Peirce Medical History Excerpts

Notes:

Dates are arranged with year first, followed by month, followed by day. This format is used to facilitate computer sorting of materials by date. The circa, "c," is used when a date is not exact. Sometimes a day, month or year can be determined by context. Others have done this work, and this collection simply uses the dates indicated on and in files. Zeros indicate that the specific date information is lacking. All zeros indicate a piece is undated.

The phrase "CSP auto" means CSP autograph, that the excerpt is taken from a Peirce manuscript. On letters, the first name or set of initials indicate the sender, and the second name or initials indicate the receiver. Other kinds of sources are indicated.

When an excerpt at its end does not have a reference that means the excerpt was taken from a Max Fisch typescript. These excerpts can have their references found by going back to the typescripts in the Chronological File in the Max Fisch Archive, the Institute for American Thought, IUPUI. Unfortunately, many of the typescripts refer to the now outdated McMahan catalogue. Some excerpts without a reference come from the Peirce Records files at the Institute for American Thought; these are files copied from the National Archives and other archives. Often, manuscripts and letters will have a page number that is five digits long; these are the page numbers placed on the photocopies when Texas Tech University funded making these copies and the microfilm edition of the Peirce papers at Harvard University. Because this source material does not focus on the distinction between drafts and copy intended for the public, except in a few instances, these references have not been brought forward into this material, but may be obtained on an as-needed basis.

Send comments and corrections to David Pfeifer, depfeife@iupui.edu.

Abbreviations:

ADB – Alexander Dallas Bache, Coast Survey

AHJ – Alice James, wife of William James

AS – Albert Stickney, lawyer and friend

BMP – Benjamin Mills Peirce, brother

BP – Benjamin Peirce, father

CEP – Charlotte Elizabeth Peirce, aunt, BP's sister

CLB – Carrie L. Badger, with whom CSP had a "secret marriage," really an affair

CPP – Carlile P. Patterson, Coast Survey

CSP – CHARLES S. PEIRCE

CWE – Charles W. Eliot, president of Harvard College

DCG – Daniel C. Gilman, president of Johns Hopkins University

ECP – Edward C. Pickering, Coast Survey

FAW – Frederick A. Woods, acquaintance

FCR – Francis C. Russell, Chicago lawyer and philosopher

FMT – Frank M. Thorn, Coast Survey

HHDP – Herbert Henry Davis Peirce, brother

HJ – Henry James, novelist, brother of William James

HPE – Helen Peirce Ellis, sister

JEH – Julius Erasmus Hilgard, Coast Survey

JMP – James Mills Peirce, brother

JP – Juliette Peirce, second wife

LVW – Victoria Lady Welby, correspondent on semeiotics from England

PC – Paul Carus, editor of *The Monist* and *Open Court*

SMP – Sarah Mills Peirce, mother

TCM – Thomas Corwin Mendenhall, Coast Survey

WJ – William James

WPG – Wendell Phillips Garrison, editor of *The Nation*

ZP – Zina Peirce, first wife

??? — Unknown

? — Questionable

Excerpts:

0000/00/00 CSP: JMP

...after Bertie was fully informed of everything regarding Madame Pourtalai and me, at a time when a rupture existed between her and me and also between him and Miss Joce, he besought Madame Pourtalai to become his own wife. [Not only time this event is mentioned.]

{L339: 00041}

0000/00/00 CSP: JMP

I am apt to argue about advice, & it often offends people, or makes them think I don't like the advice Just the contrary. I argue about advice when I take it seriously, not when I do not...Dana...said...I had no faculty as a writer for the daily press. I was grateful to him, for he saved endless struggle in & at that direction. I want to find something I am good for (I am persuaded there must be something) & bend myself that way.

{L339:00031-00032}

0000/00/00 CSP: JP

My own sweet wife your dear love which you so sweetly express in your letter is most precious to me. I love you with all my soul. I will do all you wish.

{L340:014}

0000/00/00 CSP: JP

I have had a headache all day. This way of living is excellent for my work but it constipates one. I shall take [???] padophyllin.

{L340:011}

0000/00/00 CSP : JP

You should remember that when I am away from you it is my nature to worry about your health & happiness. I cannot possibly help it. You have no idea how I suffer in that way, for if you had you are so sweet you certainly would spend 2 cents to send me two lines of your news, were it as short as a telegram. Your true lover & worshipper.

{L340:008}

CSP: JP

0000/00/00

Your wonderful love is bliss to me. How can you love such an old cock. I looked in the glass today. I look like an old hermit. White and wild. It is high time we had a change of fortune.

{L340:012}

0000/00/00 CSP : Mr. Marston

...I am suffering from the for me unusual infliction of a severe headache.

{L2271a}

0000/00/00 CSP auto.

No reader with even the beginning of a modern education will expect a book to teach him to reason. Reading will not teach a man to do anything, —except that one thing of reading. We learn everything just as we learn how to swim, and not otherwise....Man has a special natural aptitude for swimming... In the case of reasoning, man's natural aptitudes are more perfect than for swimming...

{Ms. S-47, pages 00002-00003}

0000/00/00 CSP auto.

[A description of a woman; might be Juliette; a list] Pleasant without being very lively.

Natural quick perceptions. Indolent habit of mind. Even has a good ear for contradictions. Frequently speaks from her heart yet. Not in the lest romantic.

Fond of society & being with people but not particularly of things. Curious. Phlegmatic.

Willing to be dependent on other people. Epicurean. Says she has short—memory is proud is high—tempered If the list is true certainly is amiable but I doubt all three

{Ms. S-83 00003}

0000/00/00 CSP: JP

I beg you not to [expose] yourself to the cold & not to neglect your medicine. Your life is mine. Without you I think I should die at once. I don't want to leave you one day in the other world without finding you there.

{L340:005}

1839/09/10

[CSP born in Cambridge, MA.]

1839/09/10 BP : His Mother

She [SMP] has had the least bad time she ever had, the least exhausting. She suffered for about two hours and at 12 was confined. The boy [CSP] weights 8 3/4 pounds, and is as hearty as

possible....The first proof of his genius which he exhibited to the world consisted in sounding, most lustily, a wonderful acoustical instrument whose tones, in noise and discordancy, were not unlike those of fame's fish-horn.

{Nathan Reingold, *Science in Nineteenth Century American*, New York: Hill and Wang, 1964, pages 227-228.}

1841/00/00 CSP auto.

I still vividly recall dreaming, when about two years old, of being carried in the arms of a negress, of biting a large piece out of her bare shoulder. There was, I believe, but one family of negroes in the village; and I was probably never really carried in the arms of a negress. I do not recollected being scared by the dream, though I had a sort of horror at the idea of having done such a thing.

{Ms. 292}

1843/00/00c.

CSP auto.

[Re; the story of jinnee, the merchant, the datestone, and the jinnee's son.] I remember how I wept at it, as I lay in my father's arms and he first told me the story.

{CP 1.366}

1844/00/00

CSP auto.

I remember nothing before I could talk.

{Ms. 1602, page 1.}

1844/00/00c.

CSP auto.

Fell violently in love with Miss W and commenced my education.

{CSP's Harvard Classbook entry}

1844/00/00c.

CSP auto.

Though I cannot recall it at all, I think it very likely that in my childhood I read of a malevolent fairy who pronounced this curse upon an infant,—that during his entire life whatever wish he should conceive should instantly be gratified...

1844/9/15c.

SMP: BP

...the baby slept most of the way [from Northampton]... Charley is as bad as when we left Cambridge & his cough is troublesome...Charley is just beginning to get familiar with the children & enjoy playing with them. He went to church today—he says every day that he wants to see you and Jemmy [JMP] dreadfully.

1845/00/00

CSP auto.

Moved into new house on Quincy St, and commenced my researches on the physiology of marriage.

{CSP's Harvard Classbook entry}

1845/00/00

CSP: WJ

When I was about six years old I was the devoted admirer of Miss Lizzie Cary. I used to sit next to her in the college chapel.

1845/04/27 CEP: JMP

I...am sorry that little Charley had the tooth-ache.

1847/00/00 CSP auto.

Although I was not a precocious child, at the age of 8 I took up of my own accord the study of chemistry, to which the following year I added natural philosophy, so that by the time I went to college, I was already a fairly expert analyst.

1847/00/00 CSP auto.

Began to be most seriously and hopelessly in love. Sought to drown my care by taking up the subject of Chemistry—an antidote which long experience enables me to recommend as sovereign.

{CSP's Harvard Classbook entry}

1848/00/00 CSP auto.

Went to dwell in town with my uncle C. H. Mills and went to school to the Rev. T. H. Sullivan, where I received by first lessons in elocution.

{CSP's Harvard Classbook entry}

1849/00/00c [Summer] Mary Huntington : HPE(?)

She [Mary's stepmother] took a great fancy to the bright boy of nine or ten [CSP], and to keep him quiet during the excessive heat of the day, she used to supply him with boxes of black and white horn buttons of different sizes and was very much struck with the skill and ingenuity he showed in arranging them in all sorts of geometrical figures. He would lie on the floor and amuse himself with them by the hour together and seem perfectly contented and happy.

