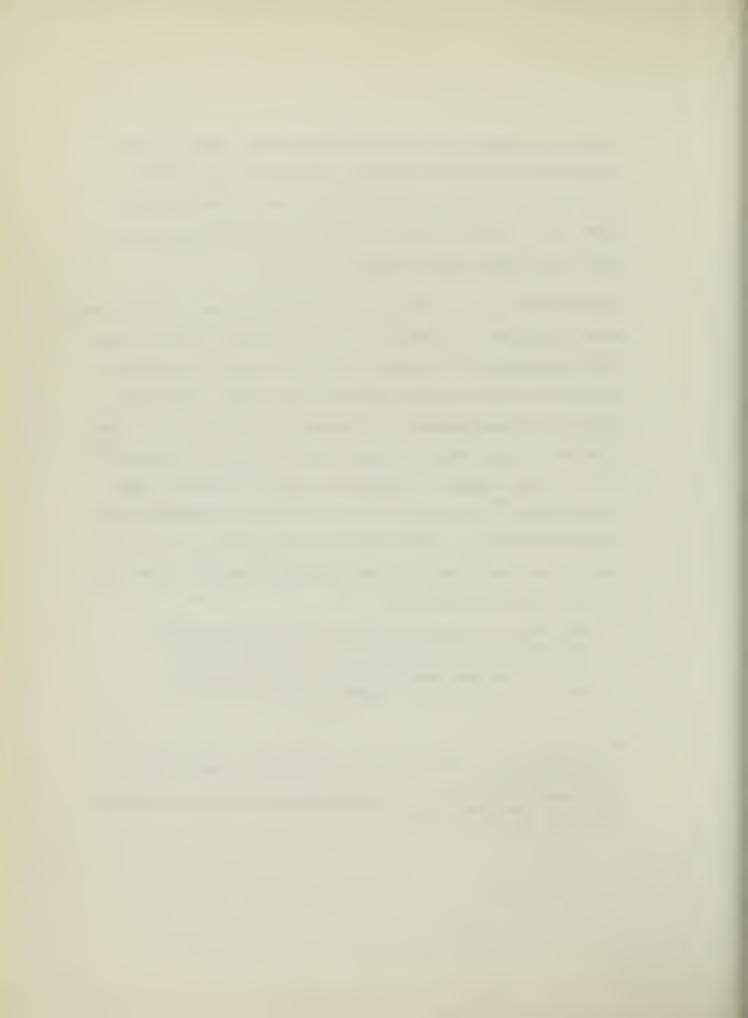
During this time, Louisa Catherine Adams contributed much to relieve the austere atmosphere in the house of the Adams statesmen. She managed to lead an interesting life in spite of the fact that she was physically frail and the house was always overcrowded with family. She loved to read, was a talented linguist, wrote volume upon volume of poetry, sang to her own accompaniments on the harp, translated Plato for her sons, 24 and even tried her hand at "staging theatricals." She wore a high ornate headdress 6 and her son, Charles, said she was the most fashionable lady in America. In 1825 Louisa Catherine Adams became the First Lady, and this article appeared indicating public reaction to her while John Quincy Adams was President:

Mrs. Adams is represented to be one of the most charitable females in this or any other country; the distressed are ever sure to meet a friend in her. She is not so old as Mr. Adams; perhaps about forty years of age; in her person she is tall, slender, and elegantly formed; her features

<sup>(24)</sup> Charles Francis Adams to Mrs. L. C. Halloway, Adams Papers, MHS, Microfilm-Reel No. 176.

<sup>(25)</sup> Lyman H. Butterfield, ed., Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, (Cambridge, 1961), Vol. I, p. 21.

<sup>(26)</sup> Bemis, Vol. II, p. 98.



are regular and handsome for her years; in her manners she is affable, and by far the most accomplished American lady I have seen; her countenance is suffused with ineffable sweetness; im short, the virtues and the graces seem to have taken up their abode in her fair form. ...

The Presidential years in Quincy for John Quincy Adams were not as difficult as they were for his delicate wife. He was now the head of the Adams family as well as the head of the Nation. The days were full of activity; for example, on July 28, 1826, he received twenty-one visitors and transacted several hours of official business. During this summer he attended at least six memorial services in the various towns for his father; he engaged Mather Withington to survey the land owned by John Adams; he collected and began to organize his father's books and manuscripts for perservation and he passed time in supervision of the farm. Whether it was Quincy, Washington, or Russia, the beauty of the heavens at the beginning and closing of the day gave him much satisfaction. John Quincy Adams had an absorbing interest in astronomy. The "light houses of the sky" were mentioned in his Inaugural Address. On July 29, 1826, he made the following entry in his Diary:

29th. The evening was uncommonly clear, starlight, and I passed from one to two hours with George and T. B. Adams, Jr., in the road fronting the house, showing them the constellations of the zodiac from Libra to Aries inclusive; the Great and Little Bear; Cassiopeia; the Swan, the Dolphin, Aquila,

<sup>(27)</sup> Sketches of History, Life, and Manners in the United States. By a Traveler. New Haven, Printed for the Author, 1826. pp. 169-170.



Cepheus, Perseus with the Head O Medusa, Andromeda, the Square of Pagasus, Lyra, Bootes, with Arcturus and his Sons, the Northern Crown, with Gemma and Fomalhaut of the Southern Fish. The planets Jupiter and Venus, in near conjunction, had set in the constellation of Virgo before nine. There was not a cloud visible above the horizon; but luminous meteors were shooting from time to time in various directions. It was past eleven o'clock before we came in. 28

This interest was inherited by his grandson Brooks Adams who read and studied the charts of the sky daily as long as he lived.

During the summer of 1826, college presidents, political leaders, scholars, and men and women in every walk of life came to Quincy. Mrs. Emma Willard of Troy, New York, came to get his approbation and help to establish a college for female education. While the President found Mrs. Willard intelligent and very spirited, he assured her that Congress would only endow a university or school for the training of soldiers.<sup>29</sup> Another unusual visitor was a female Quaker preacher, Elizabeth Robson from England. She came to plead the cause of the Negro. 30

In 1827, President Adams was nervous, had indigestion, could not sleep, had catarrh and pains through-out his body. His doctor prescribed two months in Quincy as the cure. There would be official work, of course, but the prescription was a welcomed one. His strongest attachments in life were the hills and the stony fields and rugged seashore of Quincy.

(30) Ibid., p. 148.

 <sup>(28)</sup> Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. VII, p. 137.
 (29) This is Mrs. Emma Willard who founded Troy Female Seminary in 1821. Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. VII, pp. 145-146.



That summer he saw a great deal of his sons and other relatives. He visited friends, went on fishing parties, enjoyed sea bathing, dined with his neighbors, worked in his garden, played whist and felt refreshed both in body and spirit by the close of summer.

Since the President had not felt well in Washington, he was determined not to have as many visitors as he had had during the previous summer in Quincy. He only partly succeeded. More visitors were received than he wished. For example, he noted his annoyance at a travel writer's visit:

9th. ...Mrs. Royall came from Boston in the same stage with my son Charles. She is going to Plymouth, and traveling about the country to make another book. She continues to make herself noxious to many persons; tolerated by some and feared by others, by her deportment and her books; treating all with a familiarity which often passes for impudence, insulting those who treat her with incivility, and then lampooning them in her books. Stripped of all her sex's delicacy, but unable to forfeit its privileges of gentle treatment from the other, she goes about like a virago errant in enchanted armor, and redeems herself from the cravings of indigence by the notoriety of her accentricities and the forced currency they give to her publications. 31

John Quincy Adams took an active part in matters of local interest. On August 11th he had this to say:

Immediately after dinner Mr. Quincy called, and I rode with him in his carriage to the railway. We found Colonel T. H. Perkins at the stone house ... We walked with him to the

<sup>(31)</sup> Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. VII, p. 321.



quarry, were overtaken by a thunder-shower, and took shelter under the shed where the stone-cutters were at work upon the blocks for the Bunker Hill Monument. The railway has been about nine months in full and successful operation; ... It has already been of great advantage to the town of Quincy; ... But the danger that the railway may prove a bill of expense to its owners casts a shade over the whole enterprise. ... The blocks of granite ... are some of the most beautiful building stones I ever saw. 32

John Quincy Adams was also concerned over the building of a new church and establishing a library for the citizens of Quincy.

A few days later on August 20, 1827, President Adams received Colonel Sylvanus Thayer, Superintendent of the Academy at West Point. They discussed the courses of study at West Point and the new professors under consideration. Colonel Thayer's parents resided in Braintree.

Every spare moment the President could find was devoted to his horticultural experiments. For example, on August 12, 1827, he had four small wooden seedling tubs made and planted five tamarind stones and eight pear seeds in the first tub. He had been unable to find books on the subject, so he was testing the experiment. In his summer house he found, that same day, two more shagbark walnut trees, horse chestnuts and oaks had come up. He was proud that one of the forty walnuts planted in 1804 bore two hundred nuts that year. He was discouraged that only a few of the acorns which he planted had been successful. Though he did not mention it in the diary entry of August 12, one of the elm seeds he planted

<sup>(32)</sup> Ibid., p. 322.



in 1804 did come up. This tree was removed in 1948 by the United States Government when a virus attack proved too much for it to overcome.

A normal day in Quincy for John Quincy Adams during August of 1827 was:

I rise, on the average, about five. Journalize till half-past seven. Breakfast; visit my seedling nursery and the garden; read letters, dispatches, and newspapers, write letters or journal, and receive visitors, till two. Dine, and devote the afternoon to riding, visitors, and idleness. Evening the same, till its close, about ten. This life is diversified by bathing at the high tides, excursions, dinners, and fishing-parties.<sup>33</sup>

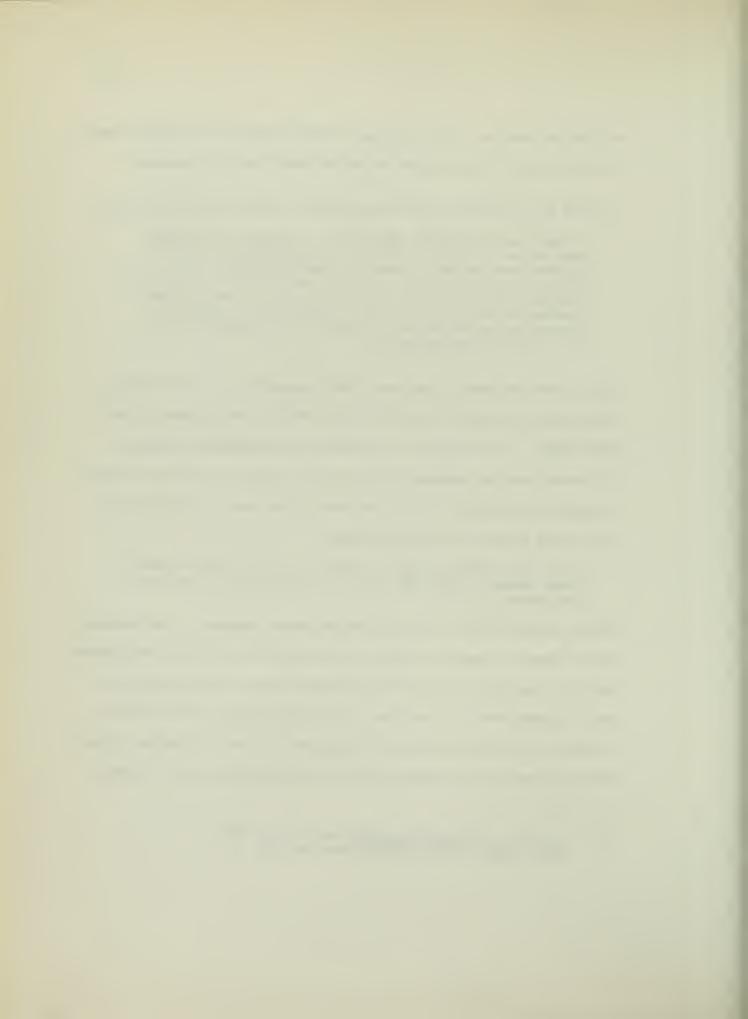
1828 started out with significant family happenings. On February 25,
John Adams 2d and his first cousin, Mary Hellen, were married in the
White House. Less than two dozen family and friends were present.

John Quincy had not approved the marriage and held out against it until
it appeared inevitable. In his account of this event on February 25,
1828 of his Diary he closed by saying:

After the ceremony we had a supper, and the company retired about midnight. May the blessing of God Almighty rest upon this Union.<sup>34</sup>

Louisa Catherine Adams had cared for the three children of her deceased sister, Nancy. They were a part of the White House family. Mary Hellen continued her residence at the White House and, of course, summers at the Old House after her marriage. The eldest nephew, Johnson Hellen, ran away with the housemaid and did not visit Quincy afterwards. President John Quincy Adams advanced funds for their young nephew, Thomas

<sup>(33)</sup> Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. VII, p. 328. (34) Adams Papers, MHS, Microfilm-Reel No. 40.



Hellen, to go to Exeter Academy. He later attended Harvard, but he never graduated. After two years at college he returned to Washington with no visible way of earning a living.

The year 1828 was an election year. President Adams had been plagued by being a minority President. However, this did not give him the urge to campaign for re-election with the hope of securing a large majority vote. He awaited the call of the people. He made only one campaign speech. That was on July 4, 1828, upon construction work on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. This was one of the internal improvements recommended in his Inauguration Speech. His account of the day appears in his Diary:

4th, Independence Day. Chesapeake and Ohio Canal commenced. Between seven and eight this morning I went with my son John to the Union Hotel, at Georgetown, where were assembling the President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company; the Mayors and Committees of the corporations of Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria; the heads of Departments, foreign Ministers, and a few other invited persons. About eight o'clock a procession was formed, preceded by a band of music, to the wharf, where we embarked in the steamboat Surprise; followed by two others, we proceeded to the entrance of the Potomac Canal, and up that in canal-boats to its head near which, just within the bounds of the State of Maryland, was the spot selected for breaking the ground. The President of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, with a very short address, delivered to me the spade, with which I broke the ground, addressing the surrounding auditory, consisting perhaps of two thousand persons. It happened that at the first stroke of the spade it met immediately under the surface a large stump of a tree; after repeating the stroke three or four times without making any impression, I threw off my coat, and, resuming the spade, raised a shovelful of the earth, at which a general shout burst forth from the sur-



rounding multitude, and I completed my address, which occupied about fifteen minutes...<sup>35</sup>

John Quincy Adams promised internal improvements for the United States in his inaugural address when he said:

Roads and Canals, by multiplying and facilitating the communications and intercourse between distant regions, and multitudes of men, are among the most important means of improvements.  $^{36}$ 

He was proud of breaking the ground for the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal as it belonged to his administration. Beyond this appearance, he stuck to his policy referred to in his Diary as "The Macbeth Policy".

If chance will have me king, why chance may crown me Without my stir.

In explanation of this, he recorded that same day:

He who asks or accepts the offer of aid to promote his own views necessarily binds himself to promote the views of him from whom he receives it... $^{38}$ 

Soon after the appearance at the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal on July 4, 1828, John Quincy Adams began to make plans for his annual trip to Quincy. To improve his physical and mental well-being, John Quincy Adams laid out a route in Washington of from ten to fourteen miles over which he rode horseback daily. He found this exercise to be beneficial. It refreshed his mind to observe the trees and flowers. He thoroughly enjoyed the chirping and flights of the birds. Perhaps these observations of

(38) Ibid., p. 133.

 <sup>(35)</sup> Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. VIII, p. 49.
 (36) National Journal, President's Message, December 6, 1825.

<sup>(37)</sup> Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. VI, p. 132.



nature as well as the health benefits influenced him and his son, John Adams 2d to make the journey to Quincy and return by horseback and carriage; each took a turn in the saddle after riding a ten to twelve mile stretch. Now and again, the horses and carriage were taken aboard a steamboat to rest and thus not interrupt the travel schedule. By this process, the trip from Washington to Quincy was accomplished in eight days.

Once in Quincy, John Quincy Adams established a regular schedule: sea bathing with his sons, George and John; fishing with his brother, Thomas Boylston Adams, the Beales, and the Greenleafs. Much time was devoted to his nursery - planting peaches, plums, cheeries, apricots, chestnuts, black oaks, English beach and American elms. Such a schedule always improved his wilting spirits. The time in Quincy was cut short, however, by the illness of Louisa Catherine Adams, who had been too ill for the journey to Quincy. John Adams 2d was just as glad to get back to the White House since his bride of six months, Mary Hellen, was expecting a baby in early December.

The results of the election must have been of no surprise, for as early as March 13, 1828, John Quincy Adams wrote in his Diary: "The Majority of the people in their respective states are inveterately opposed to the Administration." On December 3, the election returns were all in and

<sup>(39)</sup> Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. VII, p. 474.



hearing the news he said:

I have only to submit to it with resignation, and to ask that I and those who are dear to me may be sustained under it. The sun of my political life sets in the deepest gloom. But that of my country shines unclouded. 40

The remaining days of his Presidency were busy and oddly, perhaps, not as filled with gloom as one might expect. On January 31, he noted that "The prosperous condition of the country takes from the load of public care all its pain, and almost all its weariness."

Several days before the inauguration of President Andrew Jackson, Louisa Catherine Adams, her son's wife and baby, Mary Louisa, moved to their rented house in Meridian Hill, Washington. Since they were only to use the Old House during the summer months, it seemed wise to get settled and to delay travel to Quincy until Louisa Catherine Adams was in better health and the weather more pleasant.

John Quincy Adams gave thorough consideration to the plans for his wife's move to Quincy. His decision was that he and John Adams 2d would go early to have the house, recently vacated by his brother, made more inviting for Mrs. Adams. George Washington Adams, the eldest son, was asked to journey to Washington and accompany his mother, his sister-in-law and her infant daughter to Quincy. Young George Washington was unstable,

(41) Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>(40)</sup> Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. VIII, p. 78.



squandered his income, and had no useful direction to his life.

Upon receiving his father's letter assigning the responsibility to him for the travel with his adoring mother, George grew panicky, very nervous, and was disturbed by hallucinations. After boarding the steamboat Benjamin Franklin at Providence for New York, he apparently grew more disturbed. In the course of the night he jumped overboard and was drowned - his watch had stopped at 3:40 A.M. He had complained of feeling ill to one of the passengers who was on his way to get a job in the Jackson administration. 42

The news first reached John Quincy Adams in Washington on May 2 from a notice in the <u>Baltimore American</u>. This tragic turn of events did not deter John Quincy Adams and John Adams 2d from their travel schedule. The sorrowing father and son took the steamer, <u>The Swan</u>, to New York. In Baltimore, John Quincy Adams had another shock when he read in the <u>New York Morning Herald</u> that his son's body had been recovered. After a stopover in New York to attend to the details of this heartrending tragedy, John Quincy Adams and John 2d proceded to Quincy.

This was not all that the ex-President had to endure. Word came that Louisa Catherine Adams would try to come to Quincy, especially to attend her son Charles's wedding scheduled for September 3. John 2d returned

<sup>(42)</sup> Bemis, Vol. II; information taken from several references in this volume.



to Washington to help his mother, his wife and little baby girl on the journey. They got as far as New York when the baby, Mary Louisa, became desperately ill. They were met in New York by Charles who had come to help his mother through the rest of the journey. He told his family that they were to travel by steamer, Benjamin Franklin, to Providence. This was the boat upon which George Washington Adams had met his tragic end. Just the name recalled all the tragedy and sorrow Louisa Catherine was holding in her heart. She collapsed and both Charles and John decided she must be taken back to Washington. The result was that only John Quincy Adams, Charles, and Louisa Smith lived at the Old House the summer of 1829. 43

John Quincy Adams wrote his wife on June 18, 1829:

...It seems like beginning the world anew, ...you know that to me, next to the necessities of life my first wants are pens, ink, paper, and books - These I have here in plenty and from inclination and duty, the first use I make of them is to invoke the blessing of God upon this return to the spot of my nativity to hail the hope of receiving you here when your health and comfort and inclination concur, and when the mansion shall be fit for your reception, and to assure you that here as in every other spot upon Earth, I am while life shall last, your ever affectionate husband.

On August 5, 1829, John Quincy Adams began work on his father's papers

<sup>(43)</sup> Adams Papers, June 24, 1829, MHS, Microfilm-Reel No. 491. (44) Adams Papers, J.Q.A. to L.C.A., June 18, 1829, MHS, Microfilm-Reel No. 491.



preparatory to a biographical memoir. He said, "I propose to devote henceforth three hours a day to that portion of my business."45 As he looked over the material, other material attracted his attention and he began to read about the first settlement of New England and Madame du Deffand's letters among others. About this time, forty-three boxes of books arrived. To accommodate them, he walled his bed chamber with book shelves. As he put the books upon the shelves he catalogued them. For relaxation he continued his horticultural projects - trees, and more trees were started! Naturally the biography of his father made little progress.

The routine was interrupted by a very pleasant turn of events during the summer of 1830. A sparkle and radiance came into the eyes of John Quincy Adams when United States Representative Joseph Richardson came to the Old House on September 18 to inquire if he would serve if elected to the House of Representatives of the United States from the Plymouth district. President Adams saw life, at the age of sixty-three, take on a challenge and a glow as he thought of returning to public service. The election took place on November 1, 1830, and upon learning that he had been elected by such a large plurality said:

... My election as President of the United States was not half so gratifying to my inmost soul. No election or appointment conferred upon me ever gave me so much pleasure. ...

Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. VIII, p. 155. Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. VIII, p. 247.



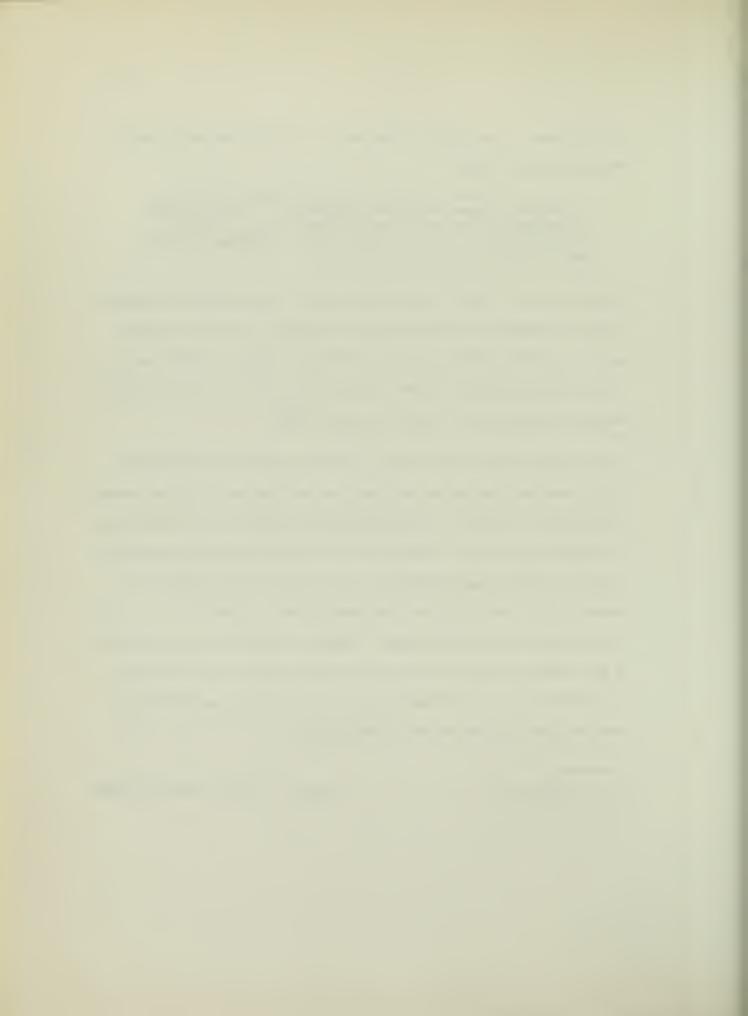
The jubilance of John Quincy Adams was not shared by his son, Charles, who wrote to his father:

...I have not been gratified by your election to Congress.
...The nation wants a National Literature. It wants objects to attach itself to apart from the English idols set up to lead them astray. And these objects can come from none but men of high literary reputation. ...47

Each summer after 1829, ex-President and Mrs. Adams returned to Quincy where they enjoyed both sons and their families. Mrs. John Adams 2d and her daughters, Mary Louisa and Georgianna Frances, usually came up from Washington with Mrs. Adams. Also, Charles, his wife, and children made the Old House their summer home until 1837.

It was perhaps just as well from a financial point of view that John Quincy Adams was elected to Congress. He was land poor. Charles Francis Adams was put in charge of the Massachusetts holdings of his father, and John Adams 2d was put in charge of the Columbian Mills which manufactured meal and flour near Washington, D.C. On October 20, 1832, Louisa Catherine Adams wrote her son John Adams 2d that her husband owed about \$40,000 with heavy interest rates. Charles was able to put the affairs in Massachusetts on a sound basis, but unfortunately, John 2d was not so successful with the Columbian Mills nor in restraining his father's contributions to organizations in Washington.

<sup>(47)</sup> Adams Papers, C.F.A. to J.Q.A., November 12, 1831, MHS, Microfilm-Reel No. 158.



In spite of it all, Mrs. Adams grew to enjoy Quincy. Besides the enjoyment of her sons and their families, Mrs. Adams felt more at home with the neighbors. She also developed the hobby of growing "silk worms". She recorded in her diary several times about the silk worms busily spinning. Her husband divided his time with meetings of the Harvard Overseers, making speeches and receiving political leaders. Quincy was where he felt more carefree and happy.

There were several public appearances which give a picture of life in Quincy during the Congressional years. On July 4, 1831 he gave the Fourth of July Oration at the church in Quincy. The Committee of Arrangements, a large group of citizens for Quincy and neighboring towns, the Quincy Light Infantry Company, and a large band came to escort John Quincy Adams to the church. His oration was a sort of State of the Union message.

The church was so packed that the galleries cracked and emergency shoring had to be added. 48

When the invitation came for John Quincy Adams to give the eulogy for ex-President Monroe, he accepted with a feeling of honor and humility. His old friend and colleague had died by curious coincidence on July 4, just five years to the day after the deaths of President John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. The eulogy was delivered on August 25, 1831. Due to the

<sup>(48)</sup> Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. VIII, pp. 375-376.



excessive heat and the improper lighting of the Old South Church, 49 John Quincy Adams had to cut his tribute to one and a half hours in length.

In Washington, trouble of a more personal nature was appearing on the horizon. Son John had worked himself to a frenzy over the losing Columbian Mills. Now his health began to fail; his eyes troubled him. He had worked so hard on these wretched mills that he was physically exhausted. Though the mills began to show a comeback, John's health showed greater decline. For two years he grew weaker and weaker. Louisa Catherine appealed to a friend for a position in the Bank of the United States for her son so that he might leave Washington. John Quincy Adams urged his son to go to Quincy where the climate was better. It was too late, however, for John Adams 2d fell into a coma and died on October 23, 1834. The grief stricken parents took their son's family to live with them in Washington at 1333-5 F Street where they had resided when John Quincy Adams was Secretary of State.

...I close the present month with a renewed residence in an old house. My former residence here was in the fast rising portion of my life; it is now that in which I may close my career. ...50

John Quincy Adams set about to pay off the large \$40,000 Columbian Mills debt. On September 27, 1836, John Quincy Adams went from Quincy to the Federal Street Theatre, Boston, where he delivered the eulogy to the

<sup>(49)</sup> Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. VIII, p. 402.
(50) Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. X, p. 46; also, Bemis Vol. I, p. 275.



late President Madison. Both President Monroe and President Madison had been such close associates of John Quincy Adams that he felt responsible to have an appropriate tribute. The hall was packed, but the lighting for the speaker was poor. It was therefore necessary for John Quincy Adams to cut his address to two and a half hours. There was a "long continued manifestation of satisfaction."51

It appears to have been the custom in Massachusetts to ask John Quincy Adams for an address on each Fourth of July. On July 4, 1837, he went by stage and four horses from the Old House to Newburyport. The Committee of Arrangements had ordered the special stage. Before his formal address, the Fire Department of Newburyport served a collation in his honor. With a glass of lemonade, John Quincy Adams offered a toast: "The Fire Department of Newburyport - always prepared for duty, may they never be needed to perform it." The procession to the hall was large and the march traversed many streets, taking about an hour. The attendance was excellent. Before the address, John Quincy Adams requested the singing of the 194th hymn of Dr. Belnaps collection. "O'er mountain tops the mounts of God in latter days shall rise." At the close the Hallelujah chorus was sung. 53

<sup>(51)</sup> Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. IX, p. 308-309.

<sup>(52)</sup> Ibid., pp. 357-358. (53) Ibid., pp. 358-359.



No matter how troubled the political waters were in Washington for John Quincy Adams, his annual visits in Quincy usually produced some rewarding and reassuring demonstration. On August 23, 1837, the District Convention of delegates from the towns of the Twelfth Congressional District met to pass resolutions endorsing the stand on right of petition and against the annexation of Texas which John Quincy Adams had taken. This meeting of the Whig party called because of the alarming assaults made in Congress, turned out to be an overwhelming experience for the aging patriot. The meeting began at nine o'clock in the morning. A committee was appointed to go to the Old House, present a copy of the resolutions to John Quincy Adams, and to request his presence at the afternoon meeting. 54 As John Quincy Adams entered the hall, a deafening applause of "Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! The hero comes!" John Quincy Adams, overcome with emotion "tottered" to his seat next to the President. He could not speak, he was trembling. After a few moments to regain his self-control he said:

My friends, my neighbors, my constituents, though I tremble before you, I hope, I trust you know that I have never trembled before the enemies of your liberties - your sacred rights. 55

There was a thunderous applause after which he addressed the group telling them of his conflict with the slaveholders and of their determination to rule or ruin our Republic. Not only were the Whigs moved by his

<sup>(54)</sup> Samuel J. Mays, Some Recollections of Our Antislavery Conflict, Published by Field, Osgood & Co., (1869, Boston) pp. 211-221.

(55) Ibid.



oration, but a Mr. Pierpont, a poet, was inspired to write a poem. The poem started:

What! our petitions spurned! The prayer Of thousands, tens of thousands, cast Unheard beneath your Speaker's chair! But you will hear us first or last The thousands that last year ye scorned Are millions now. Be warned! Be warned!56

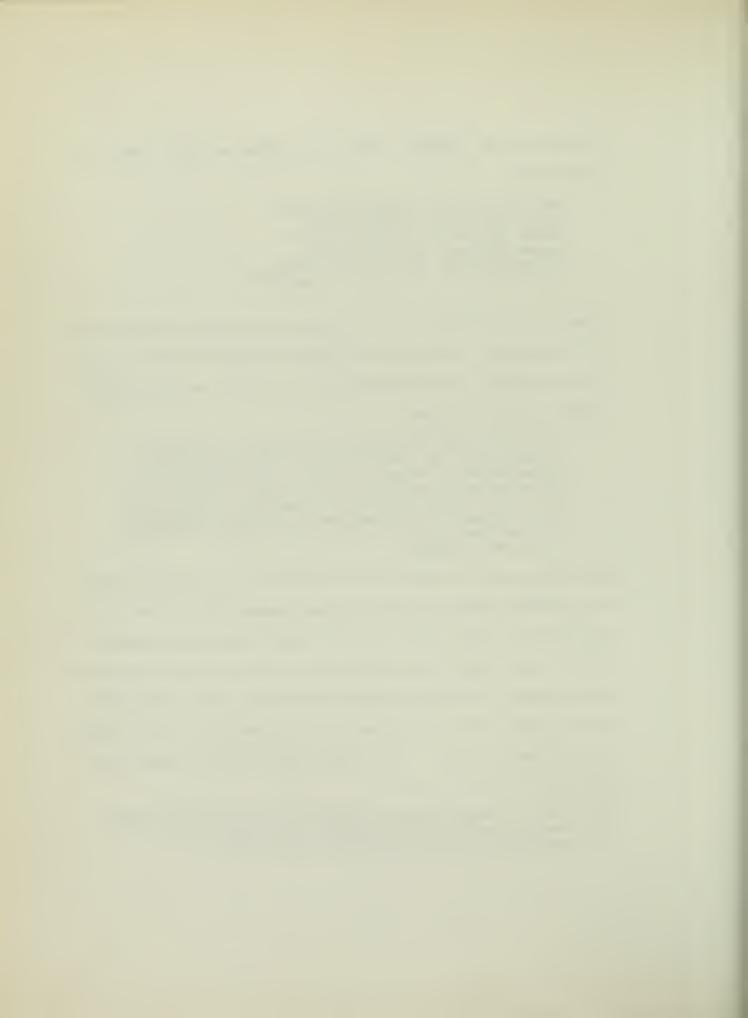
It was very infrequently that Mrs. Adams attended meetings where her husband participated. On September 4, 1838, the ladies of Quincy arranged a picnic and ball to honor both Mr. and Mrs. Adams. John Quincy Adams records this event in detail:

...The picnic and ball was given by the ladies of Quincy on this day, with great formality, and with the intention of showing respect to me and to my wife. The hour fixed in the printed invitation was four in the afternoon. The place was a lot of land given by my father to the town of Quincy, and called 'Hancock lot', because the cellar still remains upon it of the house in which John Hancock was born. ...<sup>57</sup> (Now in 1966 Adams Academy.)

Mr. and Mrs. Adams sat under an arch of evergreens, overshadowed by the wide spreading branches of the lime tree. Reverand Peter Whitney told them that this circle of 200 women had invited their honored guests in token of their respect for the long and eminent public services rendered by Mr. Adams. In thanking the ladies, John Quincy Adams reminded them of the "right of women to petition, and on the propriety of their taking a part in public affairs." John Quincy Adams closed his remarks with a

<sup>(56)</sup> Samuel J. Mays, Some Recollections of Our Antislavery Conflict, Published by Field, Osgood & Co., (1869, Boston), pp. 211-221.

(57) Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. X, pp. 35-37.



few lines of poetry written by an English orator:

Had I a heart for falsehood framed, I ne'er could injure you, For, though your tongue no promise claimed, your charms would keep me true.

The collation followed and dancing was in French's Hotel. Fifty couples did country dances. John Quincy Adams and Mrs. Adams enjoyed this affair very much.

The Congressional sessions grew more and more stormy for John Quincy Adams. There were threats of assassination and a resolution for trial by censure was introduced. By the time he was to go to Quincy in 1842, John Quincy Adams was physically ill and mentally discouraged. True to custom Massachusetts offered a heartwarming tonic for his political and physical woes. On September 17, 1842 a very pleasant affair took place. The constituents of the Twelfth Congressional District met to offer resolutions honoring their representative. Across the roads leading to the church where the meeting was scheduled there were large white banners flying. Some of the inscriptions were: "Let there be light!" "Shame on a nation that fosters and sustains an institution which dares assail and would destroy the sacred right of petition." and "Welcome, defender of the right of petition." When John Quincy Adams entered the church where the meeting was in progress, everyone rose from their seats and the ovation was tremendous. He was very moved by his reception. History of Quincy has not recorded another ovation equal to this occasion.



Nathaniel M. Davis, the reception committee president, said:

Your proudest honors are your last. Advancing years have but advanced your usefulness and fame. The course of your life is like that of the unclouded sun - bright in its dawn - splendid at the meridian - going down in glory. 58

John Quincy Adams wrote in his Diary:

They were intended in kindness; but in fulsome praise I can take no pleasure, and it always covers me with humiliation.59

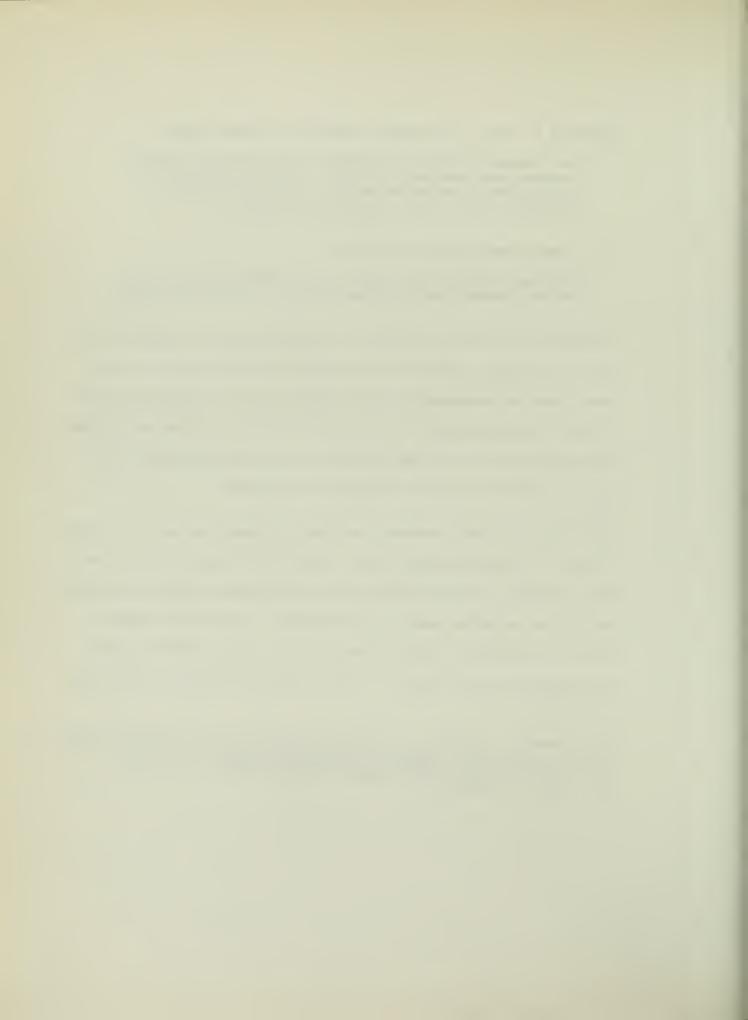
His address was about three hours in length and without a moment's flagging of attention. This was the last time he could address all of his constituents as Massachusetts had been redistricted following the census of 1840. At this meeting there was an extraordinary outpouring of affection and appreciation for the courageous stand John Quincy Adams had taken for right of petition and against the Gag Rule.

On September 29, 1842, Reverend John Pierce of Brookline and a procession of about five hundred persons, with a band of music came to escort John Quincy Adams to the pavilion where the Norfolk County Temperance Society was to dine and before which he was to speak. They marched, sonorous metal blowing martial sounds, to the pavilion adjoining the Town Hall on Coddington Street, Quincy. 60 A cold dinner was served to several hun-

(60) Ibid., pp. 254-255.

<sup>(58)</sup> Pamphlet - "Address of John Quincy Adams to his Constituents of the Twelfth Congressional District, at Braintree, September 17, 1842."

(59) Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. XI, p. 252.



dred persons. There was a profusion of pitchers of ice water to drink. The several speeches were interspersed with the singing of temperance hymns. John Quincy Adams spoke for about an hour. There was only faint applause. His speech did not suit the Temperance Society. This is not surprising since John Quincy Adams neither approved nor practiced the doctrines of total abstinence. 61

There were quiet moments, too, at the Old House. On June 24, 1843, John Quincy Adams began his diary entry with:

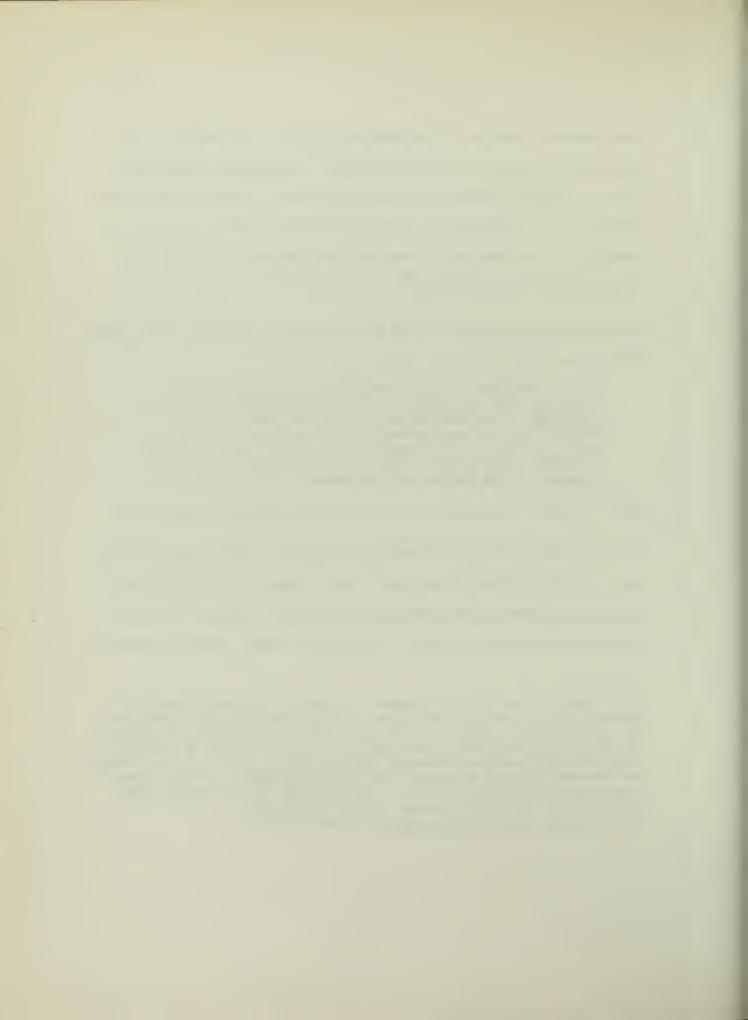
After an abridged excursion to see the rising sun, and to visit and study my seedling plants and listen to the matinal minstrelsy of the bobalink the spring bird, and the robin, with the chirp of the sparrow and the new whistle of the quail - I think, all the aerial music of the time and place - I returned to my library chamber, and revised the copy of my discourse on the New England Confederacy of 1643...