{L212}

1850/00/00 [through 1851] CSP auto.

I early became interested in a childish way in dynamics and physics, and my father's brother being a chemist, I must have been twelve years old when I set up a chemical laboratory of my own and began to work through Liebig's hundred bottles of qualitative analysis and to make such things as vermillion both in the dry and in the wet way and to repeat a great many well—known processes of chemistry. A year or so later, I one day, in the room of my brother [JMP], took up a copy of Whately's Logic, and asked my brother what logic was. On receiving his answer, I stretched myself out on his carpet with the volume and I believe that within a few days I had tolerably mastered it. [A later addition:] From that day to this the science of logic has been my strongest passion.

1850/00/00 [through 1855] CSP auto.

A certain boy who was then nourishing his mind with chemistry devoured Frankland's memoirs with avidity as they appeared in successive volumes of the 'Philosophical Transactions,'—a fact whose interest for us is that this boy having grown into the present writer...

1850/00/00 CSP auto.

Wrote a "History of Chemistry."

1851/00/00 CSP auto.

Established a printing press.

{CSP's Harvard Classbook entry}

1851/00/00c CSP auto.

...my brother regarded me a conversational lexicon, or conversational encyclopedia....

1851/00/00c CSP auto.

By the time I was a schoolboy, his [BP] views about teaching geometry were so decided that he interfered with the course in my school to insist that before I was put into his book or into Legendre, I should go through a book containing substantially the same matter as my books on Topology & Graphics.

[CSP away from home] I am not afraid of being homesick for I have had a very good time.

{VBIa (4)#1}

1851/09/01 CSP: F. A. Woods

[CSP remembers] taking up a new book from his table which was Whately's <u>Logic</u>. I asked him [JMP] what logic was; and on his answering my question I spread the book and myself on the carpet, and in a few days got all the good I could out of it; as that 6 years later when I was, with the rest of my class, required to answer at recitations on the book, I needed no more than a slight rereading of the lessons. It seems strange that at that age I didn't already know in a general way what logic was, since the 7th edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica was in the house and for the preceding 5 or 6 years I had been poring over its pages for hours daily. That there were 21 volumes so of course I could not have read above a quarter of the whole, and doubtless much less. From that time, however, I looked upon myself (and always have) as studying nothing but logic and exercises in reasoning.

{Letter written 1913/10/14-1913/11/16}

1852/00/00 CSP auto.

Joined a debating society.

{CSP's Harvard Classbook entry}

1852/00/00c Mary Huntington: HPE (?)

He was busy perfecting a cipher and also had made up new language which he taught me, so that we could talk together, without being understood by outsiders. He would also make up all sorts of tricks to puzzle me...

{L212}

1853/00/00 CSP auto.

Set up for a fast man and became a bad school boy.

{CSP's Harvard Classbook entry}

1853/08/13 Cambridge Chronicle

Gray's Ode on the passions was delivered by CSP with his usual grace, energy, and effect...

1854/00/00 CSP auto.

Left...High school with honor after having been turned out several times. Worked at Mathematics for about six months and then joined Mr. Dixwell's school in town.

{CSP's Harvard Classbook entry}

1854/00/00 CSP auto.

My life is built upon a theory; and if this theory turns out false, my life will turn out a failure. And just in proportion as my theory is false my life is a failure. Well, my theory is this. But first, I am not to be an old fogy or go by any rules that other people give me— If I should turn old fogy or obedient lad, my life would...in...troth and indeed be a failure. For on my not doing it is my whole theory built.

1854/00/00 CSP auto.

Private Thoughts XI Will will......Fill up the blank with what you will. XII Genius and conversation are vice versa yet sworn friends. XLVII It is almost impossible to conceive how truth can be other than absolute...

1854/00/00c Mary E. Huntington (CSP cousin) remembrance

Our games of chess were of daily occurrence, because he [CSP] demanded it. I had no aptitude for the game, though I liked to play with him to please him, but would often have liked to escape; though I never dared to refuse but once. Then , he showed such displeasure, that I was glad at the end of a few days to play as often as he wished. This was the only occasion when he showed towards me his violent temper, but I knew it was there and instinctively avoided any danger of rousing it.

1854/07/27 E. Smith (Headmaster) : BP

I beg leave it assure you that in regard to your son's [CSP] difficulty at school I am simply desirous that justice should be done to him and to the school. I have the most entire confidence that you will direct him aright and it has been my desire that you should understand the whole matter. I wrote you at the outset as he will inform you but he failed to carry the letter. He says he lost it. It being commencement week I did not wish to trouble you unnecessarily and wrote to Mrs. Peirce. This letter he failed to deliver...[problem never mentioned]. He is naturally high spirited...

1854/08/12 Cambridge Chronicle

..."The Raven," was recited by CSP, in a most superior manner. For effective reading and speaking, probably this young gentleman stands at the head of the school.

1855/00/00 CSP auto.

Before college Mrs. Anna Cabot Lowell, with her admirable discernment of the needs of young minds, lent me a translation of Schiller's Esthetic Letters. That book made the most profound impression on me; so much so, that to this day it seems to me almost divine, and acute pain is excited by hearing people speak of it as no doubt it deserves. That naturally led [me to] the humble and passionate study of Kant's Critic of the Pure Reason...

1855/00/00 CSP auto.

Graduated at Dixwell's and entered College. Read Schiller's Aesthetic Letters (Aesthetische Briefe) and began the study of Kant.

1855/00/00 CSP auto.

Private Thoughts XV You may do anything with a person who is in love with you.

1855/00/00 CSP auto. Composition #3, Dixwell's School

Title: Every man the maker of his own Fortune.

On every occasion every man is more or less the maker of his own fortune. Yankees, who are remarkable for making fortunes, are remarkable also for their activity and for keeping their eyes open. And this faculty of being ever on the alert is the very first element of success. No man can expect success without knowing what he is about and doing it. How much less then a person sleeps away his time so as not to know even what he wants to do. Himself, the extent of his own intellect, the range of his own imagination, the desires of his own heart, and the tendency of his own will, the position and revolutions the affairs, and the nature, weight, and character of the men about him—all these should be understood before he decides what to do to accomplish his object. Man was intended for education, and experience is most needed in learning how to see. There is one thing which may astonish even of Young America the young part, and that is the remarkable swiftness with which an experienced lawyer or man of the world will perceive "just how things—are." This quality is of the greatest importance in the achievement of success, for when a man understands just how things are, he is all ready to decide just what to do. Just what to do! What a rare genius is there in discovering just what to do! For a plan to be perfect it must be destined to accomplish its object—to accomplish it as things now are and are now revolving and to be capable at any moment to be modified to meet any unforeseen exigency. And the best plan will then be that which is most easily executed. The most perfect plan is, like every other perfect thing, the one which least depends on anything else. It is then infinitely flexible and infinitely practicable in all its modifications. But let a man form his plans ever so well, what good will they do him if he have not the talent to execute them? Quictilliam was a first-rate rhetorician, and but a third-rate orator. A-priori reasoners, generally, are very poor practical men. Genius for a-priori reasoning is indeed the reverse of practical talent...And this has always been the opinion of the mass of the world, which will ways consist of practical men, because thousands and ten thousands will always be executing plans which a dozen or a score of men made. These practical men, the mass of the world, have always opposed the old Pythagorean method of reasoning...The practical man must "be bold, be bold, be ever bold!" as soon as the time comes to execute what he has decided on, let him not hesitate or tremble, or be deterred by any obstacle; but let him do it, energetically and gracefully. For the practical man grace is important indeed; but it is impossible to be acquired without perfect confidence. Lord Kames says, I believe, that grace is a union of energy, boldness, magnificence, simplicity, ease, and neatness; and what one of these can be acquired without confidence[?]. To be sure, this...[unfinished].

1855/00/00c CSP auto.

At sixteen I entered college. I think we studied Jouffroy's Ethics the first year. It was a very interesting book. But a great part of my time that year was taken up by a painstaking study of Schiller's Aesthetische Briefe....

1855/00/00c CSP auto.

I undertook to expound Schiller's <u>Aesthetische Briefe</u> to my dear friend Horatio Paine.* (*A classmate—" noble-hearted sterling—charactered young gentleman…almost the only real companion I have ever had.") We spent every afternoon for long months on it, picking the matter to pieces as well as boys knew how to do. In those days, I read various works on aesthetics; but on the whole, I must confess that, like most logicians, I have pondered that subject far too little.

1855/00/00c CSP auto.

When I was beginning my philosophical reading, my father, BP, forced me to recognize the extremely loose reasoning common to the philosophers.

1855/00/00c CSP auto.