This discourse was published by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

On July 6, 1843, John Quincy Adams, Mrs. Charles Francis Adams, and her son, John Quincy Adams 2d left Quincy for an excursion to Niagara Falls originally planned for Mrs. Charles Francis Adams' health. The entire party were the guests of Peter C. Brooks, Mrs. Adams' father who accom-

<sup>(61)</sup> Bemis, Volume II, p. 8, gives an account of a dinner given by Rosewell Colt, a New York Socialite. Mr. Colt was reputed to have one of the finest wine cellars of the time. Ex-President Adams was a guest at the dinner. He drank a glass of hock with the oysters, a glass of wine after the soup, and champagne with the meats. Later the host brought on fourteen different Madeiras. Without difficulty, John Quincy Alams identified correctly eleven out of the fourteen. This accomplishment hardly suited the Norfolk County Temperance Society:

(62) Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Volume XI, p. 386.



panied the group. A surprising feature of the excursion was that everywhere they went there was public acclaim for John Quincy Adams. When the train stopped for wood and water, crowds were assembled, bells were ringing, guns were firing and immense crowds of people were shouting. Whether it was Niagara Falls, Rochester, Buffalo, Utica, Auburn, Schenectady, or Albany, the reception for the old warrior was the same. It was now evident with what esteem all of these people held him. One entry in his diary on August 1, 1843 is amusing:

... Then a visit to the dwarf C. F. Stratton, called General Tom Thumb, eleven years old, twenty-five inches high, weighing fifteen pounds, dressed in military uniform, mimicking Napoleon. 63

He reached Quincy after a month of personal triumph through Canada and the state of New York. 64

John Quincy Adams had accepted an invitation to travel to Ohio to lay the cornerstone of the Cincinnati Astronomical Society. Presumably from August 7 to October 24, John Quincy Adams devoted time to the preparation of his address to be given in Cincinnati on November 11, 1843. He started the trip on October 25 despite his seventy-six years and uncomfortable traveling conditions, by canal and over land, making speeches and receiving crowds all along the journey. This trip was not as easy as the summer excursion to Niagara Falls had been. In late October the weather

(64) Ibid., pp. 389-401.

<sup>(63)</sup> Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. XI, p. 401.



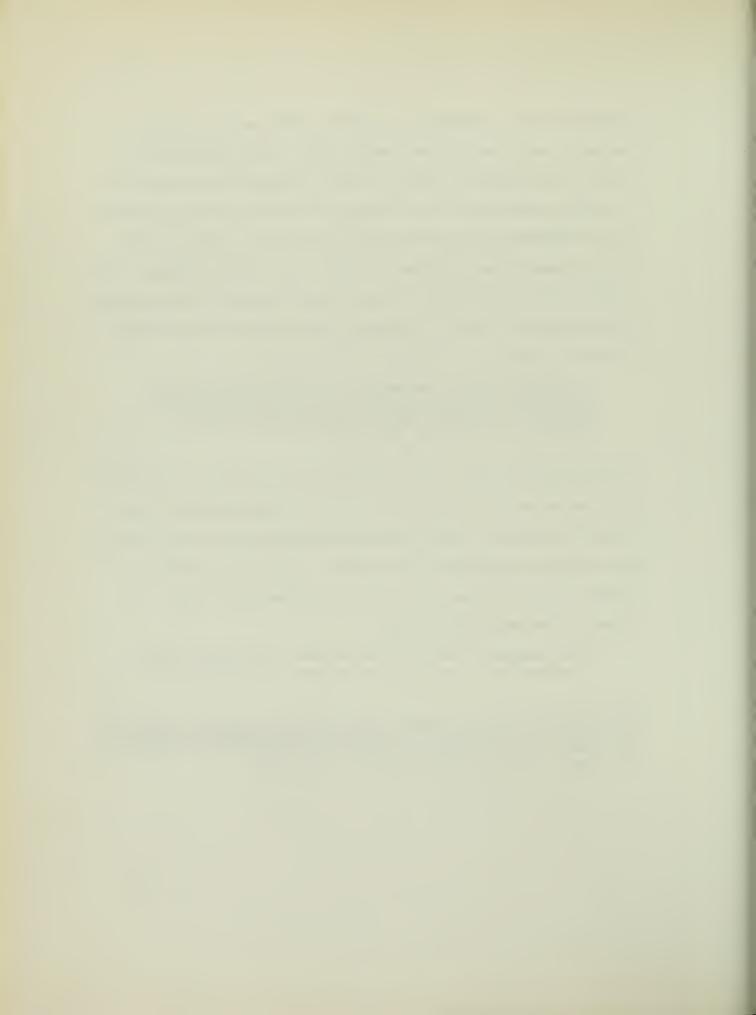
carried the usual hardships of cold, wind, sleet, and in Cincinnati, torrential rain! Even so, this rugged patriot never dissappointed a single group assembled to honor him. Upon reaching Cincinnati the demonstrations were spontaneous and the hall where he delivered his address for the cornerstone laying was packed to overflowing. His manuscript was so defaced by the torrential rain that it was scarcely legible. The following day he delivered his formal address on science later published in its entirety. While in Cincinnati, he took time to visit the Horticultural Society -

... The show of apples was very fine; that of pears, good, but with little variety; grapes, next to nothing; shagbark-nuts, indifferent; no others; native wines, much like Adlum's... The exhibition of flowers was dreary.

After more than five full days of celebration in Cincinnati, John Quincy Adams started on the return journey by way of Covington and Maysville, Kentucky, Gallipolis, Marietta, Wheeling, Pittsburgh and Harper's Ferry. Upon reaching Washington he was exhausted. This winter journey of a month's duration had been really too much for John Quincy Adams. On November 24 he wrote in his diary:

I have performed my task, I have executed my undertaking, and am returned safe to my family and my home. It is not much in

<sup>(65)</sup> An Oration Delivered Before The Cincinnati Astronomical Society on the Occasion of Laying the Corner Stone of an Astronomical Observatory on 10 November 1843 - By John Quincy Adams - printed by Shepard & Co. (66) Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. XI, p. 429.





John Zuincy Adams.

itself. It is nothing in the estimation of the world. In my motives and my hopes, it is considerable. ... Astronomy has been especially neglected and scornfully treated. ... I indulge dreams of future improvement to result from this proclamation of popular homage to the advancement of science. ... I have little life left in me; but it is my duty to cherish that which God has given me, till it shall be His pleasure to take it back. 67

During the annual visit to Quincy in 1846, John Quincy Adams suffered a stroke. He recovered sufficiently to go to Washington in January of 1847. On June 1, 1847, he left Washington to return to his beloved Massachusetts which had always proved to be a great boost to his mental and physical health. At the Old House he took a lively interest in the preparations for his fiftieth wedding anniversary.

On November 1, 1847, John Quincy Adams left the Old House for Washington. No one realized that this was to be his last visit at the Old House. His cousin Louisa Smith was unaware that this day marked the end of her 58-year visit.

The last letter to his son was written from Washington, D. C. on New Year's Day. 68 Because it contains his old spirit and devotion to his family, the entire letter is quoted:

My Dear Son, - On this commencement of a new year my thoughts intensely turn to you, to the partner of your life, to your children, and to the Giver of all good, in thanksgiving for

<sup>(67)</sup> Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. XI, p. 429.

<sup>(68)</sup> Illustration 5 is a sample of John Quincy Adams' Handwriting.



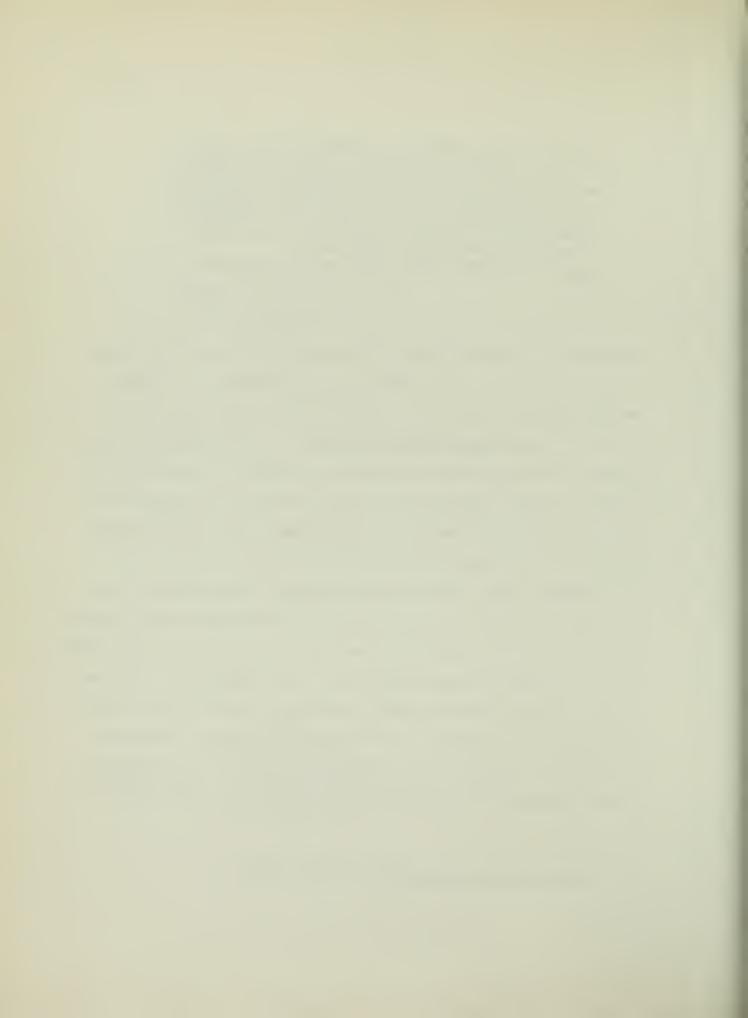
all the blessings which you have been and still are to me, and in fervent supplication for the favors of Divine Providence upon you one and all; especially that you may be sustained in your incorruptible integrity through all the trials that may be reserved for you upon earth, and that whatever may be their ultimate issue here, of which I abate not a jot of heart and hope, you will at least be sure of the approbation of your Maker.

A stout heart and a clear conscience, and never despair.

Your ever affectionate father, John Quincy Adams<sup>69</sup>

Death came for John Quincy Adams on February 23, 1848 while he was still serving in the United States Congress. His contribution to our nation was both cultural and political. On the cultural side of his record there is his Report Upon Weights and Measures; his recommendation for extensive internal improvements; his work as an Overseer of Harvard, his gifts to the Boston Athenaeum; his tireless devotion to the organization of the Smithsonian Institution; the establishment of the Harvard Observatory and of the National Observatory at Cincinnati; his benefactions to the Columbian College; and his invaluable Diary. On the political side there was an entire life of public service - United States Senator, Foreign Diplomat, Secretary of State, President of the United States, and over seventeen years as United States Representative of his home district. This son of the Revolution became the symbol of the Union of all the States and his death brought an outpouring of grief throughout the Nation. The public assembled all along the route from Washington to Boston to pay tribute to Old Man Eloquent. His body lay in state in Faneuil Hall. The family said

<sup>(69)</sup> Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. XII, p. 281.



their farewell in private at the Old House when the body was placed in the Long Room for a brief time prior to services at the Stone Church in Quincy.



## THE CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS PERIOD (1848-1886)

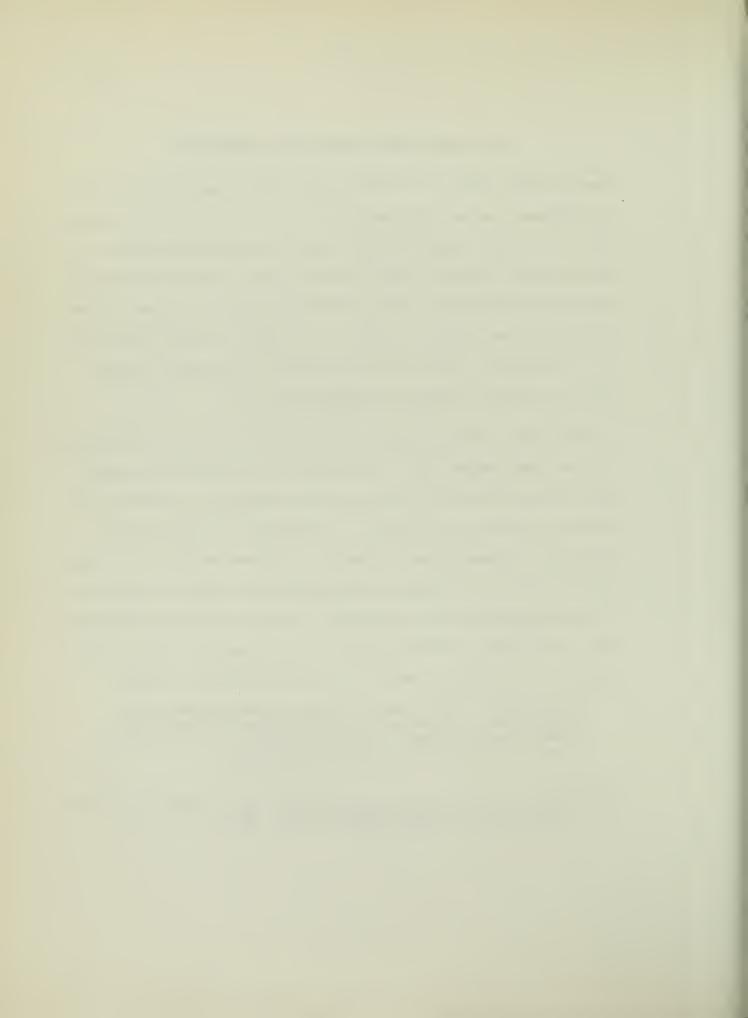
Charles Francis Adams, the new owner of the Quincy property which included the Old House, was not really new to the scene. His association began on his tenth birthday, August 18, 1817, when he and his parents returned to America after an absence of more than eight years. From this date on, his literary and intellectual life was associated with the Old House. He read French with great regularity to the old President, John Adams, helped with his correspondence, drove about the town with his grandfather, and listened to firsthand accounts of the Revolution.

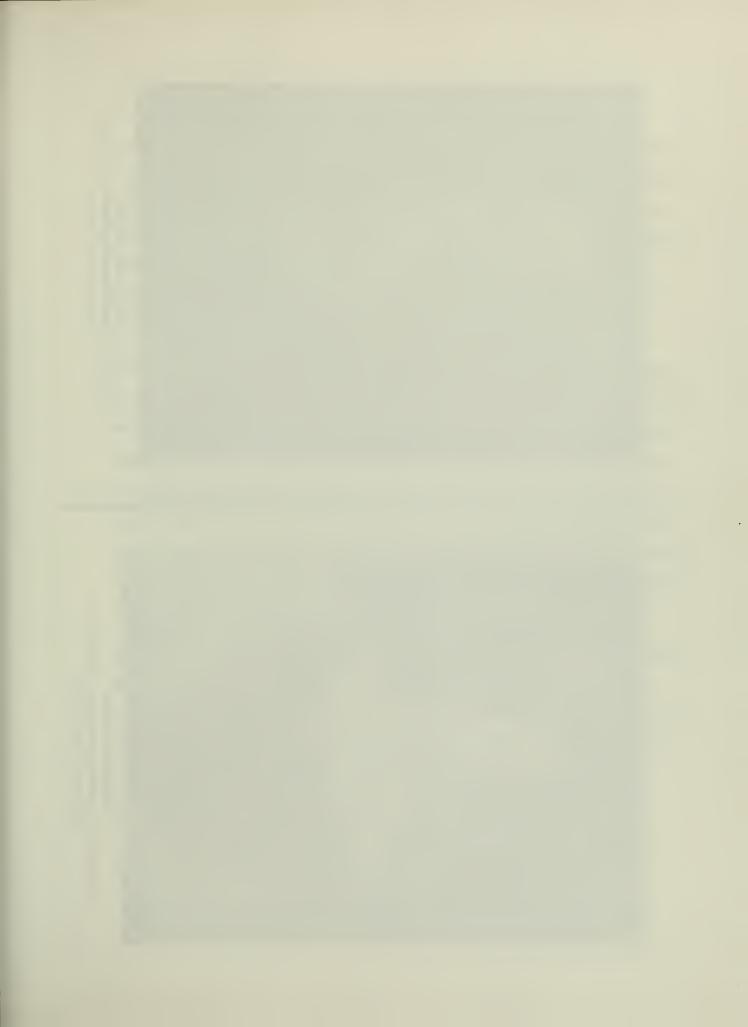
In 1824, Louisa Catherine Adams and John Quincy Adams came to the Old House for their usual summer visit. Young Charles Francis Adams was awaiting their arrival since he was staying with his grandfather. On Monday, September 6, he entered in his diary: "...My Mother is the same woman she always was, as pleasing, and as lively." As further evidence of his appreciation he noted in his diary two days later that the day had been passed "in the delightful company of my mother." At times one gets the impression that Louisa Catherine Adams was lacking in stoic qualities. This was not always true, for her son records in his diary in November of 1828:

Thursday 20th ... The receipt of a letter from my Mother assuring me of the continuation of good spirits in the family notwithstanding the disaster of the election had a very good effect on mine, as I had been anxious upon the subject ...

(2)

Martin B. Cuberman, Charles Francis Adams, (Boston, 1961), pp. 15-22. Diary of Charles Francis Adams, Vol. 2, p. 312.







Charles Francis Adams, The Adams National Historic Site, National Parks Service, Department of the Interior.



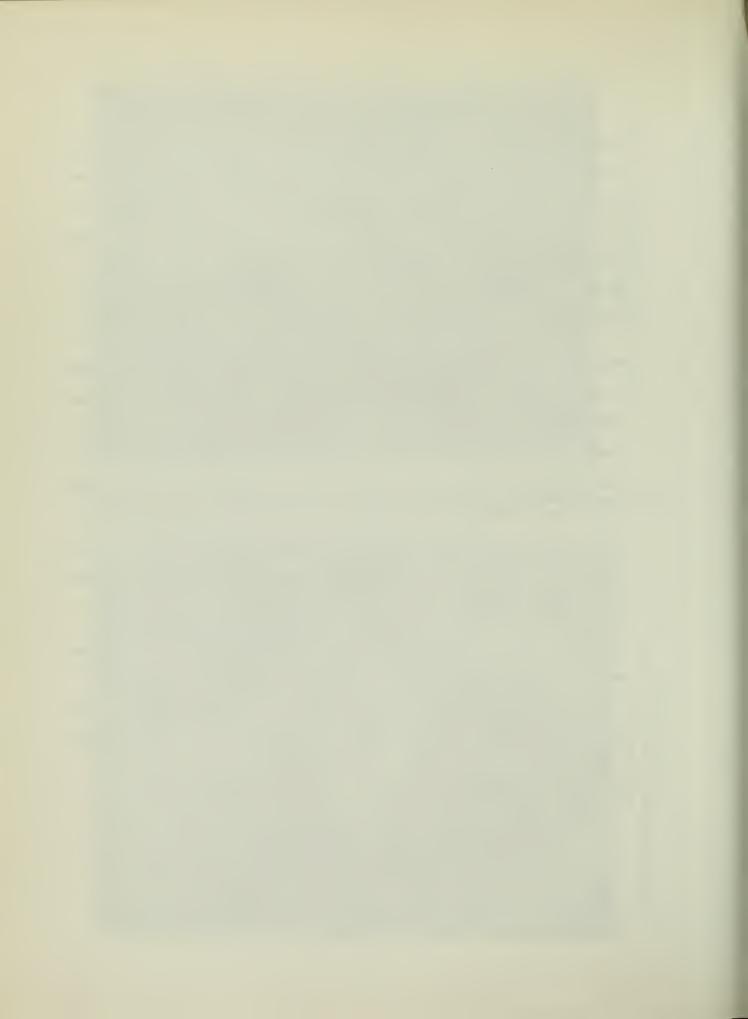
Abigail Brooks Adams,
The Adams National Historic Site, National Parks Service,
Department of the Interior.

On September 3, 1829, Charles Francis Adams married Abigail Brown Brooks, 3 daughter of the wealthy Peter Chardon Brooks. The Adams family was represented at the wedding by his father, John Quincy Adams, Mrs. Adams being too ill in Washington to come to Massachusetts. Just prior to his wedding, Charles Francis accepted his father's invitation to pass each summer in Quincy. It was only natural that he continue this arrangement after his marriage.

When John Quincy Adams was defeated for re-election and returned to Quincy, it must have been a great comfort to have the companionship of his literary-minded son. At the Old House, father and son devoted themselves to cataloging the large library of John Quincy Adams, arranging and sorting out John Adams' papers and organizing the letters of Abigail Adams for publication. These were interesting evenings as Charles Francis and John Quincy Adams discussed the English writers, the French biographers, memoirs of the last century, and painting and sculpture. This literary atmosphere pleased Charles Francis Adams.

More and more Charles Francis accepted the responsibility for farm improvements and management of the family property. In 1832 John Quincy Adams formally appointed him as his agent. This was a difficult assignment, for Charles Francis Adams complained that his father expected financial diffi-

<sup>(3)</sup> Illustration 6 on opposite page.



culties to disappear "as if by magic." Perhaps it is not too much to say that by the meticulous attention to his father's financial affairs and his outstanding business acumen, Charles Francis Adams not only assured preservation of the "Old House" but also made it possible for John Quincy Adams to serve in the United States House of Representatives from 1830 to 1848. His mother, Louisa Catherine, was happy in Quincy for the first time. Her son and daughter-in-law and their children gave her real happiness.

In 1833 one of the many illustrious visitors at the Old House was Henry Clay, Secretary of State during John Quincy Adams' administration. Of Clay's visit to Boston, Charles Francis Adams wrote:

Monday, October 21, 1833 ...Our public here is deeply interested in the present reception of Mr. Henry Clay who has come on here to make up a little popularity for the ensuing Session of Congress.<sup>4</sup>

There was considerable gaiety at the Old House on October 20, 1836, when Catherine Good, the nurse-maid of Mary Hellen Adams, was married. Charles Francis Adams described the wedding:

In the evening, we had a wedding at home - Catherine Goods, Mary's Nursery maid was married to a brother of Carr, my father's Tenant. My mother had them married by Mr. Lunt in form before the family and the groom's friends, after which a supper was prepared for them. ...

<sup>(4)</sup> Diary of Charles Francis Adams, Adams Papers, MHS, Microfilm-Reel No. 61.

<sup>(5) &</sup>quot;Mary" refers to Mary Hellen Adams, wife of John Adams 2d.

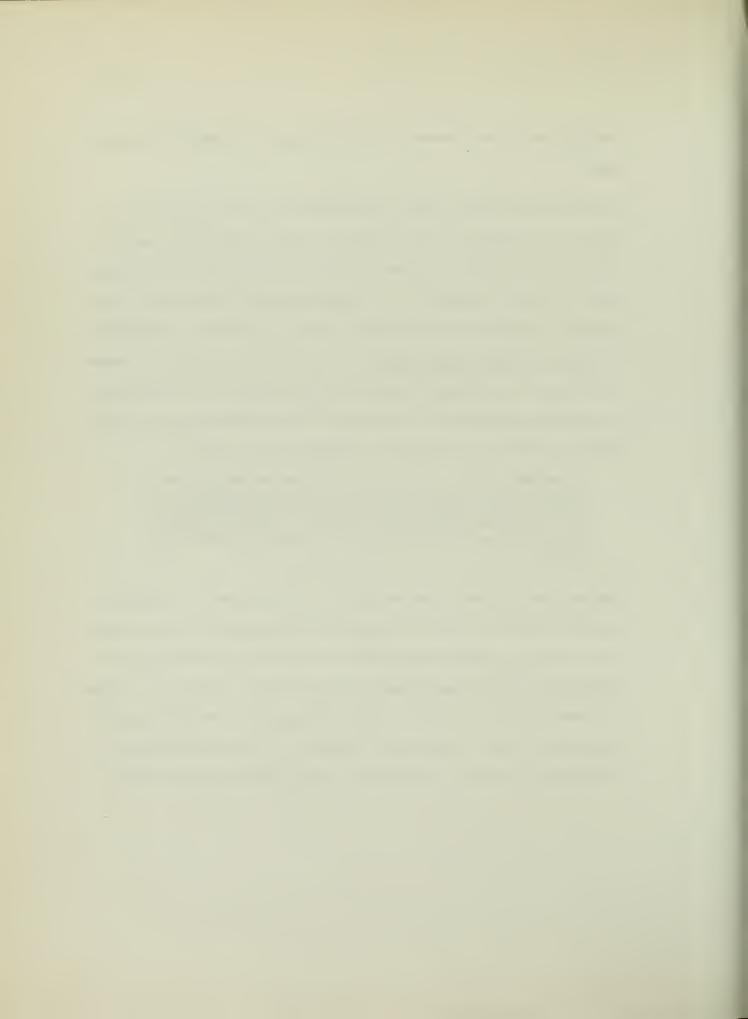


Miss Elizabeth Adams (Cousin Lizzie) also joined the family for the wedding.

That same year Charles Francis Adams decided to build a house upon the hill only one-eighth of a mile distance. With six children it was not surprising that he felt the need of more room. In addition the Old House was also open to the family of his brother, John 2d, which made it over crowded. The move to his new house relieved the situation considerably. The Diary of Charles Francis Adams is full of such references as "Passed the evening at the Mansion" showing that the move was not done because of strained relationship. The closeness of the relationship felt by his father is evident from an entry in John Quincy Adams' Diary:

12 December 1836 ... Among the few enjoyments that age and infirmity have left me upon earth has been her (Abigail Brooks Adams) cheerful spirit and lively conversation, and her children have been to me as my own. I will hope that these blessings will be continued to me for the remnant of my days. ...

Charles Francis Adams craved recognition in the literary and intellectual world while his father was ambitious for a political career for his son. During the summers Charles Francis Adams wrote articles for the North American Review and prepared numerous lectures which he gave during the winter months. He finally accepted nomination to the Massachusetts Legislature in 1840, having twice declined it. From 1840 to 1845 he served there but did not suspend his literary work during the summers.



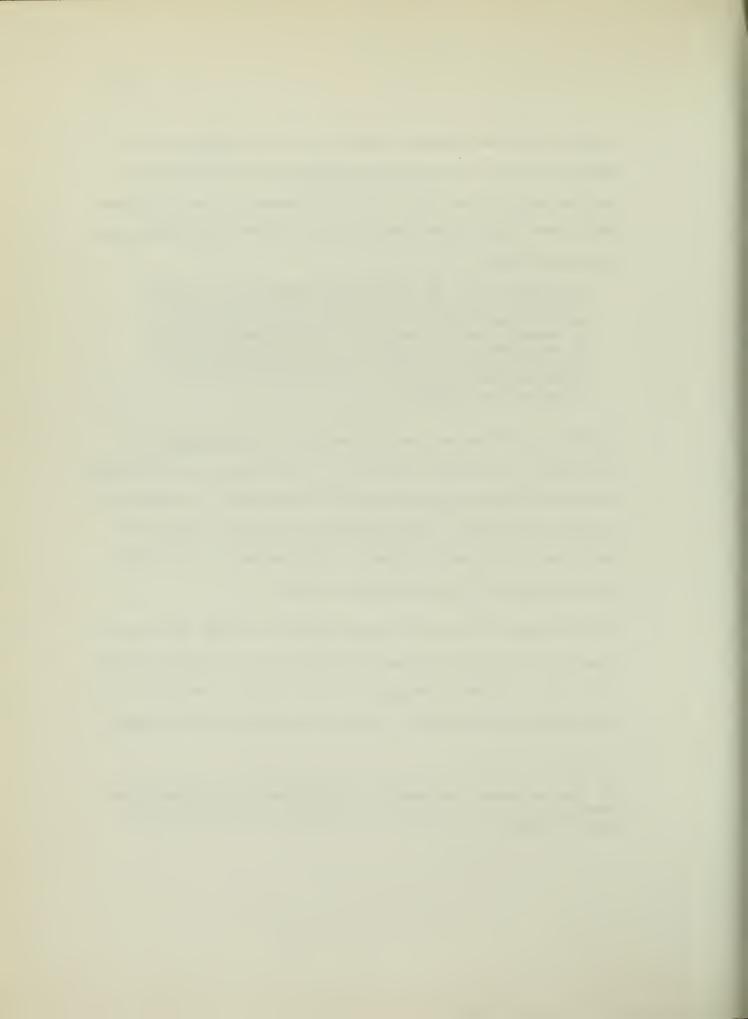
In 1840 he wrote and published a memoir of his grandmother, to be included in the volume of Letters of Mrs. Adams. The volume achieved immediate success. The first edition was exhausted at once and fifteen hundred more copies sold as they came from the press. John Quincy Adams wrote in his Diary:

27 September 1840, My attention and thoughts were too much absorbed by the volume of my Mothers Letters which my Son has published, and of which he sent me this morning a copy. An admirable Memoir of her life, written by him is prefixed to the Letters, and the reading of it affected me till the tears streamed down my face. It disabled me for all other occupation, and the arrears of this diary and the Sermon of Barrows were forgotten. ...

From 1846 to 1848 Charles Francis Adams edited the <u>Boston Whig</u>. He devoted most of every day to this task. He found his convictions against expansion of slavery incompatible with the Whig Party. For this reason he became a Free Soiler. He was nominated for Vice-President by the Free Soiler Party in Buffalo (1848). Though defeated, he established a national position by this political campaign.

After the death of John Quincy Adams in February of 1848, his son continued to be responsible for the improvements at the Old House in order to make it as comfortable as possible for his mother. She did not return to Quincy after the fall of 1848 since her health did not permit

<sup>(6)</sup> The improvements and repairs of 1849-52 and 55 are covered in the Structural History Report submitted on August 30, 1963 by historian Helen N. Nelson.



her to travel from Washington. Charles Francis Adams made numerous improvements and repairs. Many fruit trees were planted in the meadow and additional trees were added to the grounds. Quincy was a rural community in 1849. Early in March of 1849, Charles Francis Adams drove out from Boston to see the effects of a recent storm. When he was near enough to get a view of the house he noticed that the "old pole which sustained the vane in front of the house was gone." (The vane is now on the Stone Library.) Concerning this weather vane he wrote in his diary of March 23, 1849:

It is one of the memorials of my Grandfather which I remember his erecting in his later days for the purpose of observing the wind from his bedchamber window, as well as preserving an old relic from the Church. ... 7

In 1850 Charles Francis Adams and his wife, Abigail, left the house on the hill and moved back into the Old House. There were six children in 1850. The Old House always seemed to accommodate the family large or small, but these six children were six individualists. One can imagine the Old House echoing with controversy from the older children while the younger children were hilariously playing "hide and seek over the two separate stairways from first to third floors." In Boston Mrs. Charles Francis Adams entertained lavishly - Governors, such political

 <sup>(7)</sup> Diary of Charles Francis Adams, Adams Papers, Microfilm-Reel No. 7.
 (8) Notes supplied by Brooks Adams in 1925.



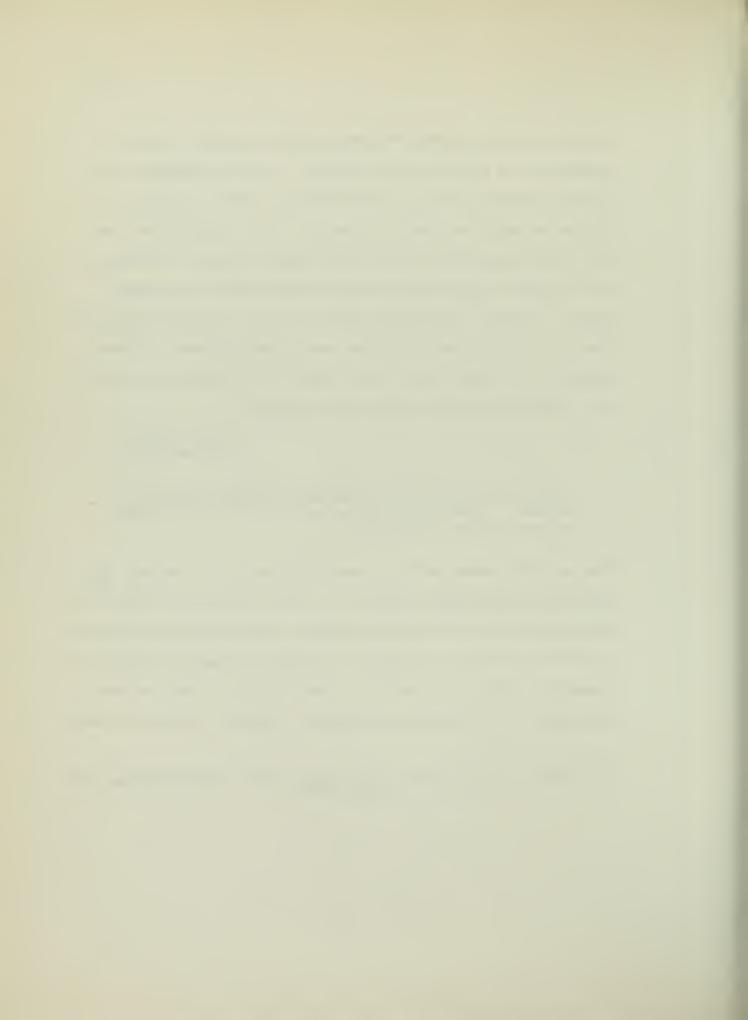
figures as Webster, Summer, Winthrop, Andrews and others. However, in Quincy, more time went to the children - "picnics, fishing parties, swimming, drives in the open country and short trips to nearby seashore resorts" occupied the time of the family. Charles Francis Adams even had time to practice the piano with his daughter Louisa. Each day he read the Bible to his children and was forever encouraging academic prowess. He went to the Glades (still owned by the family) at Minot to show his son Brooks the birds which were in such abundance. Another picture of the country home of the Adamses can be gleaned from a letter Mrs. Charles Francis Adams wrote to her husband:

Quincy, Wednesday 11 August 1852

...the lawn is beautifully green & the mushrooms stay abundant enough for the family, but unfortunately there is no one to eat them. I sent Mrs. Lyman one mess & now Margaret is going to make a Catsup of them ...9

charles Francis Adams passed six years preparing the ten volumes, <u>Life</u>
and Works of John Adams published over a period from 1850 to 1856. Absorbed as he was in his literary pursuits, these were times which called for him to be mindful of politics. His father was gone and he felt responsible to carry on his heritage of public service as well as literary pursuit. Mr. Brooks was dead and Mrs. Adams had a large inheritance

<sup>(9)</sup> ABA to CFA, August 1852, Adams Papers, MHS, Microfilm-Reel No. 541.



of \$75,000 annual income from her father.

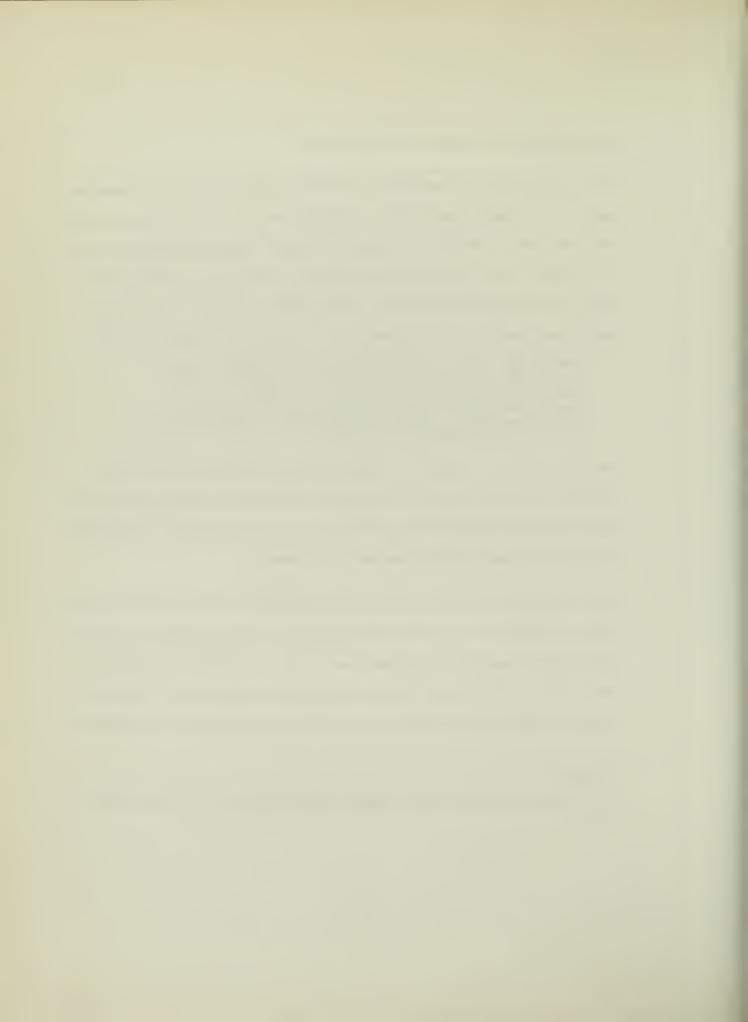
The Quincy estate was expensive to maintain, but now there was enough to maintain the family, the estate in Quincy, the house in Boston and indulge his ambitions of writing and editing his family papers, and he could devote time to civic and political activities as well. Mr. and Mrs. Adams kept up their civic and special social duties in Quincy. One of the many church sociables took place at the Old House in October of 1858.

Friday 22<sup>d</sup> ... In the evening the musical members of the parish met here to sing - preparatory to divine worship. About fifty persons male and female. There is a good deal of harmony of spirit springing up in the parish, ... After practising a variety of psalm tunes, they left us at about half past nine o'clock. 10

Contrary to earlier speculation that music was not appreciated by the Adamses, the facts are that both President John Quincy Adams and Charles Francis Adams had many musical gatherings at the Old House. They enjoyed the church groups and their neighbors very much.

After an absence from the political scene for eight years, Charles Francis Adams was elected to the United States House of Representatives in 1858. Ten years earlier when his father died, friends suggested he might fill that vacancy in the House, but he was rejected by the party. When the November, 1858 election returns were in, he was overjoyed and expressed

<sup>(10)</sup> Diary of Charles Francis Adams, Adams Papers, MHS, Microfilm-Reel No. 74.



his feelings in his diary:

Tuesday 2<sup>d</sup> ...Mr. Butler came soon after midnight as he promised and brought the news that the republicans had made a clean sweep all over the State. This is an important triumph to the party, as it establishes it now without the aid of any other party. To me it is the crowning of all the wishes I ever had in political life. To be chosen and chosen in such a way is far beyond what the harsh experience of the last few years would have led me to anticipate. Yet I must not forget what heavy responsibilities that very circumstance imposes upon me. This has come so late in life, that it will not turn my head. May I only know how to improve it for the public good and for my own honor.

With the exhilaration of the election, Charles Francis Adams emerged a new figure. Self-pity and futile speculation on his shortcomings diminished and a tone of increased self-confidence appeared. There were moments of misgivings before the date of departure for Washington when suddenly Mrs. Adams realized that this new life meant separation from their older children. Both Mr. and Mrs. Adams were troubled at the change in the family pattern. They left Quincy with mixed emotions on November 28, 1859, only returning to the Old House when Congress was not in session.

Just as his grandfather in 1783 had negotiated the Treaty of Peace with England, and his father had negotiated the Treaty of Ghent in 1814, now in a more hostile situation, Charles Francis Adams had been appointed United States Minister to the Court of St. James's to work for the preservation of the Union. The Old House again sent a distinguished American



to serve his country in its darkest hour. The Adams family sailing for England consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Adams, Brooks, Mary and young Henry as Secretary to the Minister.

The Old House was not deserted during the years Charles Francis Adams and Abigail Brooks Adams were in England. Rather, the Old House passed into a romantic period. On April 8, 1861, we read in Charles Francis Adams' Diary:

Monday 8<sup>th</sup> ...to Quincy, where I had much business to transact. The old place begins to look a little better, and it gave me a pang to leave it perhaps forever. I am comforted in the reflection that my son John is about to go into it. Afternoon spent in ordering gas fixtures for Quincy. ...ll

## Two days later he wrote:

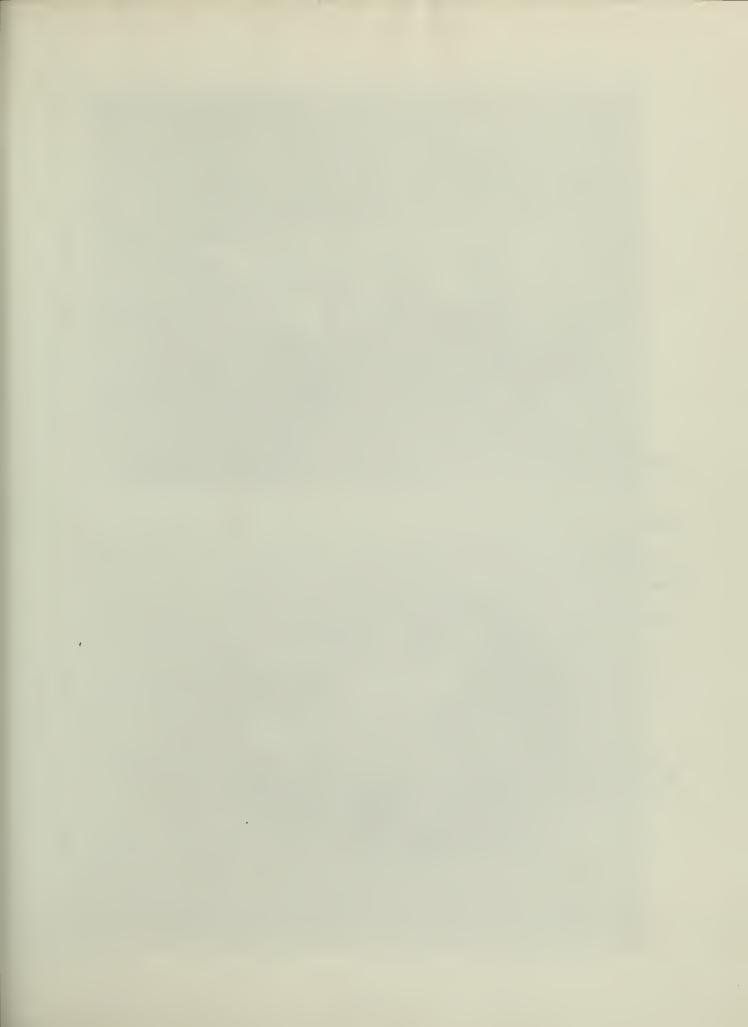
Wednesday 10<sup>th</sup> ... We dined quietly, without Mrs. Adams who had gone to Quincy to prepare the house for my son's occupation as he is about to be married. ...

When Charles Francis Adams was offered the appointment as Minister to England, his acceptance was contingent upon whether one of his sons could or would take over the management of the family affairs. The eldest son, John Quincy Adams 2d promised to accept this responsibility.

On April 29, 1861, Mr. Adams, who was busy preparing to leave America,

<sup>(11)</sup> Diary of Charles Francis Adams, Adams Papers, MHS, Microfilm-Reel No. 76.