When, in my teens, I was first reading the masterpieces of Kant, Hobbes, and other great thinkers, my father, who was a mathematician, and who, if not an analyst of thought, at least never failed to draw the correct conclusion from given premises, unless by a mere slip, and would induce me to repeat to him the demonstrations of the philosophers, and in a very few words would usually rip them up and show them empty. In that way, the bad habits of thinking that would otherwise have been indelibly impressed upon me by those weighty powers, were, I hope, in some measure, overcome. Certainly, I believe the best thing for a fledgling philosopher is a close companionship with a stalwart practical reasoner.

1855/05/16 CSP auto.

[After this date, CSP comes into possession of an untitled manuscript on pharmacopoeia from his father's brother, Charles Henry Peirce. It remained in his possession until his death in 1914. It contains two annotations in his (CSP's) hand; one early, one perhaps late. The early one is on Buchu on p. 36: "Excellent for the discomfort produced by unaccustomed continence. C. S. P." The possibly late one is on Benzoin on p. 35: "Dangerous." There is also an incomplete copy in CSP's early hand of the article on Opium, as follows:]

"Opium is the concrete or inspissated juice of the poppy—papaver somniferum. Good opium, when broken open, has a fine fawn or reddish brown color, and when damp it is easily compressed into a compact structure which takes a smooth & emulsive surface under the moist finger; it has a heavy narcotic odor &.disagreeable bitter taste. When dry it becomes brittle & breaks with a shining fracture and yields a yellowish brown powder. It should contain 9 per cent of pure Morphia. Opium is by many medical men regarded as the most important of all therapeutical agents; and indeed it affords to suffering & distressed humanity an incalculable amount of relief and even bliss. It acts as a cordial in restoring strength in low typhoid & continued fever, in the exhaustion consequent upon long periods of bodily pain and mental anguish, in the debility of reformed inebriates, and in some cases of prostration following hemorrhages and severe surgical operations. It is the great anodyne, which is resorted to in most painful disorders, as cancer, neuralgia, rheumatism, gout, strangury, colic & lead colic, stone in the bladder, painful wounds, all painful organic diseases, toothache, earache, and all painful ulcerations. It is the principal narcotic for inducing sleep in watchfulness of fever &c., in delirium, in nervousness, in the inability to sleep which affects some individuals after making severe or unusual mental efforts or those suffering from anxiety of mind & grief, and in delirium tremens or horrors of drunkards. As a sedative for allaying irritation it possesses active powers. It is given in the irritation and restlessness of typhus fever, in the restlessness which so commonly attends severe accidents, in irritating coughs, uterine irritation" [CSP's copy breaks off here]

1855/07/21 CSP auto.

Private Thoughts XL The art of Love has for its object, not love, but the Enjoyment of Love. The enjoyment of love is produced by the mixture or body and soul...

1855/07/30 BP: SMP

Charlie appears very well, and I have great hopes that he is coming out bright.

1855/09/00

[CSP enters Harvard College.]

1856/00/00 CSP auto.

"Genius" has come—from the multitude of its uses—to mean nothing at all."

1856/00/00c CSP : SMP

I went down to the U. S. Hotel however and indulged in my favorite pastime of spilling an egg on the tablecloth after which I felt better.

1856/00/00c CSP auto.

Gave up the idea of being a fast man and undertook the pursuit of pleasure.

{CSP's Harvard Classbook entry}

1856/00/00c CSP auto.

But it seems to me that in the Molition [consciousness of exertion and resistance] itself there is a total absence of consciousness in the sense of Feeling. And I remember about 1856 calling upon my physician Dr. Morrill Wyman (brother of the comparative anatomist Jeffries Wyman) and he called my attention to a young fellow of about 16 years old one side of whose face was entirely insensible though it moved when he smiled or made other movements while the other side of his face remained motionless & and he could not move it although its sensibility seemed normal. That proved to me that there is no feeling in motion & countless experiments I have made myself confirm me in this.

[SMP reproached CSP for not writing more often] I must say I think it unjust that I for my part should never either consider a letter as proof of affection, nor the want of one the proof of the absence of it.

1857/00/00 CSP auto.

Gave up the pursuit of pleasure and undertook to enjoy life.

{CSP's Harvard Classbook entry}

1857/00/00c [Harvard] Faculty Records

1857/6 CSP admonished — 8 absences, 7 tardinesses.

1856/11 CSP privately admonished for neglect of Latin.

1857/1 CSP publicly admonished — came out of Boston one night, in a state of intoxication.

1857/3 CSP fined one dollar for cutting benches.

1857/01/22 BP: SMP

Tell Charlie that he must strive to make himself a thorough scholar in chemistry, at least, and that the more rigidly he devotes himself to it, the better I shall be satisfied and the more likely will he be to succeed in life.

1857/07/00 [& 1858/07/00]

CSP competes for the Boylston Prizes in Oration.

1858/00/00 CSP auto.

Gave up enjoying life and exclaimed "Vanity of vanities! All is Vanity!"

{CSP's Harvard Classbook entry}

1858/06/28 [Harvard] Faculty Record

The regent reports for Public Admonition [includes:] CSP for absence from 23 prayers

1858/11/01 [-1859/01/01]

CSP absent from BP's lectures on mathematics.

{MS 1631, p. 23}

1858/11/17 BP : J. LeConte

Charlie has been very ill, and we are quite exhausted with much want of sleep.

1858/11/21 CEP : Aunt Nichols

Charley Peirce has been sick lately—so that for several days we were extremely anxious about him. To-day he is better.

1858/12/04c ABD : BP

I am so glad Charley has weathered Cape illness.

1859/00/00 CSP auto

Private Thoughts XLVI I pray thee, O Father, to help me to regard my innate ideas as objectively valid. I would like to live as purely in accordance with thy laws as inert matter does with nature's. May I, at last, have no thoughts but thine, no wishes but thine, no will but thine. Grant me, O God, health, valor, and strength. Forgive the misuse, I pray, of thy former gifts, as I do the ingratitude of my friends. Pity my weakness and deliver me, O Lord; deliver me and support me.

1859/00/00. CSP : FAW

I was in my twenties but very decidedly below the average muscular strength. I went to George Windship...then conducting a gymnasium in Boston, and after a few preliminary lessons and trials, began going twice a week and lifting 1000 lbs. a number of times. Later I had a proper platform of my own, with a lot of old iron balanced round a cast iron disk suspended at its center from a chain, and the chain, disk & iron on the disk weighed just 1000 lbs...When I did those liftings I was always substantially naked, and a person who looked said the way I changed color

all over under the weight was striking. I was always wonderfully refreshed by it "Felt like a fighting cock," as they say....

{L477, Oct-Nov 1913; a similar account is in MS649, 9 April 6, 1910}

1859/05/11 CSP: SMP

...I am of a meditative and silent turn of mind and even when I do speak my conversation is very grave and serious and quite unsuited to a letter...Last Sunday was very hot so was Saturday, and I began to be a little in despair about not having thin clothes. I was afraid to take off my flannels, and winter clothing[;] when the temperature ranges from 80° to 90° F is apt to make a person who is not a Salamander, a little irritable....I do not go without my coat at all...

But Loring I black-balled for a Society. And that is saying not merely that I do not want him a member but that he shall not belong...Your remarks about my thin clothes were funny enough...I haven't been out without my great coat for more than a week.

1859/06/00. CSP auto.

[When writing about classmates; wrote about self] 1. Vanity 2. Snobbishness 3. Incivility. 4.Real Classness [sic] 5. Lazyness 6. Ill-tempered

{Ms. 1635, p. 00045}

1859/06/00c

[CSP graduates from Harvard College, ranked 79th of 90 in his senior year; continued for one year as a resident graduate.]

1859/06/06 BP : J. LeConte

My own family is all well except Charlie, who has been confined to his room and partly to his bed for nearly a week. The Doctor does not feel quite certain what is the matter with him and he is sometimes in considerable suffering and groans at night—sometime in a way which greatly disturbs us. He is young and strong, however, and will probably throw it off in a week or two and the Doctor does not seem to be very anxious about him.

1859/06/27 BP: J. LeConte

Charlie is but just recovered from one attack of intense suffering to be so ill with another and you can guess how it wears upon one's nervous system to see your son suffer so cruelly...

1859/06/29 ADB : BP

I do hope darling Fn [BP] that Charlie can go. If I were a surgeon I would not hesitate to say he must come [to Coast Survey camps in Machia, Maine], but the catheter business is one what I have a real dread of.

1859/07/01

[CSP appointed to position in the United States Coast Survey, a scientific research agency, the predecessor of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.]

1859/09/25 ADB : BP

He [CSP] does not look so well as he did two weeks ago, & Mr. Dean assures that he could <u>not</u> stand telegraph work. He reminds me of the darling Fn [BP] very much!

1859/12/15 CSP : BP (from Pascagoula, Mississippi)

...Pascagoula is as nice a place as there is here I suppose, but I see it is such a gossiping little town that I like to keep out of the people's reach. It is an excellent place to learn chess. This week I have had a bad cold in my head...I am sorry to say that, as I expected before leaving Cambridge, Halter & I do not get on very well together. My opinionatedness (not of course on matters relating to our work, as I never offer any opinion about that) troubled him excessively, and he consequently began to snub me &c., which as I did not immediately resent gradually grew to a head until finally he used language which was outrageously insulting. As I shall take nothing less than an apology, & as he will not render that, things will continue in status quo, which of course will be anything but agreeable to me. He now takes the manly course of lie [lying] about me behind my back, which he can well afford to do as he is not much dependent upon my good will, as I, of course, am upon his when I am under his orders. Such is life! I shall write to you in a month or so as to what I am to do in respect to my profession but I am not ready to do so at present...

Science is not a supreme good; nor is the pursuit of science the noblest of occupations, and as for its utility, it is little for present generations, and let future generations get their own. In short I am not bound to sacrifice my worldly welfare to science; neither am I prepared to do so voluntarily. And science won't pay, and it is irrational to expect it can be made to. The big bugs in every thing get along well enough in this world, but second- rate men only come off second best if they have not material goods to sell...

1859/12/25 BP: CSP

...am quite sorry that you are in any difficulty with a superior officer but you must contrive to demean yourself with such perfect propriety that he shall not get hold of anything to report against you. Otherwise, it is the usual fortune of war, which we must accept in this world, with a resolution to profit by it as best we may in the improvement of our own character. God bless you, my dear son, and may we soon see you here again in perfect health of body and mind.

1860/01/15 CSP auto.

Private Thoughts XX Never be ill-paid. Better be well-paid for something poor, than ill paid for something excellent. Otherwise excellent things will never be well-paid.

1860/02/16 SMP : CSP

He [BP] says he is going to write to you soon, & says if you make up your mind to pursue chemical studies he will arrange to place you with Gibbs—but that if you have any other wish you must not hesitate to make it known & he will see what can be done for you. He fears you will get rather too much interest in chess—although he likes you should amuse yourself with it.

1860/03/25 CSP: SMP (from Oyster Bay, Gulf of Mexico)

...it is a perfectly healthy country, except near the [Mississippi] river, where...[we] are immediately seized with fever & ague & all of us feel more or less under the weather. This you will think strange as people in general are not affected so at this time of the year (tho' you remember that a few years ago when I went to pay a visit to the Huntingtons in Northampton, the proximity of the [Connecticut] river made me sick) but it appears that living in the marshes gives one a peculiar aptitude to these complaints, at least so the doctors say. For my part I was quite unwell during a somewhat protracted stay at the river, but I wound up with a violent neuralgia....When I say living at the river I mean living in Buie Ronde where the strip of land between the river & the sea is only 100 ft wide or the width of our house from study to parlor...

1860/03/30 JMP : CSP

Father will do what he can to secure a proctorship for you to take this [chemistry] course & let the future take care of itself when it comes.

1860/05/02 JMP : CSP

You spoke in one of your letters of an attack of neuralgia. Do take care of yourself & not get another.

1860/05/29c CLB : CSP

If you passed a pleasant evening I am gratified but do you ever remember saying "I must flatter." It would give me great pleasure to have you spend not only one evening with me but as many as please you. Do you know however that kisses are among the things that one never wishes to be thanked for? I hope Charlie I do not need to warn you against passing the limit beyond which no woman, however free and easy she may be, if she is true to the name – woman – never permits a man to pass. I beseech you not to let the memory of the friendship I have for you in after years – when perhaps the friendship may exist only as a memory – be recalled with regret. I wish you to forget as far as possible the events of last evening, and do not seek a repetition of them. Will you promise me this? Now dear Charlie as I expect several engagements for next week it will be better for you to tell me on what evening I am to be blessed with your presence. Only answer this to tell me what evening you have selected.

1860/05/31c CLB : CSP

I have no engagement for Monday evening, so shall expect to see you. You will excuse me if I prefer <u>not</u> to judge you from your last note. I should be grieved to be compelled to do so, as I have always supposed you possessed nobler qualities than were shown in said note. However we will let the subject of said note rest — forgotten — as I have destroyed the note believing such would be your desire; it was certainly not wise to keep it.

1860/06/00 (Summer and Fall)

[CSP studies classification with Louis Agassiz at Harvard.]

1860/06/05c CLB : CSP

Write me a long letter. Please do, it will in part console me for the weary time which must elapse between now and next Tuesday — six whole days!! Oh dear! how shall I endure them.

1860/06/08c CLB : CSP

...From your rather strange question of Monday evening I judged, rightly too, that you feared I should place an undue importance on what letters have passed between us and on certain expressions of affection which even the most inexperienced in love affairs would have known as entirely insincere. I desired to take a little of your inordinate self-conceit from you, and this led me to enlarge on the Flint correspondence...Can you fancy me in a perfect passion? I assure you I am dreadful to behold at such a time. I cannot describe it but leave you to imagine how I should act if you should refer to the above mentioned subject again. Please do not if you have any regard for my feelings. It really troubles me to have it so constantly brought to my remembrance. Perhaps it is possible if you should try very very hard, you could find a few more adjectives as complimentary as heartless &— to apply to me. Really Charlie I see it is useless — I cannot make you think I am an an angel, and as I am decided that you shall agree with me, I intend acting in every respect as I see you believe I am acting when my intentions were entirely opposite. Won't I flirt? We'll see. Perhaps as you are such an experienced male-coquette you can give me a few lessons. Just imagine my despair if I had been foolish enough to believe all your flatteries sincere. Now that I have seen how fearful you were that they had all been taken in earnest. No indeed. I have a little too much wisdom, especially after seeing the heartless manner in which you endeavored to win the young love of my once very dear friend Annie Hall. I can never forget that. But I think this is about enough. CLB P.S. Four days and one half!

1860/07/28c CLB : CSP

I have just received your note, and although I am in a decidedly flirting mood I shall have to deny myself the pleasure of a flirtation with you. I shall leave town at ½ past 7 on Tuesday morning and I have an engagement for this evening, also for Sunday and Monday evenings. Thus I do not see any other way than to put our flirtation off until I return—which time I can assure you will not be long in coming.

1860/09/24c CLB : CSP

Forgive me for not answering your letter, but I do not wish to say 'no', I cannot say 'yes'. I have read the second page, so will you come to me on Saturday evening, not before eight o'clock.

1860/10/18c CLB : CSP

I received your letter this morning and much to my vexation too late to accept your invitation for last evening. Thank you for coming and believe me I should have been very happy to have gone with you if I had known you wished me to in time. Let me break my promise to you—please do. Cannot I have permission to ask you to come again? and will you not come? Write to me whether you come or not.

1860/10/23 CLB : CSP

I cannot express my thanks to you for so kindly granting my request, but I am more in love with you than ever, if that were possible. Come to me on Saturday evening next. I say Saturday because we will be less likely to be interrupted on that evening than any other. Come early — say half past seven. Believe me I shall count the very seconds until then.

860/11/02 CLB : CSP

Do you still wish me to tell you what they said last night? Nothing at all, except "did you have a pleasant ride?" Of course it was. Did you not think so? You have my conscience or I might be

troubled, as it is so I am perfectly calm and at peace. As my little sister said to me this morning after she had succeeded in guessing whom I went to ride with, 'I think you must be in love with him.' I was certainly shocked and told her was no such thing but she had read it in some book and was very positive of the truth of it. Charlie, I cannot write. When I feel the most I can say but very little. There is but one thing that could make me happier than I am now. Do you know what that is? Come to me as soon as you can even if you are not ready to take the fulfillment of my promise. How amazed everyone will be when they know of it. Mercy I cannot write.

1860/11/11 CLB : CSP

...Oh Charlie dearest. Charlie is it well for us to separate in this way? Would it not be far the best for us to separate for [a] few years than forever if we love each other—and I <u>do</u> love you. I know you think me incapable of feeling any deep love, but I am hapless in love with you. I cannot take my own happiness and make miserable all my friends. I cannot grieve my mother as I should by contracting this secret marriage and yet be happy, neither can I ever be happy without you. But whatever the future has in store for me whether it be happiness or otherwise, my remembrances of you will be the sweetest I have. You have forgotten to send me my signature to that paper. Do not dearest attempt to change my decision of the other evening. You know that it takes very little from you to make me believe anything is right, but you will only make the sacrifice I make in giving you up the harder for me to endure. <u>Must</u> this be so? You request me to write to you occasionally. What can we write about?...To think that I who believed myself so little liable to fall in love, should when I felt the most secure have become a victim to it...Charlie if you ever feel like coming to me, I pray you yield to it and come....I cannot live without you—but I must...

1860/11/18c CLB : CSP

You certainly deserve great commendation for the admirable manner in which you keep your engagements. To use your own words, you never break even the <u>slightest</u> engagement. Permit me to thank you for considering an engagement formed with me of <u>less</u> than the <u>slightest</u> importance.

1860/11/20 CLB: CSP

...I am sorry that you have been unwell. If I had not been so angry I might have known you had some good reason for [not] keeping your engagement...I shall expect you on Thursday evening...