John Quincy Adams, 2d



Mrs. John Quincy Adams, 2d (Fanny Crowninshield)

## related in his diary:

... After dinner all of us drove out to Mrs. Crowninshield's at Longwood. Here were assembled about sixty or seventy persons, relatives of her's or of her late husband's, of my wife's or of my connections. At six o'clock precisely the Revd Dr. Lothrop performed the ceremony of marriage between my son John Quincy and Miss Fanny Crowninshield. The times are not auspicious for similar undertakings, but amidst all this gloom I pray for this young couple all the happiness which this life can give. It is now thirty-one years and more since I embarked on the same voyage at a much earlier age. And now little is left to me but properly to prepare for another and more enduring existence. After the ceremony was over there was a handsome collation and before eight o'clock we were ready to return to the city. The young people drove directly over to the old Mansion at Quincy which in our absence abroad they are about to occupy. ...

The young couple passed their honeymoon at the Old House and made it their home for approximately three years. During these years John Quincy Adams 2d had a keen interest in public service. He served on Governor John Andrew's staff during the Civil War and was in the State Legislature in 1866, 1868, 1871 and 1874. He ran for Governor of the Commonwealth five times, but perhaps as his political views were out of line with party policies, he was defeated. In October of 1868 he accepted an invitation of Wade Hampton to speak in Columbia and Charleston, South Carolina on The Reconstruction. To make an address in the South on this topic required courage and tact. It was well received and makes interesting

<sup>(12)</sup> Diary of Charles Francis Adams, Adams Papers, MHS, Microfilm-Reel No. 76. Illustration 7, photographs of Mr. and Mrs. John Quincy Adams 2d. (13) Abigail Adams Homans has the newspaper account of this Address in her private collection.







CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, 2D, 1835-1915



Mrs. Charles Francis Adams, 2d (Mary Ogden)

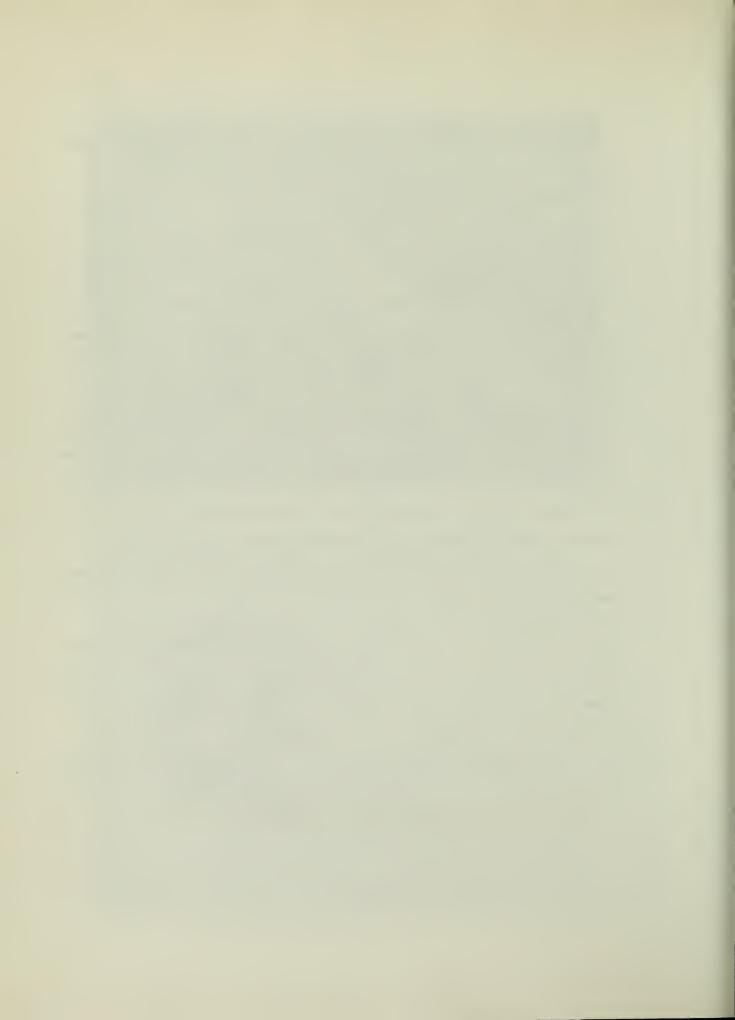
reading at the present time. In 1872 he was aminated for Vice-President of the United States by a faction of Democrats who did not sympathize with the Greeley Movement.

John Quincy Adams 2d always lived in Quincy and was active in civic affairs. He was Town Moderator and while in office wiped out the town debt of \$112,000 and established the tax rate at one percent. He was offered the Cabinet position of Secretary of Navy by President Cleveland, but his health had failed. 14 John Quincy Adams 2d had tremendous social poise and his brother, Brooks, remarked that there was no one who could enter a drawing room with such charm and dignity as his brother John and his wife, Mrs. Fanny Crowinshield Adams. In the Adams Papers and our area files are drawings of improvements John Quincy Adams 2d proposed while in residence. Upon leaving the Old House, the young couple left a pair of vases, marking their stay. The vases are on Abigail Adams' cornicopias. Mr. Brooks Adams always said, "The family gives to the Old House, but no one takes anything away."

The next occupant of the Old House was Charles Francis Adams 2d. 15 Young Charles joined the Militia in 1859. On December 19, 1861, he received his commission as First Lieutenant with the Massachusetts Cavalry, rising to

<sup>(14)</sup> This information of Mr. and Mrs. John Quincy Adams 2d was taken from the private files of their daughter Mrs. Robert Homans.

<sup>(15)</sup> Illustration 8, Photographs of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Francis Adams 2d. From here on he will be referred to as Charles Francis Adams, Jr.



the rank of Colonel. He declined to leave his Negro regiment when he was offered a place as Inspector-General on the staff of General Humphreys. Riding at the head of the Negro regiment, he entered Richmond as General Lee retreated. In 1865, he left the service, was married in 1866, went abroad and returning to the United States, took up residence at the Old House in 1867. He wanted his first child to be born at the Old House where he had passed memorable years. It is interesting that his daughter, Mary Adams, born on July 27, 1867, was the last Adams to be born in the family home. This baby grew up and later married Grafton Abbott. Her portrait hangs in the Memorial Room of the Old House.

Besides his interest in railroad activities, Charles Francis Adams, Jr. was active in educational reforms in his home town of Quincy and in preservation of open spaces. The result was the famous "Quincy System" which interested educators all over the United States. He was an unpaid Park Commissioner for both Quincy and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. So earnestly did he believe in preservation of open spaces that he and his brother John gave the City of Quincy about one hundred and twenty-five acres of land to be a city park. This is now known as Merrymount Park.16

He was a trustee of the Quincy Library. Like his grandfather, President John Quincy Adams, and his father, Charles Francis Adams, he was an Over-

<sup>(16)</sup> Charles Francis Adams - An Autobiography, (Boston, 1916), pp. 78-185.





Alterna Buildings

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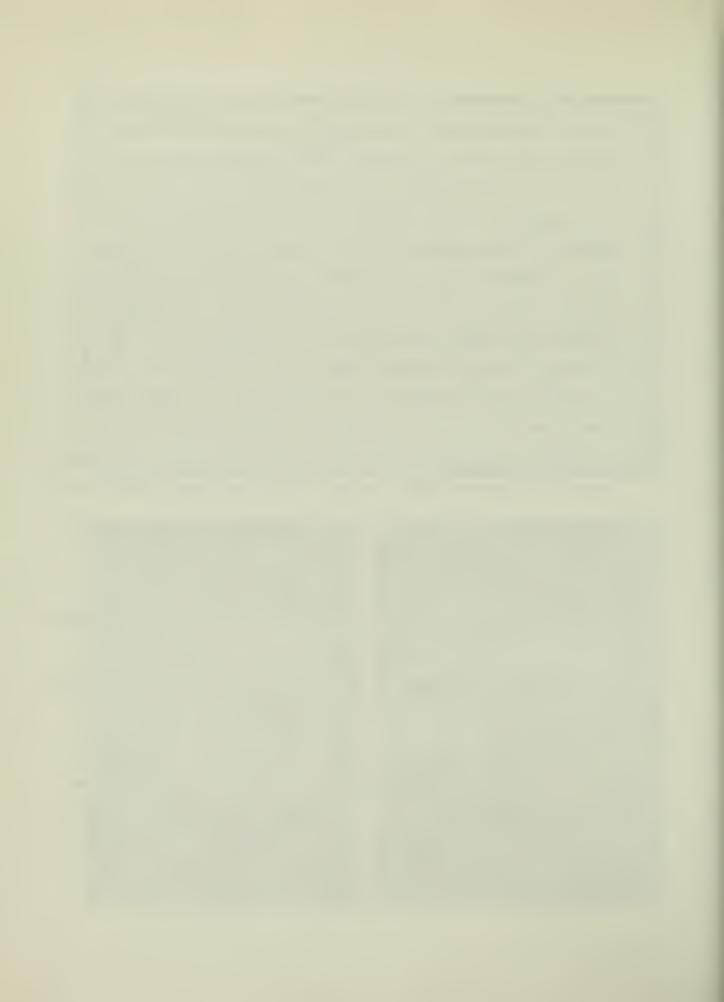


seer of Harvard College. He gave what was known as Phi Beta Kappa Lectures at both Harvard and Oxford. He found writing his most satisfying experience. On July 4, 1874, he gave an Address commemorating the 250th Anniversary of the Town of Weymouth. Years later he said that the preparation for this occasion had marked a turning point in his life and that his interest in historical research had led him through "pastures green and pleasant places for over thirty years." His Three Episodes of Massachusetts History was and still is a great contribution to the City of Quincy. He and his brother, Brooks, were not close, but the latter, in his more generous period of life expressed the opinion that "Charles was the most versatile and interesting of our generation." The heirs of Charles Francis Adams, Jr. gave to the Old House for preservation, the watch which their grandfather had used to time the attack on Gettysburg. 18

In April of 1868 Charles Francis Adams decided there was nothing more to keep him in England and he requested that his resignation be accepted.

When the news of his retirement was circulated in London, there was an outpouring of praise of his work and regret at his returning to the United States. Thomas Baring, Lord Granville, and Thomas Hughes wanted to give Mr. Adams a testimonial dinner, but the Minister would not agree for diplomatic reasons. He was overjoyed and flattered when Earl Russell made a

<sup>(17)</sup> Notes supplied by Brooks Adams in 1925.
(18) Illustration 9, Photograph of this watch now placed in the Museum Room on the third floor of the Old House.









Mr. and Mrs. Charles Francis Adams in England.

personal call to express his appreciation of the helpful role Mr. Adams had played for both countries. There were many private social occasions attended by Mr. and Mrs. Adams. 19 Forty-eight of the ladies of her intimate circle presented Mrs. Adams with a magnificent gold bracelet as a token of esteem which is now at the National Site.

Their arrival in New York was not so glamorous for the Adamses as their departure from England had been. In New York there was a severe rainstorm to hamper moving about. The hotels were full; and finally, when he found a place to stay, he returned to the dock for his luggage only to encounter obstacle after obstacle. The officials at the dock neither knew nor cared about the return of a diplomat. It must have been no surprise. The same cold reception was given John Quincy Adams after his creditable tour of duty in the world capitals was completed in 1817.

A few days later, on July 9, 1868, the Adams family reached Quincy.<sup>20</sup>
Of their homecoming Charles Francis Adams had this to say:

Thursday 9<sup>th</sup> ...At last we got to the Station at Quincy where we found Elizabeth Adams and a few of our friends awaiting us. It was not such a showy arrival as the departure was seven years ago but I never fancied demonstrations, and therefore liked it none the less on that account. The old house looked much as it did. The trees all around have grown so that the

(20) Illustration 10, Photographs of Mr. and Mrs. Adams while in England.

<sup>(19)</sup> Diary of Charles Francis Adams, Adams Papers, MHS, Microfilm-Reel No. 81. Notables present were Prince and Princess of Wales, Prince Christian and Princess Helena, Duke and Duchess of Argyll, Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone, Mr. and Mrs. D'Israeli and others.



whole aspect of the scene is more elegant and cultivated than ever before. The difference is rather in the state of mind than the body. My active career has run its course, and I must now prepare the winding up. 21

The following day he made an additional comment:

Friday 10<sup>th</sup> Fine day. Set to work as soon as possible to re-establish my home as it was. This is not perfectly easy, especially as my sons John and Charles have successively occupied the mansion. But I did my best ...Walked up the hill, and examined all my belts of trees. Some of them have spread enormously, especially in the valley to the west. The continuous labors of forty years are now producing something like effects on the landscape. ...<sup>22</sup>

On July 29th he went to Boston. He found the city less conscious of its park land, less appreciative of beauty, and he came to the conclusion that Boston was "repulsive." He found Quincy "delightful." Mrs. Adams, however, was dissatisfied with the Old House as well as their Boston house, 57 Mount Vernon Street. Charles Francis Adams lamented: "Mrs. Adams inveighs so much against both houses that I hardly know what to do." To try to forget his problems he settled into a regular schedule of reading, sorting family papers, and planning for improvement of the grounds and repairs to the Quincy house.

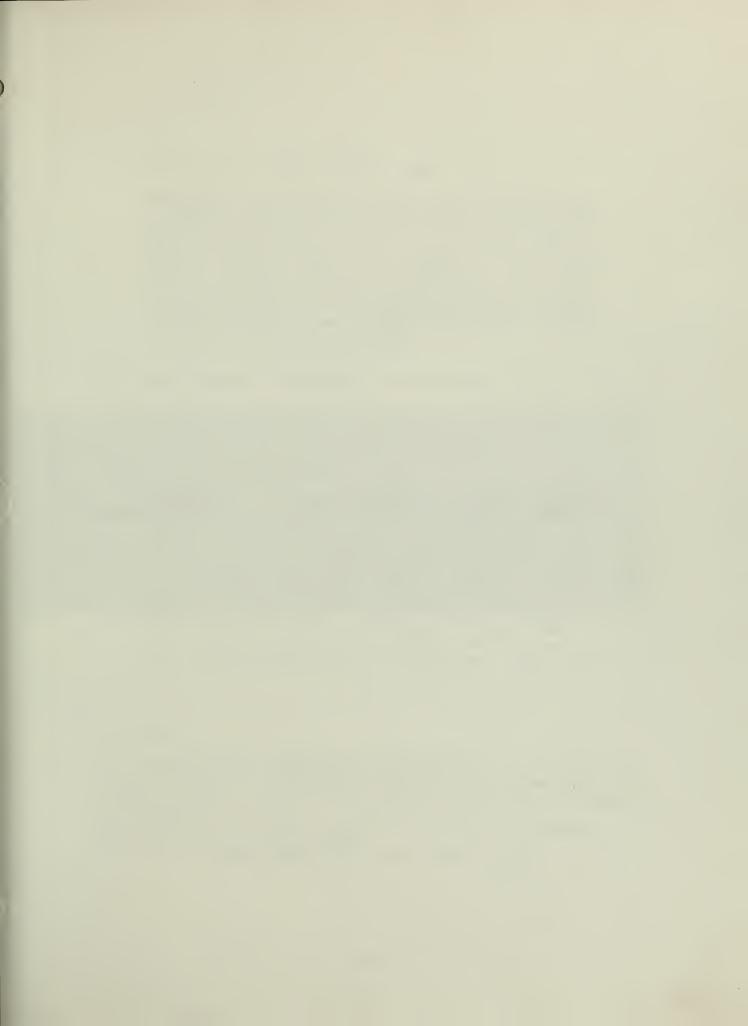
Time passed swiftly and the fall of the year brought family changes.

Brooks went to Cambridge again and Henry decided to try out journalism in Washington. Charles Francis Adams' reaction to this plan of Henry's

<sup>(21)</sup> Diary of Charles Francis Adams, Adams Papers, MHS, Microfilm-Reel No. 81.

<sup>(22) &</sup>lt;u>Tbid</u>.





Charles Franceis Adams.

is expressed in his diary of October, 1868:

Sunday llth ...After dinner, Brooks and his friend returned to Cambridge whilst Henry took leave of us. He is going to Washington to try his fortunes as a writer on public questions of a higher class. He has been to me a most invaluable assistant during my eight years of purgatory in public life. Wisdom, discretion and punctual performance of all details were all that could be desired. Whilst I can find no fault with his decision, I shall miss him every day and every hour of the rest of my life, as a companion and friend. Nobody has however so much of me, as he.<sup>23</sup>

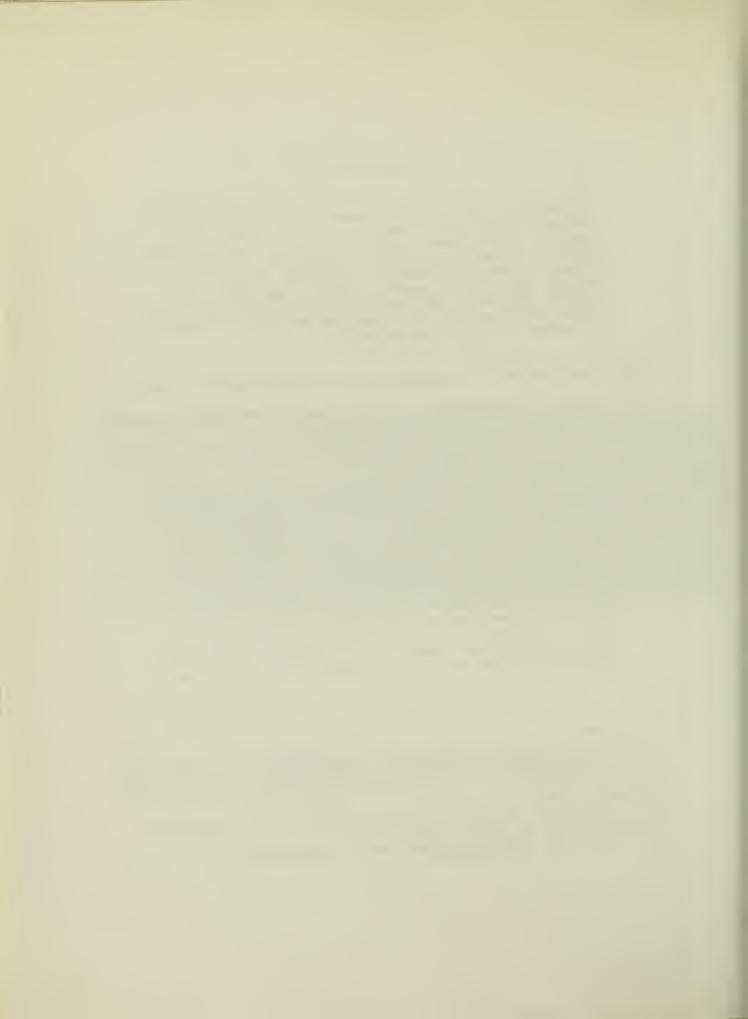
Mrs. Adams continued to be unhappy over the cramped quarters. The servants' addition of five rooms was decided upon for the Spring of 1869. 24 By June of 1869, Charles Francis Adams was thoroughly settled and very happy. He wrote Henry on June 23:

Our mode of life has become so quiet that when you come you will doubtless find it dull. But I am almost afraid to confess how much it fascinates me. My father always predicted of me that I should end in being a hermit - and such would certainly have been my condition before now, had it not been for my marriage, and a certain degree of ambition of family distinction which made me shrink from the imputation of degeneracy. All that is over now, and I am free to indulge myself in my own luxurious independence. Not that I mean to fall entirely into the state of uselessness which you ascribe to "retired gentlemen." On the contrary, I have more than enough before me to fill up a long period of time. ...

<sup>(23)</sup> Diary of Charles Francis Adams, Adams Papers, MHS, Microfilm-Reel No. &l. Illustration 11, Signature of Charles Francis Adams taken from a letter written by him from 54 Portland Place, London, to Mr. Kingsley, February 4, 1867.

<sup>(24)</sup> Details are included in Historic Structures Report submitted on August 31, 1963, by Park Historian.

<sup>(25)</sup> CFA to HA, Adams Papers, MHS, Microfilm-Reel No. 587.



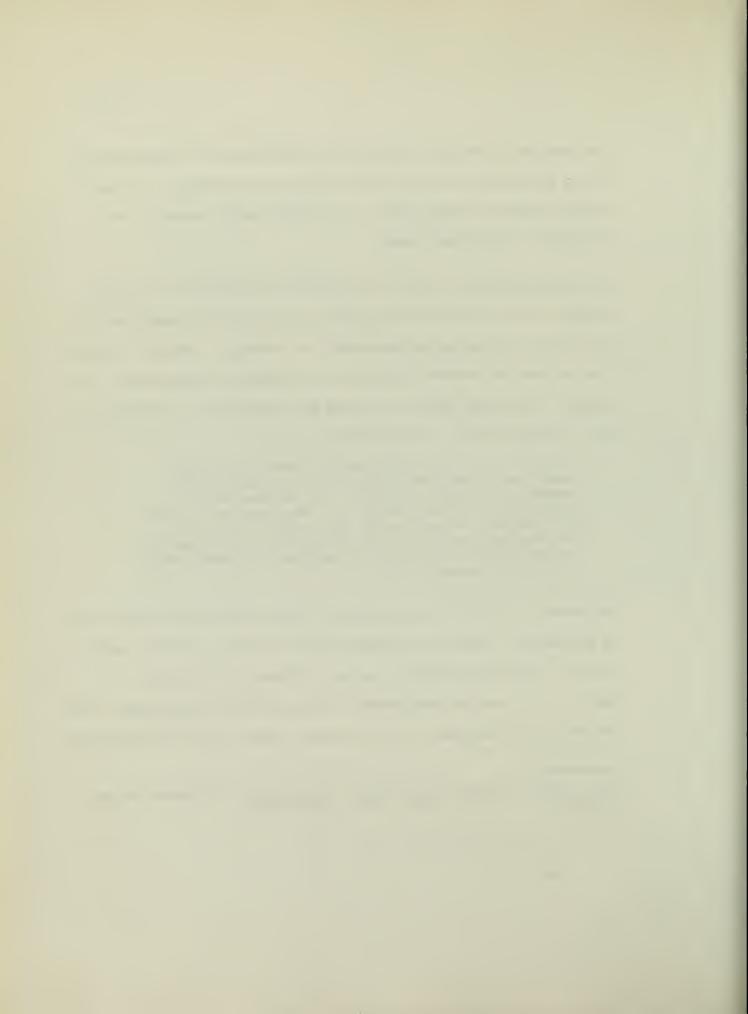
The vexation of the house addition was pretty much out of the way within six or eight months and he described life as "very charming." He took a neutral attitude toward politics. He attended quite frequently the "Wednesday" and "Friday" Clubs.

In the early spring of 1869, he was offered the presidency of Harvard College. He was flattered by the offer, but considered himself lacking the special talents the college needed and, therefore, declined. In addition, he knew his father's diary must be completed for publication. On Tuesday, October 19, 1869, he attended the inauguration of the new President, Charles W. Eliot. In his diary he wrote:

...I could not help putting myself in his place for the moment, as it had been offered to me, and asking myself whether I did right to decline. The response in the affirmative was clear and prompt. The place needs a man with ambition to spur him on, not one who feels as if it had been fully gratified. Mr. Eliot made a slight incidental allusion to myself of a complimentary nature, which was graceful enough. ...<sup>26</sup>

The sadness of death hit the Old House in July of 1870. The eldest child of Mr. and Mrs. Adams was a daughter, Louisa Catherine. She was considered to be the most beautiful and most brilliant of the family. On April 13, 1854 she had been married to Charles Kuhn of Philadelphia. She and her husband had gone to live in Florence, Italy. Then, sixteen years

<sup>(26)</sup> Diary of Charles Francis Adams, Adams Papers, MHS, Microfilm-Reel No. 82.



later as she stepped from her carriage, she landed on a board injuring her foot by sticking it with a rusty nail. Blood poisoning set in which proved fatal. On July 13, 1870, Charles Francis Adams received the message containing the heartbreaking news. Mr. Adams wrote in his diary:

Wednesday 13<sup>th</sup> ...All else today was merged in the shock of a telegraphic message from the bankers at Florence, stating in brief, that our poor, dear Louisa, our first born, and so long cherished in our affections had sunk under the secondary effects of the disaster. ...Nobody was at home when the intelligence came and it seemed as if I could not sit still - so I rambled about for an hour or more alone in the pasture, now and then sitting down on a stone to try and gather my thoughts together into some definite line. But it was in vain. The only idea before me was that of disclosing it to my dear Wife on her return to the house. Feeling a dread of this trial I crossed over the hill and called my son John from his house to come and do it for me. ...<sup>27</sup>

Brooks Adams always said: "Sister Lu's death was our first and greatest sorrow. Life for all of us changed." Then he used to recall gay, silly things his sister did like sitting at one end of the Long Room in the Old House and kicking her slippers toward the mirrors under the table at the opposite end of the room.

In the fall of 1870 the settlement of the "Alabama Claims" was to be adjudicated before an international tribunal. England, the United States,

Brazil, Italy and the Swiss Confederation were each to provide an arbitrator. Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, encouraged President Grant to

<sup>(27)</sup> Diary of Charles Francis Adams, Adams Papers, MHS, Microfilm-Reel No. 83.

<sup>(28)</sup> Martin B. Duberman, Charles Francis Adams 1807-1886, (Boston, 1961) p. 342.







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ask Mr. Adams to represent the United States. Mr. Adams accepted and asked his son Brooks to accompany him. Mrs. Adams' health did not allow her to make the winter ocean voyage. Mr. Adams and Brooks sailed on the "Tripoli" on the fourteenth of November. He found the voyage to be rough and the ship rolled continuously. Even so, Charles Francis Adams was able to play whist in the evenings. At home Mrs. Adams was miserable and frightened at the responsibility for even the bills. Her son Henry tried to help her, and on one occasion he found her accounts fifty cents short. She wrote her husband of this problem:

...I kept my first account of the hundred you left me, & Henry added it up, & I almost cried when it would not come out within fifty cents. Work as we would & go over it as we would there was fifty cents too little & find it I cannot. Henry & Mary laugh but I want the fifty cents .30

In late January the arbitration in Geneva came to an impasse and they adjourned. Mr. Adams hastened home.

About May 1, 1872, Mr. Adams was again settled in Geneva<sup>31</sup> - this time accompanied by Brooks, Mary, and Mrs. Adams. The "Alabama Claims" were concluded and the United States received fifteen and one-half million dollars in gold. Mr. Adams thought that this compromise from sixteen

<sup>(29) &</sup>lt;u>Diary of Charles Francis Adams</u>, <u>Adams Papers</u>, MHS, Microfilm-Reel No. 83.

<sup>(30)</sup> Charles Francis Adams, Loose Papers, Adams Papers, MHS, Microfilm-Reel No. 589.

<sup>(31)</sup> Illustration 12 on opposite page.



million showed that the United States was not vindictive. 32

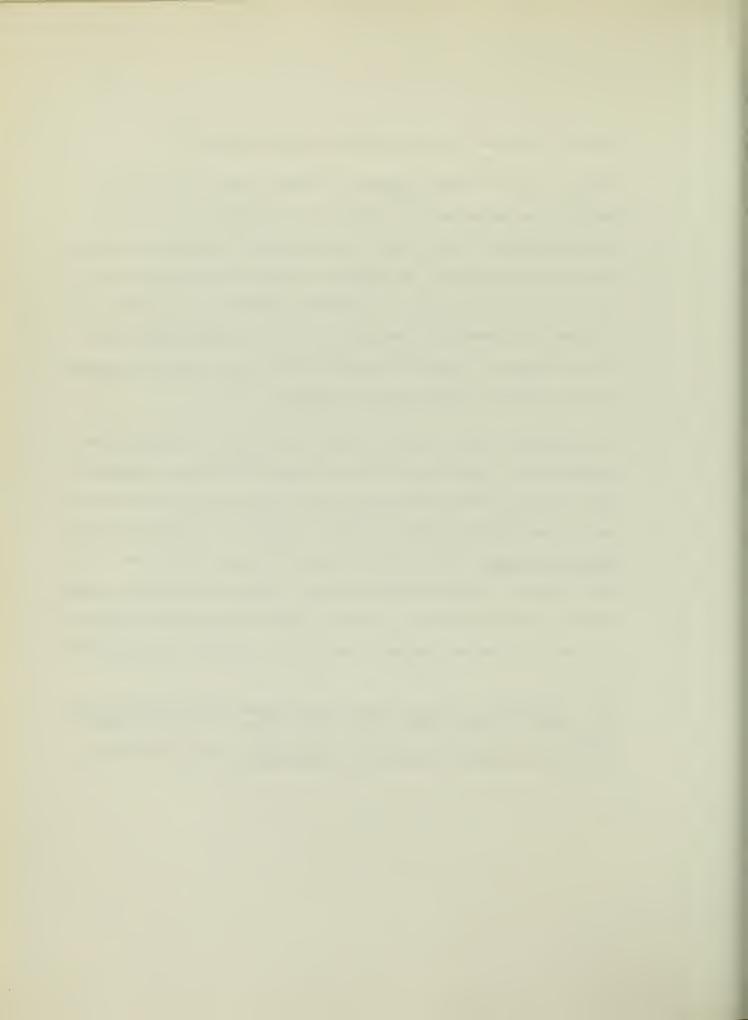
With the "Alabama Claims" negotiated, the Adams family toured Europe, mostly France, before sailing for America. They arrived about Thanks-giving and Charles Francis went at once to Quincy to see what had transpired during his absence. He decided to build the barn and stable which he had needed for some time. This time the architect was not Cabot, but Mr. Charles A. Cummings of Cummings & Sears. 33 Mr. Adams dreaded this project because Mr. Cummings' plans were "out of proportion," 34 being more elaborate than the previous barn and stables.

Mr. Adams set to work in earnest on his father's diary. Except for the preparation for a speech before the Massachusetts Historical Society in honor of his old friend Seward and a second one honoring Seward before the New York Legislature in April of 1873, he devoted his efforts to the John Quincy Adams Memoir. This work was completed in August, 1877. He was actually moved to tears when he held the final volume in his hands and realized that what had been on his mind for nearly thirty years was completed. At times he had doubted whether he would live to complete this work and he

<sup>(32)</sup> Proceedings of Alabama Claims, Adams National Historic Site Library.

<sup>(33)</sup> Diary of Charles Francis Adams, Adams Papers, MHS, Microfilm-Reel No. 85.

<sup>(34)</sup> Diary of Charles Francis Adams, Adams Papers, MHS, Microfilm-Reel No. 85.







MR. AND MRS. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS Photographed by Mrs. Henry Adams at Quincy

was filled with gratitude that he had succeeded in the completion of this task which meant so much to him. Now his life would be of no more "consequence." At least his secret motto, "Toil and Trust," had been rewarded by a twelve-volume publication of great historical value to the United States.

Death came to Mr. Adams at the Old House on November 21, 1886. Due to his long mental decline, the funeral was simple, without eulogy. Harvard had offered him an Honorary Degree; but his sons declined saying the University had waited too long for the honor to be appropriate. 37

Mrs. Adams was completely disconsolate. Henry<sup>38</sup> came home to keep her company. A close friend, Miss Lucy Baxter, from South Carolina was invited to come to live at the Old House some years before the death of Charles Francis Adams. She remained with Mrs. Adams. John, Charles, Henry, and Brooks were devoted to their mother but her sorrow never lessened. She survived her husband by only three years, dying in 1889.

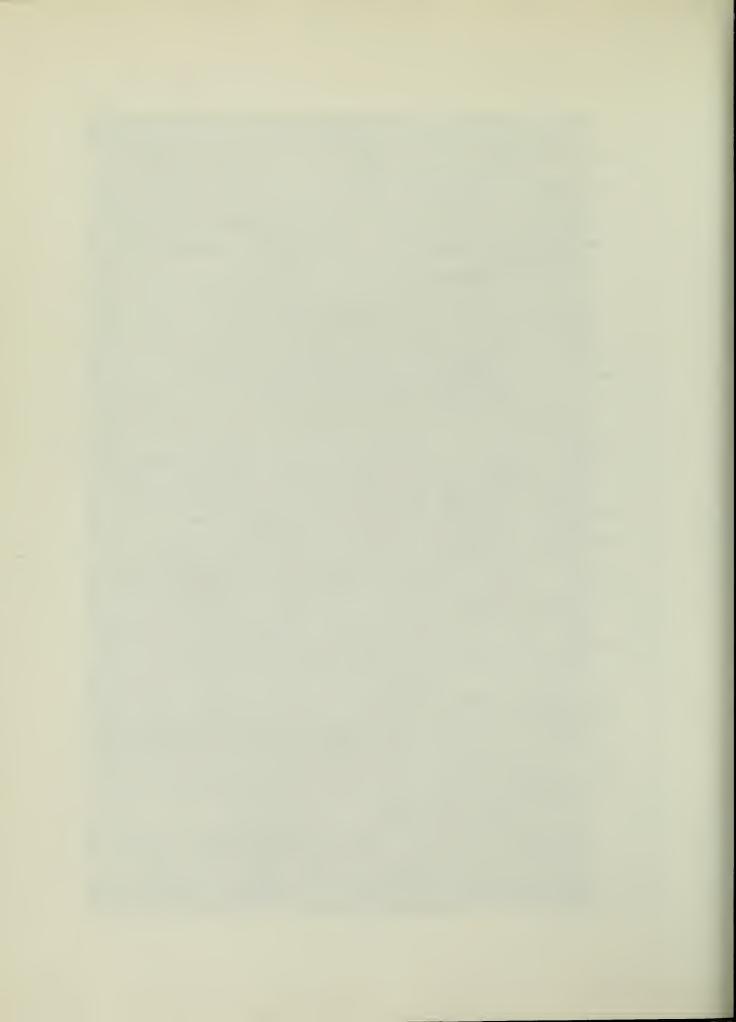
By this will, Charles Francis Adams left his estate in trust to his five

<sup>(35)</sup> Martin B. Duberman, Charles Francis Adams 1807-1886, p. 396.

<sup>(36)</sup> Roll No. 84, Adams National Historic Site film file.

<sup>(37)</sup> Reminiscences of Brooks Adams to Wilhelmina S. Harris. Illustration 13 is of Mr. and Mrs. Adams in later life sitting near the 1731 door.

<sup>(38)</sup> Henry Adams had married Marian Hooper June 27, 1872, and she had died December 6, 1885.



surviving children. There were several subdivisions as described below:

1886-1887

Upon the death of Charles Francis Adams, November 21, 1896, John Quincy Adams, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., Henry Adams, Brooks Adams and his daughter, Mary Adams Quincy, held the house jointly. Their Mother, Mrs. Charles Francis Adams, had life estate. The oldest son, John Quincy Adams, acted for the family pending the establishment of a formal trust.

<sup>(39)</sup> Ernest Samuels, Henry Adams - The Major Phase (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1964), p. 15.



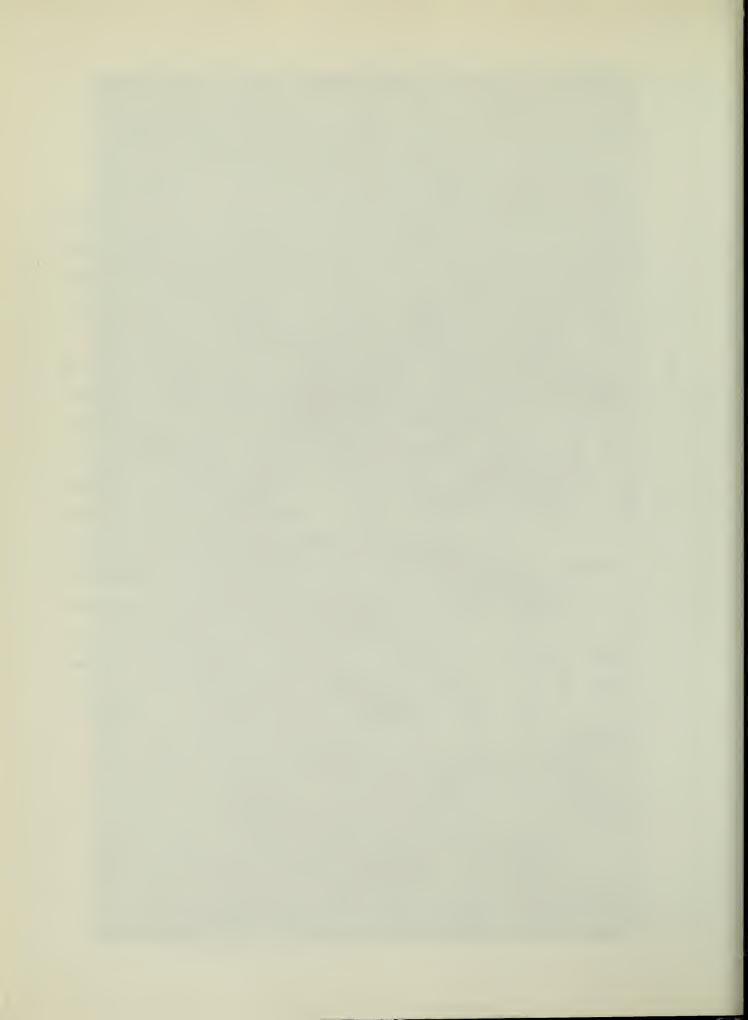


HENRY ADAMS IN HIS DEN AT BEVERLY FARMS
Photographed by Mrs. Adams

## ADAMS REAL ESTATE TRUST 1887-1905 THE HENRY ADAMS PERIOD (1886-1890) 40

The Adams Real Estate Trust was established in 1887 to hold the vast Adams real estate in Quincy and Boston, the Old House and furnishings, and the Stone Library containing all the family manuscripts and books. From this time, the Old House was to pass to the fourth generation of Adamses to be held jointly by the five surviving children of Charles Francis Adams. Henry Adams had the option of using the Old House as a residence since his older brothers, in the order of age, had received the same offer and declined. Henry had passed considerable time in Quincy after the death of his wife, Marian Hooper Adams. He was especially close to both of his parents. Charles Francis Adams had left life estate to his wife, Abigail Brooks Adams. Henry Adams, as well as the other children, felt personally responsible for her comfort during the remaining years of her life. Henry thought that he would be able to see her through the summer months "in the country." Indeed, Quincy was still rural in 1887 and was a quiet change from his winter activities. He realized that he would not be alone with his mother for Miss Lucy Baxter, who had joined the family group sometime prior to the death of Charles Francis Adams, would remain. Henry Adams,

<sup>(40)</sup> Illustration 14 - Photograph of Henry Adams made by his wife.







as did other members of the family, got along well with Miss Baxter. 41 She was interesting and cheerful 42 and would make the burden of caring for his invalid mother lighter.

Each generation of his forebears had used Quincy as a place for writing. Grief over the death of his wife had stilled the pen of Henry Adams for a time, but he had found hard work to be his strongest ally. Now he would settle down to complete his <u>History of the United States</u> and care for his mother and the Old House at the same time. In 1888 the librarian, Theodore F. Dwight, joined Henry in Quincy. Dwight compiled the Index for <u>The History of the United States</u> and began to catalogue the books in the Stone Library. He and Henry worked hard and long hours. In the course of the day Henry renewed his inspiration for the <u>History</u> by walking in the garden where the roses and boxhedge provided continuity with the very time about which he wrote in his History.

Mrs. Charles Francis Adams died on June 6, 1889. There was no break in the household that summer. Miss Baxter, Mr. Theodore F. Dwight, Henry Adams, a devoted maid, Ellen Ring, and other domestic personnel continued in residence. Miss Baxter went to Boston in the fall of 1889<sup>44</sup> where she took up permanent residence. 45

<sup>(41)</sup> The writer and Brooks Adams frequently visited her in 1920 and 1921. (42) Illustration 15 - Photograph of Miss Baxter.

<sup>(43)</sup> Henry D. Cater, Henry Adams and His Friends, (Cambridge, 1957) p. 181. (44) Ibid. p. 185.

<sup>(45)</sup> Miss Baxter's apartment was in the Hemingway Hotel on the corner of Hemingway Street and Westland Avenue.







THE ADAMS MONUMENT

Marian Adams was buried in Rock Creek Cemetery, then a quiet unfrequented churchyard, and there, some thirty-two years later, Henry Adams was buried at her side in accordance with the following direction contained in his will of November 27, 1908:—

"I direct my executors to see that my body is buried by the side of my deceased wife, and that no inscription, date, letters or other attempt at memorial, except the monument I have already constructed, shall be placed over or near our graves."

During the last eight or ten years of life, Charles Francis Adams had not been able to supervise or plan repairs to the house. From 1889 Henry Adams had found how extensive the repairs were and how frightfully expensive. Much of the summer of 1889 was passed in assessing the extent of responsibility the Old House would require of him and how important he considered his ancestral home to his way of life. Since the death of his wife, he had not attached himself to any particular home. 46

Henry recalled his childhood association with Quincy with affection. He remembered his old grandfather, John Quincy Adams, reading and writing in his study, or strolling down the country paths, uncluttered by houses, admiring wildflowers, birds and, in the evenings, observing the "light houses of the sky." He remembered the Old President quietly leading him by the hand down the long stairs and escorting him to his seat in the schoolroom when Henry defied his mother about going to school. He included an account of these memories in his Education.