1860/11/28 CLB : CSP

Why have you made yourself so very necessary to me that the time drags so heavily without you? I have been almost blinded today with the headache. You charmed the pain away last evening but when you were no longer here it came back again with double violence. Please Charlie, my Charlie, come to me as soon as it is possible, if—you want to. Do you trust me now? Do you believe I shall again change? I do not think so. I tried with all my strength not to love you, but I could not help it. It is with me as I always feared it would be—when I once yielded and loved it would be with all my strength. I am happy—very happy—...But how can I help allowing you the privilege you take? I confess I cannot. My only excuse must be my love for you. I do not think I ever realized the impropriety to its fullest extent. I have been guilty of visiting in your room. Well I am very sorry that I have ever done so. But it has been done and cannot be undid. All we can do is improve in the future. Regarding the request I made of you

the other evening about the opiam [sic] —would you do for me when my husband what you would not as a lover?

1860/12/11c CLB : CSP

...I shall be extremely obliged to you if you can show me what means I could use to change the love I bear you to simple friendship. It would be a mercy to us both, I still say, if by any process we could become only friends. For my part I must confess I think it impossible for me to have any medium feeling for you. I must love or hate you

1860/12/18c CLB : CSP

...When are you going to write to me? I have been anxiously expecting a letter every day, but no letter came. You will no doubt be very happy to hear that now instead of feeling so badly about our new relations as I did at first I am, considering everything, glad of it. In fact I believe it to be a very wise arrangement and under existing circumstances the very best that could have been made. You say I am ever inclined to look on the darkest side; it may be so; yet if I feel anything for which I wish much to be impossible, as in this case, I manage to make myself very contented and even happy without it. I believe the best thing to be done when your love have been scorned by one, is to confer it as soon as possible on some one else who will value it. It is an excellent cure for the first love. You will surely come to see me this week. I shall expect you. Bring with you that paper which we signed, and we will destroy it...I think weddings are stupid affairs, but it is better than staying at home with nothing to do but think. I must have a great deal of excitement for the next few weeks to forget if possible which might have been were it not for so many ifs being in the way.

1860/12/23c CLB : CSP

...I am so provoked when I think what a consummate fool you have made of me. How you must have laughed when you saw me believing everything you said—taking every thing with such perfect faith. To a much greater extent than you imagined I did—I fancy. I do not wish you to suffer from a headache but I do wish for a letter....

1860/12/30 CSP auto.

Private Thoughts LVII When a man begins to be hard pressed with his own passion and power, he sees the nonsense of guiding his conduct by any rule of God or man and the necessity there is of excognitating a manner of life of his own.

1861/01/03 CLB : CSP

...Forgive me Charlie now if I have ever caused you pain. Do not say you will <u>never</u> come to see me again...Dearest Charlie, do not make yourself unhappy about me. Imagine I never existed—at least that you never loved me. I cannot endure to have you unhappy. This separation would not be so bad if I thought you did not care...

1861/01/19 CSP Diary Called on Miss Zina Fay for the 1st time.

1861/01/25 ZP : CSP

... I fear I cannot go in tonight... I have begun "Mill on Liberty" and find it very interesting...

1861/01/27 CLB : CSP

...Say Charlie, don't you want to come and see me? I want you to so much—please do come...

1861/01/29c CLB : CSP

...If you have no engagement for Thursday evening and it is pleasant I should be most happy to go to ride with you. I wish you could come earlier—go without your dinner...I think you will have time to answer this before Thursday. Do so if you can tell me just when I may expect you. Of course not before ½ past 4 at any rate.

1861/02/05c CLB : CSP

What do you mean? I do wish you had not quite such a passion for so few words. It would have been just as easy for you to have explained yourself a little better. For my part I cannot see why it need prevent you from coming to see me. But I suppose you know best....When with you, you exert a fascination over me for which it is impossible for me to account, but the moment you are gone I do not feel more than friendship for you. We are every way unsuited to each other—neither of us could make the other happy. So were every obstacle removed and the way clear for us it would not be well for us to marry. The result of such an act would be unhappiness for life, for both. Do you not think so?...Always Charlie remember that when you can wish to come to see me, I shall gladly welcome you.

1861/02/13 CLB : CSP

I have hardly strength to write but I must ask you again to return those letters. Not for the sake of the letters so much as for your granting the request. I do not remember one single instance when you have granted a request of mine. Can you? If so please tell me what it was. I fancy you cared for me once but all the affection must be done if you will permit me to urge anything as I have this [She has asked repeatedly for these letters.] and yet you refuse me. Last night I was almost crazy with the intense pain in my head...You know who and what put me into that state, and I think you would not have felt very happy to have been the cause of it if for one moment you could have known what I suffer. A few more attacks will probably give you the permission to open the sealed package. You might have retained your influence until now with undiminished strength if you had ever shown by your actions that you were willing to please me once in a while by granting whatever simple requests I might make, requests the granting of which would never give you the slightest inconvenience. Once more Charles will you send me those letters, without taking copies of them? If you refuse, and can take any pleasure from the reading of them hereafter, you are entirely different from what I have always believed you to be. Do not come to see me a week from Wednesday evening unless I write you before. I may not be able to see you, but if I am it would give me great pleasure to see you notwithstanding you are so cruel and hardhearted. Charlie bring me the letters and gain my everlasting regard. Write me anyway.

1861/02/18c ZP : CSP

I should like to see you for a minute or two this evening, or tomorrow before you go to the Lecture. I want you to do a little favor for me, if you be so kind. Don't come tonight unless it is convenient, for I am in no hurry...

1861/02/24 CLB : CSP

...Will you come on Saturday evening? I dislike to put off seeing you for a whole week longer but believe it to be unavoidable. Will you come to see me on that evening, whether it is pleasant or not? I shall not ask you to write me a long letter. When I do be sure you comply, but in such a way—a way that makes me wish you had not...I am so impatient to see you that I wish I could say for you to come earlier.

1861/02/25c ZP : CSP

...I hear also that my sister is coming down from Lowell for a few days, and as she will want to go to the afternoon concert on Wednesday, I shall go with her, and I think that I can then take all such notes and observations as I need for my purpose. It is so likely to be a failure, that it hardly seems worth while to put you to all the trouble of going there with me on Tuesday evening. Had I known earlier of the afternoon concert, I should not have felt justified in asking your assistance, & I wonder that I did not think of it the other night. Still, I am equally obliged for your kindness, and the trouble you have already been at about it. If you have any other engagement, do not feel yourself bound to come after me tomorrow night, for Miss Cooke & I had already arranged to go in to these lectures together, being strong-minded you know!

1861/05/26 CLB : CSP

...What is the matter with your lordship, why do you not write to me?...You can't imagine how I wish to see you—but if you act so hateful much longer I shall not want to see you at all.

1861/06/02c CLB : CSP

Yes young man you are certainly the most provoking masculine in existence. Why not have done with all this foolery and send me those letters at once? Or bring them if you prefer.

1861/06/07 ZP: CSP

I almost wish you were here [Vermont, ZP's home] now-it seems as if it would not be so beautiful again this year—but perhaps Summer will keep a few of her charms for you...Lillie [Lillie Greenough, CSP's great flame of 1858–1859 and a first cousin of Zina Fay] was born to make thousands happy and herself famous—she will only make one insignificant man and herself wretched instead—and this is what women get by slavishly bowing down to Custom & Conventionality, and believe that they must marry, or be "failure," "missed destinies," and the like. How I detest the whole miserable Creed—the offspring of Paganism and of everything ignorant, narrow, selfish, & vile, and now that you have seen one magnificent creature—whom nature meant to be the crown and glory of womanhood—wasted, I should think you would begin to reflect upon the system that makes Matrimony the only thing a woman has to look to for position and respectability...So you meditate on Chemistry by day, and dream thereon by night? Your parallel for the Sulphate of Baryta was very good, but you didn't tell me what you made out of the ammonia phosphate of Magnesia. I wonder whether it is the same as mine. I think there is something very fascinating in tracing out these parallels between the material & the spiritual world—and to a person who needs such proofs, an admirable argument for the theory that everything that is, whether mind or matter, emanates from the same source...It was a great pleasure to get your letter, & if I can do anything for you in the shape of friendship I shall be most happy. I think you need a friend, poor child.

1861/06/10c CLB : CSP

What is the trouble Charlie, why do you not write me.

1861/07/00c

[CSP exempted from the civil war draft because of Coast Survey (federal government) employment.]

1861/09/00c

[CSP enters Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard; is appointed a Proctor at Harvard.]

1861/09/16 WJ : His Family

...there is a son of Prof. Peirce, whom I suspect to be a very "smart" fellows with a great deal of character, pretty independent and violent though...

1861/12/27 CSP auto.

Private Thoughts LVIII Lesson of the Year 1861 A man who makes a friend of a woman—however sympathetic, true, and good—is a nincompoop.

1862/01/00 CSP: SMP

[CSP visiting in Vermont]...Young ladies tolerable as usual—I am dieing to go home...After dinner, play the fool—quite a pleasant amusement which I mean to introduce at home. After we get through playing the fool we make ourselves mutually agreeable for a little while remembering how sleepy we shall all be after tea....Meantime Zina goes to sleep & by occupying the sofa keeps the younger members of the family awake...

1862/02/01 CSP: JMP

[CSP still in Vermont] Very little happens to tell of...

1862/03/27 BP : ADB

What do you say to Charley Peirce's having fallen in love with a young lady of Vermont, daughter of my old friend and chum in college Rev. Charles S. Fay of your church, and granddaughter of Bishop Hopkins. Of course, she is as poor as the crows and ravens who fed the prophet in wilderness. But then she is very full of knowledge and really a person great mind—and although far from a beauty, Charles is quite in love with her. She has begun by converting him to episcopacy and his mother thinks that her influence upon him has been in all respects of the best possible character, and that he is a greatly improved person.

1862/04/13 BP : ADB

I have heard some very warm encomiums of Charley's Zina Fay from my friends the Washburns and Agassizs. They seem to regard her as a wonder of intellectual ability combined with the most sterling qualities which go to make a good and useful woman, and they regard [her] as quite pretty. All I can say is, that she seems to be exerting the best possible influence over the young gentleman and I think that we must all regard it as a great piece of good fortune for him to have secured such a prize. As to the religious question...that is too sacred a question between a man and his maker for any human interference. It is even more a matter of the heart, than the love of woman herself, and who shall dare to choose the religion even for his own son? Charlie seems to me to be sincere in his course upon the subject, and I thank God that he feel the

need of religion. He can only be on that account the dearer to me, and Zina is all the more acceptable that she has been the instrument of bringing him to a serious state of mind.

1862/06/00c

[CSP receives Master of Arts degree from Harvard.]

1862/10/12 BP : ADB

Charlie has gone to be married, and I expect him home in a week or ten days. We thought that he and Zina had yielded to the evident reasonableness of the delay until spring. But Charlie got into a very nervous state about [his or her???] health, and last Friday we yielded to his wishes, and the irrepressible youth started at once for his bride. He understands, distinctly, that although we do not object, neither do we approve and that the responsibility of the affair must rest wholly upon him and Zina. With my present income, I can keep him along, until he gets something to do more than he has at present and which shall be a permanent means of living. But I tell him that, under this war, all things are so precarious that my income may suddenly be cut into the least which I can live upon, and that the little month I have laid by, is just about enough to complete the education of Ben, Nellie and Bertie, and that I shall have no right to touch it for any other purpose. He will come and stay with us during the winter. It will make our quarters at home rather close.

1862/10/16

[CSP marries Harriet Melusina "Zina" Fay.]

1862/11/01 CEP : Aunt Nichols

Zina & Charley seem as happy as possible—& as busy too. She is quite a learned lady & is able to assist Charley in some of his occupations. She is not pretty—but she [is] lady- like and unaffected.

1862/4/7 CSP auto.

Private Thoughts LXII The value of books is the amount of energy misdirected in writing them.

1863/02/00c SMP : BMP

Your father is at home but has a terrible cold & Charley still has his neuralgia....

1863/02/22 SMP : BMP

Charley is a little better & a little less irritable but he does not look well yet.

1863/03/10 ZP: BMP

Poor Charley is at this moment slumbering on that lounge he is so proud of, under the influence of ether, having been suffering all day from neuralgia. I am almost discouraged about his neuralgia, it hangs on so long and keeps him weak and languid even when it does not pain him, so that he gets through but little work, and even if he does get better, a breath of air will give it to him again as badly as ever. I hope you will never be such a martyr to pain, dear, as my poor Charley!

1863/06/00c

[CSP graduates *summa cum laude* receiving a Bachelor of Science degree in chemistry from Harvard's Lawrence Scientific School.]

1864/02/12c CEP : Aunt Nichols

Charley Peirce has the neuralgia—& at times suffers from it dreadfully.

1865/00/00 CSP auto.

...for more than twenty years, from before 1865 to after 1885, I was almost daily training myself to recognize and analyze by immediate consciousness the different elements and respects of difference of colors, odours, flavours, and other sensations. I also paid a good deal of attention to phonetics....

{MS 645, p. 7, (1910)}

1865/03/00c

[CSP writes eleven lectures for presentation at Harvard on the logic of science; the lectures are not given for want of an audience.]

1865/03/17 CSP: F. E. Abbot

My lectures fell through for want of an audience. Rather mortifying, but I was not sorry. I study for my own satisfaction and am bored with my own thought if I have to explain it and don't wonder others are.

1865/09/11c SMP : BMP

Charley has just made his entrée much to our surprise. He found it rather tiresome staying so long in St. Albans [Vermont] & concluded to come home. Zina [still in St. Albans] is busy helping with the preparations for Laura's wedding which is to come off on the 28th of this month.

1865/10/24 SMP : BMP

I see but little of Zina. You know she is always a good deal absorbed in herself & has but little time or anything else to give to her friends.

1865/11/07c SMP: BMP

Charley is himself more busy than usual with his logic & Z. [Zina] is also about enlightening the world with something about her darling subject, the couth & its wrongs & its rights...Zina has also been busying herself in getting up some assistance for the destitute women & children of Columbia among the ladies here. So far she has done pretty well altho' she does not meet with much sympathy among the best people here, with whom the Freeman's cause is paramount & I suppose this project of hers will not help her popularity which has never been great. At any rate she deserves credit for her independence.

1866/10/24 [- 1866/12/01]

[CSP gives Lowell Institute (Cambridge, MA) lectures on "The Logic of Science; or Induction and Hypothesis.]

{Boston Daily, October 19, 1866}

1866/11/19c SMP : BMP

Charley's lectures are more than half over. He has had but a small audience but those who have thoroughly followed them have praised them very much. Your father and Jem [JMP] think very highly of them. Charley himself has enjoyed them & is looking uncommonly well & bright.

1866/12/23c SMP : BMP

Mrs. Roche one of our new ladies has got up a chess club to meet at her house once a week—a thing which much delights Charley whose ideal of a party is now reached.

1867/01/08 SMP : BMP

Charley and Zina are well but we do not see much of them, they are both so absorbed in their own affairs. C. works hard with his three pupils in addition to the other things he has on his hand [work for the Coast Survey and the Harvard Observatory] & I cannot expect him to come to see us often. As for Z we hardly know what she does but she seems always too busy to come to see us. The Fays are not a warm hearted race.

1867/01/30

[CSP elected Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.]

1867/03/12 [- 1867/11/13]

[CSP presents five papers to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences on logic.]

1867/04/04 CEP: BMP

Zina was ill, but the next day she came into the parlor when I called, dressed in furs for church...You see Zina is the same old six pence—full of plans for the reformation of the world.

1868/00/00 [- 1869/00/00]

[CSP publishes three papers on logic in *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy*.]

...Charley has just been in—discussing with your father some knotty problem—I know not what. He was tired with his last night's work at the Observatory—but not too tired to dig into the depths such as few can even look at without a shudder—crevasses & precipices of thought quite frightful to approach...

1869/03/18

[CSP publishes his first review in *The Nation*; writing reviews will continue for about thirty years.]

1869/10/00 [-1872/12/00]

[CSP an Assistant at the Harvard Observatory studying stellar photometry.]

1869/11/29 CSP: WTH

Boards seem to regard me as only fit to make the business of an observatory run, but quite unfit for a chair of logic and metaphysics.

1869/12/00 [- 1879/01/00]

[CSP delivers nine Harvard Lectures on British logicians.]

1869/12/29 WJ: H.Bowditch

I heard CSP's lecture yesterday – one of his 9 on "British Logicians." It was delivered without notes, and was admirable in matter, manner, and clearness of statement. He has recently been made assistant astronomer for 2500 a year. But I wish he could get a professorship of philosophy somewhere. This is his forte, and there he is certainly très fort. I never saw a man go into things so intensely and thoroughly.

1870/06/13c SMP : BP

[BMP just died, and JMP and CSP are to go to Europe for the Coast Survey.] Jem is full of misgivings about going off, but Charley is in high spirits about it in his boyish fashion. Isn't he a queer fellow?

1870/06/18 [-1871/03/07]

[CSP on first Coast Survey assignment in Europe.]

1870/06/27 SMP : JMP Tell him [CSP] that Zina misses him badly.

1870/08/06 Amy Fay : ZP [From Berlin]

Charlie is as well as possible, & I have never seen him so free from nervousness & in such good condition. I think he was right to take this relaxation, even if it does plunge him into debt, for, as he said last night, the grand moral of Ben's [CSP's brother] death is, "take care of your health."

{Zina: Amy's Personal Correspondence, Fisch Archives}

1870/08/11 CSP: JMP [from Dresden]

I should like very well to stay here with her [Amy Fay, Zina's sister] for a week...but I cannot say I think my health requires it at all. I intend to get some information in regard to the prudence of going to the Mediterranean...