In later years, around 1846, Henry recalled his father's isolation in politics and the activities of such Whig members as Dana, Palfrey and Sumner. As a boy of ten he recalled the Free-Soil Party with his father a candidate for Vice President of the United States. At the age of thirteen he remembered that he was so completely a part of the world of his

<sup>(46)</sup> Illustration 16 - Adams Memorial, famous statue by Saint-Gaudens.



parents that the election of Sumner as United States Senator was an occasion for considerable celebration. At school his classmates wore black arm bands in disapproval while Henry proudly displayed a white arm band. 47 Not many years later he was to experience the pain of "a friend in power is a friend lost" when Sumner opposed Charles Francis Adams' appointment for Minister to Great Britain. 48

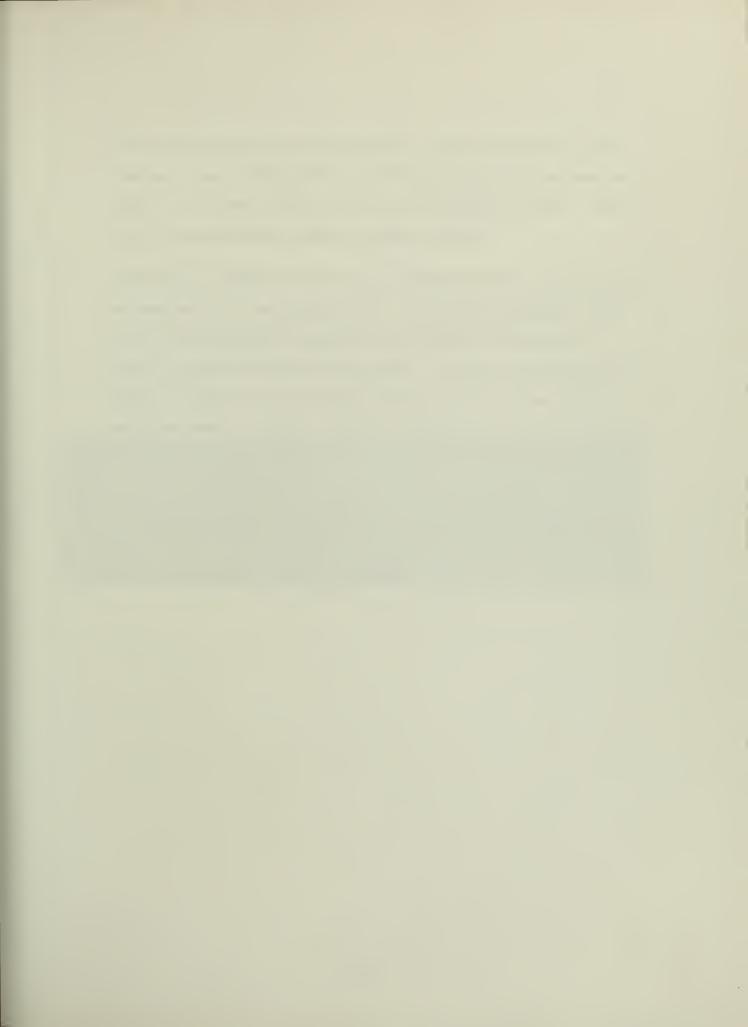
Then there was the association the Old House held with his mother. She had appreciated the Adams heritage and had loved the garden. She had devoted her life to her husband and his public and private life. She had spent every effort to bring or keep harmony among her mentally alert and individualistic children. She had expressed hope that the Old House and grounds would be preserved.

These youthful associations had to be balanced against the mature interests in Henry Adams' political circle in Washington. His house in Lafayette Square was the center of serious political discussions. Besides the stimulating life in his house in Washington, it was his habit to go abroad annually. In France he had a house at St. Germain which he used as a focal point for shorter visits to many parts of Europe. Prior to

<sup>(47)</sup> Elizabeth Stevenson, Henry Adams, (New York, 1955) p. 11. (48) Henry Adams, Education of Henry Adams, (Boston, 1918) p. 108.

<sup>(49)</sup> Brooks Adams to Wilhelmina S. Harris.





cturns ett Adams.

1886 his annual income was about \$25,000. This was increased by his inherited income of \$50,000.<sup>50</sup> On this \$75,000 annual income could he support the Old House without sacrificing Washington and Paris? These were his considerations during the summer of 1889.

By the fall of 1889 the die was cast. He would travel to the South Seas and then rejoin his Washington friends - Oliver Wendell Holmes, Elihu Root, Cecil Spring-Rice, Henry James, St. Gaudens, the Lodges, the Camerons, Theodore Roosevelt and John Hay. He would leave Theodore F. Dwight to complete the cataloguing of the books in the Stone Library during the summer of 1890.<sup>51</sup> Then the property would be turned over to his youngest brother, Brooks.

<sup>(50)</sup> Ernest Samuels, The Young Henry Adams, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958) p. 475.

<sup>(51)</sup> Illustration 17 is a sample of Henry Adams' signature prior to the time he dropped the B from his signature.



## CONTINUATION OF ADAMS REAL ESTATE TRUST 1887-1905 THE BROOKS ADAMS PERIOD (1891-1927)

The first three generations of the Adams Family who occupied the Old House made their contributions, generally, in the realm of public office. The fourth generation - Henry and Brooks Adams - made their contribution to American life through history as applied to their era. Of these two brothers Brooks Adams had perhaps a keener interest in their ancestral home, but they were equally interested to cast their influence for the good of the United States by observing and analyzing the trends of government and of society. Being close friends of many men in high office, they had considerable influence upon national affairs. Both were dedicated to apply their rich heritage for enlightened local and national leadership.

When Henry Adams decided not to live in Quincy, Brooks Adams accepted the responsibility of the Old House with pleasure. This was not surprising for his association had been continuous since babyhood. To be sure he had accompanied his parents to London when his father was United States

<sup>(1)</sup> Since it has been erroneously stated in Antiques, February 1966, p. 229 that Brooks Adams "used the house only occasionally," the writer would like to set this straight. Before 1890 when Brooks Adams became financially responsible for the Old House it was his home, and from 1882 to 1886 he did much of the work on Emancipation of Massachusetts in the Stone Library. After 1890 he resided at the Old House unless research for his books necessitated travel. His travel by and large took place during the winter months leaving him in residence at the Old House during the summers until his death in 1927.



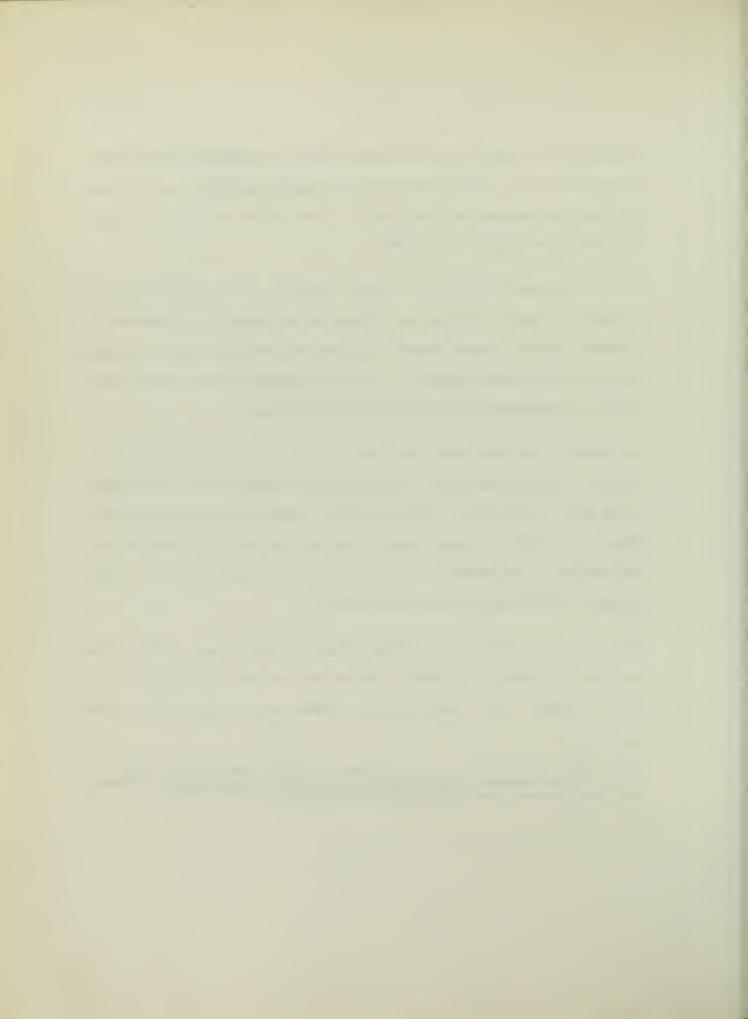
Minister to St. James's and had passed winters in Cambridge while at Harvard; but, even so, the cherry trees, the English boxhedge, the York Rose, the Panelled Room and the double set of front stairs, so ideal for "hide and seek," were deep in his heart.

Brooks Adams and his father were close companions. The youngster had been disturbingly slow to develop as a school boy in England, so to arouse his interest, Charles Francis Adams took walks with Brooks in London, visiting parks, churches and cathedrals. From that experience Brooks Adams became aware of architecture and of history at a tender age.

At Harvard he enjoyed such a busy social life that his grades were only average. Brooks Adams always maintained that knowing Perry Belmont, Henry Cabot Lodge, Russell Gray, Lucius Sargent, Sturgis Bigelow, John Chipman Gray, and Melville M. Bigelow made up for any work he might have done on his studies. Both Melville M. Bigelow and John Chipman Gray were, Adams thought, the best legal minds he ever knew.

After one year in Harvard Law School, Charles Francis Adams invited Brooks to go as his secretary to Geneva, Switzerland for the "Arbitration of the Alabama Claims." They were taking their usual walk in Quincy when Charles

<sup>(2)</sup> Notes of Wilhelmina S. Harris taken directly from Brooks Adams.
(3) Thornton Anderson, Brooks Adams - Constructive Conservative (Ithaca, New York), Cornell University Press, 1951, p.27.



Francis Adams asked Brooks to accompany him on this mission. Mrs. Adams and Mary Adams were to remain at home during their absence. Not long after the Arbitration meetings began, they were recessed. Charles Francis Adams returned to America to escort his disconsolate wife and daughter Mary back to Geneva when the Arbitrations resumed.

Brooks Adams elected to remain in Paris during this interim to study the language. As always, he worked best when he planned his own schedule. He studied, translated and read aloud each day before going to the theatre to hear it in the best Parisian French. He gained great fluency in the language during this sojourn in Paris.

Upon their return to Geneva, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Francis Adams took an estate for the family which included Mary, Brooks, and Charles Kuhn (husband of their deceased daughter, Louisa). Their house, Chateau La Boisiere, was "a rambling old stone chateau on the south side of the lake with a fine view of the Jura range - beautiful grounds and trees." Mrs. Adams entertained extensively, using the dinner and dessert services selected by Brooks Adams while he was in Paris (the two French services are in the Old House collection). Brooks Adams learned a lot from these international gatherings.

<sup>(4)</sup> Diary of Charles Francis Adams, Adams Papers, MHS, Microfilm-Reel

<sup>(5)</sup> Letters of Mrs. Henry Adams, ed. by Thoron, (Boston, 1936) p. 27.



Mr. and Mrs. Henry Adams visited the family in Geneva and Mrs. Adams wrote to her father: "Mrs. Adams (her mother-in-law) is only able to live in this charming luxurious way by having an angelic maitre d'hotel named Perrini who engages the servants, buys all the food, and in fact carries the whole family in his arms."

After the negotiations were over, the Adamses went to Paris. Brooks
Adams had told his sister-in-law that he would pass the winter in Germany, but he evidently changed his mind. He travelled with his family
to the United States and during the voyage home he decided not to return
to Harvard Law School but to study on his own. This he did and passed
the Bar, April, 1873. A short time later he formed a law partnership
with Edward Jackson Lowell, a nephew of the founder of the Lowell Institute. This partnership was of short duration, however, for Lowell gave
up the law and devoted his thoughts to history. The two men had, very
likely been drawn together by their mutual interest in history. Brooks
Adams continued to maintain the office - more as a place to study Constitutional Law and write than as a place for the practice of law.

He saw a great deal of his parents both in Boston and Quincy during 1873

<sup>(6)</sup> Letters of Mrs. Henry Adams, ed. by Thoron, (Boston, 1936) p.27.

<sup>(7)</sup> Diary of Charles Francis Adams, Adams Papers, MHS, Microfilm-Reel

No. 84. (8) Anderson, op. cit., p. 24.



and 1874. Numerous references in Charles Francis Adams' Diary mention walking over the fields and roads of Quincy discussing family genealogy and history. On May 29, 1874, Charles Francis Adams recorded:

...went out to walk with Brooks. We went over the hill to Granite St. then through Copeland and Common St. home. Evening on the Portico. I find Brooks very eager for knowledge of American history.9

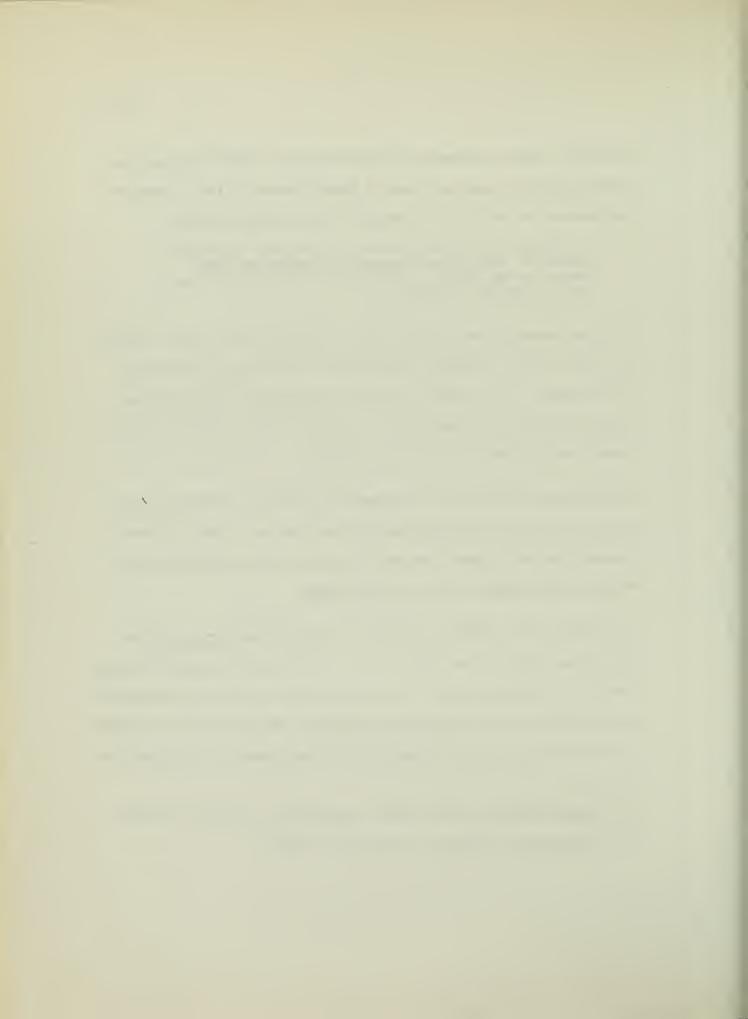
To Brooks Adams, Quincy always inspired a review of the colonial period. This was a natural reaction for Quincy was rural then and living was still informal. For example, a team of oxen drawing stones from the quarries was not an unusual sight. The entire family enjoyed the countryside and the simple way of life in Quincy.

Brooks Adams was interested in contemporary affairs and began to write letters to editors of the leading newspapers and periodicals. Often he received favorable comment from well-known and intellectual men like Whitelaw Reid, editor of the New York Tribune.

His brother, Henry Adams, was editor of the North American Review and Henry Cabot Lodge was assistant editor. This was good fortune for Brooks Adams who submitted his first article, "The Platform of the New Party," 10 for publication in the North American Review. The article was an historical attack on the growing centralization of government and an appeal for

<sup>(9)</sup> Diary of Charles Francis Adams, Adams Papers, MHS, Microfilm-Reel No. 85.

<sup>(10)</sup> North American Review, (July, 1874) pp. 33-60.



a strong President and the end of the spoils system. The preparation of this article led him to the study of public finance and early American history.

For July 4th celebrations the Adams family were in demand as speakers near home and sometimes far away. It should not have been a surprise, therefore, when in June of 1876, Brooks Adams was invited to read the Declaration of Independence in Boston on July 4th and to give the Centennial Address in Hingham on the same day. His father was delighted that his son was receiving recognition. Brooks Adams wrote the Hingham address, "The Cost of Popular Liberty," and sent the text to Henry at Beverly Farms for comment. On June 30 with obvious pride, Henry wrote Henry Cabot Lodge that his brother Brooks was coming "today or tomorrow, I hope to discuss the oration with me." When the day for the address came, Brooks Adams was unhappy with the reception he received in Hingham. He found comfort, however, in the fact that friends in Hingham sent it to the New York Tribune for publication July 5, 1876. Again on October 14 of the same year he gave an address in Utica, New York.

The year 1877 found Brooks Adams passing much time with his father, walk-

<sup>(11)</sup> Henry Adams Letters, 1858-1891, ed. by Worthington Chauncey Ford. (12) Anderson, op. cit., p. 229.



ing over the field and learning the history of the Quincy Family. In July Henry and his wife, Charles Jr. and his wife, and Brooks sat on the east piazza of the Old House and on the grass and discussed problems in American History with their Father. 14 Brooks was increasingly interested in economic, social and religious history. The family was frequently together in Quincy which pleased Mr. and Mrs. Charles Francis Adams.

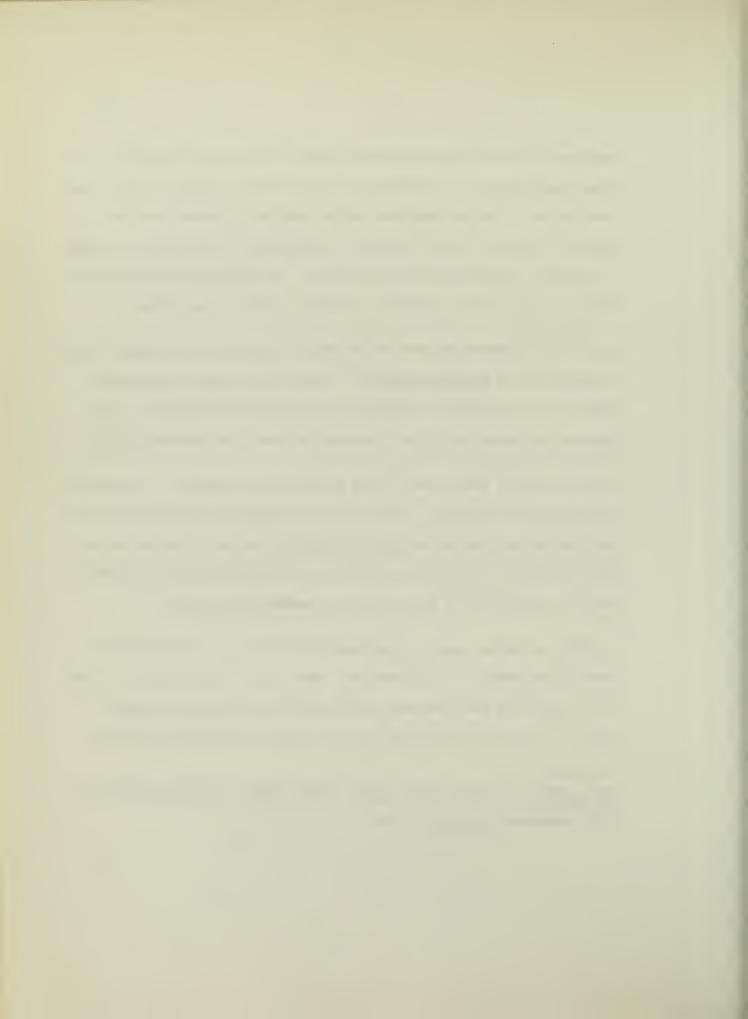
By 1878 Brooks Adams was deep in the study of taxation. He prepared three articles for the Atlantic Monthly: 15 "Abuse of Taxation," "Oppressive Taxation of the Poor" and "Oppressive Taxation and Its Remedy." They appeared in successive issues: October, November and December, 1878.

The same year he was elected to the Boston School Committee. Both he and his father were delighted. Brooks worked diligently on this project and published an article in the Atlantic Monthly, "The New Departure in the Public School," in which he advocated that children should be excited to learn and taught how to study with less emphasis upon memory.

In 1879, he entered upon a second partnership with a fellow student at
Harvard Law School, W. S. MacFarlane. They opened a law office on Devonshire Street not far from where Old Colony Trust Building now stands
(1966). They were fairly busy, but not enough to occupy Brooks Adams'

<sup>(14)</sup> Diary of Charles Francis Adams, Adams Papers, MHS, Microfilm-Reel No. 87.

<sup>(15)</sup> Anderson, op. cit., p. 230.



entire time. After a year, MacFarlane moved to New York. Brooks Adams now had the office alone. He was deep in the study of Constitutional Law so an office was convenient.

As interesting as this study of Constitutional Law was, however, Brooks Adams' interest in architecture became more and more absorbing. He decided to go to Normandy and the Pyrenees 16 to study Gothic architecture for a month. While he found his taste for ecclesiastical architecture had increased since 1870, he was far from sure that he could appreciate its full meaning.

Upon his return to America, he found the failing health of his parents depressing. His own health was not good, and because of the cold weather, he found it necessary to go to Washington to recuperate at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Adams for a couple of months. 17 In the spring of 1881 he returned to Quincy with his parents and decided to give up the practice of law, only taking those infrequent cases in which he had a personal interest. 18 He decided to continue his research in Constitutional Law and in the early history of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

<sup>(16)</sup> Beringause, op. cit., p. 68.
(17) Letters of Mrs. Henry Adams, ed. by Thoron, (Boston, 1936) p. 373.
(18) Madison, American Scholar, Vol. IX, 1940, p. 216. Also, Wilhelmina S. Harris was told by Brooks Adams that he had a trust from P. C. Brooks which assured him of financial independence.



In the summer of 1882 his father, Charles Francis Adams, had the misfortune to be ensnared by a card shark from New York. The Adams brothers, John and Charles, undertook to stop payment of the forged checks at the banks of New England and Brooks wrote a bold and detailed account of the affair which he published in the <u>Boston Globe</u>. The publicity was effective and the man or men were brought to justice. 19

During the winter of 1882-83 Brooks Adams gave a series of lectures on Constitutional Law at Harvard University, substituting for Professor Bradley Thayer who was on leave in Europe. He had been interested in the origins of the power of the charters and of the courts, and this series of lectures solidified his research. After the course was completed at Harvard, Brooks Adams published two articles in the Atlantic Monthly: "Embryo of a Commonwealth" in 1884 and "Consolidation of the Colonies" 1885.

Simultaneous with this historical research, Brooks Adams was active in national politics. He went all out in support of Grover Cleveland. The fact that Henry Cabot Lodge and Theodore Roosevelt called him a "perverse lunatic" did not deter his enthusiasm for the democratic party.

<sup>(19)</sup> Account related by Brooks Adams to Wilhelmina S. Harris; also, Beringause, p. 70. Due to this episode the family reorganized their financial status and Mrs. Charles Francis Adams was made head of the Family with an annual income of more than \$73,000. Ernest Samuels, Henry Adams - The Middle Years (Cambridge, 1958), p. 469.

<sup>(20)</sup> Anderson, op. cit., p. 34.

<sup>(21)</sup> Ibid., p.  $\frac{230}{230}$ .

<sup>(22)</sup> Ibid., p. 230.



Horace Elisha Scudder, editor of Houghton Mifflin and Company, being aware of Brooks Adams' study of the Puritans and of the power of the clergy, asked him to prepare for publication a history of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Brooks Adams agreed and much of the publication was written in the Stone Library in Quincy. It went to the press in 1886.

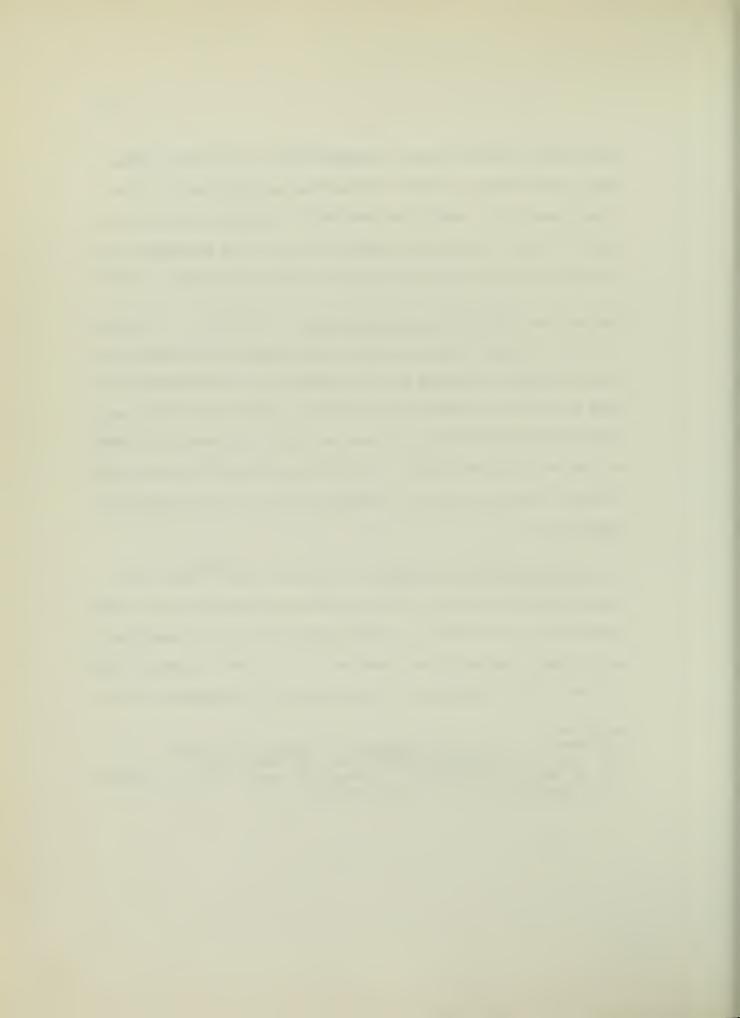
When the book, Emancipation of Massachusetts, was finished, it contained a study of theology, exploring with critical candor Cotton Mather who tried to justify the burning of the witches<sup>23</sup> and Increase Mather who posed as Christ's foremost champion. Brooks Adams did not forget such leaders as Governor Winthrop and Reverend John Norton whom he portrayed as cruel and conceited bigots.<sup>24</sup> In this study Brooks Adams thought he discovered the process by which religious minorities develop power and then lose it.

The Emancipation of Massachusetts was published in 1887<sup>25</sup> and Brooks

Adams received both hostile criticism and some noteworthy praise. Some thought that it was written as a lawyer would write an indictment and had no trace of the pen of an historian. Even so, Brooks Adams had been outspoken against prejudices, and Worthington C. Ford commented: "From

<sup>(23)</sup> Madison, Critics and Crusaders, (New York, 1947) p.290. (24) Madison, The American Scholar, Vol. IX, 1940, p. 217.

<sup>(25)</sup> At Quincy in July of 1919, Brooks Adams wrote an extensive preface to the Emancipation for the second edition.



that day, the filiopietistic school of history was laughed out of court."26

Since, upon the death of Charles Francis Adams, Henry Adams had accepted the responsibility of both the Old House<sup>27</sup> and of his mother during the summer months, Brooks Adams felt free to plan a trip abroad. To prepare for a new writing project he began reading theology backward to the crusades.

By March of 1887 his eyes were tired and his doctors recommended a rest. Brooks Adams was not one to just vegetate, so he set off for Germany, France and England to find out what he could on "the spot." He revisited the English cathedrals, studied the Gothic of Chartres and Notre-Dame, the stained glass of SainteChappelle and the German language. This was a rewarding six months. At the Old House Henry Adams was impatient to get back to Washington, so, he was overjoyed when his brother reached Quincy on October 1, 1887.<sup>28</sup>

After a winter of visiting with his invalid mother, studying and taking part in national politics, Brooks Adams decided to go abroad again in quest for more background for his new book.

He was in London in June of 1888 interviewing leading theologians, but

<sup>(26)</sup> Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, 1926-1927, Vol. 60, Worthington C. Ford, p. 346.

 <sup>(27)</sup> Stevenson, op. cit., p. 199.
 (28) Henry Adams Letters, 1858-1891, ed. Worthington C. Ford, p. 385.



the Gothic of France attracted him more than the theologians at Cambridge, so he left for France. Mont Saint Michel and Chartres were more meaningful each time he visited them. He felt that architecture was the "inspired language in which they communed with God. It expressed poetry in the carved stones." The Gothic was spontaneous, elevated, dignified and pure."

It was on this trip (1888) abroad that "by accident" he discovered Le Mans Cathedral. Later he wrote:

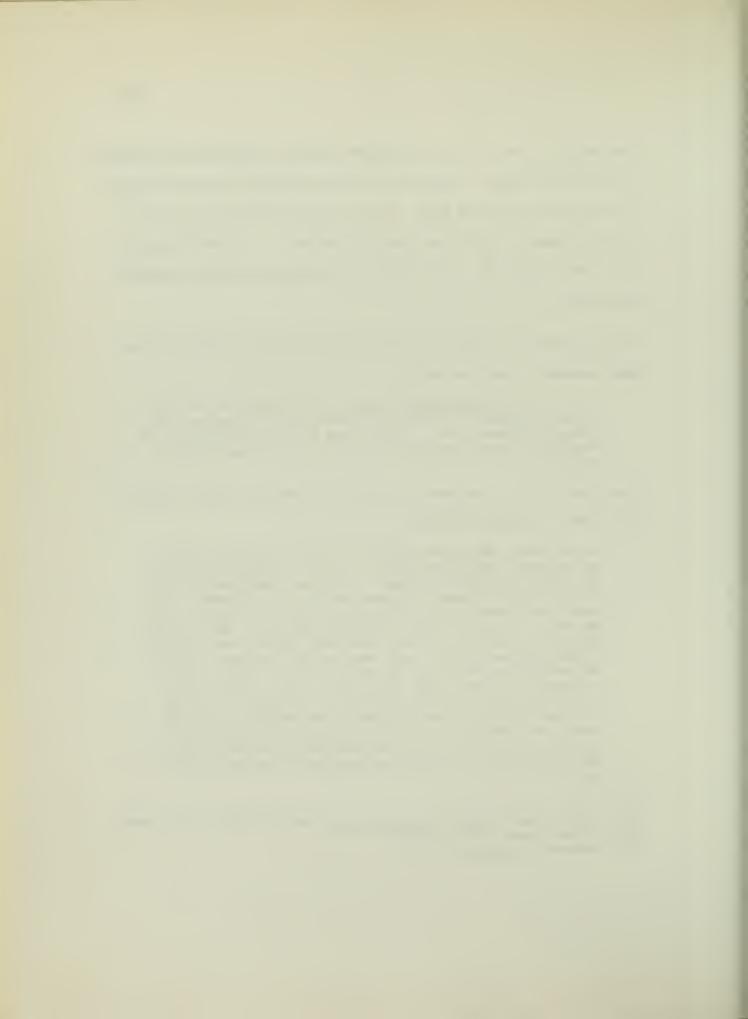
...Of course everything pales before my discovery of the meaning of the Gothic in 1888, which was to me a revelation. My intense excitement when I first began to read Chartres, and Le Mans, and all the rest could never be equalled again by anything. 30

Eight years later on September 21, 1895, he wrote his brother Henry of this visit to Le Mans in 1888.

On the whole, the parts of my life which I look back to with the greatest delight are those I have spent among the churches and castles of the Middle Ages. If I have a particularly weak spot it is for Le Mans, I suppose because it was there I first came to understand what the great poem meant. I remember the day well. I came to Le Mans largely on accident, and on strolling up the cathedral I found some great function was at hand. I asked what was on foot, and they told me they were to sing the mass of the Fete-Dieu. I had never heard a great mass in a Gothic church, and I sat down in the nave to listen. The bishop and chapter came in and the service began. The light was blazing through those thirteenth century windows of the choir, and lighting up that marvellous glass of the twelfth century of the nave, the arches were misty with incense, and the mass was sung by a choir of boys, under the lead of one

(30) Anderson, op. cit., p. 44.

<sup>(29)</sup> Brooks Adams, Civilization and Decay (Boston, 1896), Second American Edition, Boston, 1921, p. 380.



of the canons with a simplicity that is impossible outside of France. As it went on and on, and they sang their hymns, I confess that I disgraced myself. I felt for half an hour as I know the men must have felt who stained those windows, and built those arches. I really and truly did believe the miracle, and as I sat and blubbered in the nave, and knelt at the elevation I did receive the body of God. That was years ago now, but it was the day on which I resolved to go to Palestine, and to see there at Jerusalem, what it was that had made the crusades. 31

After his visit at Le Mans he decided to go to Palestine by way of Italy. On his way he took a look at the ruins in Italy. To Brooks Adams, the architecture of Italy reflected the commercial influence of the trade routes. He missed the purity of the Gothic.

He had read much of the Crusades and was anxious to get on to Syria.

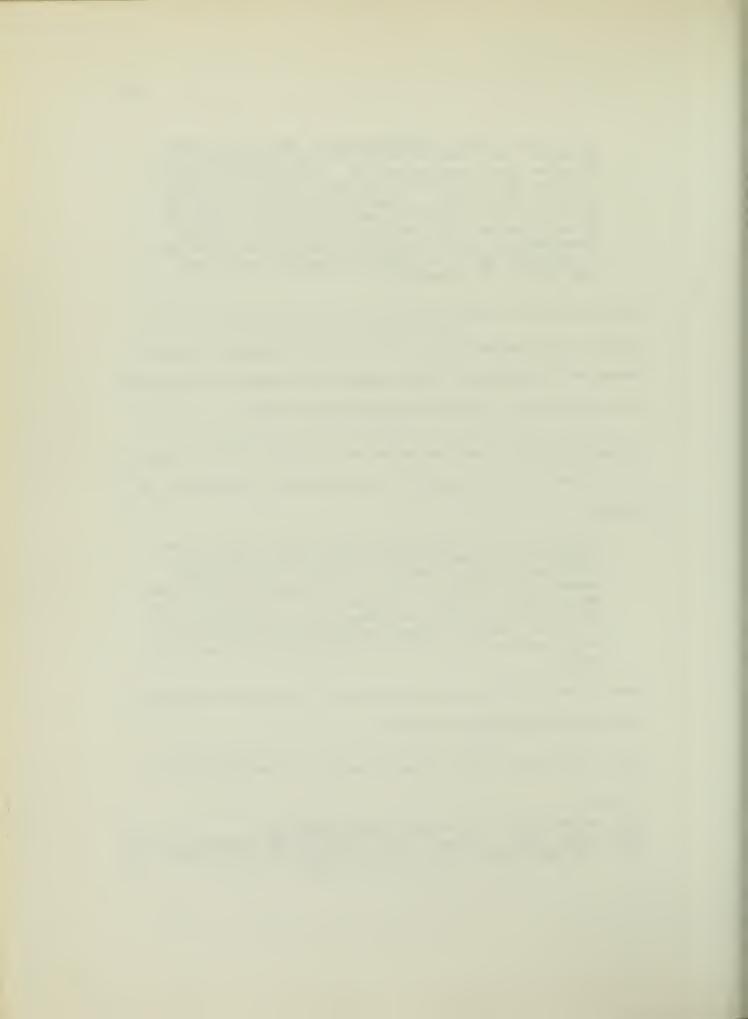
At the Roman ruins of Baalbek his thoughts began to crystallize. He wrote:

And as I wandered, and looked at the remains of the past and considered the topography of the lands I had visited, ideas came to me as wide as the poles from what I had previously supposed such ideas could be. I can see myself now as I stood one day amidst the ruins of Baalbek, and I can still feel the shock of surprise I then felt, when the conviction dawned upon me, ...that the fall of Rome came about by a competition between slave and free labor and an inferiority in Roman industry.32

Years later he was to say that at Baalbek the inspiration for The Law of Civilization and Decay was born.

Due to his mother's rapid decline he returned to the United States.

<sup>(31)</sup> Brooks Adams to Henry Adams, Adams Collection.
(32) Brooks Adams, "Heritage of Henry Adams" - as it appears in Henry Adams' The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma, (New York, 1920) p. 89.



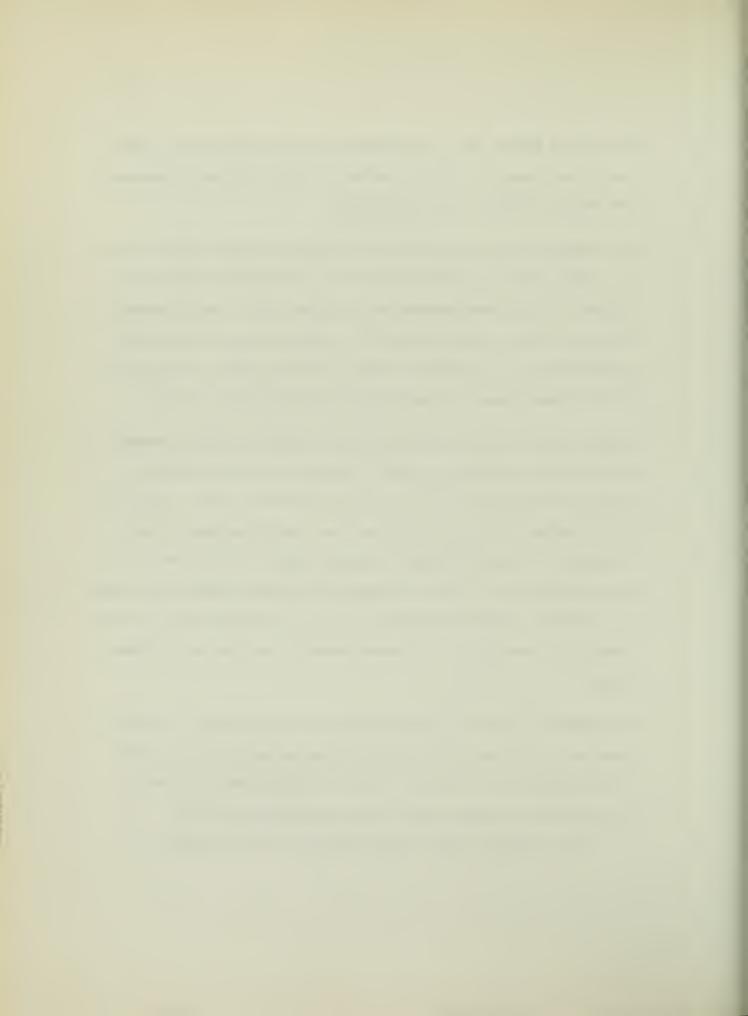
She died on June 6, 1889. Brooks Adams was now at loose ends. Previously, the illnesses of both his parents had kept him feeling necessary. Now he had no stabilizing responsibility.

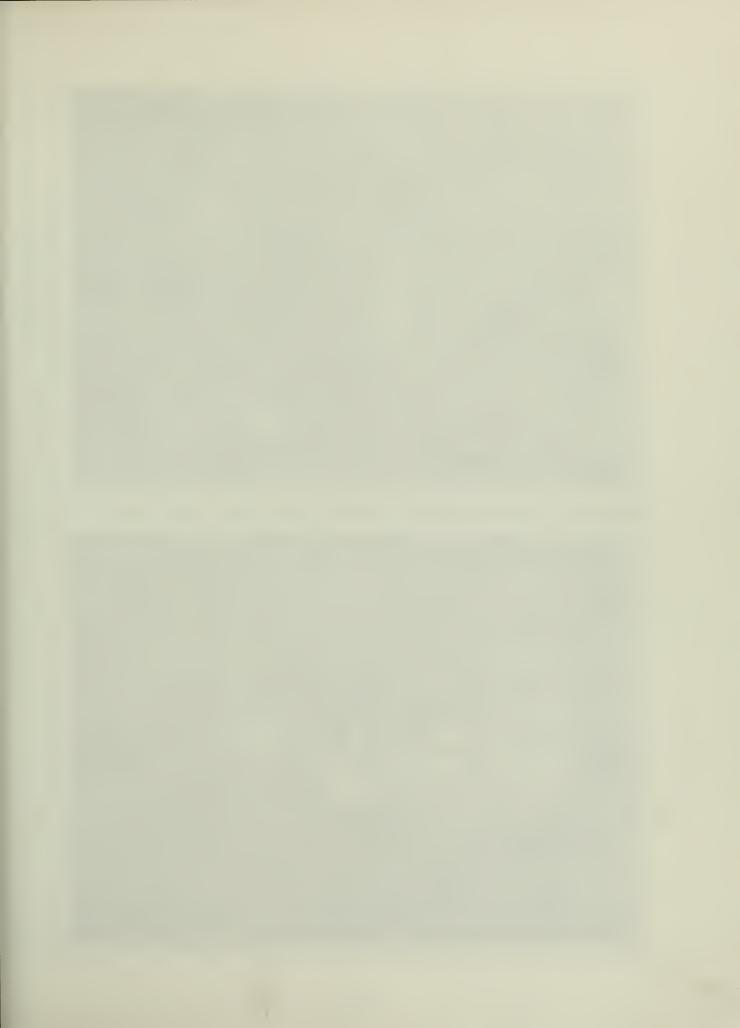
His mother had often suggested that he should be married. He consulted Mrs. Henry Cabot Lodge about this matter and expressed a desire to get married if he only knew someone just like Mrs. Lodge. She introduced him to her sister, Miss Evelyn Davis. Indeed, he saw much similarity in the sisters!! At Quincy the summer of 1889 was full of anticipation for the coming years. At long last he had decided to be married.

After a brief courtship he and Miss Davis, daughter of Admiral Davis, were married on September 7, 1889. They went to England and France where he introduced her to his favorite architectural gems. Then, just as his brother Henry and his wife had done, the Brooks Adamses took a dahabeah to cruise up the Nile. Visiting temples and tombs was exciting, and Brooks Adams thought constantly of the great architecture which had existed so many centuries before. Thus, their wedding trip had the advantage of contributing an enormous amount of material for his later books.

From Egypt Mr. and Mrs. Adams journeyed on to the Holy Land. In Jerusalem and at the castle Krak des Chevaliers his emotions were similar to his experiences at Le Mans in France. Of this part of the journey he recalled in a letter to Henry Adams on September 21, 1895:

And at Jerusalem, and in Syria the great poem still lives.









There is the utter desolation of decay, the remains of the age of faith have not been vulgarized by cockneys, or cheapened by Gold-Bugs, and among the Lebanon you still find the lonely and abandoned castles and churches of the Frankish pilgrims, standing as they left them, grim, strong, overpowering in majesty, by the side of which Mont Saint Michel is as a jewel box. The effect is beyond anything I have ever felt. I remember well when Evelyn (Mrs. Brooks Adams) walked into our Lady of Tortosa, the twelfth century cathedral of the Templars, she was completely overcome. Indeed I do believe that for pathos there is nothing like it in the world. I do not pretend to judge of the greater or the less absolutely, I only know what appeals to me. Greeks, or Hindoos, or someone whom I don't understand may have done finer things. ... To me the Gothic is the greatest emotional stimulant in the world. I am of it, I understand it, I know how those men felt, and I am in feeling absolutely at one with Saint Anselm, or Godfrey de Bouillon.33

Their wedding trip took up the greater part of a year. Of course, it was actually passed where Mr. Adams could find the most material for his writing. Being a good traveller, I am sure Mrs. Adams enjoyed this experience. She was always interested in whatever her husband said would advance his work.

In the "Heritage of Henry Adams," Brooks Adams wrote of his decision to come home:

When I had thus gathered, as I thought enough material for my immediate wants, we came home and I established myself in my father's old house in Quincy, and I set myself to digest the chaos in my mind, but I soon found that to be a far more arduous undertaking than I had looked for, and it was more than two years before I had brought my theory into anything like a concrete form. 34

(34) "The Heritage of Henry Adams," op. cit., p. 90.

<sup>(33)</sup> Brooks Adams to Henry Adams, Houghton Collection. Illustration 18 - photographs of Mr. and Mrs. Brooks Adams.



In late 1890 Mr. and Mrs. Adams were back in Quincy and for about a year and one half Mr. Adams worked diligently organizing the material collected during this travel for his manuscript. In this next book he was to show that shifting centers of civilization followed the changing of trade routes. He pointed out that the fall of Rome represented a period of one thousand years of decentralization during which time men, motivated by the fear of the invisible, yielded to the rule of the clergy and the magnificent cathedrals were built. As trade developed, the force of "fear" gave way to "greed" which in time brought about the Reformation and a separation of Church and State. His thesis was original and it required extensive research and organization to trace the law of history which he had undertaken.

All the while Brooks Adams never lost interest in politics. In 1892 he took the time to campaign for the Democrats. From the Old House he went to address Democratic rallies in a number of cities such as Springfield, Greenfield, Newton, and Plymouth.<sup>35</sup> Unlike his brother Henry, who avoided disagreement, Brooks Adams threw himself wholeheartedly into political debates to try to have elected the candidate he thought best suited to cope with the problems of the times. For the second time he supported Grover Cleveland for President. After the election was over, he returned to his manuscript.

The year 1893 saw him occupied with his writing and with his private

<sup>(35)</sup> Anderson, op. cit., pp. 230-231.



financial problems. The panic of 1893 had come. Charles Francis Adams, Jr. and Brooks Adams saw their private as well as family estate on the verge of disaster. They both urged Henry Adams, who was then in Switzerland, to come home. Their oldest brother, John Quincy Adams, was so disturbed by the panic and its effect upon the family affairs that he had a nervous breakdown. 36

As requested, Henry came to America. His private estate was not involved, but Brooks Adams had his brothers assurance that if necessary he would throw in his estate as collateral. During the hot August days in Quincy, Henry and Brooks talked of things other than "pecuniary embarrassment." They strolled in the garden toward sunset, and Brooks was delighted to be alone with Henry. Brooks Adams wrote, "So one day, when we were relatively at leisure, I produced my potential book and said to Henry: 'Please read this manuscript for me and tell me whether it is worth printing or whether it is quite mad.'" Henry's reply was, "Brooks, your book is good and worth printing, but I must warn you, it will cost you dear. I know not if you have any political or other ambitions, but this will be their death blow. The gold-bugs will never forgive you."37

After Henry Adams left the Old House in the autumn of 1893, Brooks Adams began to rework his manuscript. For another couple of years he remained in Quincy as late in the fall and returned as early in the spring as the weather permitted, partly to recoup his finances, but mostly to write

<sup>(36)</sup> Ernest Samuels, Henry Adams, (Cambridge, 1964) Vol. III, pp. 115-117. (37) "Heritage of Henry Adams," op. cit., p. 91.



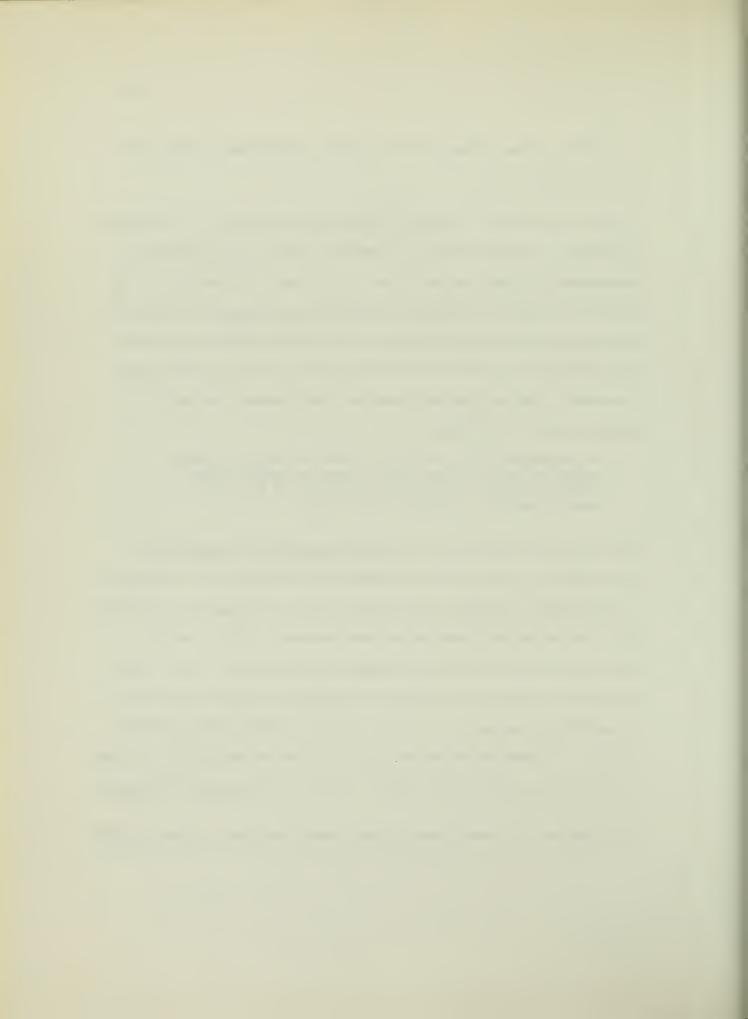
and study. He made a short visit to Italy to check some details of his manuscript. 38

In 1894 his manuscript, The Law of Civilization and Decay, was ready for publication. Macmillan Company in New York turned it down, but Swan, Sonnenschein in London agreed, after a \$500 deposit, to publish it. It was quite a tribute to The Law of Civilization and Decay that immediately following the London publication, the Macmillan Company in New York gave orders for two hundred and fifty copies at the time for the American market. The book was well received. Henry Adams wrote Mrs. Don Cameron on October 4, 1895:

My admiration for it is much too great to be told. I have sought all my life those truths which this mighty infant, this seer unblest, has struck with the agony and bloody sweat of genius. I stand in awe of him.

Just as Brooks Adams had done when The Emancipation of Massachusetts was to appear, he left the United States when the manuscript of The Law of Civilization and Decay went to the publishers and began a new venture. This time he and Mrs. Adams sailed about December 1, 1895 for India. They were in Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay among other places. Mrs. Adams knew how nervous her husband was and how smooth life must be for him to accomplish the maximum in research. India was a great disappointment to him. Mr. Adams was depressed by the architecture and Indian art since it lacked the quality of the French. Not even the appearance of The Law

<sup>(38)</sup> Letter from Brooks Adams to Henry Adams dated Venice, June 30, 1894.







Mr. Brooks Adams standing in doorway, Mrs. Adams with hat on, and servants. Bungalow at Taifabad. Hyderabad, Decca, India. February 1, 1896.

of Civilization and Decay for sale in far away Calcutta and Hyderabad could raise his wilted spirits. Mrs. Adams took a house and employed a staff of servants to try to make life pleasant.<sup>39</sup> When Mr. Adams developed gastric fever, Mrs. Adams became frightened for him and they sailed for Egypt. She thought the famous old Shepheard Hotel would be an ideal place to recuperate. Ho That did not really work, for Mr. Adams overexerted himself to check familiar bits of old civilization all around him. Mrs. Adams then insisted upon Paris and the journey home. He By early June, 1896 the Adamses were in Quincy and Brooks was writing the Preface for an American edition of his Law. This Preface was dated "Quincy, August 20, 1896," and now the Macmillan Company was willing to print it. This American edition came out in February, 1897; September, 1897; October, 1898; July, 1903; and again in 1951. There were 2,900 copies sold between 1898 and the time the book went out of print around 1910.

In the summer of 1896 he worked for the Democrats again. He gave an address in Hancock Hall in Quincy for a political rally practically endorsing Bryan for President. Bostonians were hostile to him and his address, but in the Far West they were jubilant that he had come out for Bryan, the "Great Commoner." However, his feelings about Bryan

<sup>(39)</sup> Illustration 19 on opposite page.

<sup>(40)</sup> Reminiscences of Brooks Adams to Wilhelmina S. Harris. Beringause, op. cit. p. 144.

(41) Ibid., p. 145.







changed by the time of the election and the latter's defeat for the Presidency did not disappoint Brooks Adams. Indeed, in the late fall of 1896 he became physically ill due in large part to his embarrassment in supporting Bryan. He decided to go to Bath, England to take the "cure." Just before he left Quincy, Brooks Adams wrote his brother Henry:

Quincy, October 31, 1896. To add to our confusion (in packing) the ceiling of the Long Room has at last come down and I am having it trussed up, so that we have the carpenters.

By the spring of 1897 Brooks Adams and his wife were back home. They went for a visit to Washington where Theodore Roosevelt, Henry Cabot Lodge and Brooks Adams renewed their warm friendship. They were even known as the "Three Musketeers." His recreational routine at Quincy consisted of walking and riding horseback. 43

During the summer of 1897 while the Adamses were in Quincy, Mr. Adams' principle companions were the frequent letters from Henry Adams, Henry Cabot Lodge and Theodore Roosevelt. Brooks Adams found satisfaction in being one of the three musketeers. This position of importance with two big political figures did not distract his attention from his writing. The summer saw much progress in the French translation of the Law. In December of 1897 he was back in Paris to work with Auguste Dietrieh who was engaged to do the French translation. Brooks Adams' knowledge

<sup>(42)</sup> Reminiscences of Brooks Adams to Wilhelmina S. Harris.
(43) Illustration 20 is a photograph of Brooks Adams on horseback in Quincy. Original at Adams NRS.



of French was greater than Dietrieh's knowledge of English, so for the most part Mr. Adams did his own translation.

Mr. Adams continued to work on the French translation of his Law until October 17, 1898 when he was able to write Henry that the big job of verifying every fact from the original was completed. In March of 1899 La Loi de la Civilisation et de la Decadence was published in Paris.

Soon after the French edition appeared, he received a demand for it to be translated into Russian. The success of his Law gratified Brooks Adams and his brother Henry Adams, also.

The acclaim his Law received in the United States and then the French edition, and his activity in the American political field brought requests for Mr. Adams to address numerous groups. On May 12, 1899 at a joint dinner meeting of the National Sculpture Society and the National Society of Mural Painters, Mr. Adams spoke on "Art in America." It was printed in the American Architect, June 3, 1899. A few quotes from this address came out in the New York Times Saturday Review:

Our Society is gathering momentum, and as it surges onward, our art gains dignity and scope. Well do I remember when our fathers thought this land a barren soil ... and yet as I glance about me now I see we lead the van.

He also gave excellent rating to the stained glass of La Farge, the statues of St. Gaudens and the paintings and etchings of West and of Sargent.

He stated that "in architecture we stand in some respects alone." Then

<sup>(44)</sup> Anderson, op. cit., p. 232.



Brooks Adams placed the responsibility of American art reaching its potential upon the people. He said, "It has ever been the function of the artist and the poet to give expression to the popular aspiration of his age."

The preparation for Brooks Adams' next two books took him again to Europe - Italy, Turkey, Germany, and Russia. He set out in the fall of 1899 on the quest for material for his new project. He expected to get to China, but Mrs. Adams became ill in Bad Kissengen where they were both taking the "water cure." Her health did not improve so they went to Berchtesgaden with the hope that mountain air might help. Unfortunately, this did not help Mrs. Adams either. Finally, Mr. Adams decided to go to Dresden. For several weeks they remained there, Brooks Adams feeling he was buried alive while interesting world events were out of his reach. About the time they were to leave Dresden, Mrs. Adams had a slight stroke. However, with a little time and a strong constitution, Mrs. Adams began to recover. Her eyes, which had been affected, grew strong again, although, later in life she suffered from eye strain which Mr. Adams thought went back to this stroke in November, 1899.

Regardless of the perils of winter travel to Russia, the Adamses set out for St. Petersburg in January, 1900. Mrs. Adams loved the snow, so the journey across the country covered in snow must have been beautiful and

<sup>(45)</sup> Beringause, op. cit., p. 189.(46) Reminiscences of Brooks Adams to Wilhelmina S. Harris.



breathtaking. The elaborate plans for travel to a dozen other Russian cities and across to Asia were abandoned lest it overtax Mrs. Adams.

The summer of 1900 found them again in Quincy and Brooks Adams busy in the Stone Library putting the final touches to America's Economic Supremacy. This was a group of essays and the last of these essays, "Russia's Interest in China," was the direct inspiration for the Russian visit.

Mr. Adams finished his manuscript on August 2, 1900. Then he was free to take part in political campaigns. 47

Prior to the publication of his next book, Mr. and Mrs. Adams went to Greece and Turkey. 48 The next book, The New Empire, was finished in Quincy, August 27, 1902 and translated into German in 1908. Of these two books of essays Mr. Adams had this to say:

I Believe it to be impossible to overestimate the effect upon civilization of the variations of trade routes. According to ancient tradition the whole valley of the Syr-Daria was once so thickly settled that a nightingale could fly from branch to branch of the fruit trees and a cat walk from wall to wall and from housetop to housetop, from Kashgar to the Sea of Aral.

Bagdad also was once the most splendid capital of the world.

Mr. Adams' research revealed the use of sea routes for trade. This form of travel proved cheaper than overland. The drawback was that the vessels carrying precious articles were not entirely safe - many were poorly

<sup>(47)</sup> Mr. Adams had not been a good Democrat since Bryan appeared on the scene and about 1900 he formally went over to the Republican Party.

<sup>(48)</sup> In 1959 the writer retraced the steps of the Adamses on a visit to Greece. Mr. Adams had so often spoken of riding horseback over the vast countryside near St. Lewkes Cathedral.

<sup>(49)</sup> Brooks Adams, The New Empire, pp. iv and v.



constructed. The valuable goods were not always properly packed and so were damaged in transit. Many of the vessels and cargo were lost. The result was that Bagdad, once so flourishing and beautiful, sank into a "mass of hovel," and the valley of the "Syr-Daria" became a wilderness.50

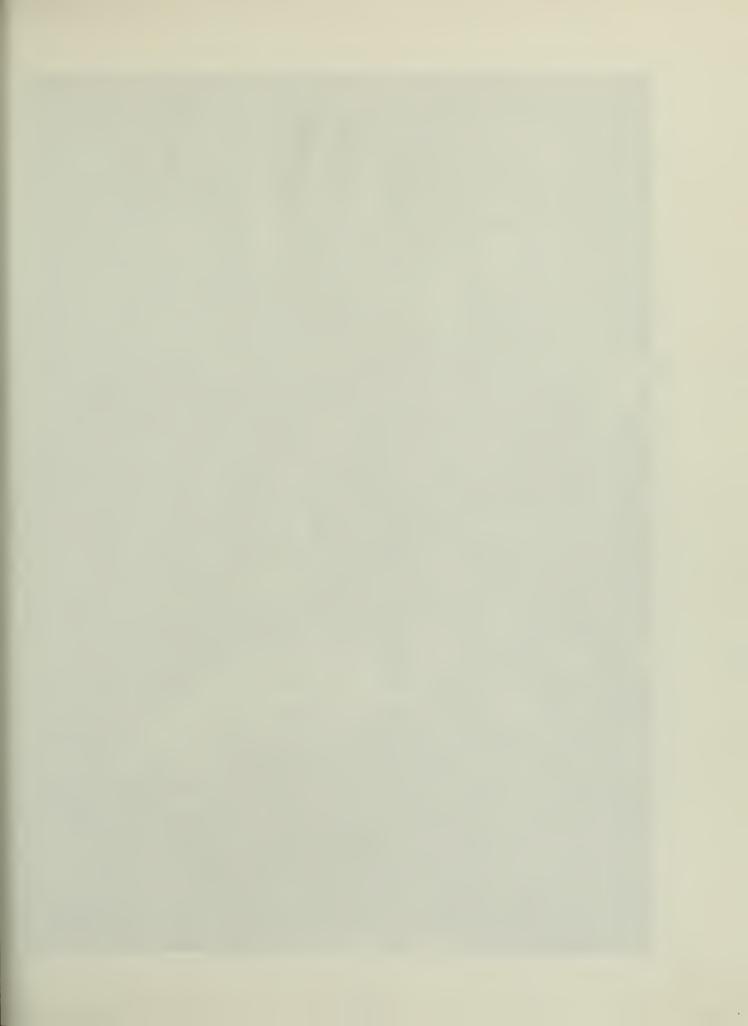
With Theodore Roosevelt in the White House, Brooks Adams diverted some of his time and much of his interest from writing in order to confer with the President in Washington. From his home in Quincy, letters went frequently to give President Theodore Roosevelt advice. There were pleasant years which gave Mr. Adams a sense of importance. These were also the great years - advising Roosevelt, discussing law with Oliver Wendell Holmes and finding Henry Cabot Lodge, his brother-in-law, interested in reading his essays. Brooks Adams felt a surge of personal triumph!!

During these exciting years Brooks Adams wrote articles and lectured upon various phases of education such as "Unity in Modern Education; General View, Historical and Psychological" which he delivered at a Boston University law fraternity dinner, February 6, 1908.51 The Atlantic published an article on "Problems in Civilization" in July, 1910. He had the satisfaction of having two of his books translated into German and one into Russian. He threw himself wholeheartedly into the preparation of a biography of his grandfather. He withdrew it from publication

<sup>(50)</sup> 

Ibid., p. 6.
Anderson, op. cit., p. 235.







and destroyed all copies except a manuscript copy which he left with the family papers. 52

MANUSCRIPT TRUST (1905-1955) - (Subdivision Adams Real Estate Trust)
Brooks Adams continued in residence.

It was in 1905 that the family decided to separate the Old House and furnishings, the manuscripts, the Stone Library and books from the Adams Real Estate Trust. The decision of the family to establish the Manuscript Trust 1905 to 1955 encouraged Brooks Adams to devote his attention to establish the Old House as a repository for family art effect.

On January 1, 1906 Brooks Adams wrote to Henry:

They have pestered me to death about this china. I have absolutely declined giving anything of mine. I do not believe it ever was used in the White House, and I don't care to have it at the mercy of the presidents' wives like Mrs. Cleveland, who melted the silver. I think you are quite right to give it to the Trust, you being a trustee. At the same time you might convey your pictures in the Old House, if you have no particular legatee. We have already conveyed the Boylston and John Quincy by our releases. We are beginning already to have relics deposited. I have received two in a week - quite curious ones. I shall give all my portraits as well as whatever other relics I have which ought to belong to the house.

Great progress was made during the spring. Mr. Adams had brought home from his last visit to Paris enough damask to cover the Louis XV furniture in the Long Room. The mahogany paneling was rubbed down and the front gates designed by Brooks Adams and put to scale by a student of

<sup>(52)</sup> Reminiscences of Brooks Adams to Wilhelmina S. Harris. This copy he prized because of the marginal notes his brother Henry had entered when Brooks Adams asked him to read it. Illustration 21 is of Mr. and Mrs. Adams with the dogs in the old garden near the southwest corner.



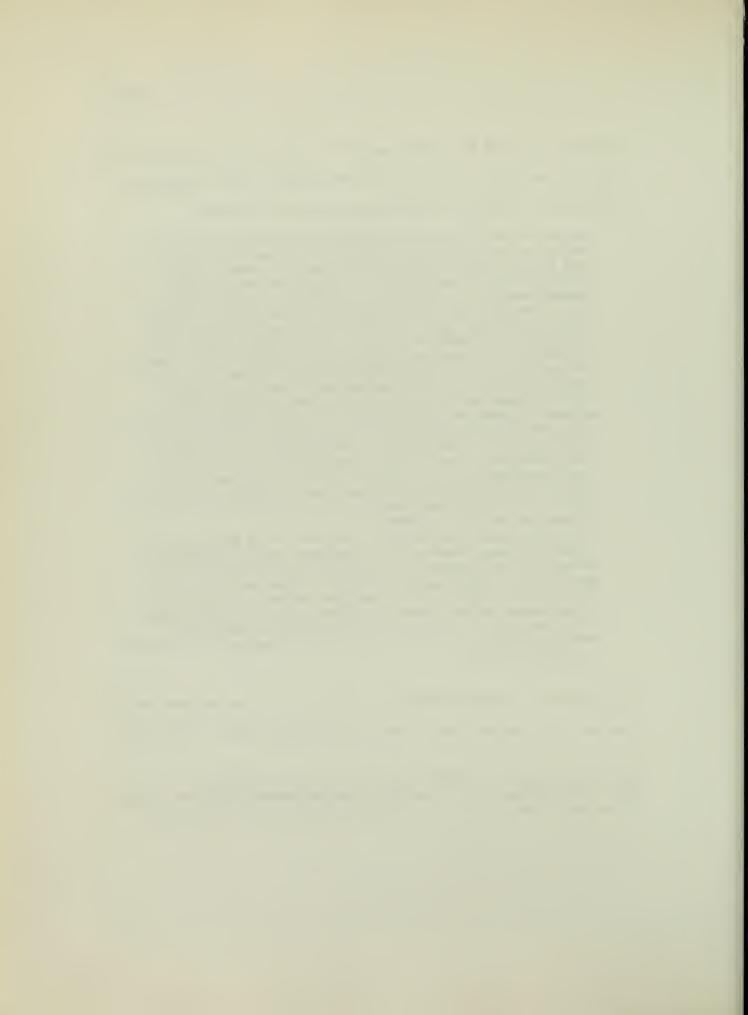
architecture from M.I.T. were completed.<sup>53</sup> The brick wall between the gates was installed - all of this to Brooks Adams' great satisfaction. He was able to write his brother Henry on April 15, 1906:

Before you sail I wish you would come to Quincy for a day or two to see the house. You know how it was run down, but we have slowly been bringing it into shape for several years. We have restored the Long Room furniture, we have got the Paneled Room, I do really think, magnificent. The mahogany is like velvet, and none of your vile shellac such as these modern decorators use. Wax, rubbed to a quality which would have graced the eighteenth century. Louis XIV, 54 might have accepted it. We have now got the house painted, and the porch restored with the old flags which I found all complete, where they have been buried. The gates and the wall are complete with the vines and shrubs, and the garden, we flatter ourselves, is prettier than the garden of MMe de Sevigne at Vitre. This year we put our last touches to it in the way of color. In short but one thing remains - the dining room, and about that I hesitate. Should it be restored in white, or left as our father changed it? If left the wood must be dressed. I should be much pleased if you would come and look at the old place as it stands today, and give me your advice, as I am torn in mind and you are a trustee.

You really should see the house once more as we have it now. I have seen many places, but of its kind, representing what it does, the first century of the replublic, the home of three generations of New England gentlemen, I know nothing to equal it here or elsewhere. It is complete, unique, and charming. Evelyn sends love and joins in urging you to come though May 1 is too early for our flowers, our larkspur and foxgove and roses and syringa. We are of the early 19 century - or nothing - in flowers and all.

His interest in wallpaper appropriate for the Old House occupied the attention of Mr. and Mrs. Adams over a long period of time. After trying

<sup>(53)</sup> Reminiscences of Brooks Adams to Wilhelmina S. Harris (54) Brooks Adams used to reminisce that his brother Henry said that he was not in harmony with civilization after the Louis XIV period.



stripes on the walls, they decided upon the grey scenic paper now on the walls of the hallways. Mr. and Mrs. Brooks Adams also selected the dark green linoleum on the hallways replacing the "Brussel's Carpet" design used by his mother, Mrs. Charles Francis Adams.

The ever increasing work on the Old House and soliciting family objects for it interfered with foreign travel. The trips abroad were mainly for the "water cure" at Kissengen, a trip to Le Mans, Chartre, Notra Dame, Saint Chappelle and London. Besides these architectural experiences, Mr. and Mrs. Adams did the greater part of their shopping while on these short trips abroad.<sup>55</sup>

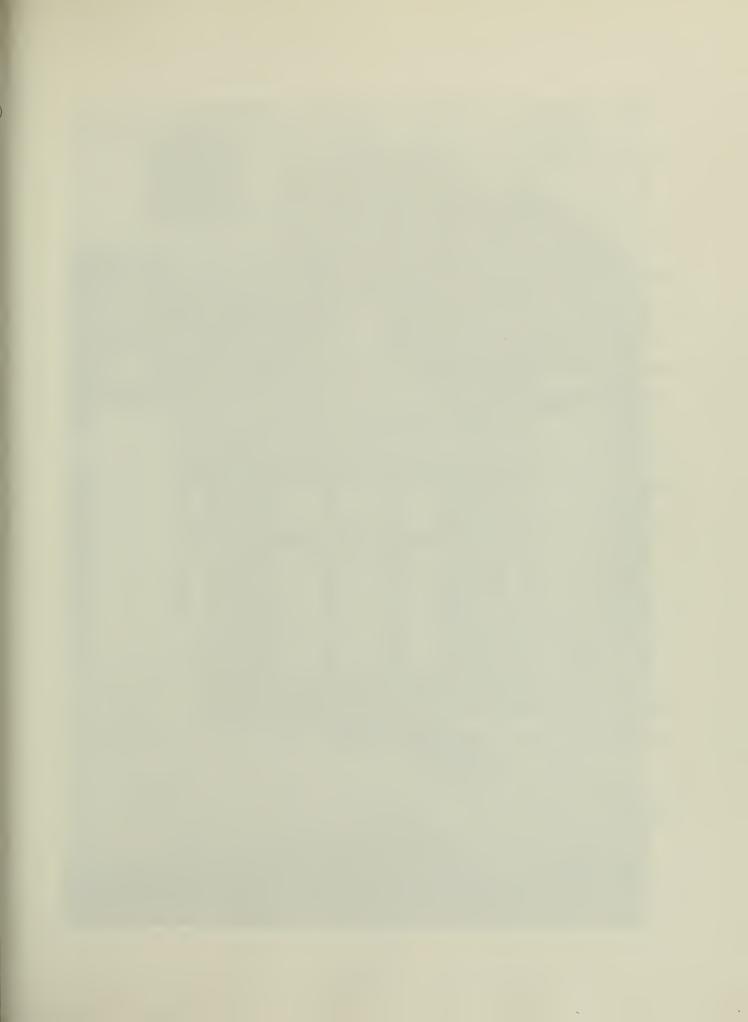
Brooks Adams did more and more writing and speaking. On December 14, 1911, he read a paper at the Massachusetts Historical Society. His first presentation of this paper was at the First Parish Church, Quincy, on June 12, 1911. The title was "Seizure of the Laird Rams." It was really Brooks Adams' impression of his father as an American Statesman. This was a distinguished gathering. Mr. Bellamy Storer traveled from Washington to hear Mr. Adams. 56

The Theory of Social Revolution was finished in Quincy in 1913. He continued to lecture at such places as the American Academy of Arts and Letters

<sup>(55)</sup> Mrs. Adams shopped in Paris at the most exclusive places but Mr. Adams bought all of his clothes in London at Hill Bros. on Bond Street. Wilhelmina S. Harris.

<sup>(56)</sup> Reminiscences of Brooks Adams to Wilhelmina S. Harris. Also, newspaper clipping in the Old House contains same information.







and the National Institute of Arts and Sciences. In Quincy, Brooks Adams enjoyed the Old House, the Garden, his horses, his dogs<sup>57</sup> and more and more devoted himself to reading astronomy, biographies of men familiar to him and visiting art galleries. Early in the morning he inspected the Old House and Garden; in the afternoon he rode horseback in Merrymount Park or the Blue Hills Reservation. In the evening it was his custom to read poetry aloud to Mrs. Adams. If he had literary guests, he read to them. If they were businessmen, he omitted the reading of poetry and went into animated discussion of trade routes. He started with the trade centers in Babylon, then Rome, then Constantinople, then to Venice, on to Antwerp, finally to London in 1810; the failure of Barings in 1890 from which England never revived; a discussion of the American panic in 1893; then America as the acknowledged center of trade in 1900; and his prediction of the final catastrophe in the financial world in 1930.

After the publication of The Theory of Social Revolution, Mr. and Mrs.

Adams went to Europe for the "water cure" again. While they were there,
the War of 1914 broke out and amid much confusion they finally got passage on the Finland to return to the United States. Some people, even
his family, found him spirited by the war. Whatever he may have thought
about war in the past, at this particular time he was gratified that it

<sup>(57)</sup> Illustration 22 - the Scotch terriers were house dogs. On occasion they went into the Boston house, but the larger dogs remained in Quincy.



was what he had predicted for years only to be ridiculed as erratic and mentally unstable.

## NEW TRUST (1917-1927)

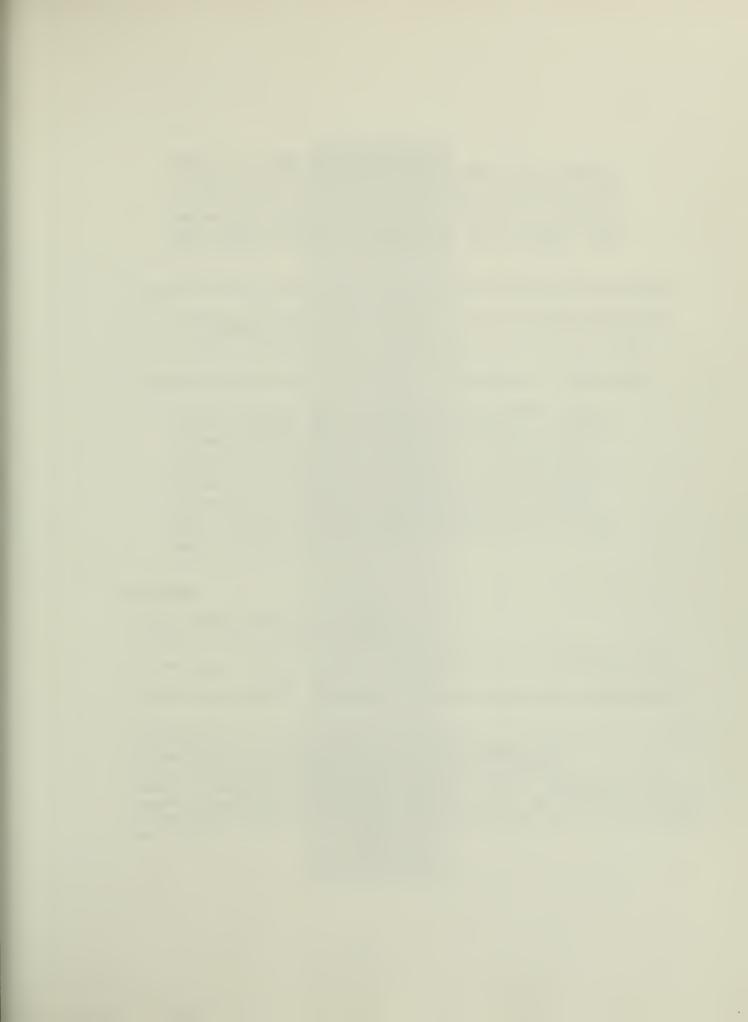
### Brooks Adams continued in residence

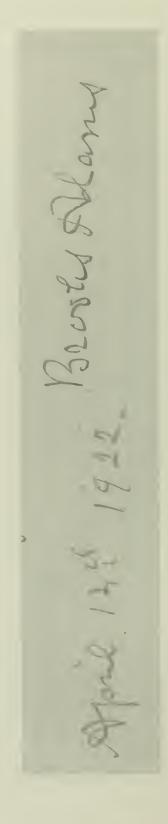
It was found in 1917 that the Family Papers were deteriorating in the Stone Library. The responsibilities of the Manuscript Trust (1905-1955) were subdivided in 1917. The Manuscript Trust removed the Adams Papers from the Stone Library to the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston leaving the Old House, Library and grounds under the subdivision called the New Trust. As before Mr. and Mrs. Brooks Adams maintained the property for use as a summer residence.

During the war years and after his brother Henry's illness, Brooks Adams devoted himself to the repair of his brother's furnishings and to the further development of the Old House as a Family Memorial. The intellectual conversations he so loved to have with Henry Adams had to be omitted after his brother's illness, but his respect, admiration and love for his brother remained ever fresh. After Henry Adams' death in 1918, Brooks Adams wrote a letter to Barrett Wendell in which he expressed his grief:

Thank you for your kind letter. The stroke to me has been severe for my brother had, all through his life, been nearer to me than any other man and this relation lasted until his last illness began five or six years ago. It is no use in trying to make believe to one's self that these things can be got over. They can't. The world can







never be the same world again to me. It seems to me folly to say to oneself that such a death is in the course of nature and that one would not have it otherwise. Of course we all have to die - what difference does that make? ... Should I be reconciled? Not a bit. As long as Henry lived it was the same old world. Now he is gone. Say what I will, the oldest relation in my life is closed. ... 50

In September 1919, Brooks Adams completed a long preface for the new edition of <u>The Emancipation of Massachusetts</u>. This was about thirty years after the first edition appeared. I quote from the first page of the "Preface" which indicated some change in the attitude of Brooks Adams:

"I see nothing in it to retract or even to modify. I do, however, somewhat regret the rather acrimonious tone which I occasionally adopted when speaking of the more conservative section of the clergy. Not that I think that the Mathers, for example, and their like, did not deserve all, or, indeed, more than all I ever said or thought of them, but because I conceive that equally effective strictures might have been conveyed in urbaner language; and, as I age, I shrink from anything akin to invective, even in what amounts to controversy."

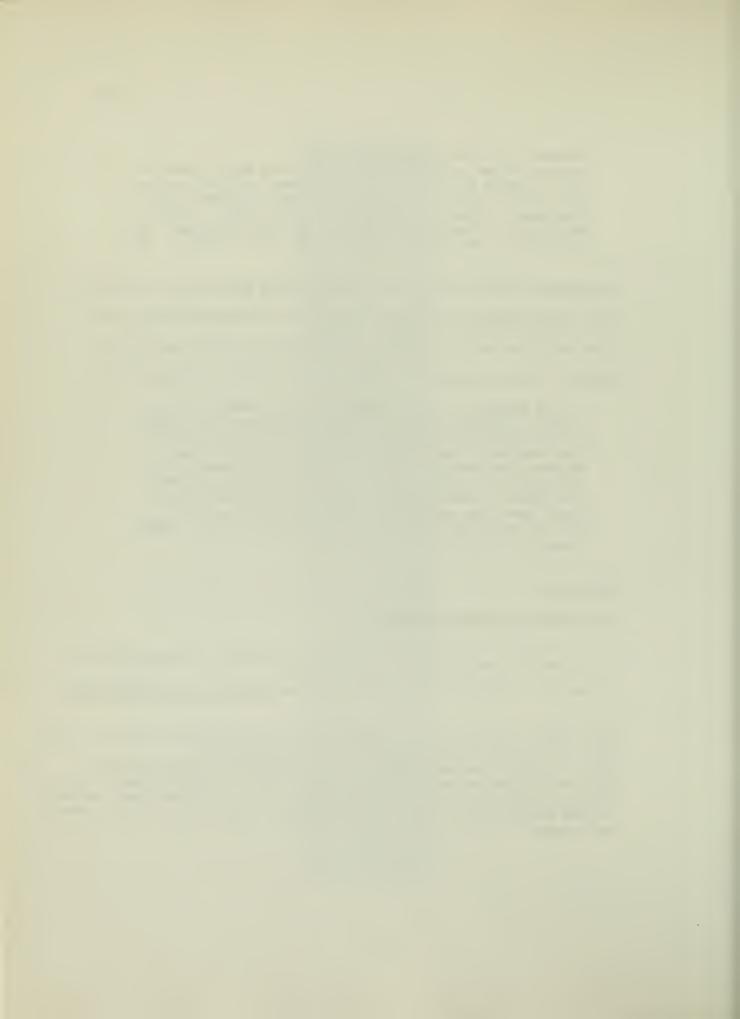
#### 1920-1927

## Brooks Adams Continued in Residence

I first met Mr. and Mrs. Adams in their Boston house, 33 Chestnut Street, in the fall of 1920.59 He had just published The Heritage of Henry Adams,

<sup>(58)</sup> Harold Dean Cater, Henry Adams And His Friends (Boston, 1947), p. 780. Illustration 23 is a sample of Brooks Adams' handwriting.

<sup>(59)</sup> In 1920, Wilhelmina Sellers (Superintendent Wilhelmina S. Harris, 1968) was engaged as Social Secretary to Mr. and Mrs. Brooks Adams. She served in this capacity until their deaths in 1927. The next pages are more or less reminiscences of life with Mr. and Mrs. Adams both in the Old House and abroad.



an introduction to his brother Henry's The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma. Soon afterwards, he wrote a short article on the eighteenth century garden at the Old House in Quincy which closed his writing career. From then on his interest turned to a more intensive study of art, architecture, preservation of the Old House and Garden, the diversion of travel and to his reading, particularly astronomy and biography. Those who have written about him have pictured him as radical, delighting in wars, selfish, having an irascible temper, but I believe everyone agreed, he was brilliant. Beyond this, Brooks Adams continues to be little known. This is not surprising for he was not a person to be taken casually. His personal characteristics were very pronounced. First of all he was supersensitive - he said his brother Henry always told him that he grew one skin too few for the comfort of himself and his friends. He also required an appreciation of his extreme individualism. There was a gentle side to his nature which he saved for those with whom he was in close contact. So often I asked him why he was so fierce in conversation with guests and the public when he was so gentle at home. His reply was always the same: "I feel an obligation to those of my household because this, too, is their home. It calls for my best, but visitors, well, that is different, they come at their own risk."

The early spring of 1921 I was having luncheon with Mr. and Mrs. Brooks Adams in their beautiful home in Boston when Mr. Adams remarked to his







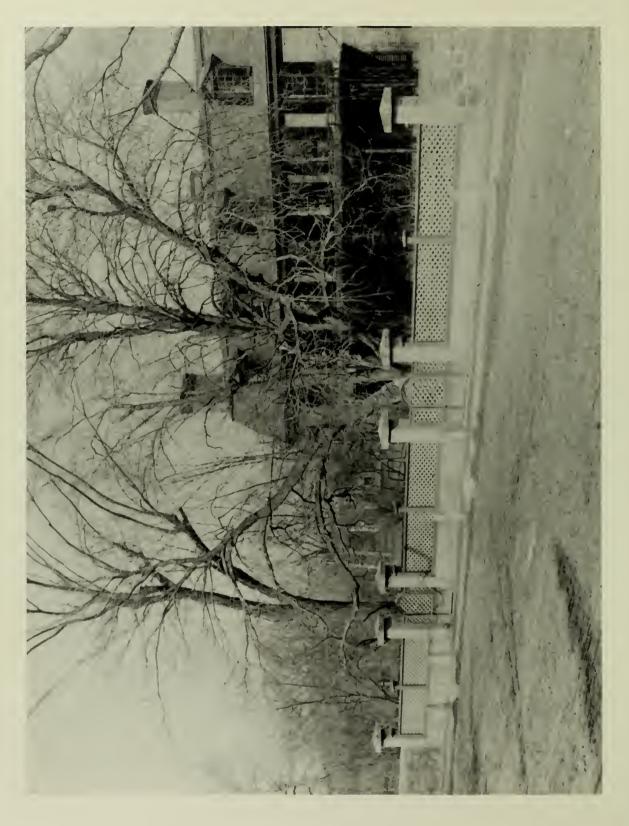
wife that he thought it would be nice to drive out to Quincy and introduce me to Sammy, Beauty, Martin and the garden. Mr. Adams ordered his chauffeur and we drove to Quincy. We arrived at the "Old House" from the direction of East Milton and after a few minutes pause for a look across Adams Street at the house, the chauffeur turned the car around and stopped directly in front of the 1731 entrance. We stepped out of the automobile and with great pride Mr. Adams said: "This is the 'Old House.'" He explained that in the old days we would have come by horse and carriage and the horses would have been tied to the hitching posts. 60 He remarked that the hitching posts did not look very significant, but they carried the message of a way of life which was once an important part of a gentleman's life.

Mr. Adams called attention to the brick wall between the gates which he said had not always been so high. The reason for the higher wall was that during his absences, children walked on the stonewall and then swung on the gates so that the hinges were continually breaking. For this reason Mr. Adams decided to have the wall of brick brought up as high as it is today. He said that formerly, his mother had pickets or wooden slats extending cross-wise to make a design of squares or diamonds. The wooden

<sup>(60)</sup> Illustration 24 on the opposite page shows the hitching posts and the 1731 entrance.







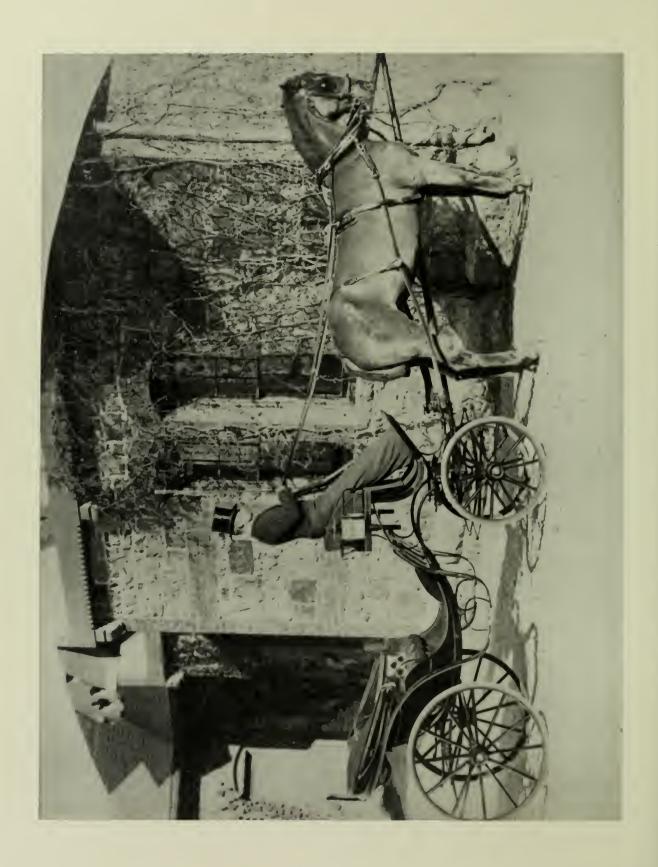
gates had oval tops and were constantly deteriorating. 61 After the brick wall was brought up as high as the granite wall Mr. Adams designed new gates. They are still in use today (1969). He said that they were not a copy of anything he had seen in Europe, but were what he thought would be a dignified entrance to the estate.