1870/09/21c CSP auto.

I was once more or less (rather more than less, though I can remember something of my visions) out of my head off and on for some months owing to my having in August contracted the fever of Lentini in Sicilia. [CSP passed through Lentini 9/21/70; he left Syracuse 9/25/70, and arrived in Rome 10/12/1870 still "unwell".]

{From a late ms.; 1907 or later}

1870/09/22 CSP : ZP [From Syracuse in Sicily]

You say I worship success, well this old fellow [Mount Aetna] may have had bad aims but he certainly carried out his views most thoroughly.

1870/10/13 Amy Fay : ZP [From Berlin]

I had a letter from Charlie yesterday dated from Naples, where he seems to be attacked with chills & fever. I trust it will go over without serious result.

1871/01/00. CSP/ZP diary.

[Several mentions in January of CSP having a violent cold while in Europe.]

{Ms 1614.}

1871/12/17 CSP: ZP

I do so wish we could be together this evening, darling. It is so long since I have heard your voice or have seen you, my little Zero. Could writing letters only bring us any nearer, I should write twice a day. But, alas, they do not seem to have much effect of that sort. You have no idea — though I suppose you can imagine — how delightful a Sunday in this office would be together. My sweetest wife.

1872/01/01

[CSP is a founding member of Cambridge Metaphysical Club.]

1872/01/24 First Annual Report of the Woman's Education Association. [ZP is chairman of the Intellectual Committee which will attempt to establish a program, "by which girls might go through a course of study in some degree equivalent to that of Harvard College."]

1972/03/00

[CSP put in charge of Coast Survey office, spring - summer.]

1872/11/00

[CSP put in charge of pendulum experiments for the Coast Survey.]

1872/11/24 WJ: HJ

Charles Peirce and wife are going to Washington again for the winter, and perhaps for good. He says that he is appreciated there, and only tolerated here, and would be a fool not to go there.

1972/12/01

[CSP promoted to Assistant in Coast Survey.]

1872/12/11 Nutte Tilstice Treas. Harvard College: CSP

Please accept my thanks for your gift of one hundred dollars in aid of Harvard College.

{L185}

1874/04/25c SMP : CEP

Mrs. Bradford appeared remarkably well in her own house. I think the intimacy between her & Charlie is as innocent & merely friendly as possible— I have looked anxiously at their intercourse since I have been here because I knew how Zina feels & am sure it is alright—perfectly so— She is very free in her manners— but in an innocent way— She kisses Ben & takes his hand & all that & altho' she takes not such liberties with Charlie she treats him too very familiarly— & seems to depend upon him a good deal— for numerous friendly offices which seems right eno' as her husband is away & Charlie is very intimate with him— Charlie certainly does not go there now very much & he told me he had asked Mrs. Throckmorton who is a perfect lady if she considered him too intimate with Mrs. B & she assured him that she saw nothing at all wrong in it— I wish Zina would feel differently about it for as Mrs. B is among the

very few neighbors Charlie has— It is a pity he should not have the relaxation he gets from hearing her prattle—

1874/07/26 CEP: SMP

Charles is very well & looks handsomer than ever if this is possible. He is a real beauty & if anybody can be as handsome as his father, he is.

1874/08/28 CSP: SMP

I think you have been very wise not to write more than you have done. It is absurd to waste one's energies in letter writing. It is all very well before locomotion was so easy & when people went away for long years & when too letters could contain news...In the spring Ho! For Europe! Zina of course will go with me. She is in pretty good spirits—better than last year—but her health is even weaker I think.

Ammi's [Amy Fay] letter last evening...[Amy's letters] they are very bright, clever, interesting & have a sort of unction, which Zina's writing are destitute of...

1875/04/00 --- 1876/08/00]

[CSP on second Coast Survey assignment in Europe.]

1875/04/14 CSP: Family [From Chester, England]

I then got Farquhar [CSP's Coast Survey assistant] clad in a decent way—most singularly transmogrified, though Zina thinks he didn't look much better because he didn't get some new shirts as she advised...in fact her disgust was extreme. She has been unable to see him ever since. She says he did not change his shirt all the voyage & didn't change it when he landed....There was quite a racket however & some officers talking in the next room to ours kept Zina awake till half past three in the morning. She has consequently been abed nearly all day & hasn't been out of the house at all. Farquhar left for Birmingham at 4 & I think she has felt better since.

1875/08/07 CSP: SMP

I didn't write either for the day I heard of it [Winlock's death] I was taken ill, partly caused by that, for I am weak & emotions affect me physically, & had to go to bed for several days...The fact is that I have been shut up in my room all day working at this business [for the Coast Survey] for some time. Consequently I have seen nothing. In fact since Zina separated from me, I have seen nothing but scientific things. I was a week in Munich without entering a gallery or going anywhere except to Seidel, Steinheil & Murz. It makes me sick to think of her going home but she evidently wants to go. I couldn't persuade her to come to Switzerland with me. I might as well not have a wife. I don't speak to a soul here. In desperation I made the waiter seat me at dinner yesterday next to a rather bright English woman whom I observed to be alone & that was almost the first word I have spoken. But I must rouse myself & force myself to go to Chamounis tomorrow. I had a lovely trip laid out but Zina wouldn't fall in with it. I believe she is enjoying very much the society of Tom Burgess in Berlin. I often think how I should like to be back in your house once more. I think of you all very much although I don't write much.

1875/09/20 [- 1875/09/29]

[CSP serves as first official American delegate to International Geodetic Association in Paris.]

Paris is a detestable place...Nothing can exceed my detestation of the French, unless it be my contempt for them...he [Villarceau] has lost his wife & is sad to such a degree that every tone, look, gesture, expresses it; and as I am myself sad, that draws me to him.

I have been out of health ever since I have been in Paris.

1875/11/18 HJ: WJ [From Paris]

He [CSP] seems quite a swell (at least from the point of view of that little house on the car-track [in Cambridge, MA] where I last knew him)—has a secretary, &c.

1875/11/21 CSP: WJ [From Paris]

I am lonely and excessively depressed....As for Cambridge being a village, it is no doubt but the only reason is that it doesn't believe in the possibility of any great advance in science or philosophy being made there & thinks the highest thing it can be is a school....You are very kind in wishing me back in Cambridge. I don't know whether I shall ever live there or not. I like the place but there is something about it too which I find very antagonistic to me.

1875/12/03c HJ: WJ [From Paris]

Also CSP who wears beautiful clothes, &c. He is busy swinging pendulums at the Observatory, and thinks himself indifferently treated by the Paris scientists. We meet every two or three days to dine together; but though we get on very well, our sympathy is economical rather than intellectual.

1875/12/10 CSP: JMP

When I was in the first blush of the voyage & had Zina with me & nothing on my mind I could write pretty well but it is different now. That puts it into my head to say that I fear some of you may have the idea that Zina has done wrong in going home. That would be wronging my darling very much. She was quite right in going & I fully agreed to that, although the very sudden way in which she did leave when I fully expected to see her, was a great blow to me. But she thought that if we met we shouldn't have the strength of mind to separate & therefore she acted on a sudden impulse. She didn't go home because of Amy [Fay, Zina's sister] but because the state of her health required it....I hated Paris for the first two months but now I am getting to feel the charm of it, though I never can stop to think about it would finding my disgust for it return.

1875/12/12 WJ: HJ

I am amused that you should have fallen into the arms of CSP, whom I imagine you find a rather uncomfortable bedfellow, thorny and spinous, but the way to treat him is after the fabled "nettle" recipe: grasp firmly, contradict, push hard, make fun of him, and he is as pleasant as anyone; but be over-awed by his sententious manner and his paradoxical and obscure statements—wait upon them, as it were, for light dawn—and you will never get a feeling of ease with him any more than I did for years, until I changed my course and treated him more or less chaffingly. I confess

I like him very much in spite of all his peculiarities, for he is a man of genius, and there's always something in that to compel one's sympathy.