The chauffeur opened the gate and we stepped on the inside. The chauffeur's wife, anticipating this visit, let the dogs out of the "cottage,"62 and they came running to the gate to greet Mr. Adams. There seemed to be a tremendous number of dogs. Leading the procession were two Airedales, two Irish terriers, a couple of ordinary dogs and then Sammy, a "house" Scottish terrier. I had noticed when we were leaving 33 Chestnut Street in Boston that the maid handed Mr. Adams his coat, hat, gloves and walking stick and also had given him a couple of small packages which he put into his pocket. He removed one package and opening it, gave a piece of meat to each dog. After they had all been talked to and caressed, he introduced each one by name to me and explained their place in his scheme of life. The Airedales were usually kept restrained during the day and turned loose on the grounds at night because they were good watch dogs. The Irish terriers were around during most of the day, and the Scottish

<sup>(61)</sup> Illustration 25 on the opposite page was taken about 1870.(62) Mrs. Brooks Adams always referred to the coachman's house as "the Cottage." Mrs. Charles Francis Adams always called it "The Lodge."







# ILLUSTRATION 26

Although Mr. and Mrs. Adams each had an automobile, Mr. Adams was very fond of driving out in the Blue Hills in his carriage. The black top streets were not very comfortable for carriage driving so that he didn't often indulge himself.







terrier was a "house" dog. The mongrels were very good with the cattle and were a great help in driving the cows into the corral. They were never restrained. He said that the Scotty, Sammy, visited him in his Boston house frequently but on this occasion happened to be in Quincy. When we came to Quincy for the season, Sammy would be in the house, and then I would know him better.

Mrs. Adams was not particularly fond of dogs, so she left us and went across the East lawn to see the doves and the cats. Mr. Brooks Adams was never very fond of cats. It was not uncommon for the people of Quincy who had a litter of young kittens to dispose of them by putting them in a box and dropping them over the stonewall of the Adams property. The result was that there was always a large number of cats around the Carriage House. Mr. Adams was known in Quincy as an animal lover.

Mr. Adams invited me to come into the garden. 63 As we passed along the lilac trees, he told me that they were the lilac trees Abigail had planted. Some of the trunks of these trees showed greater age than others. The newer ones were suckers from the old roots, but they all were a part of Abigail's planting. He pointed out the dwarf box hedge which he said was as old as the house and had been imported from England by the Vassalls. The gardener, Martin Hyland, was waiting for Mr. Adams to arrive and to

<sup>(63)</sup> Illustration 27 on the opposite side shows the corner of the house as it looks in the early spring.



report upon the prospects of the coming season after a hard winter.

The tree peonies were fine, he said, so were the irises, day lilies,
the lilac trees, and the Abigail Adams rose. The hedge and the oriental poppies were not as either Martin or Mr. Adams expected they should
be. In those days there were rhododendron shrubs up near the southeast
corner of the garden. Martin called attention to their poor condition.

Mr. Adams decided that the large elm tree, perhaps, was interfering with
their growth, but the elm tree was to be given priority especially as
his father had planted this elm. Mr. Adams was solicitous as to how
many white dahlias Martin would set out when the time came, as dahlias
made the fall garden impressive; also, there must be a good showing of
delphinium since delphinium was the flower most appealing to Mrs. Adams.

In the section of the garden near the York Rose was a dwarf Japanese Maple tree set out by Brooks Adams. He had become interested in Japanese ese horticulture when he began to prepare for a journey to the Orient in 1899. Mrs. Adams' illness prevented the trip, but Mr. Adams retained his interest in the horticulture of the Far East. This small tree was of great interest to him and Martin.

Then Mr. Adams and I walked up to the west end of the long path next to the street. He said that walking on the garden paths had been where Adamses, from John Adams to himself and his brother Henry, had turned for



contemplation on occasions of disappointment or financial crises, for inspiration in writing, for comfort in time of sorrow and the other times just for the sheer joy of looking at the garden. He pointed to the second floor southwest windows, where Louisa Catherine, his grandmother, had written some of her rather sober letters. She felt lonely in Quincy, even while looking out upon the garden. He wondered why it had not helped her to feel more at home. All the family had loved the garden, he said, and his mother, Mrs. Charles Francis Adams, had begged him to attend it with the loving care she had given it for close to forty years. We did not go into the house on this occasion because it was being cleaned and made ready for Mr. and Mrs. Adams to occupy within a week or so. We did walk to the greenhouse to see the preparation for the planting of peas, leeks and squash. I was unfamiliar with leeks until that year, but leeks were Mr. Adams' favorite vegetable. From the greenhouse Mr. Adams went to the stable to see his horse, Beauty. In the second package, which the maid had given him upon leaving Boston, were some lumps of sugar which he fed to her.

We walked around in the orchard. He explained that formerly the meadow behind the orchard was larger, but now some of the property was used for other things. For example, where the gasoline station is now (1968), there was once an exercise area for the horses. In those days, there was no Furnace Brook Parkway and Furnace Brook itself was not situated where



out the fruit trees which his father had been so interested in, the stately old walnut tree which President John Quincy Adams had planted or else a tree descended from his grandfather's planting. The apple trees had always supplied enough apples for the family use and for the use of the coachman. The orchard was full of happy memories for him since he and his brothers used to climb the fruit trees. He recalled that his brother Henry, using his head more efficiently than his brothers, intrigued them to see if they could pick cherries as fast as he could eat them. So, with Henry perched on one of the branches of the cherry tree, his brothers fed him cherries until it became evident that Henry was getting enjoyment at their expense. Mr. Adams showed me a piece of the ancient bark of the cherry tree which was on the gardener's workbench. Though hardly visible, one could read, "Henry greedy cherry eater."

In the distance we saw the brook flowing towards Black's Creek. He and his brothers used to wade in the brook, and they had, at times, a small boat which they used on Black's Creek. We saw a duck or two on the pond. Mr. Adams called my attention to them and said that they, too, represented a passing civilization. He was always fearful that with the building up of the neighborhood, someone living close by would deny the ducks their right to speak. When that happened, it would be the end of another







era. Then the ducks would have to be sent to Franklin Park Zoo. Mr. Adams noticed the loam pile near the greenhouse door. He told me that the loam pile was where the squash and pumpkins were planted. Since they required little or no care, Martin always planted squash and pumpkins in generous quantity.

We came back toward the Carriage House and Mrs. Adams was still busy with her doves. As we walked across the east lawn, Mr. Adams suggested we all sit down on the steps of the east piazza. 64 This piazza was associated with his mother who used it in the afternoons because it was such a cool place. While sitting there, he recalled that his mother had spoken often of England, of royal weddings and of distinguished statesmen who visited the family - particularly, of the time when Oliver Wendell Holmes had stood there to read his poems to a gathering of Adams' friends. She frequently told her children that she liked to awake early in the mornings to think quietly of how happy she was. He called attention to an orange tree in a huge wooden tub and two rubber plants in tubs which Martin had brought out of winter storage from a local greenhouse. These were used during the summer to grace the piazza. The orange tree and rubber plants Mr. Adams had kept since his sister Mary was married in the Long Room more than forty years previously. They were part of her

<sup>(64)</sup> Illustration 28 on the opposite page shows the east lawn in the very early spring.



wedding decoration.

As he looked at the lawn, he recalled his mother gathering mushrooms for the family. This memory was accurate for on August 8, 1852 Mrs. Adams wrote her husband, Charles Francis Adams:

> Quincy Sunday, August 8th 1852

My dearest old husband

...thunder shower which lasted two hours. The walks were quite under water. ...Today is brilliant but barely warm & the country lovely. Our lawn by the new Portico has not been so green this summer. This rain coming so soon after the other & no sun between, had done wonders. The Mushrooms are so thick by the house that the ground by the back fence is white, & I am sure there are enough for as big a dish as we ever had. They are as white as snow and some very large. The children are pickling them now for tea tonight. I wish Louise could see them in the grass, for the quantity is wonderful for the space...

Mr. Adams pointed to the large elm tree in front of the house near the two smaller elms. His father had planted these trees about 1849. Mr. Adams thought that elms in front of the house were particularly well suited and he liked them trimmed high so that they would not interfere with the view of the house. He also called my attention to the third elm which stood near the stonewall but farther toward the East. This tree had a plaque on it. We went over and read the plaque which said that the tree had been set out by John Quincy Adams, the Sixth President, in 1804. (In the 1940's this tree was removed. A section of it along







with the plaque still exists in the Laundry fireplace of the Old House.)

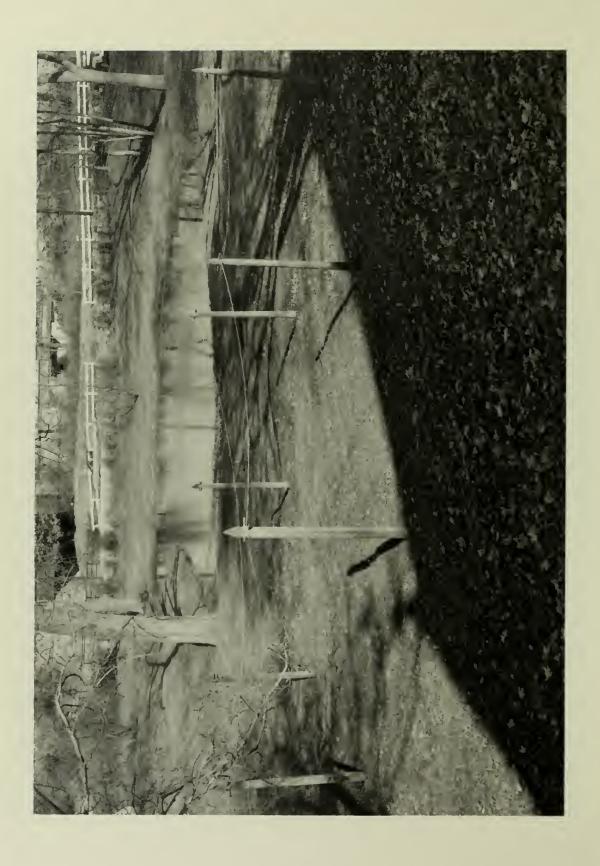
Since it was early in the spring, it was possible to get a clear view of the Carriage House from the piazza. For sometime we sat on the steps of the east piazza to study and enjoy the design of the slate roof on the Carriage House. The two-toned border of this roof, Mr. Adams thought, was an indication of the care and expense which his mother and father had given to the construction of this huge stone structure. He called attention to the lightning rods on the Carriage House and the decoration of the points of each of these units. "That building," he often repeated, "occupied my mother's attention and perhaps saved the Old House from expensive additions and changes."

We walked across the east lawn to the Woodshed. Mr. Adams spoke with sentiment about this small building. He said that it had been moved from its original location at least twice, but because of its age and association with the past, it had been preserved. He had the door opened. There we saw wood stacked in squares, a chopping block in the center of the room and an axe and iron wedge beside it. He said that unlike President John Quincy Adams, who started his fires by rubbing flint stones together, Mr. Charles Francis Adams used small rich kindling wood cut on this chopping

<sup>(65)</sup> The Woodshed is shown in illustration 29. To the left is the Carriage House. Note the three doors with circular trim.







block. Mr. Brooks Adams had continued this custom. The woodshed floor was covered in sawdust, but raked carefully to give the appearance of meticulous care and perfect order. The woodshed really impressed me more than anything I saw that day. It was due, in part, to the sharp contrast to a disorderly woodpile, common in Alabama, my home state.

Mr. Adams called attention to the clothes yard, 66 the well and the lightning rods on each end of the house. He explained that the clothes were
washed in the laundry room, then taken in a wicker basket to the small
square in the orchard. There were eight posts with pegs at the top from
which the ropes or clothes lines were secured. This drying yard was in
constant use. Rugs were aired on the ropes, personal clothing not in
constant use was hung there to get the sun in order to avoid moths, etc.,
and all household linens were dried in the clothes yard. The grass path
leading to the clothes yard and the yard itself was kept cut close for
the convenience of the staff whose duties called for them to use the drying yard. When asked how long it had been in use, he replied, "Always."
Recently, I came across a letter from Charles Francis Adams to John
Quincy Adams, dated April 22, 1828, in which he referred to planting a
tree near the clothes yard, using the clothes yard to help his father
visualize the location of these plantings. We noticed the well in the

<sup>(66)</sup> Illustration 30 shows the clothes yard.



Adams as early as April, 1850 when he took running water into the house. It was still in use at the time of Mr. and Mrs. Brooks Adams' residence. Mr. Adams pumped a bit of water to demonstrate how it worked. I was intrigued by the lightning rods. Mr. Adams thought that they probably were a gift to John Adams from Benjamin Franklin. That would be a classic feature if it could be verified, but my superficial research has not confirmed this tradition. At any rate the lightning rods can be identified in photographs before John Adams' death and Mrs. Louisa Catherine Adams, in writing to Mr. John Adams 2d on November 26, 1830 said, the "north east storms" had blown down the lightning rods, and said that the roof was leaking.

Mr. Adams wanted another view of the garden before leaving for Boston.

He and Mrs. Adams sat near the Abigail Adams rose in white wicker chairs

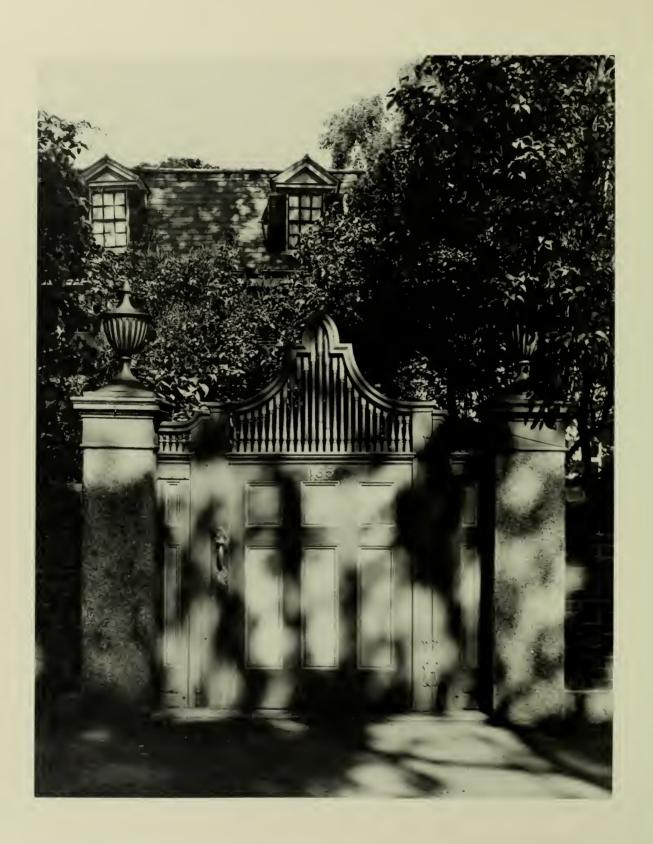
until the afternoon chill forced them to leave for Boston.

Mr. Adams was impatient to move to Quincy. Mrs. Adams was agreeable but without enthusiasm. Finally the day came for the transition. Mrs. Adams wondered how hot it would be, how noisy and how lonely since her friends all went to Prides Crossing or Beverly. The maids dreaded the loss of their bathroom and other physical comforts. There was a regular ritual to moving which they carried out without any questions. It was something









like this: Mr. Adams had his usual walk along the Charles River and then ate his breakfast. Mrs. Adams had her breakfast in bed and then dressed with deliberation as was usual. The maids had their suitcases packed, and one of the "motors," as Mrs. Adams called the automobile, drove them to Quincy. The ladies maid, Ellen Ring, usually did not travel in the car with the other members of the staff, but on this occasion she did.

In the course of the morning several friends of Mrs. Adams' dropped in to call and afterward she strolled around Beacon Hill. In the meantime, Mr. Adams read in his study. There was no confusion when the maids left - that would not have been tolerated. At one o'clock the second chauffeur and "motor" was at the door to drive Mr. and Mrs. Adams and me to the Somerset Club on Beacon Street for luncheon. Moving day was perfectly planned for the comfort of both Mr. and Mrs. Adams. After a leisurely luncheon, we took a long drive around Beacon Reservoir, out through Dedham and Hyde Park, through the Blue Hills and at last reached the "Old House."

The car stopped in front of the 1731 gate, and just as Mr. and Mrs. Adams approached the gate it opened as if by magic. 67 The person who opened the gate was Francis McCormack. He greeted both Mr. and Mrs. Adams and

<sup>(67)</sup> Illustration 31 shows the front gate designed by Mr. Brooks Adams.



expressed pleasure that they had come home. The door of the 1731 section of the house opened and Molly Lally expressed her warm greeting.

Ellen Ring took Mrs. Adams' coat and hat, and Mr. Adams hung his on the hat rack in the entry. I do not remember what happened to my things, but, very likely, I disposed of them by hanging them on the hat rack.

It was still early spring and the day was cold. There was a bright fire going in the Panelled Room. The room appeared just as it does today (1968) in the way of furnishings. Since this was my first view of the interior of the house, my impression is still vivid - forty-seven years later. The mahogany glistened from the glow of the fire and the room was spotlessly clean. Mr. Adams seemed delighted that I was sufficiently interested in my surroundings that I forgot their presence. He gave me a brief history of the room but dwelt mostly on its use. It was probably built for a grand parlor for the Vassalls, but John Adams used it as a combination Dining Room and Sitting Room. Mr. Adams recalled that his father thought it a cold room. That impression was because, as a young Harvard student, his father, Charles Francis Adams, had visited the Old President, his grandfather, and had been placed at the dining table farthest from the fire. Though uncomfortable himself, his father had a pleasant memory of President John Adams presiding over the meals in this beautiful setting. In a short time, the parlor maid entered with a large silver tray and appropriate tea service. She placed a small



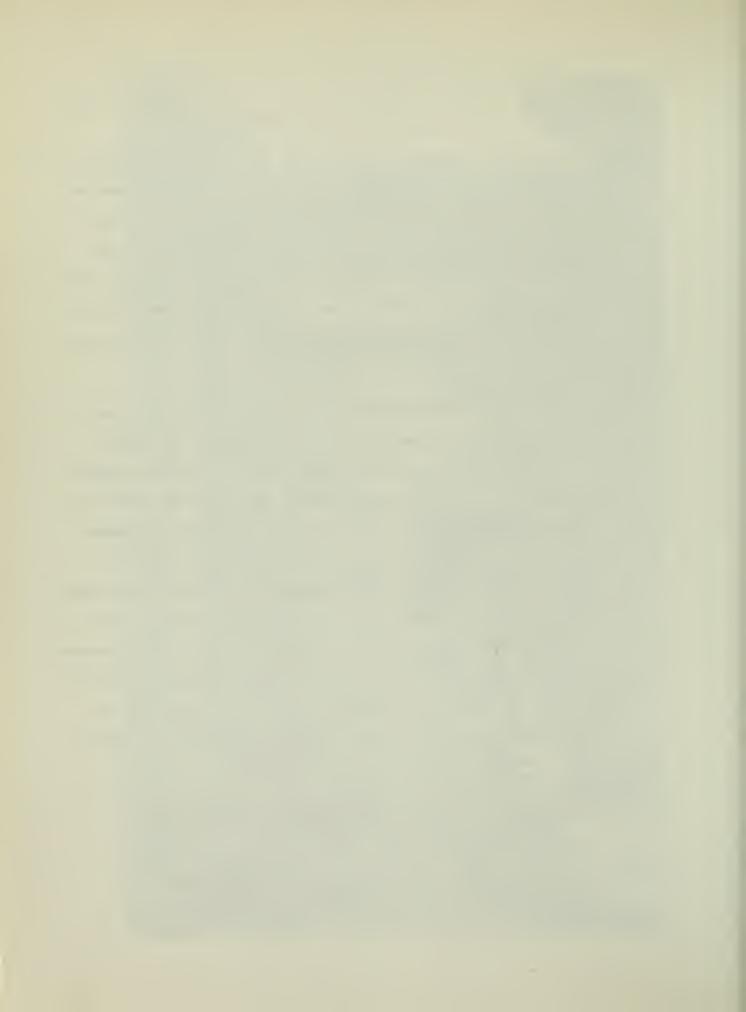




table with the tea service in front of Mrs. Adams, who was sitting on the small sofa. Mrs. Adams poured the usual hot water for her husband and tea for herself and me. The parlor maid passed the plate of dark buttered bread and cakes. Mr. Adams had only hot water. He was gay and solicitous as he always was when things were pleasing to him. Being at the Old House was his most precious dream! Mrs. Adams told me that everyone had a rest before dressing for dinner so that we should go upstairs.

Mr. and Mrs. Adams showed me the room I was to occupy, but it was Mr. Adams who told me how I must conform to the traditions. Mrs. Adams said: "The Chestnut Street House is mine, but the Old House is Brooks' and we are all treated like visitors here." He told me the room I was occupying had always been the guest room. He told me the room I was and three doors in the room for ventilation but I could open only two windows. There was a window light in the middle window which had "John" and "Sally" scratched upon it and this was an historic feature - if I tried to open the window and broke the windowpane it would be unfortunate and irreparable. The articles on the top of the chest of drawers were arranged by his mother, and I must just "settle in" by using the top drawer for my toilet articles, etc. He explained that Daniel Webster's

<sup>(68)</sup> Illustration 32 on the opposite page shows the guest room.



bed was said to be comfortable.

While in residence in Quincy, there were five women responsible for the house - two men for the grounds and a chauffeur; later there were two chauffeurs since Mrs. Adams had her own automobile. The persons Mr. Adams saw the most were: Ellen Ring, Mrs. Adams' personal maid and who in years past had been a maid to Mrs. Charles Francis Adams; Mary Dayton, the chamber maid, who had a very special talent for finding Mr. Adams' eye-glasses which he lost with settled frequency. Appreciative of this service, Mr. Adams praised her both audibly and with material reward, until other members of his staff were sure the glasses were hidden to afford a chance to find them. Then there was Molly Lally, the parlor maid, who filled her position with dignity and efficiency. The cook, Maria Faye, and Nora Schofield, the laundress, were important; but Mr. Adams did not see them often.

The formality of a gentleman's home was strictly enforced. Uniforms were the order of the day. The parlor maid, Molly Lally, served breakfast in a white uniform. She wore a gray uniform of fine quality material for luncheon. She served dinner in a black taffeta dress with a lovely white apron. She always kept her hair and shoes in fine order - "Have pride in your job," Mr. Adams insisted to all his employees.

Dinner was a formal affair for everyone. Mrs. Adams wore beautiful evening gowns. Mr. Adams wore a full dress evening suit, long tails,



white shirt, white tie, nose glasses instead of spectacles and handmade patent leather pumps. The table was set with a snow white linen
cloth, the best of porcelain, handsome silver, polished to the limit.
Flowers were used at luncheon and dinner, but at breakfast, he had a
bowl of fresh fruit for the centerpiece. No cocktails were served before luncheon or dinner, but there was always wine at the table and
sometimes two kinds of wine were served with the dinner.

At all times he gave his health considerable attention. His motto:
"What you do not do today, you can't do tomorrow," was rigidly adhered
to. He was up early in the morning and took at least an hour of exercise before breakfast. He walked about the garden with his gardener,
Martin Hyland, who he contended was the most refined and cultured man
he ever knew. (Martin's mind being uncluttered by formal education.)
His breakfast consisted of cooked cereal, a medium size pan of corn
bread, fish or bacon and eggs, tea and several pieces of fresh fruit.
There was a pair of scales on a table beside him where he weighed everything he ate for breakfast. This was the big meal of the day, and he
did not wish to overeat.

He took special care of his eyes. During the years when he was doing intensive research, his eyes troubled him. Using an eye cup, he bathed his eyes three times daily with warm salt water which he thought had strengthened them. In the automobile he wore dark glasses with the side



of the frames closed in, similar in fashion to that of an aviator's. When he read, he wore a green eye shade and had the light from over his shoulder. His vision seemed perfect and his eyes never seemed to tire. His first tooth was filled after he was sixty. From then on this event served as a calendar, things took place either before his tooth was filled or else afterwards.

In the afternoon he took more exercise. When in Quincy, he took his two Irish setters, his Airedale and Scottish terrier for a three-mile walk in the Blue Hills. In addition, he exercised with dumb-bells each day.

Mr. Adams' individualism showed up in practically every situation. The simple matter of the observance of holidays was unlike anything I had experienced before. Each holiday was treated according to it's significance. For example, Christmas - no presents were exchanged, but special note of the day was taken. Mr. and Mrs. Adams and I gathered in his sitting room where, as long as Mrs. Adams' health permitted, she read from her Episcopal Prayer Book and he read the selections relating to the Christmas story from the Bible. Then he read from Dickens' Christmas Carol. At the close he would remark, "Now that is over," and he would go into the Study to read.

Here I might mention his Sundays. When in Quincy, he attended the Unitarian Church, if there were services, in Boston he went to the Cowley



Fathers on Bowdoin Street, and in Europe he attended the Catholic Church. I think he attended St. John's Mission Church of the Cowley Fathers more than any other one church. Once, after he had arrived from Europe the latter part of the week, he went on Sunday to the Cowley Fathers. That afternoon the priest or minister called to welcome Mr. Adams home. He expressed surprise that the priest knew of his arrival, and the answer was: "We always know when you are present because it is the only time we have a twenty dollar bill in the collection plate."

Because of Mr. Adams' extreme individuality and his intellectual prowess, the general public viewed him with apprehension. However, I could not see that he was so unpopular because there was a group of loyal friends who cared very much about him, even during those closing years when people are so often forgotten. There was former Massachusetts Attorney General, Albert E. Pillsbury who came to Quincy to pass the night every couple of weeks. He and Mr. Adams discussed speed limits on the highway, the need for the prohibition repeal and the importance of establishing intent in murder trials. They were really in agreement on all of these issues but for the evening's discussion, Mr. Adams took the opposite point of view and the Old House resounded with his resonant voice. Those two old warriors had wonderful times. Mr. Pillsbury always said, "Brooks, my mind has not worked so hard since I was here last." Dr. John Dixwell, a Harvard classmate and brother-in-law of Chief Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, had given much of his life's work to the Holy Ghost Hospital, a .



public service which Mr. Adams admired. Mr. Dixwell telephoned each day to Quincy or dropped in to see him each day when Mr. Adams was at his Boston house. For many years they had taken walks together along the Charles River. To him, Mr. Adams showed his most gentle and affectionate nature.

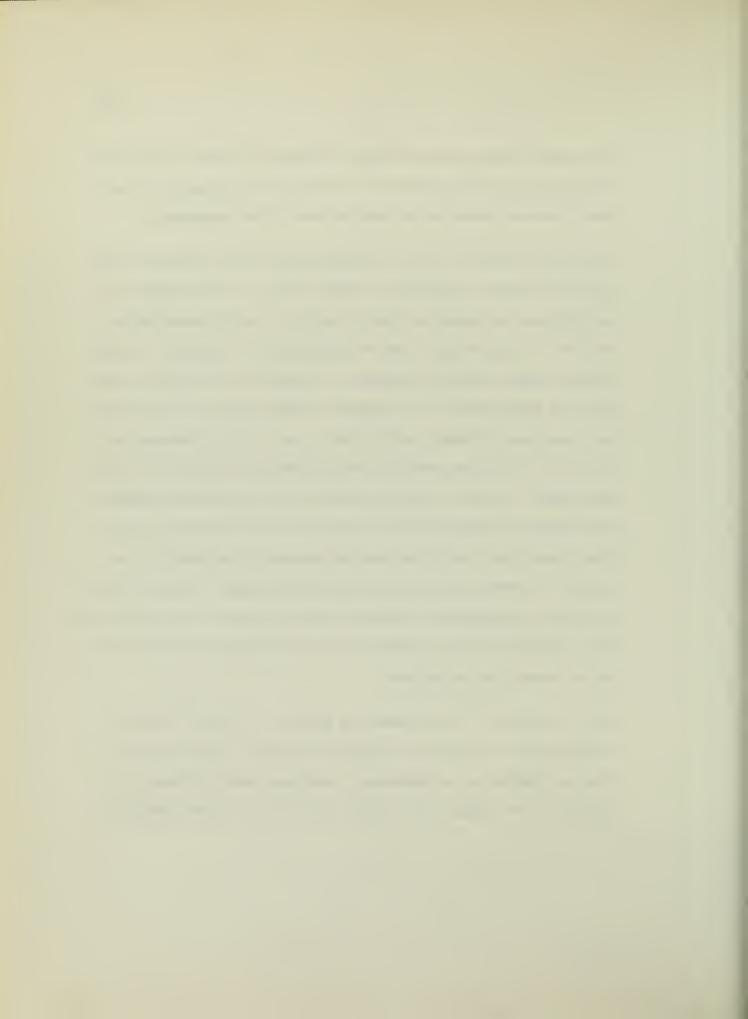
Dr. Melvin Bigelow, an old friend, invited Mr. Adams to conduct a Master's course at the Boston University Law School. He was at Boston University from 1904 to 1911. At the Law School, Mr. Adams lectured to a group of graduate students for whom he had great regard and who became loyal and lasting friends. In the role of teacher Mr. Adams appeared his best. Mr. Daniel O'Connell, one of these students, visited Mr. Adams in Boston on occasion. He said that not only was Mr. Adams an inspiring teacher, but that at times he was humble in his criticism of the papers of his students, lest he stifle their spontaneity. Judge Thomas Lee was another loyal friend. The most frequent visitor to Quincy was attorney Edward Ginsburg, who reviewed again and again the famous Spokane Railroad Case which Mr. Adams defended. This case was a complicated one, but briefly, as I understand, it related to the citizens wishing uniform freight rates, similar to the postal rates and the railroad authorities opposing uniform rates. The railroad had retained most of the best western lawyers; hearing this, Mr. Adams volunteered to represent the people without remuneration. From this famous case, Mr. Adams made a lasting friendship with one of the opposing lawyers. This gentleman, Mr. Teal



of Portland, Oregon, made two visits to Quincy to thank Mr. Adams personally for his public service to the citizens of Portland. Mr. Teal said it was an inspiration to hear Mr. Adams in the courtroom.

In the early spring of 1921, Mr. Adams decided to go to London to consult Sir Henry Head regarding Mrs. Adams' health. They invited me to go with them. He assured me that it would be a great responsibility and that it would require study and preparation if I expected to derive cultural benefit from the experience. He spoke of the dreadful calamities that might befall us! He expected to drop dead of a heart attack; Mrs. Adams might collapse from the shock; and I would be responsible to get her and Ellen Ring, who under the circumstances, would be no great help, home. The body, I could just hand over to the American Embassy; the embassy would detail someone to see that it was shipped to Quincy. Then he said that I would not have one problem for he would take out a letter of credit adequate to meet any and all needs. The exact timing of the trip to England was dependent upon the garden. We would not leave until after the wisteria, peonies and oriental poppies had bloomed, and we must return for the dahlias.

After considerable correspondence and planning, he decided that upon reaching London we would stay with an old friend, a Miss Nichol, who lived on Thurlow Road in Hampstead. There were several advantages in this plan. Mrs. Adams was not well, and it would be more comfortable



for her to be in a spacious private home. Keats, Romney and Constable had lived in Hampstead, and Mr. Adams thought it would be interesting to become familiar with their community. He would read aloud the poems of Keats and we would study the paintings of Romney and Constable. Hamstead was also near everything he cared to visit in London. Then Mr. Adams began to tell what I must not expect of London and England. I would see no garden comparable with the one here, I would see no house where the roof took on a different glow at wisteria time, a different glow with the appearance of the young greenish leaves on the trees, and finally a different glow each day with the setting of the sun. There would be nothing to equal the highboy in the Study, nothing so beautiful as Abigail's Chinese export plates, nor the paintings of Alice Mason and Joseph Warren. As for walks - Hampstead Heath was famous and would be pleasant for long walks but in no way would it equal our Blue Hills.

We found Mr. Adams' choice of our stay with their friends in Hampstead was most agreeable. The welcome was most cordial - to be in an English home was delightful. As was his custom, as soon as we reached England he hired a car and chauffeur by the month. He always had a car abroad just as he did in Quincy or Boston. It was on call at any hour. One morning, while at Hampstead, he ordered the car and as he stepped into it he said, "Stoke Poges." The chauffeur inquired if he wished the "churchyard." Reaching the churchyard, Mr. Adams asked the chauffeur

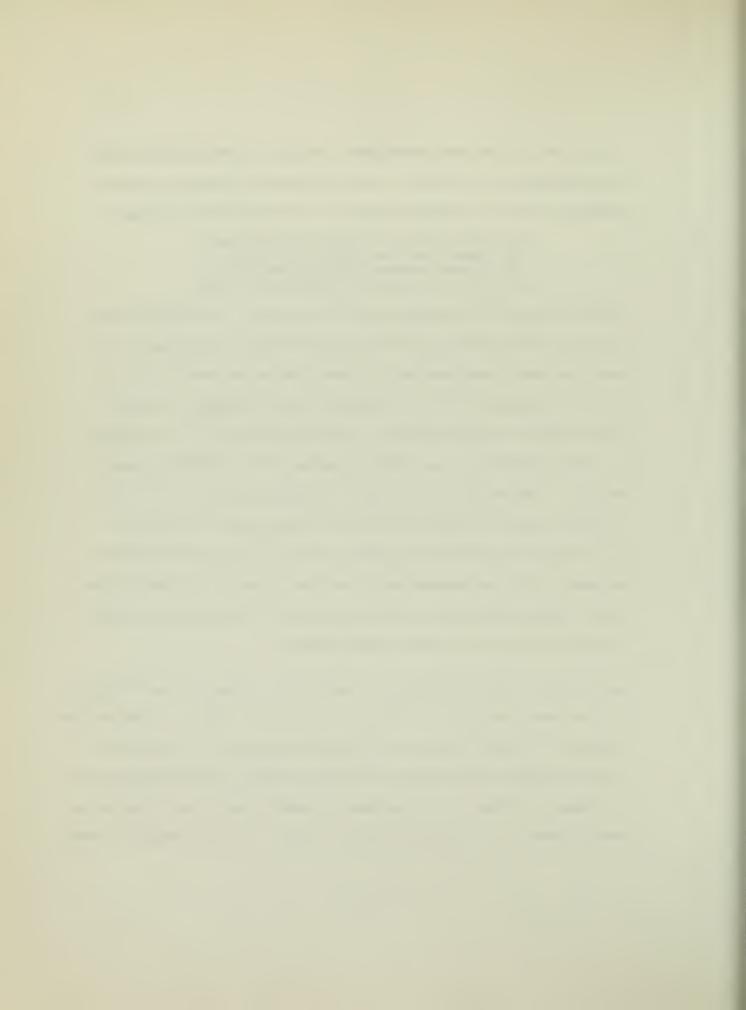


to help him find the Gray family plot. Outside of once or twice visiting the graves of his parents, I never remember him looking at another gravestone. When we reached the grave, he removed his hat and began:

"The Curfew tolls the knell of parting day,
The lowing herd wind slowly o'er the lea,
The plowman homeward plods his weary way,
And leaves the world to darkness and to me."

Verse after verse of the <u>Elegy</u> poured from his lips. He said that more than fifty years earlier, his father, while Minister to the Court of St. James, had taken walks with him in London, and on one occasion they had gone to the churchyard where his father had read the <u>Elegy</u>. He said that he memorized it at that time. He recommended that I, too, memorize it. His recommendation was really a command!! His formula for memorizing was - read the poem a first time to get the meaning, read it a second time to get the author's words, and a third time to make it your own. Forever after that it was yours to store in your head to enjoy at any moment. This had worked for him because the passage of time had not erased these early memories. Present day events faded quickly, but his astounding memory of the past remained fresh.

As we visited the art galleries, I found that Mr. Adams was very familiar with the exact location of paintings he especially enjoyed. At the Wallace Collection, the Tate Gallery and the National Gallery, as well as the illuminated manuscripts section of the British Museum, it was like going to call upon old friends. He seemed more at home abroad in the art galleries than in Boston. He visited All Hallows Church, of course, where his grand-



father. President John Quincy Adams, was married. We looked up 54 Portland Place where the family lived when his father was Minister, and he visited Twickenham where he attended school. After a pleasant stay in Hampstead, Mr. Adams began a motor trip through England. I mentioned being anxious to see some French cathedrals. Mr. Adams vetoed this suggestion, saying that French cathedrals were the height of ecclesiastical architecture and English cathedrals must be studied first or else an appreciation of their architecture would be lost. He proposed a study of several English cathedrals. There was a special feature to be learned in each one; for example, Salisbury had its wide impressive cloisters with the smooth greensward and its lofty spire which could be seen for a long distance away; Wells Cathedral had inverted arches to support the tower; Durham had its splendid Norman arches; Yorkminster had perhaps the most beautiful stained glass windows in England; and finally, Gloucester had exquisite fan tracery vaulting. Each must be seen in the afternoon and again very early in the morning for lighting brought significant differences. Services should be attended in each, since a cathedral was at its best when being used for the purpose for which it was constructed.

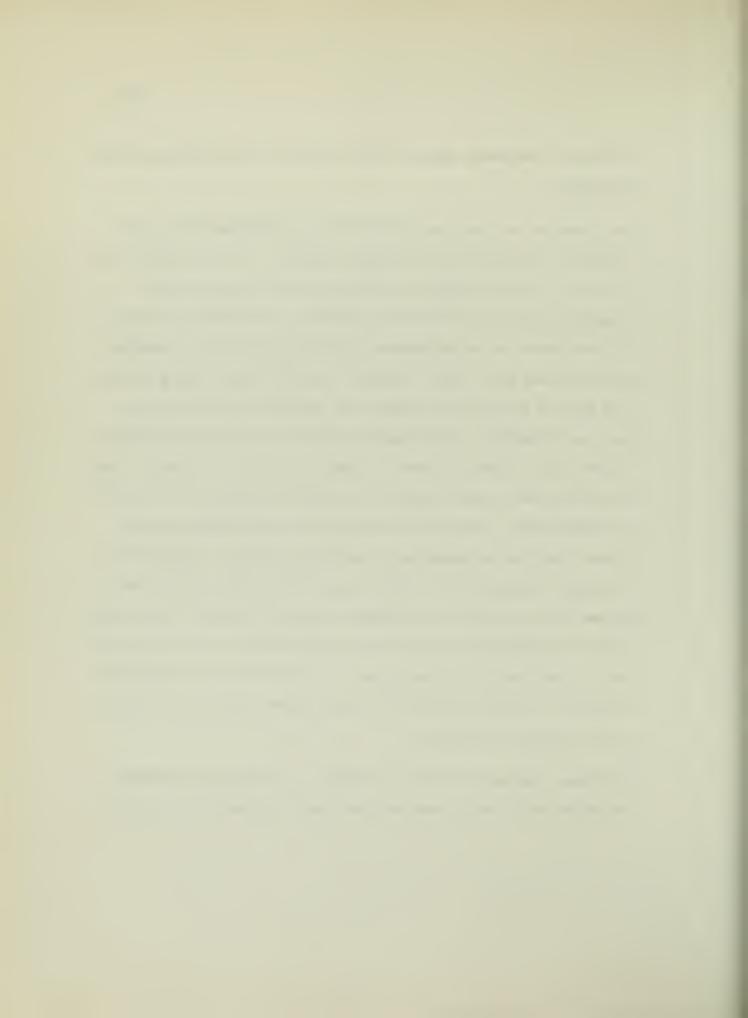
He stayed a couple of days in Salisbury before leaving for Bath, Somerset, where Mrs. Adams and I listened to Mr. Adams read aloud Jane Austen's Northanger Abbey - Bath being the scene of this novel. Each day it was necessary to walk up to the Royal Crescent Circle to see Jane Austen's house, as well as to get a better idea of the topography of Bath. This



visit was so successful that Mr. Adams decided to return twice each year thereafter.

For diversion, he drove from Bath to Wells each afternoon to enjoy the countryside and attend vespers in Wells Cathedral. He made friends with the vicar, he saw the ducks swim in the most and he enjoyed walking around the grounds of this beautiful cathedral. From there, he motored all over England to see his beloved cathedrals, to Oxford, to Cambridge and to see many great estates, opened for the first time to help the war torn nobility keep up their estates. Mr. and Mrs. Adams called upon their old friend, Mrs. Oswald Charlton, who as Mary Campbell had visited "Cousin Lizzie," (Miss Elizabeth C. Adams) on Elm Street in Quincy. They also visited Mrs. Donald Cameron, who had been for many years a friend of his brother Henry. She was always interested in some special project. On this visit she was interested in spiritualism and she announced that, on having a medium come down from London, she had seen Mr. Henry Adams and had talked with him several Sunday evenings. She reported that Henry said he was unhappy over the lack of an inscription on the tomb and monument in Rock Creek Park in Washington. Mr. Adams told her to express to Henry that the terms of his will, a legal document, could not be set aside to allow an inscription.

Late August came and we returned to Quincy. I was under the erroneous impression that he would relax and just look at dahlias; but not so, for

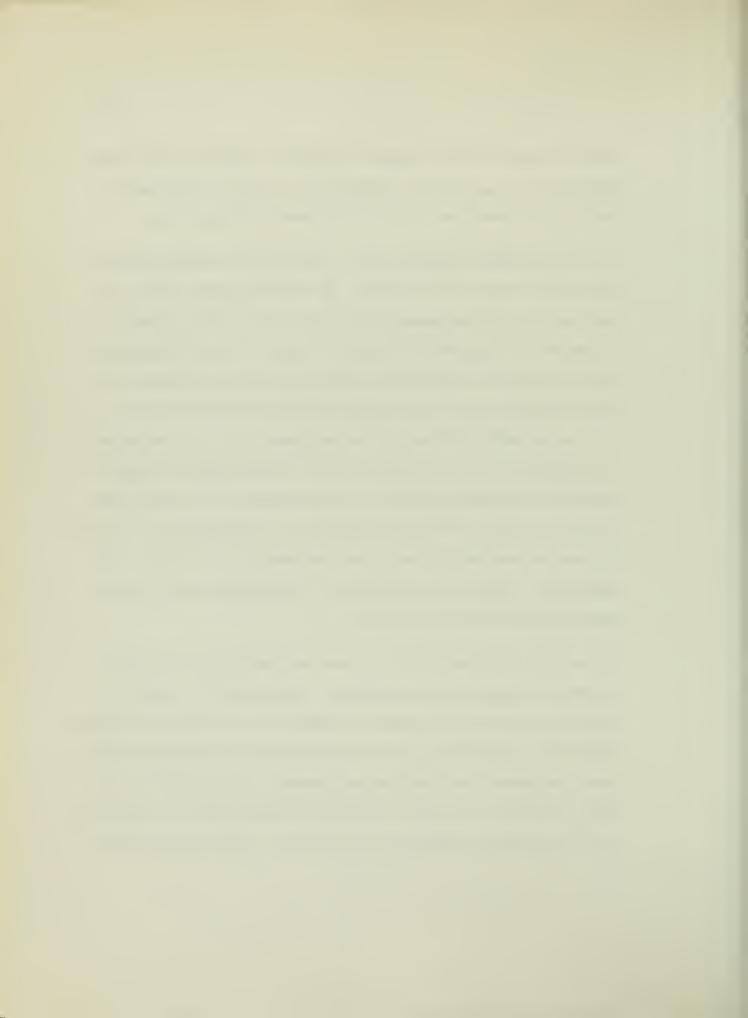


American History was to be taught and learned: there were trips to Plymouth, Concord, small country churches around Harvard, Massachusetts, the Old South Church, and the Old North Church and Faneuil Hall.

He began the study of American silver. Mr. Adams had several pieces of Paul Revere silver at the Old House. He scrutinized these pieces and then went to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts to find other specimens. An absorption in seventeenth and eighteenth century portraits followed for a time. Since Alice Mason and her sister Mary and the unfinished likeness of Joseph Warren by John Singleton Copley were in the Long Room, this special study could begin in the Old House. At the Boston Museum of Fine Arts he saw the finished portrait of Joseph Warren by Copley.

Naturally, he thought his portrait was more animated and lifelike, and far better executed. The George Washington by Savage hanging in the Dining Room was compared with the portrait of Washington at Harvard by the same artist. Here again, the Washington in the Dining Room of the Old House was much the finer of the two!!

In the 1920's the streets of Quincy were not lighted as they are now, and the stars appeared more brilliantly. After dinner, Mr. Adams was likely to go out into the orchard to identify the various constellations. Although Mr. Adams attached great importance to his grandfather's absorption in astronomy, Mrs. Adams was the immediate inspiration of her husband's interest in the stars. Her father, Admiral Davis, had been director of the National Observatory for ten years. During that period Mrs.







Adams learned much about astronomy. In the early years of their marriage when she was walking in the garden with her brother-in-law Charles Francis Adams 2d, she casually remarked, "My! How bright Orion is tonight." Her brother-in-law's response was, "Who is Orion?" This continued to amuse Mr. Adams. He was always proud of her prowess in the science.

The Old House came in for considerable attention during that summer of 1921, the changes being made for the most part to restore the structure to its earlier state. The exterior was painted a beautiful shimmering white with dark green blinds. Mr. Adams said he was told that Abigail Adams had it painted white, a fact that was later confirmed when her New Letters were published. The east Piazza was removed to give more light in the Long Room and to make it less "musty." In the interior, the Dining Room was altered. The dark woodwork was painted white and the brown wallpaper with large floral pattern was replaced by a pale pink paper, more in harmony, he thought, with the fireplace. The new paper and the white woodwork were pleasing to Mr. and Mrs. Adams. Mr. Adams had expected to have the French doors on the east side changed and windows restored to match those on the South. This was never done, since each summer passed too rapidly for so large a project.

Mr. Adams never passed a winter in Quincy, as the house was only a summer

<sup>(69)</sup> Illustration 33 is a photograph made immediately after the removal of the Piazza and the house painted white.

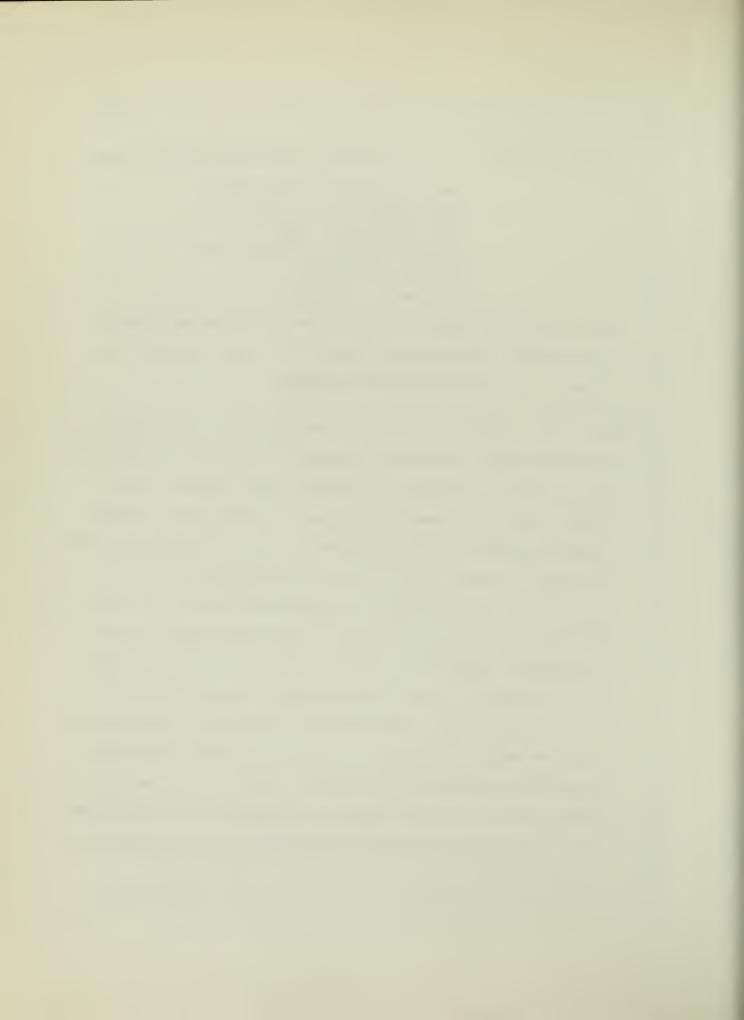


place in his time. Like his grandfather, John Quincy Adams, who wrote:

"I want, when summer's foliage falls,
And autumn strips the trees,
A house within the city's walls,
For comfort and for ease But here, as space is somewhat scant,
And acres rather rare,
My house in town I only want
To occupy -- a square."

Brooks Adams wanted space, sun and intellectual stimulation during the winter months. Quincy was just right for five months, but after that he must be off to more cheerful surroundings.

That fall he decided to go to Bath to take the "water cure" and then take another ship to the South of France for the winter. Mr. Adams said that new scenery and new places of interest might improve Mrs. Adams' health. This did not prove to be the case - On the contrary traveling to Bath even had proven too much for her. Since she enjoyed their friend Miss Nicol, Mr. Adams decided to leave them in Bath while he was in the South of France. With the help of an English maid for Mrs. Adams, Miss Nicol devoted herself to providing quiet interesting things for their entertainment. They stayed at the Grand Pump Room Hotel where everyone from the manager to the bell boys contributed a personal atmosphere for both Mr. and Mrs. Adams. Ellen Ring and I accompanied Mr. Adams to France. During the voyage to the South of France he spoke warmly of his brother John and his wife who were so sought after in Boston society and of his brother Charles who had been interested in preservation and conservation. He said that at the time this seemed unimportant, but now, looking back,



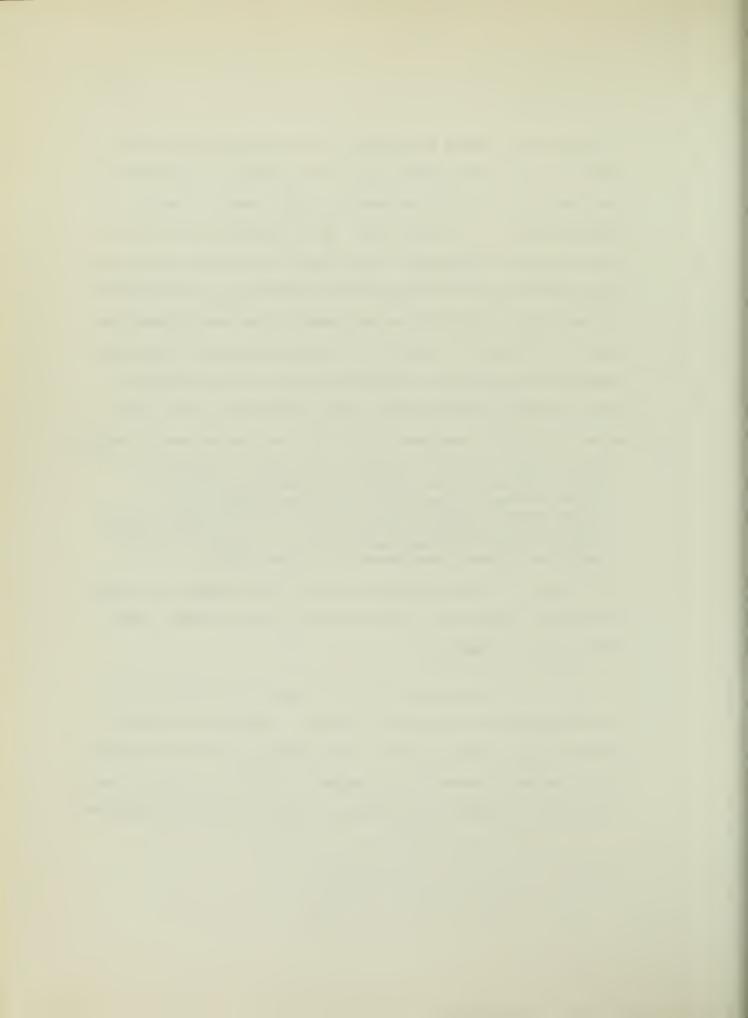
he realized that keeping open spaces was beneficial and had been the means of giving him much relaxation. He was proud to reappraise his brother Charles and to accord him somewhat greater respect. People loved his brother Henry - he could see why. As for himself, well, the public moved away when he approached. As he talked, an incident occured which demonstrated that his conviction was well founded and served to explain the cause as well. The ship was near enough to the Spanish coast line that in the distance he could see the land with that special glow which comes with the setting sun. There was a group of people standing, admiring the scene. He joined them saying, "God bless my soul, I have waited a lifetime to experience this sight," and then he began to recite:

"Nobly, nobly, Cape Saint Vincent to the northwest died away; Sunset ran, one glorious blood red, reeking into Cadiz Bay; Bluish 'mid the burning water, full in face Trafalgar lay; In the dimmest North-east distance dawn'd Gibraltar grand and gray; 'Here and here did England help me: how can I help England?' -say, Whoso turns as I, this evening, turn to God to praise and pray, While Jove's planet rises yonder, silent over Africa."

By the time he had completed the poem of only seven lines, the unwilling auditors had disappeared. He was surprised at this and asked, "Don't they like Robert Browning?"

We left the ship at Marseilles and had an evening with an old friend,
Mrs. Edith Wharton, the novelist, in Hyeres. Her sister-in-law, Mrs.

Cadwalader Jones of New York also a friend of Mr. Adams', was there, and
these three had a wonderful time together. In their discussions of writing, history, politics, etc., they did not agree, but by this time I had

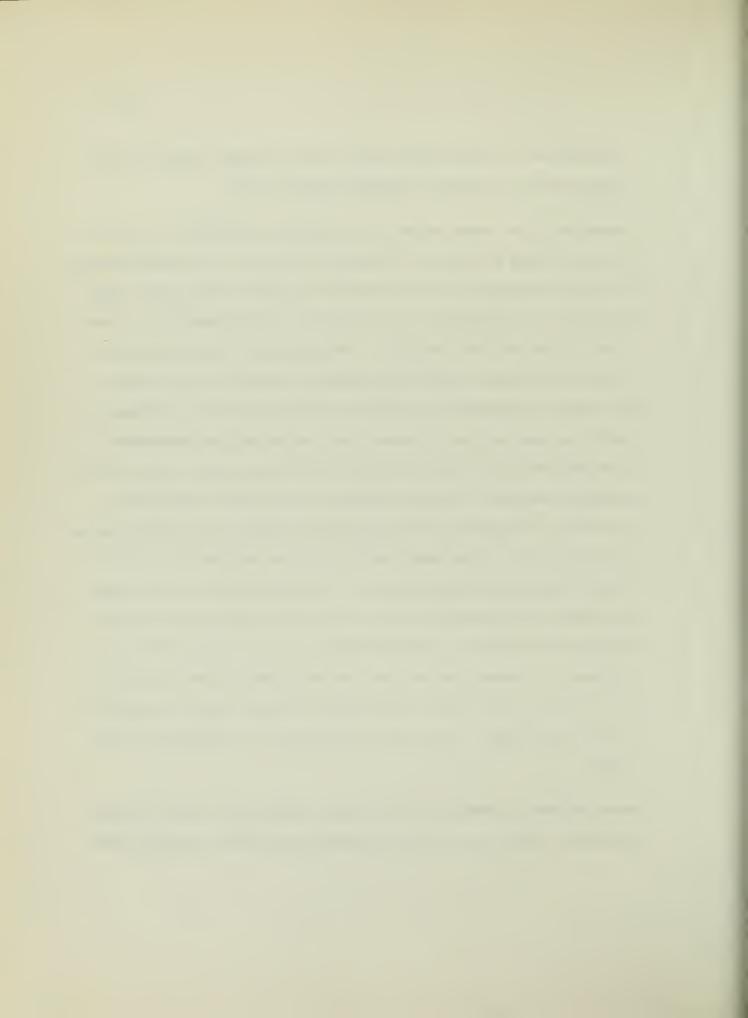


concluded that a pleasant evening must be one in which a group of friends came together and each took a different point of view.

Vegetating, as Mr. Adams called it, at Menton was delightful. Ellen Ring had considerable difficulty in France since she did not speak the language. One of her assignments at every hotel was to explain how Mr. Adams wished his shirts to be laundered. The starch must be stiff enough to iron with a satin gloss, but never too stiff. Then each button hole must be gone around with a brush to remove the starch so it would be easy to button. The collar was attached to the shirt so the fold where the front corners turned back must be free of starch so his throat would be comfortable. Ellen Ring was told to refuse any shirts not up to standard. This was an unenviable assignment! He went frequently to the Opera at Monte Carlo. He walked on the slopes of the Alps and on the shores of the Mediterranean, enjoying it all. He was then seventy-odd but had retained his ambition to improve his already beautiful French. From Mrs. Wharton, he had obtained the name of a Mademoiselle Poirion in Paris who taught and spoke French with those interested in acquiring facility in real Parisian French. Her services were engaged, and she came from Paris for the three months he was to be in France. She and Mr. Adams read French plays aloud and spoke only French to each other. It was great entertainment and stimulation for Mr. Adams .

After Christmas in Menton, Mr. Adams began laying plans to go to Avignon.

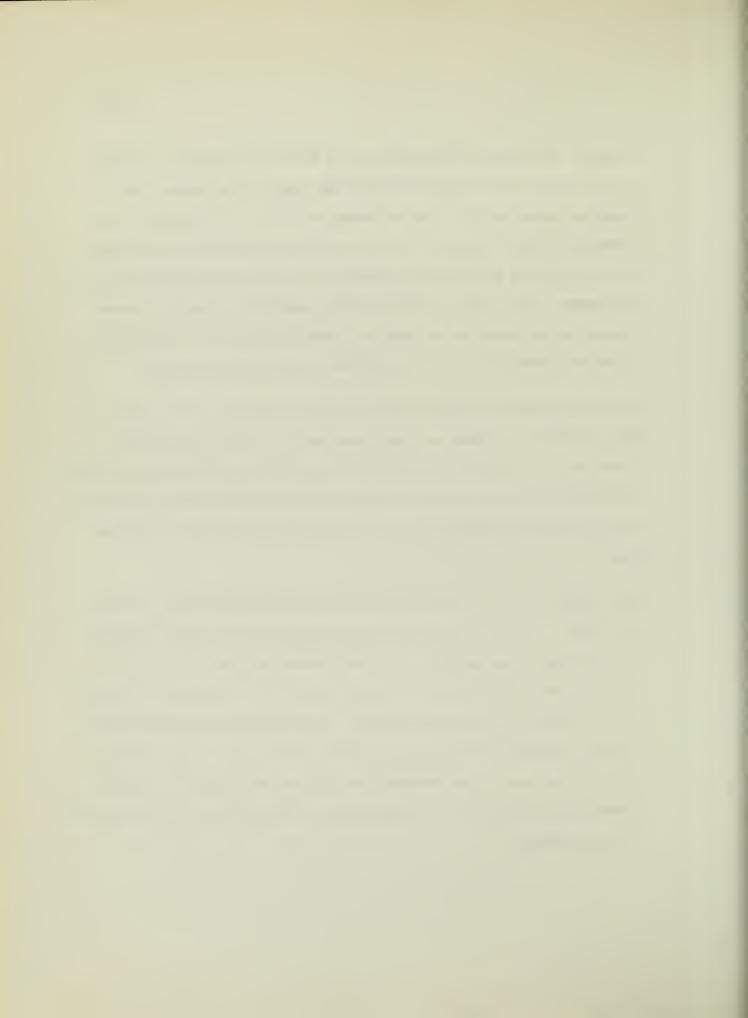
Many years before, he had passed considerable time there studying French



history. He wished to return for one of those "last visits." At Avignon, he never tired of walking within the ruins of the Palace of The Popes or looking at its majestic setting on the bank of the Rhone. Observing the thick fortress walls, Mr. Adams recalled the dismal historical associations of both the fourteenth century and the French Revolution. His memory of the facts of French history equaled his memory of poetry. Though he kept comparing his mind to a piece of old lace - strong in sections and broken in others - in 1922 there were few broken places.

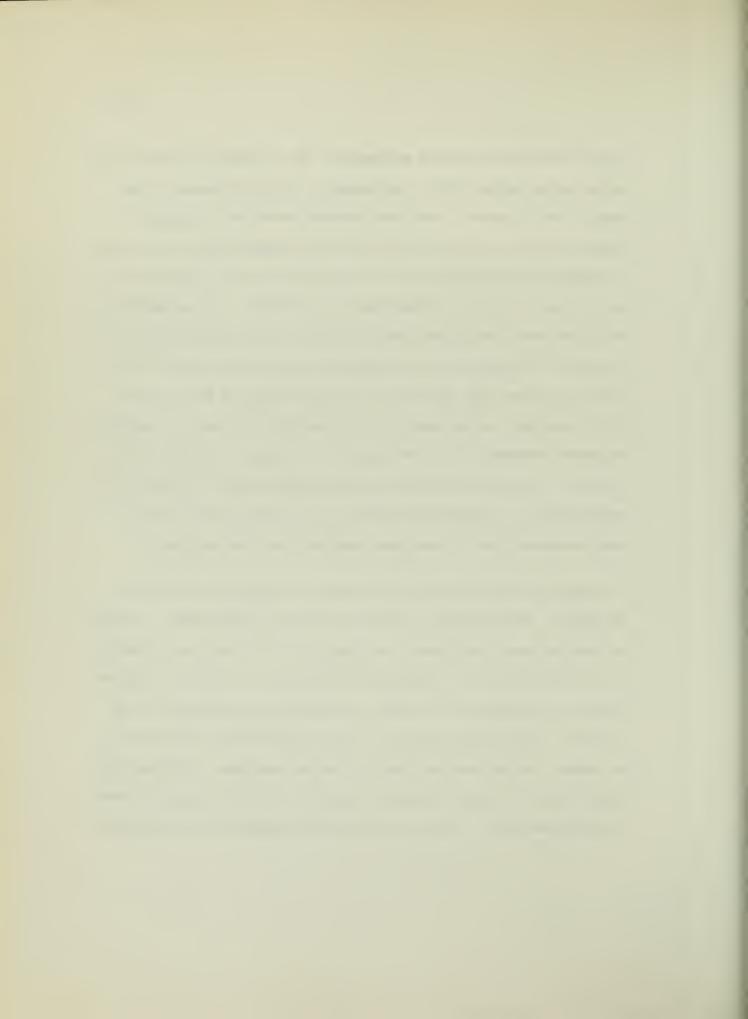
After a pleasant, leisurely visit at Avignon, he moved on to Le Mans. The cathedral at Le Mans was really his goal for this European visit. Years earlier he had had a spiritual experience while attending Mass there and had written Henry about it in 1895. He was anxious to see if this experience could be repeated; if not he could at least relive the earlier one.

Mr. Adams had a very special way of visiting a cathedral such as the one at Le Mans. Of initial importance was an understanding of the geographical setting of the building. For this reason he drove to the edge of the city and, looking across the river, viewed the cathedral as it seemed to rise from the top of its high hill. Then he drove around the city to look at the old buildings in the vicinity of the church. Never liking to drive to the door of any cathedral, he left the car before he reached the actual site and walked to the large open square which was on the east side of the cathedral.



This square must have been a marketplace, for I remember the utter confusion of the cattle, carts, and peasants. Mr. Adams stopped in the midst of this clatter to view the cathedral's east end. It seemed so large, so silent and so aloof from the noisy domestic scene. Mr. Adams was happy to find everything the same as he had seen it, perhaps forty years before, then still undiscovered by travelers. The peasants did not offend him - they served him as a scale for measuring the size of the church. He passed the south entrance, since he felt that the nave should be entered only by the west door, the impact of the first view being important. He was moved to great emotion as he saw once more the Romanesque doorways of the west entrance - so plain, so modest, so restrained. The entire exterior was more splendid than he remembered it. Upon entering, he gasped at the beauty of the Gothic choir and the twelfth-century glass. Much finer with the years, he remarked.

Mr. Adams then inquired when there would be a High Mass celebrated by the Bishop. He would remain in Le Mans until he could attend. Not even at Chartres could the splendor and dignity of such a service be equaled. For the next week or so, although he drove around the city and into the country, his purpose was to better understand the architecture of the cathedral. The service proved to be most inspirational, especially to Mr. Adams. He believed that when he studied something, everything must relate itself to that; otherwise, it was time wasted. He gave Le Mans a tearful good-bye. I, too, was sad leaving Le Mans because I was sure



that Brooks Adams, the "realist," knew it was, very likely, for the "last time."

It was a short drive to Chartres. Mr. Adams had not visited the cathedral since 1914. Before that, he had studied Chartres for many years. during the course of which his brother Henry had given it its fullest literary treatment in his book. After settling into the hotel. Mr. Adams began his survey of the exterior of the church. He was a teacher again; at Le Mans it had been a personal matter, and he had been silent. One morning he looked at the two eleventh-and fourteenth-century bell towers with spires, as he said, rising higher than the hill upon which the city stands and pointing to Unity beyond space. He called my attention to the richly carved portals. Mr. Adams said that as a young man he could identify each statue of the portals, but he did not recommend this detailed study. He thought it more important to view the statues as representing live human beings who posed for the sculptor. In this way one could appreciate each statue as a portrait, a work of art. He gave hours of study to the exterior to get the feel of its vast dimensions and elegant proportions. Before entering the cathedral he looked again at the facade, noting that the spires represented aspiration and the open door the way to spiritual life. Then he went into the majestic church. The glass of the rose window caught his eye; so did the glass of the lancet windows underneath. He remembered these lancet windows as being the oldest glass in the church and this particular rose



window as the finest. Mr. Adams said that Rheims Cathedral was usually the scene of the royal coronations but that Henry IV was crowned in Chartres. He could see why, since it was so vast. Having fulfilled his responsibility as a teacher for those traveling with him, he was ready to depart.

Mr. Adams showed some impatience to move on to Paris. It was a short drive from Chartres to the Bois de Boulogne, rich with associations of his brother Henry and of his own earlier and happier years. He made out a schedule for his stay in Paris: each morning he would go either to Sainte-Chapelle or to Notre Dame; each afternoon, he would drive in the Bois de Boulogne; and in the evening he would go to the theater.

At Notre Dame he made the one concession to the state of his health that I was to observe in all his travels. He urged me to climb the stairs of the tower to see the gargoyle. He said he always went to the top for it was thrilling to see, but those days were gone. When I came down and was enthusiastic at what I had seen, he said: "I have lived too long - pleasant things are slipping away. I am finished."

I learned an important lesson in Paris. Mr. Adams noticed that a certain play was being given at the Comedie Francaise. He sent me to purchase tickets but gave no special instructions. I returned with the tickets expecting he would be pleased. He looked at them and then said:

"Is this play listed for only one evening?" I said that I thought it was scheduled for a full week. He said, "Then go back, and bring tickets

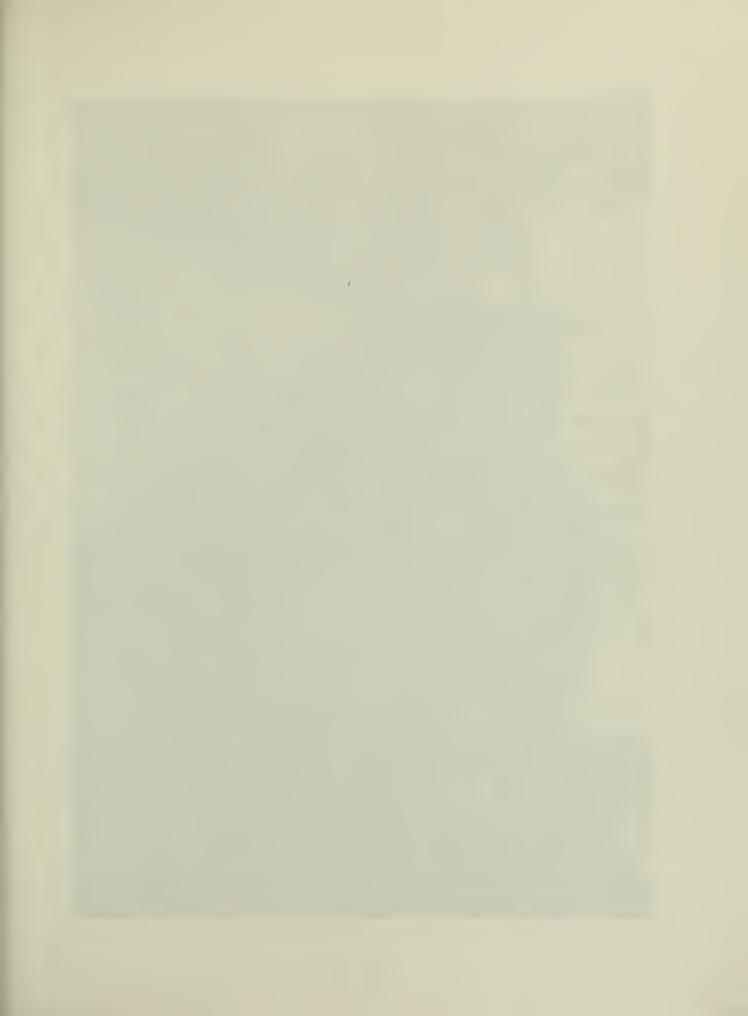


for each evening's performance - no one can learn anything by hearing a play once. I go to improve my French - that is the only way to learn a language." Then he recalled that as a young man he had acquired his accent by reading a play aloud during the day and then going to hear it performed at the theater time and time again.

Mr. Adams was disappointed in the hotels of Paris. One day, while out driving in the country, he ordered his chauffeur to drive up a long lane to a farmhouse. When the lady came to the door, he told her that Paris hotels had lost the art of cooking. He wished to have one meal of real French cooking before returning to America. He wondered if she had a pot of soup on her stove and if she would cook him an omelet. The lady, astonished, said that she did have a little "pot au feu" and, of course, could cook him an omelet. The meal was served beside the stove in the kitchen, and Mr. Adams was delighted. He looked at her flower garden, gave her a handsome recompense for the meal, and departed. She was standing in her doorway, still smiling, as long as I could see her.

Upon reaching Bath we found Mrs. Adams somewhat improved. She had become oriented to Bath and was less confused. The foreign travel, though, had been too much for Ellen Ring and from exhaustion, she fell down a long flight of stairs at the Grand Pump Room Hotel in Bath and broke her shoulder. We remained in Bath until she was able to travel to the United States.







The summer of 1922 found Mr. Adams again in his beloved garden, library, and Old House. 70 Except for members of the family, he had few visitors that summer. Walks in the reservation, reading, watching the flowers grow, and conversing about the rugs and other furnishings in the house kept him occupied. That summer he invited all the members of his family to the Old House. He called the gathering a birthday party, but that really did not influence the choice of day. The real reason was that Abigail Adams' York rose was usually in full blossom on June 24 and he wanted all the family to see and appreciate this York rose as he did. I watched him carefully, pointing out to Molly Lally in the pantry what he wished for the table setting. He suggested the linen tablecloth used by Abigail Adams in the White House, also her silver knives and forks, the Meissen onion pattern porcelain, which he associated with President and Mrs. John Quincy Adams and finally the French dinner and dessert service used by his parents in Geneva. In other words, family items not used normally were to be used on this historic occasion. Having given the event the importance he wished it to have, he awaited the family and later found pleasure in the memory.

The long association of the family with the Old House began to take on new meaning for me. Mr. Adams recalled playing hide-and-seek with his sister Mary up the 1731 stairway and down the 1800 stairway, climbing

<sup>(70)</sup> Illustration 34 shows the summer garden - note especially the "elephant's-ears" in the left flower bed.



the fruit trees and eating cherries. His reminiscing even more interesting as I became acquainted with those who had passed from the scene. He reviewed his childhood days with pleasant memories of his parents. He thought his father had sympathy, ambition, and understanding for his children. He recalled his mother as devoted to her children and dedicated to her husband. At the table, he identified for me some of the porcelain as having been his parents' and some as from his earlier forbears - all of it, for the most part, associated with their diplomatic services abroad. Mr. Adams was able to evoke the parts each played in American history as if he had been actually present.

The big problem that summer was what would happen to the Old House when he was gone. Seeking a solution, he consulted many people but none was reached. One suggestion was that the Dutch Chest in the second-floor hallway be given to the Metropolitan Museum and that the mahogany paneling be removed and given to the Museum of Fine Arts for the American wing it had in plan. His reply was characteristically short: "The chest and mahogany paneling would be too unhappy if taken from their home of so many years." The family gathering had made so pleasant an impression upon him that he determined finally to leave to the next generation of his family the determination of the fate of the Old House, saying, "I will not fret longer about the Old House, the library and garden; my family has always met its responsibilities."

When the fall of 1922 came, he returned as usual to Bath for the "water



cure." From there he planned that we should go to Rome and Egypt. While in England he was able to locate Miss Lydia Burgess of Claxton-by-the-Sea. She had been a courier in her younger days and had accompanied Mr. and Mrs. Adams to Russia in 1900 when Mrs. Adams was presented at court, an event at which Henry Adams had scoffed but which, along with attendant social courtesies, as Miss Burgess told me, had particularly delighted Mr. Adams. Miss Burgess was of great help in our travels that winter. She complied understandingly with Mr. Adams' demands.

While staying at the Grand Hotel in Rome from Thanksgiving until after New Year of 1923, Mr. Adams visited the usual historic places and attended services in the Sistine Chapel conducted by the Pope. He also drove around the countryside each sunny day. On one occasion, we stopped at a small village restaurant for luncheon. Mr. Adams took up the menu and saw "Bouillabaisse," then in top form he began:

"A street there is in Paris famous,
For which no rhyme our language yields,
Rue Neuve des Petits Champs its name is -The New Street of the Little Fields;
And here's an inn, not rich and splendid,
But still in comfortable case;
The which in youth I oft attended,
To eat a bowl of Bouillabaisse.

This Bouillabaisse a noble dish is -A sort of soup or broth, or brew,
Or hotchpotch, of all sorts of fishes,
That Greenwich never could outdo;
Green herbs, red peppers, mussels, saffern,
Soles, onions, garlic, roach, and dace;
All these you eat at Terre's tavern,
In that one dish of Bouillabaisse.



He recited the whole poem of nearly a hundred lines. Mr. Adams said that this poem by Thackeray was one of the greatest poems he knew.

Mr. Adams' destination was now Egypt. In early January we moved on to Cairo, where he began to review Egyptian history. He remembered his trip up the Nile in a dahabeah in 1891, but those days were gone. Plying the Nile in 1923 for Thomas Cook & Son were comfortable boats which he felt would be pleasant. They took on perhaps fifteen people, cruising during the day and tying up at night so that none of the scenery would be missed. It was a very "plush" excursion, and he found it enjoyable. After ten days he left the boat at Luxor, to remain there for ten weeks.

For Mr. Adams, Luxor was the high point of the years when I knew him.

Tutankhamen's Tomb was about to be opened. Mr. Howard Carter, the archaeologist and friend of Lord Carnarvon, was staying at the same hotel. He
appeared to enjoy talking with Mr. Adams and invited him to attend the
pre-opening of the Tomb. Precious treasures were everywhere - few, if
any, had been removed. It was a breathtaking moment.

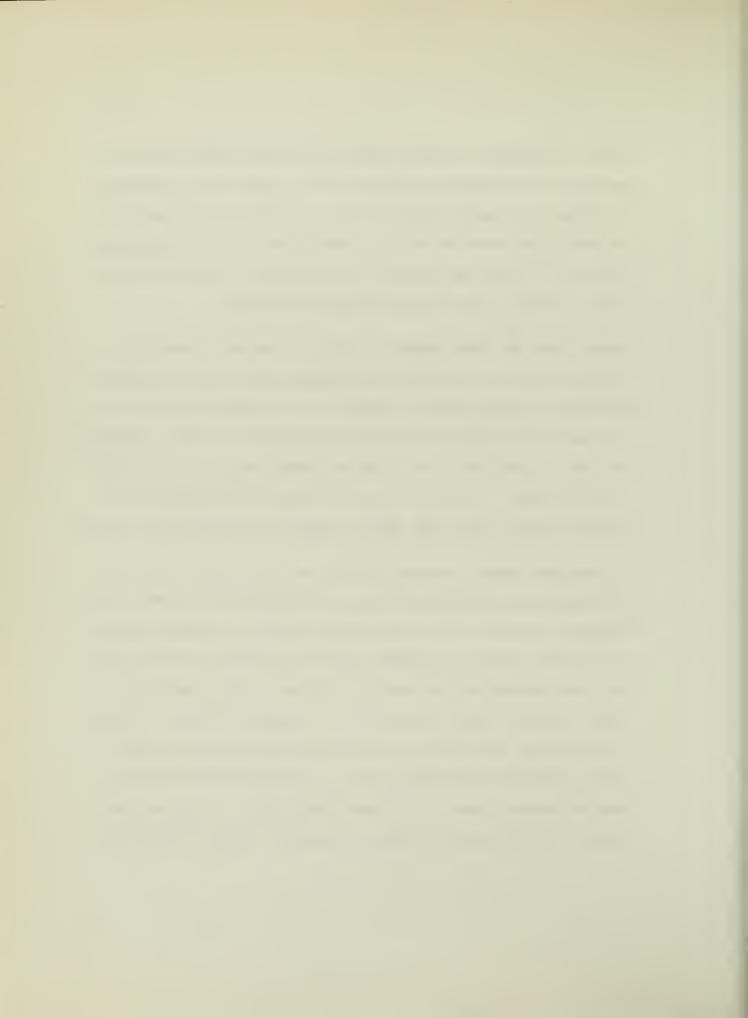
Another person who added to Mr. Adams' stay in Luxor was Professor James H. Breasted, famous authority on Egyptian history, who was interpreting the inscriptions on the Tomb objects. Since he was a scholar in theology as well as Egyptian and oriental art, the conversation was varied, spirited and informative. He walked with Mr. Adams through the Tutankhamen



Tomb, visited many of the royal tombs with him and together they made day trips to the Temples of Luxor and Karnak. After dinner they enjoyed walking in the garden behind the hotel observing the brilliant stars, and identifying constellation upon constellation. Mr. Adams glowed with delight. Here there was a sharing of knowledge; Mr. Adams had no occasion to stimulate conversation by being argumentative.

Leaving Luxor, Mr. Adams returned to Cairo on his way, I thought, to England, but not so. Mr. Adams, one morning, sent for the hotel doctor; he wanted his heart examined. He was often predicting the end of his life, and I was alarmed lest the time might really be at hand. The doctor found not much wrong. Mr. Adams was elated, saying, "That is what I wanted to hear. I plan to go to the Holy Land." Miss Burgess and I understood only too well that when Mr. Adams made a decision it was final.

He found Cairo noisy. Because accommodations for the trip to the Holy
Land could not be immediately arranged, he decided for the week or so of
waiting to move out of town to the hotel at Gizeh. He engaged rooms at
the Mena House facing the Pyramids. Both his bedroom and sitting room
had a very pleasant balcony where he could have a superb view day or
night. But Miss Burgess shared with me an unsettled feeling. Knowing
that Palestine, the Middle East, and India had been the focus of Mr.
Adams' research for his literary works, we were far from sure that he
might not decide to make one of those "last visits" to Calcutta. Although his health would not permit so stremuous a trip, his "will" to



go or not to go would be, as it always was, the controlling factor.

These moves which Mr. Adams decided upon so easily were negotiated with difficulty. His luggage was not such as we have now. For him to travel in comfort required seven or more large trunks. There was a trunk of everything he would need for a very cold climate, including four pairs of heavy shoes; another trunk of medium-weight clothing and four pairs of medium weight shoes; and another of summer clothing and four pairs of very thin shoes. There had to be space for his three dozen London-made white shirts. There was a smaller trunk for his formal clothes, which included a black topcoat with a velvet collar, gloves, and white muffler for evening together with a beautiful gray cutaway coat and morning suit. A duffel bag held woolen lap robes of various weights for the train and as insurance against heavy hotel blankets. Packed in the blankets were his lighter-weight set of dumbbells. To these pieces were added bags for toilet articles and the several cans of tea from J. P. Morgans plantation in China and the silver tea ball he regularly carried so that there would be a fresh cup at breakfast, luncheon, and afternoon tea.

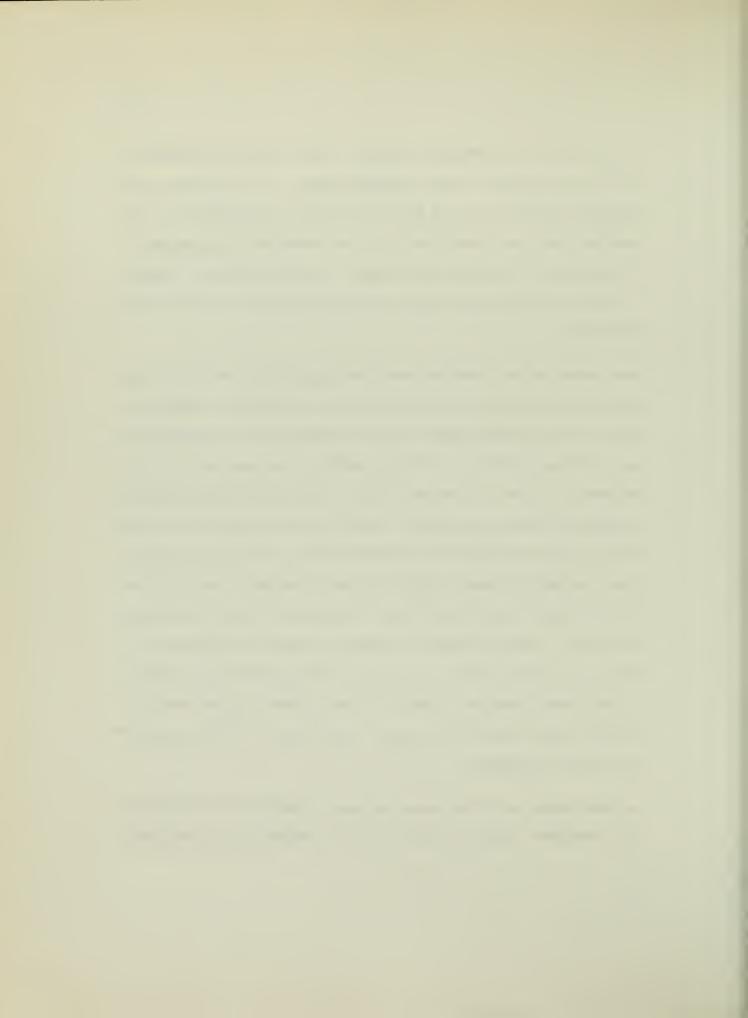
One additional piece of luggage was more important to him than all the others: a wooden box about 20" x 30" x 36" for his books. It might contain ten volumes of Viollet-Le-Duc's <u>Dictionnaire de l'architecture</u> if he were going to France, Memoirs of Benvenuto Cellini if he were going to Italy, or Milman's <u>History of Christianity</u> and <u>History of The Jews</u> if he were going to the Holy Land. He had several books on ancient Egypt,



but their names have escaped my memory. Every country he planned to visit was represented in this traveling library. Also the latest biographies he could find in the Boston book shops were included for light reading. Each book wrapped separately was unwrapped and placed about his private sitting room in each hotel. He also bought books readily so that by the end of the winter he had twice as many as he had started out with.

The packing on this occasion having been accomplished, he took the boat at Port Said for Haifa and in due time was in Jerusalem. It had been more than twenty years since he was in Jerusalem, but he remembered it well. Taking his Bible to double as guidebook, he drove to the foot of the Mount of Olives. He wished to walk to the top and upon reaching it to read the Sermon on the Mount. Then he studied the panorama of Jerusalem, calling my attention to the Golden Gate. He was in no hurry to leave; he said he found it little different from what it was years before. A trip by car, better he said than in the old days by caravan, allowed Mr. Adams the delight of seeing once again the Wilderness of Judea, the Jordan Valley, the sky blue of the Dead Sea and the purple of the faraway mountains of Moab. To dip his hand into the Dead Sea and see, within seconds, his fingers coated with a fine white powder of salt gave him pleasure.

As Miss Burgess and I had feared, he began to mention Beirut and Krah des Chevaliers. Realizing that he could be reached only by reminding



him of his garden, I held out the wisteria in Quincy. When that worked, plans to go home were begun but not before he had had a talk with Miss Burgess about her arrangements for her declining years. As was so characteristically Mr. Adams' way, preferring to make large gifts to individuals rather than to institutions, he assumed at once the mortgage on her little house in Claxton-by-the-Sea.

The summer of 1923 was quiet, but again the Old House extended a cordial welcome. There was time to enjoy a closer contact with several members of the family and old friends of the Adamses. Each day passed quickly. The family visitors included Mrs. Henry P. Quincy (Mary Adams) the only other surviving member of the family of Ambassador and Mrs. Charles Francis Adams. Mrs. Quincy came frequently to see her brother. She was delightful. I recall what I thought was an amusing incident. Mrs. Quincy always wore a magnificent string of pearls which were bought by Peter C. Brooks for his daughter, Abigail Brooks Adams. Upon the death of Mrs. Charles Francis Adams most of her personal things were given to her daughter, while her sons inherited the more impersonal things. The pearls were so beautiful that Mr. Adams enjoyed seeing his sister wear them. Once she arrived for luncheon not wearing the necklace of pearls. At the door when Mr. Adams greeted her, he asked where her pearls were - She said that she had expected to wear them but some way forgot to put them on. Mr. Adams suggested she send her chauffeur home for them so that she would be properly dressed. She complied without hesitation. (Years later her great granddaughter has tried without success to find some trace of this string







of pearls worth thousands of dollars.) Mr. Adams and his sister reviewed their life in England as well as her marriage in the Long Room. They were satisfying visits.

Another visitor was Henry Adams 2d son of Charles Francis Adams, Jr.

Henry had served overseas during World War I. Upon his return home he
visited his uncle frequently. He was not familiar with the Old House
and it was interesting to see how rapidly the place became a part of
him. 7l I remember so well Mr. Adams showing his nephew the third floor.

There was Rebecca's room above the Presidents' Bedroom. Mr. Adams remarked that his mother was always so fearful of fire since this fireplace never had a hearth. Nevertheless, Rebecca insisted upon a roaring fire when it was cold. For young Brooks this room was full of happy
memories. The danger of fire added excitement:

Then there was the middle bedroom in which Brooks, as a seven or eight year old boy, slept. He had been lonely in this room. He missed sharing the room with Rebecca. Henry Adams was as concerned over his uncle's description of his early unhappy experience as if it were a present day problem. They both lived over this memory of loneliness with such drama that it was unbelievable.

Then the rooms in the 1800 section were visited. Mr. Adams told his

<sup>(71)</sup> Illustration 35 shows a view of the east lawn as it looked at the time of Henry Adams 2d's visits.



nephew that the southeast room was occupied by Charles Francis Adams, Jr. It was of great interest, of course, to Henry Adams to see his father's room. He was amused to hear that his father, Charles Francis Adams, Jr. had rebelled against this room because he found it hot. Mr. Adams explained how disturbed their mother had been when Charles Francis Adams, Jr. in a defiant mood had moved out into the farmhouse in the rear. As for young Brooks, he was delighted because his sister Mary moved up into this room and the third floor seemed less lonely.

In those days there were several older members of the Adams family who had known Henry Adams, brother of Brooks. When any two Adamses got together, there was one absorbing subject upon which they all agreed and that was how inspiring Henry Adams was. So, as we approached the northeast room the mood of uncle and nephew went into sweet accord. There were Henry's copies of the North American Review on the same shelves where he had placed them. His student lamp beside his bed and to update the room, Henry's toilet set from his apartment in Paris had been placed in his room. The nephew Henry was as moved as Brooks Adams. Both agreed that here in this room one caught the atmosphere of an agreeable, inspiring occupant.

It was a familiar sight to see Mr. Adams standing by the bookcases in the 1836 passageway leafing books he had read perhaps a half dozen times. Henry Adams, II also found it interesting to look over the large collection of French plays which showed the use his uncle had made of them in



authors to both Mr. and Mrs. Adams. Heading the list were: Speeches
by Henry Cabot Lodge to Evelyn Adams; A Literary History of America,
English Composition and Cotton Mather, each by Barrett Wendell and presented to Brooks Adams; then The Undiscovered Country by W. D. Howells
presented to Brooks Adams; Life and Times of John Dickinson by Charles J.
Stille; The Abode of Snow presented to Brooks Adams by the author Andrew
Wilson and Human Physiology by Henry C. Chapman, to mention a few. Finally there were eleven or twelve prize books given Brooks Adams by Headmaster Scale of the Twickenham School in England for Brooks' excellence
in Mathematics, History, Geography and English. There was also a small
geography he had studied in 1862. Though Henry Adams, II never attributed his interest in the Old House to his Uncle Brooks, it was very apparent to me, at least.

There was an interesting annual visitor to the Old House - Mrs. Cadwalader Jones of New York. She stopped off each fall on her way from Bar Harbor, Maine to New York. She and her daughter Beatrix (Mrs. Max Farrand) had a summer place at Bar Harbor. Mrs. Jones was a compulsive manager of other people's affairs. She had known Mr. Adams many years, as he explained, at a time when she was less dictatorial. In the early twenties she saw many reforms needed to improve life at the Old House. For example, the cook did not prepare soup as she thought proper. Once when she reported to Mr. Adams she had consulted with Maria Faye, the cook, and had explained how to make soup, Mr. Adams was beside himself with rage. The very idea







that a "casual" visitor, as he put it, had invaded his kitchen. Well, the storm passed over and Mrs. Jones never repeated that mistake. The most touchy reform she attempted though, concerned the old garden (Mr. Adams' heart). She told him that it needed the help of a trained land-scape architect and suggested her daughter Beatrix. His restraint let down completely and I could never record his conversation with her. When she left I thought we were saying a last good-bye, but the following fall she returned and renewed her plea for landscaping!:

The most intimate relationship with his nieces and nephews was with Abigail Adams Homans 72 and her husband Robert Homans. The friendship, as Mr. Adams told me, began when Abigail Adams was a girl of about ten. She loved horses and rode in Quincy a great deal. Her Uncle Brooks enjoyed riding so naturally they rode together. During his closing years Mr. Adams said that perhaps if he had been privileged to have had some pleasant experience in common with other members of his family, he would have felt as close as he did to Abigail. He recalled her in Paris with him and then at the Sacre-Coeur. He thought she was so beautiful when she returned to Boston for her debut. He also thought that she was like her father in grace and wit. As much as he loved his niece, Abigail, he was equally fond of her husband Bob, as he called Mr. Robert Homans. While abroad he would receive long letters from Mr. Homans and for days

<sup>(72)</sup> Illustration 36 is a photograph of Abigail Adams when she was ten years old and rode horseback with her Uncle.







he kept these letters in his pocket to read and reread them. On Sunday evening in Quincy or Boston he always wanted his niece and her husband to come for supper. 73 They gave him great satisfaction and pleasure.

One of the most pleasant interludes for Mr. Adams came in the early summer of 1923. He had spoken so often of the old days when he went to New York by boat. In his memory he had built up quite an experience which he regretted was gone forever. One morning Arthur P. Brown, his financial advisor from F. S. Moseley & Co., telephoned asking how Mr. Adams was. Finding him in excellent frame of mind, Mr. Brown said, "Could you go by boat with me to New York tonight?" Of course, the answer was an enthusiastic "Yes." Apparently the weather was just right for an evening on deck for Mr. Brown reported a stimulating evening of discussion of America's financial trends, past, present and future. The next day Mr. Brown accompanied Mr. Adams to the Metropolitan Museum, in the afternoon to a matinee and then home by boat. I did not know all of Mr. Adams' friends well, but I am sure no one ever took more pleasure in making the eventide of life easier then Mr. Brown did for a full 12 years.

It was 1924, if my memory is correct, that Mr. Adams' grand-niece Catherine Adams married Mr. Henry S. Morgan. In the fall of that year Mrs. Jones was in Quincy when she suggested to Mr. Adams that he visit the Morgan Library especially as his niece was then a part of the Morgan family. On the way

<sup>(73)</sup> Illustration 37 is a photograph of Abigail Adams when she made her debut in Boston.



to England Mr. Adams stopped off in New York and went to this famous library. The librarian, Miss Montgomery, as I recall her name, asked him what he would especially like to see. Without hesitation, he said, "The Illuminated Manuscripts." The librarian invited him into a special room and then brought in perhaps eight or ten books. Mr. Adams explained to me that he had waited 76 years to have the satisfaction of turning the pages and finding each page more beautiful than the previous one. He said that he had always been interested in Illuminated Manuscripts, but because he was not doing a serious work on them, never felt he should ask the British Museum for any special courtesy. He was so interested in the Morgan Collection that sailing time, which seemed to me to be approaching, was of no concern to him. He said that he could always buy another ticket to England, but this courtesy might not be available again. Finally, on the way to the Scythia he said, "It is in my blood, I suppose. Once in New York my grandfather, John Quincy Adams, missed his boat because he had to finish an entry in his diary."

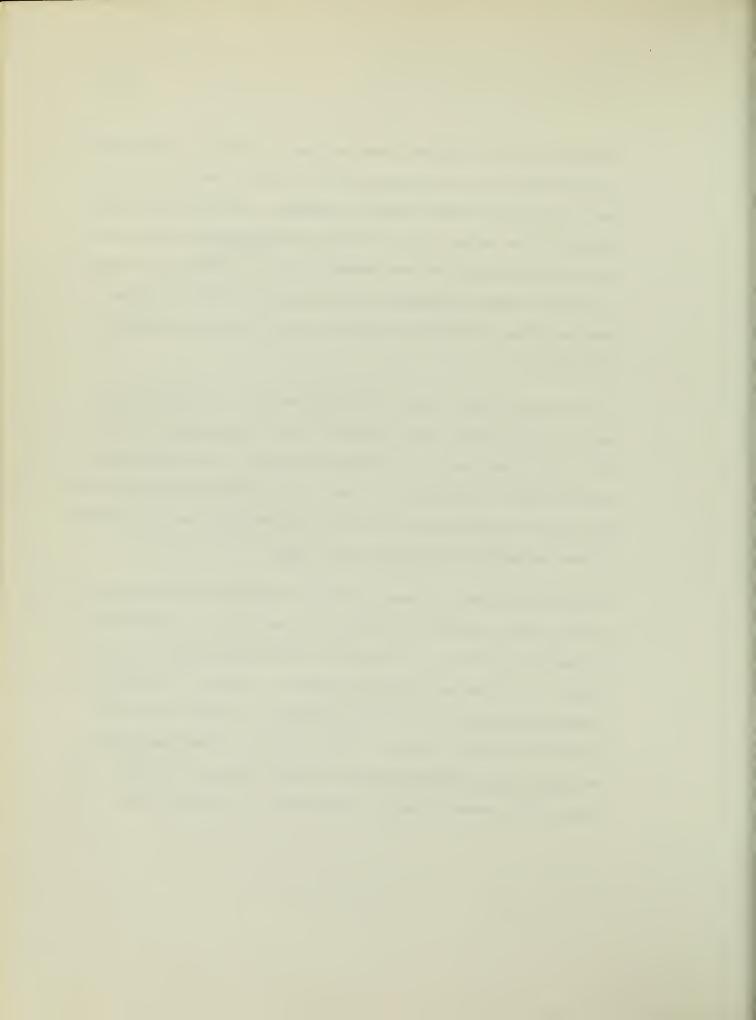
In the nineteen fifties this same collection came to the Fogg Museum at Harvard for a special exhibition. I went several times and each time I felt great appreciation to Mr. Adams and the Old House for developing my love of beautiful things. Unless the Old House is forced into a uniform pattern of all other national areas, it will continue to influence all the personnel, in particular, and the public, too, if given a chance. Like Mr. Adams, the Old House is a willing teacher:



During the next two years Mr. Adams continued his travels. After a trip to the West Indies and to South America had ended in the Canal Zone with surgery, he again crossed to Bath to recuperate. In the following year, animated by the desire to see once again the <u>Night Watch</u> and other works of the Dutch painters that were favorites of his, as well as by the special interest that The Hague had for him because of its associations with John Adams and John Quincy Adams, he made a last vist to Belgium and Holland.

In the summer of 1925, a fall and the rupture of an artery in his leg put an end to travel. But he continued to set a firm schedule for himself. His drives, morning and afternoon, continued even when he had to be lifted into the automobile. He was wheeled each morning before breakfast into the garden and again in the late afternoon to see his dogs and to take to Beauty the customary lump of sugar.

Although old friends continued to visit him, he leaned heavily upon his books. When I went into his sitting room, he would say, "Dickens and I had such a fine visit," or "Disraeli (or Gladstone) took me back to my father, the morning has passed too quickly." Reading F. A. Mackenzie's Russia Before Dawn provided him opportunities to reminisce about his cherished visit there. When he tired of reading, I would page through the Oxford Book of English Verse asking about one poem or another. His memory thus provoked, he would recite passages he especially liked. At





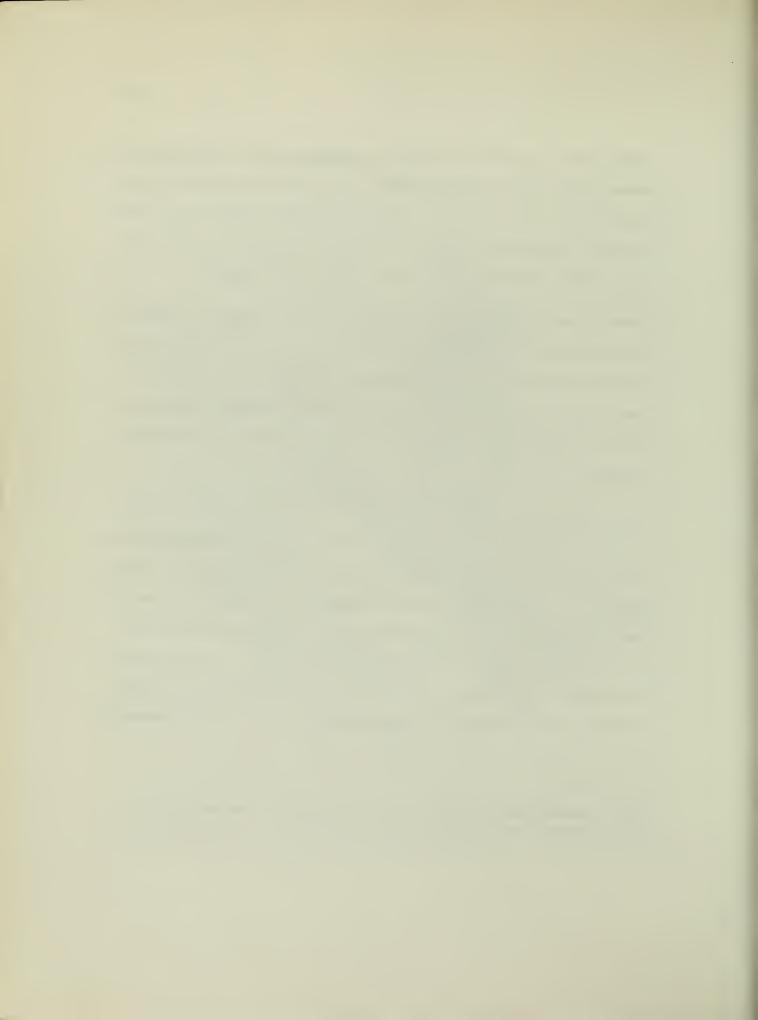


other times I took down Marryat's Mr. Midshipman Easy or Snarleyyow and asked which were his favorite scenes. If I were lucky enough to find the chapter to put before him, I would find that he remembered it almost verbatim. Some sections would cause him to laugh heartily, and of the more dramatic passages he would say, "That is real drama."

Before he was able to recover from the injury to his leg, Mr. Adams fell and broke his hip. Though he continued to insist upon his usual drives in the car and continued to receive his morning visitors to Quincy in the Stone Library and to have tea in the Paneled Room with those who called in the afternoon, Mr. Adams' physical decline was not thereafter arrested.

In the early hours of February 13, 1927, at his Boston house, hearing Mr. Adams talking to his nurse, Mrs. MacDonald, I went down to his room. Mr. Adams asked the time, and I told him it was four o'clock. He asked me why I was up so early. I told him that I just happened to be awake and that hearing his voice I wondered if I could do anything for him. If not, at least, I could remind him how appreciative I was of all his kindnesses. He answered: "Oh, you realize the candle is burning low, and you want to brighten the closing hours." He fell asleep immediately, and the end came soon.

<sup>(74)</sup> Illustration 38 on the opposite page shows a crayon drawing of Brooks Adams done in 1924.



The services for Mr. Adams were held at the Unitarian Church in Quincy with burial in the Wollaston Cemetery near his parents and beside his wife.

Since the arrangements for this closing chapter were planned by his niece Mrs. Robert Homans (Abigail Adams), who showed considerable concern that it must be "Uncle Brooks' funeral" with some of his individual characteristics, I propose to give some details. She said that his body was not to be clothed in a suit - just fresh pajamas and the usual superby quality camel's hair bath robe with a small ivory silk scarf which he always wore. His body was to be left in his bed until just before time of removal to the church. The three nurses were to take turns sitting in the dimly lighted room as they would if he were asleep.

Then she interviewed Mr. Fred Alban Weil who was the minister at the Stone Church. She said there would be no eulogy though Mr. Weil dreadfully wanted to give a lengthy one which he had especially prepared. She had her way. She wanted only the Twenty-third Psalm, the Beautitudes from the New Testament and several prayers from the Episcopal prayer book. One of the prayers Mr. Adams had selected for use at his wife's funeral was to be said by Reverend Howard Key Bartow of the Quincy Episcopal Church. It closed, "And support us all the day long of this wonderful life, until the shadows lengthen, and the evening comes, and the fever of life is over, and the busy world is hushed, and our work is done; -then in Thy great



mercy grant us a safe lodging and a holy rest and peace with Thee at the last, through him who hast overcome death and opened unto us the gates of eternal life - Amen."

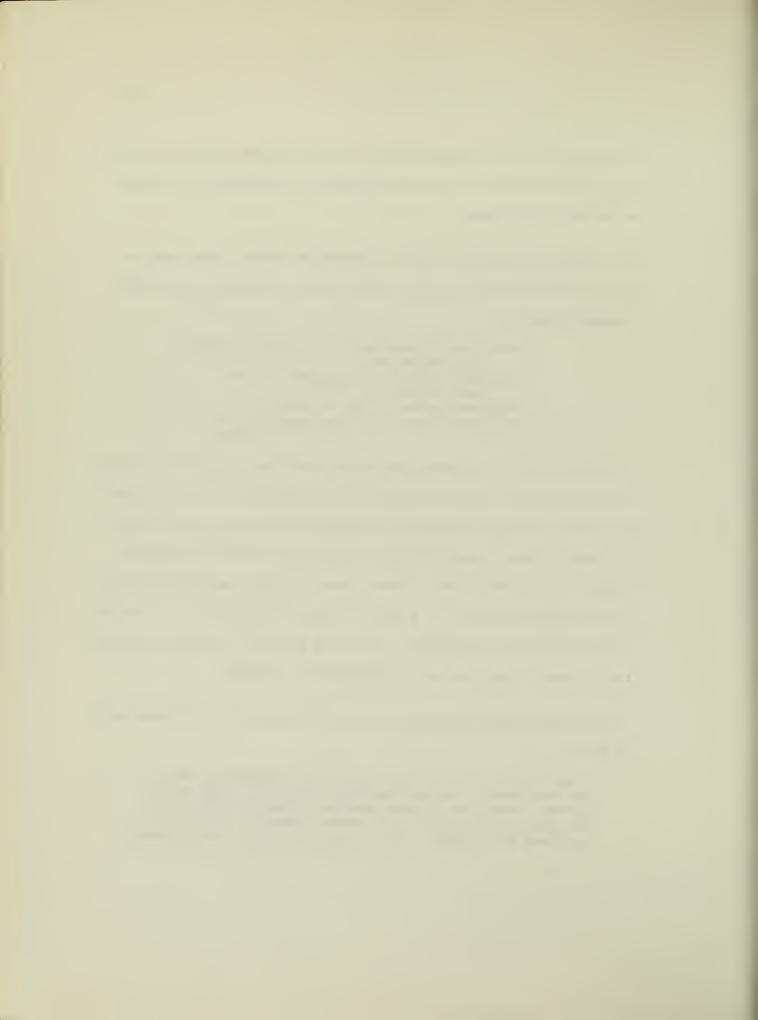
The organist from Trinity Church in Boston, Mr. Francis Snow, came to play the most classical of music. Then came an impromptu bit of music, Cardinal Newman's:

"Lead, kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,
Lead Thou me on!
The night is dark, and I am far from home,
Lead Thou me on!
Keep Thou my feet! I do not ask to see
The distant scene; one step enough for me.
Amen."

It was really just the change from sorrow which Mrs. Homans and I needed for we recalled Mr. Adams' comments as he so frequently wondered why at the funeral of every "respectable Bostonian" "Lead, kindly Light" had to be played or sung. Repeating every verse to us, he said it expressed "lack of faith" and "doubt" in every line. He always concluded by saying that not being recognized as a part of "respectable" Boston, he hoped to escape this social distinction. Little did he realize that Mr. Snow from Trinity would bring this mark of distinction to Quincy.

In the <u>Boston Evening Transcript</u> his old friend Albert E. Pillsbury wrote of him -

Among friends he was a companionable man, hospitable, witty and entertaining. He was especially fond of his dogs and his garden. Punctilious in the etiquette of small social customs, for many of the conventions of modern society he had no expressions but contempt. With an irascible temper, which rarely



did any permanent harm, he had a warm and generous heart and open hand, as many have occasion to know who will remember him with grateful affection.

Then Mr. Pillsbury closed with the remark that Mr. Adams' "Dominant traits were candor, courage, independence, and as complete freedom from hypocrisy as is permitted to man."



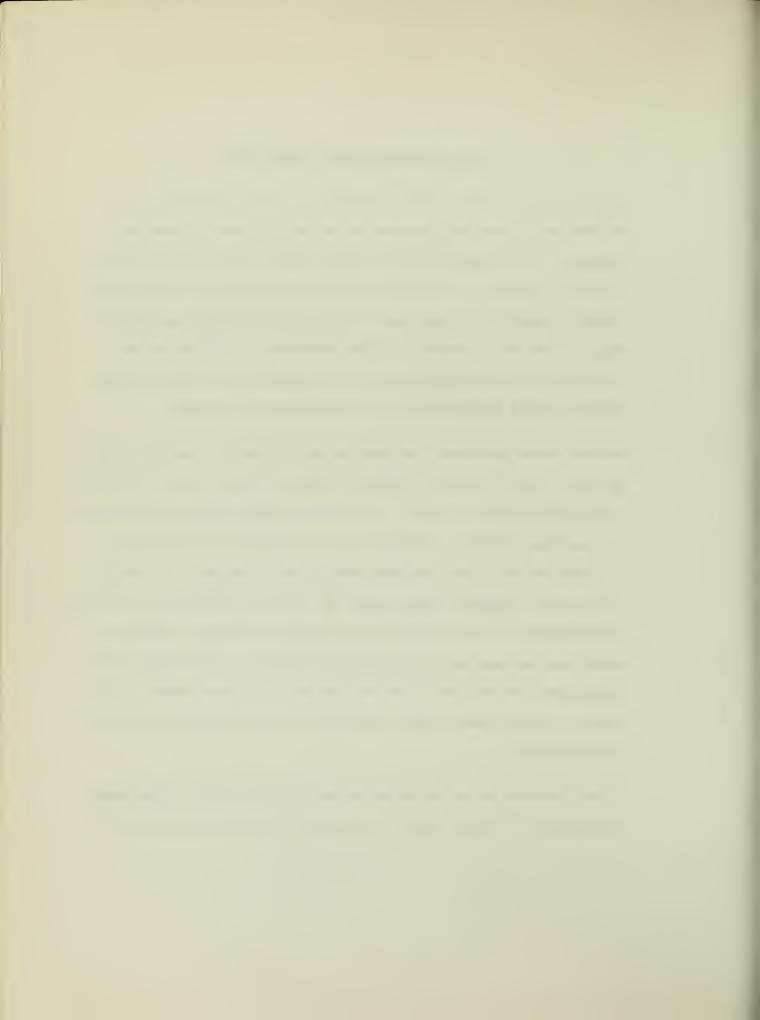
## ADAMS MEMORIAL SOCIETY (1927-1946)

Upon the death of Brooks Adams on February 13, 1927, provision had to be made for the care and preservation of the Old House, library and grounds. It was decided that the family should form a memorial to fulfill this objective. In March 28, 1927 the Adams Memorial Society was formed to open the Old House and library as an educational and civic center. The family gradually shifted residences to include not only the Boston area but Washington, California and New York State so that meetings of the Memorial Society became difficult to arrange.

Various family gatherings were held at the Old House during these years.

On June 30, 1934 Mrs. Robert Homans' daughter, Fanny Crowninshield Homans, was married in the Long Room. The wedding reception was held in the garden and Stone Library. For this event Mrs. Homans had the exterior of the house painted white, the same color Brooks Adams had. On June 27, 1936, another daughter, Helen Homans (Mrs. Carl J. Gilbert), had her wedding reception in the Long Room and in the Stone Library. Again Mrs. Homans had the exterior of the Old House painted. In those days it was magnificent with the soft white exterior and dark green shutters. Mrs. Homans - Abigail Adams - took considerable interest in the preservation of the Old House.

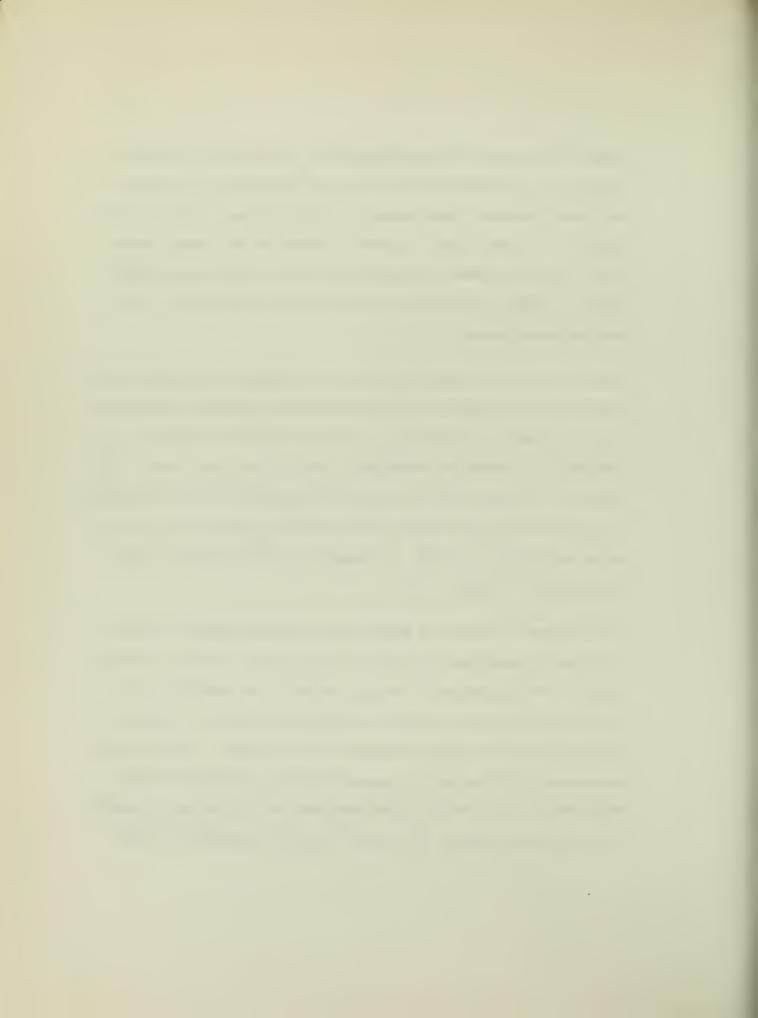
Proper preservation of the buildings and historic objects became heavy obligation. Mr. Henry Adams 2d gave most of his time and interest to



proper preservation of the family memorial. To him we are especially grateful for his unselfish devotion and his determination to preserve this family memorial. Other members of his family gave freely of their talents - his sisters, Miss Elizabeth O. Adams and Mrs. Thomas Nelson Perkins. Upon the death of these three members of the Charles Francis Adams, Jr. family, the Old House suffered a loss equalled only by the death of Brooks Adams.

Members of the Adams family realized a more permanent arrangement should be made. At the suggestion of Professor Samuel Flagg Bemis, the United States Government was considered. This suggestion was accepted by the Adams Memorial Society and steps were taken to effect this change. The transfer to the United States Government ownership of the Old House, garden, library and other buildings with about five acres of land was completed on September 23, 1946. On December 9, 1946 the Federal Government accepted the gift.

To the nieces and nephews of Henry Adams and Brooks Adams, the nation owes a debt of gratitude for giving to the citizens of our own beloved country a memorial unique in setting, reflecting the homelife of four generations of Americans prominent in the development of our country over a period of more than one hundred and fifty years. To the living descendants (1968) we wish to reassure them that the citizens of the United States almost daily express gratitude for this authentic example of our American heritage. The wonder of such a collection of family



items in their original setting is the astonishment and delight of thousands upon thousands of Americans. Just as John Adams remarked when he was asked if he wished to amplify his five word 4th of July Message of 1826 and he answered "not a word" - so when the family made this generour gift to the nation in 1946 they requested that "not a thing" be added or removed.



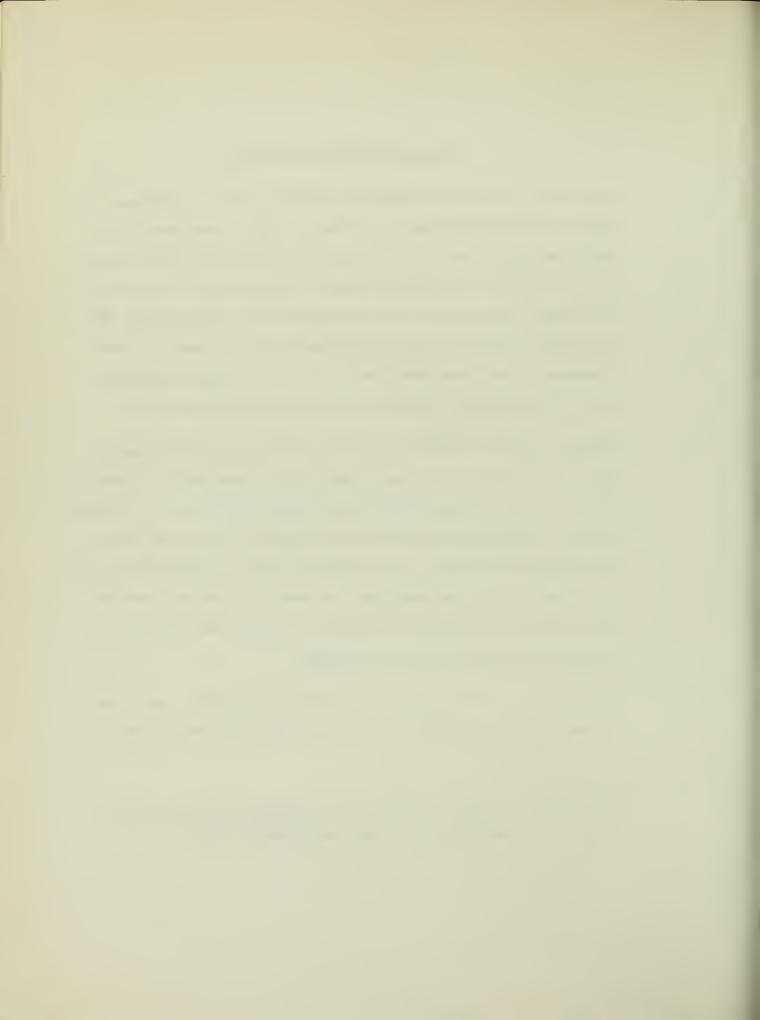
## NATIONAL PARK SERVICE (1946 --)

The National Park Service accepted the generous gift of our National Heritage from the Adams family on December 9, 1946. Immediately afterwards, photographs were taken by Abby Rowe and various architects looked over the structure for necessary repairs. The impressive white exterior was changed to gray and the dark green shutters to a light green. The Dining Room the Long Room and the kitchen floors were shored up. The furnances (2) were transformed from coal to oil. A large 1500 gallon tank for the storage of oil was installed near the 1869 east door.

Raymond H. Corry was appointed custodian of the area in the spring of 1947. In the brief time he was in charge of the Adams National Historic Site he became an authority on the many details of the house and its historical associations with all the Adams occupants of the house. His relationship with the family, especially Henry Adams 2d and Miss Mary Ogden Abbot, was friendly. He established the transition from the Adams Memorial Society to the Federal Government in a helpful way for both the National Park Service and the Adams family.

In the spring of 1948 Raymond H. Corry left the Old House to go to work for the Archives Department at the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library.

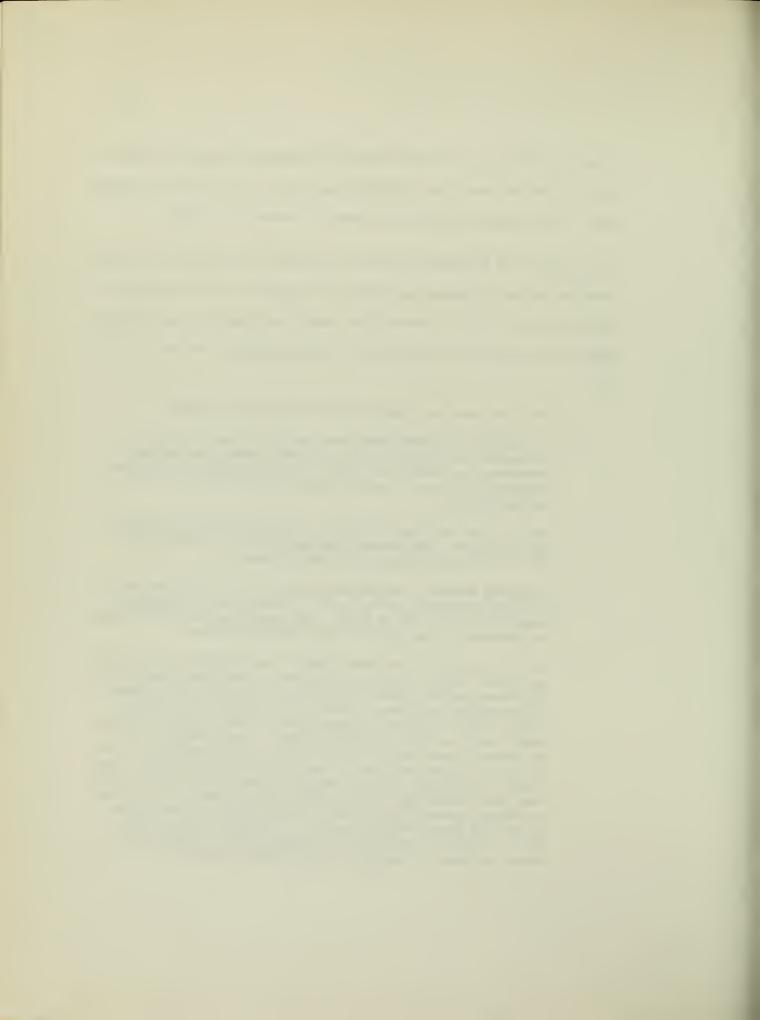
<sup>(1)</sup> Francis S. Ronald's memo of July 1, 1947 explains the choice of colors to be those of Edwin W. Small and Raymond H. Corry.



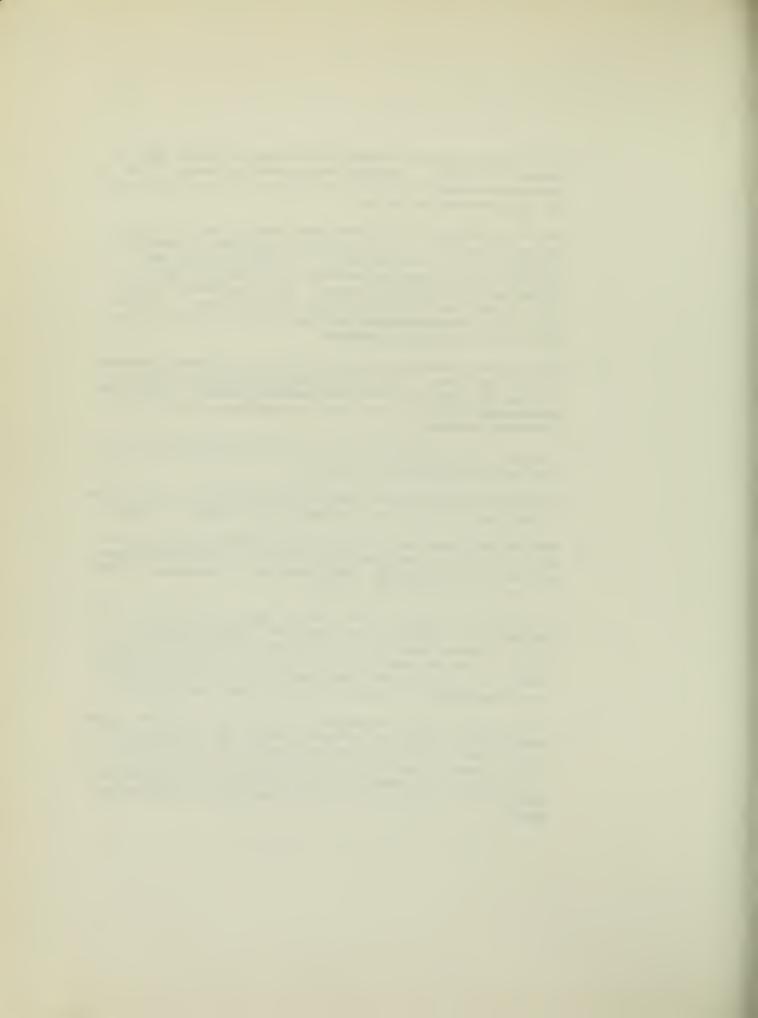
on May 3, 1948 he was succeeded by Mrs. Wilhelmina S. Harris, who had lived in the Old House from 1920-1926 just prior to the death of Brooks Adams. She was appointed Superintendent on November 26, 1950.

By and large, the National Park Service has kept the "faith" in the preservation of the buildings and objects of furniture. To be sure the heating system is more elaborate than needed and there are some changes being made during the rehabilitation of the Old House. On the plus side are:

- 1. The slate roof has been re-laid and made water tight.
- 2. The objects of furnishings have been cataloged and numbered. The museum cataloging, especially the library, is not as accurate as we wanted it to be if time permits, the Superintendent will check this over before she leaves the National Park Service.
- 3. Many of the individual objects of art have been photographed and described. The advice from well known authorities for this work was acknowledged in the Preface.
- 4. The Adams Memorial Society made only six rooms and two china cabinets available to the public. Since 1948, the entire house (20 rooms) can be seen. Only small groups of less than six persons at one time are shown the third floor.
- 5. Various members of the Adams Family have returned significant portraits, seals, jewelry, furniture, silver and other personal effects of John Adams, Abigail Adams, John Quincy Adams, Louisa Catherine Adams, Charles Francis Adams and Abigail Brooks Adams. The Superintendent has returned four rugs formerly owned and used by Brooks Adams. One, a Kelim, is in the second floor entry of 1731 section of the Old House, the second and third rugs are in the Brooks Adams Bedroom and the fourth and perhaps the most important rug in the house, is a very rare Kouba with a magnificent Holbein border. This rug reflects the exquisite taste of Brooks Adams and was given to the Old House for this reason. This rug is now in the Study. With the return of all these family items, the Old House increased in valuation approximately \$100,000.



- 6. The oriental rugs were cleaned and extensive repairs made by Avigdor Rug Center. Moustapa Avigdor was in charge of the Textile Department of the Museum of Fine Arts and is the number one authority in Boston.
- 7. The oil paintings and portraits have been cleaned, mostly by Morton C. Bradley. The Fogg Museum sterilized, cleaned and rebacked all of the engravings. The Bartolozzi and the Bartolozzi after Angelica Kauffman engravings had special attention when they were cleaned. Mr. John Washeba cleaned and repaired the Celestial and Terrestrial Globes. The National Park Service Museum Department worked on many of the maps used by the Adams scholars.
- 8. The informed, courteous historians give an intimate, informal tour of the house. It is their aim to treat the visitors as if they were guests of the distinguished Adamses. During the years area historians have found much material for the interpretation program.
- 9. A superb job of rehabilitation of the Stone Library has been done by the National Park Service.
- 10. Through the generosity of Charles Francis Adams, all the books in the Stone Library were cataloged by Mr. Lloyd A. Brown.
- ll. The National Park Service and Eastern National Park and Monument Association have provided funds for considerable preservation work on the books. Much more work is necessary before all the bindings will be in order.
- 12. In addition to being very helpful in sharing historical information with the Staff at the area, Mr. Lyman Butterfield, Editor of Adams Papers, has also given a beautiful engraving of John Adams and several letters written by Charles Francis Adams. We find the public very interested in handwriting and these manuscripts are appreciated by a great many visitors.
- 13. In the area of public relations, progress has been made constant effort is made to interest scholars in the National Site. To give this increased momentum, a series of three lectures on special phases of the area have been given in June for the last seven years. The speakers have all been on the intellectual level of the Adamses and the public response has been encouraging.



- 14. Prior to the rehabilitation, all maintenance work was done upon the approval of Region One in Richmond, Virginia and more recently the Northeast Regional Office in Philadelphia. The Adams family have been outspoken in their praise of the quality of the maintenance the area has had. The changes made by the rehabilitation of the East Wing has not been so well received.
- 15. The cottage section of the Carriage House has become the Administrative Building. It is large enough to be suited to the needs of the Staff. This is fortunate as the administration can be carried on and the historical setting preserved as in 1927.
- 16. The grounds have grown more beautiful since 1946. Fourteen new trees have replaced those lost by disease or wind storms. The restored duck pond has added beauty to the orchard. Plenty of fertilizer, pruning and loving care keep the eighteenth century garden and grounds ready and willing to give visitors a satisfying experience at Adams National Historic Site.

With the Manuscripts or Adams Papers as they are known, safely in the hands of the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Old House with its contents and the other buildings and grounds surrounding them under the protection of the National Park Service, Abigail Adams Homans in her Education by Uncles was able to close her book by saying:

"Uncle Brooks would have been satisfied, if, when he died in 1927, he could have known that his beloved relics were at last to be in safe hands."