1875/12/15 ZP : Captain Patterson [Coast Survey Superintendent]

... I had a very blue letter from Mr. Peirce the other day. He says he has never yet understood from you whether his appropriation is on a gold or a currency basis, and so he is all at sea with his accounts. I cannot but think there is some misconception on his part about it, and write not to interfere or suggest, dear friend, in what is none of my affair, but merely to say that if you can write a few cheering words to poor Charley, I think they will do him good. In your official capacity toward my darling husband as well as from your sincere and long friendship for him (I doubt not) as well as for his father—you have it now, dear sir, in your power to do him a great deal of good. I do not know how far you may have noticed it, but I have known for a long time that he has been going on in a way that could not but end in wretchedness if not in humiliation. His parents and brother are wholly incapable of seeing that anything is amiss in one of their children, and so he has never had a word of advice or warning from any one but me, & to their wives, husbands, as you know—are proverbially deaf. I at last took the extreme course of leaving him to himself in Europe, and returning home without him, giving him to understand that unless he changed I could not any longer live with him. This I think has at last brought him to his senses, and I think he feels now that to make duty one's first instead of one's last object, is not only the only safe—it is the only happy course and principle of action.—Charley has one trait which unfortunately never has been taken advantage of by anyone in authority over him—and that is docility to what he recognizes as law. It has been peculiarly unfortunate for his temperament that his father's position on the Survey has always been so influential that he has not (at least so I have judged from my imperfect observation) been held so strictly to account as other officers in similar positions are. All his life from babyhood it seems as though everything had conspired to spoil him with indulgence. Now while I do not suggest or counsel a sudden tightening of reins that have perhaps been held too loosely, I would hope that a grave and kindly & earnest letter from yourself, enlarging upon his responsibilities to the Survey, to yourself, to his talents, to his Maker, and strengthening him by expressions of confidence in his genius if only he will act prudently, cautiously, and carefully in everything—instead of rushing things through with recklessness and extravagance—would do him a great deal of good. He ought to see to things personally himself, not go off to the next station and leave to subordinates who do not understand packing scientific instruments as well as he does—the task of sending them after him, etc., etc.—of course they arrive broken, and there ensues trouble and expense and delay in getting them repaired.

Charley is now at a great crisis of his life, and if the good in him is encouraged, disciplined, and called to the front, he will rise as a man to the level of his wonderful intellectual gifts, and be a shining ornament in the future to his country. I hope and trust, dear sire, that you will act a noble, wise and paternal part to this brilliant but erratic genius who is now, as it were in your charge. To no one but my sister [Amy Fay] have I said as much as I have here in strict confidence to yourself shall confide in your honour that not even the wife of your bosom, dearly as I love her, know anything about my writing to you. Be good to my Charley, dear Captain Patterson, and be, above all, judicious with him. Let us tame him together...if we can. Please burn this immediately.

1876/01/11 HJ : Mother [from Paris]

The only man I see here familiarly is CSP, with whom I generally dine a couple of time a week. He is a very good fellow, and one must appreciate his mental ability; but he has too little social talent, too little art in making himself agreeable. He had however a very lonely and dreary winter and I should think would detest Paris. I did what I could to give him society and introduced him to Mrs. Von Hoffman (who was very civil to him and to whom he took a fancy) & to Mrs. Harrison Ritchie; but I think he believed I could have done more. I couldn't.

My German teacher is a young lady who gives me a daily hour for a very small sum and is prettier than I supposed any Berlinerian could be. She has two inseparable friends, one is an unmarried German lady of near forty, who also interests me. To describe her I might say she was like Zina if you take away from Zina her superior qualities and make her only an interesting & peculiar person but make her rather weak than strong in her upper story. She has none of Zina's ideas, but a good deal of her temperament and of some qualities which I know & care for but perhaps other people don't fully see the beauty of...Among all my faults there is none of which the folly presents itself to me in a stronger light than that of undertaking speculative & scientific work beyond what it is my immediate duty to do. I will leave that for men whose brains weigh more than mine do. If I was ambitious there might be some excuse for me but as I don't care a snap for anything of that sort I will give up that nonsense. My book is another foolish one too. It has been too much worked up & elaborated. [CSP seems to be referring to his *Photometric Researches* which was in press but not published until 1878.]

1876/06/25 ZP : SMP [from England]

[ZP is now back in Europe with CSP.] But Charley has such a multitude of boxes that he needs the room, and with his temperament he never could economize on the comfort question. It would only make him unfit for work. I have got over the voyage, & feel splendid. Charley seems to me well, though he suffers much from nervousness, and when he is in that state he feels very blue, & if he happens to write a letter he expresses himself accordingly.

However, it is not chiefly overwork that I am suffering from. It is mental distress about my accounts and about certain private matters. It is true that I had been working very hard & in a dark room a good deal, at the time my nervous attacks became so noticeable. But since then I have been taking matters easier & am now perfectly able to work at my pendulum business. I therefore don't want any vacation on my return beyond a few days. But I am suffering from extreme sensitiveness of the nerves & consequently find everything which excites me very hard to do. Letters, for instance. What I need is to work calmly if I can manage it.

1876/07/29 CSP : BP [from London]

I learned from Zina that you account for my bad spirits by the supposition that I drink to excess. This is not true. My bad spirits have been caused by several things. 1. Not being able to hear from the office till my accounts were all in confusion. Consequently not knowing how I stood. 2. Zina's telegraphing me that she would not sail till she saw me & writing me the same day that she had started [back to the U.S.] 3. Being entirely alone without any companionship. 4. Being harassed with too much work owing especially to my photometry book. The ultimate result is a

sort of affection of my nerves which I don't take seriously but which is very trying. I can work perfectly well but I cannot write letters or bear what is exciting or irritating very well.

1876/10/00 Bill of Divorce [1882]

...that his said wife, Harriet M. [Zina], abandoned your orator at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in the month of October, 1876, by refusing to accompany your orator to the City of New York, to which said City your orator, then in the service of the government of the United States had been ordered as an officer of the said government by the authorities of the said Government, although she was requested and solicited to accompany your orator...

1877/01/01c [between 1877/01-1877/04] CSP: ZP

...as you didn't answer my telegram I wanted to return tonight but they persuaded me not to...[doing a lot of work]...That is the reason I allowed myself to be persuaded to stay, though I am downright homesick for the sight of my own heart's darling, my sweet and previous little wife.

1877/02/06 CSP auto.

Noise makes me nervous.

{Ms 1018}

1877/02/13 CSP auto.

Noise of instrument disturbs me.

{Ms 1018}

1877/03/16 New York Semi—Weekly Tribune

A correspondent of *The Cincinnati Commercial* says in reference of her strong-minded opinions as to woman suffrage and national politics, that Mrs. Peirce [ZP], so far as these opinions are concerned, stands almost alone in Cambridge — that is, of course, in the literary society of which that town is the center.

1877/03/24 CSP: SMP

In a month, I am going to let down my Coast Survey work very much & devote myself chiefly to earning money for a while so as to pay my debts. Prof. Mayer says he earned in one year by writing \$4000. If I can only hit the popular key, I dare say I might do something in that way.

1877/04/00 Bill of Divorce [1882]

...and by subsequently quitting and leaving the house and home of your orator situated in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in the spring of the year 1877, to wit in the month of April, and by refusing to return to your orator and said house; and that such abandonment has continued uninterruptedly from 1877 to the present time [1882/03] and is deliberate and final and that the separation of his said wife from your orator is, as he believes, beyond all reasonable expectation of reconciliation.

1877/04/20

[CSP elected to National Academy of Science.]

1877/05/01 CSP: WJ

Imagine my disgust at seeing in the [N.Y.] Herald this morning that Prof. C. S. Peirce of Harvard College is sojourning at Brevoort [Hotel]. Particularly as I am rather ashamed of my partiality for the Brevoort. But I have always come here for many years; I am known to every waiter etc. & find myself at home. It is frequented by a class of people *comme il faut* but not in my line. I insensibly put on a sort of swagger here which I hope I have nowhere else, and which is designed to say, "you are a very good fellow in your way; who you are I don't know & I don't care, but you know I am Mr. Peirce distinguished for my varied scientific acquirements but above all for my extreme modesty in which respect I challenge the world." I notice that if one goes into the niceties, scarcely any one is totally without swagger & in those few the dryness is disagreeable.

1877/09/08 CSP : CPP

Did you see the paragraph in the *Sun* [newspaper] to the effect that we ought to be represented at Stuttgart [International Geodetic Union]? I am told there is one. How it got there I can't conceive. [CSP inserted this article himself, and was later sent to Stuttgart.]

1877/09/13 [- 1877/11/18]

[CSP on third Coast Survey assignment in Europe.]

1877/09/27 [-1877/10/2]

[CSP represents the United States at the International Geodetic Association conference in Stuttgart.]

1877/11/00 [- 1878/08/00]

[CSP published "Illustrations of the Logic of Science" in the *Popular Science Monthly*, the *Scientific American* of the day.]

1877/12/00c [late 1877 or early 1878]

[CSP was ill in New York and was visited there by JMP.]

1878/02/04c CSP: SMP

...Spending so much time in idleness has made me an immense quantity of work at a time when I don't feel very strong & that must be my excuse for not writing....My cough is all gone but I am not so strong & don't get time to take as much exercise as I ought to...

1878/08/00

[Photometric Researches published.]

1878/08/25c SMP : JMP

We hear nothing of Zina & of course C [CSP] made no allusion whatever to her. It is very sad to me to think of those two wrecked lives & all the fault & sorrows there must be somewhere. Charley seemed so loving to me & was so pleasant & thoughtful, I could not feel all the wrong was with him.

1878/09/06 CSP: SMP

If I could only contrive to earn a little more money...But my mind is so occupied with C.S. [Coast Survey] work that I haven't yet been able to get into the newspaper work which I mean to do.

1878/12/20 CPP: JMP

Charlie writes he is suffering with pneumonia.

1879/01/23 CSP:?

I have some inflammation in my eyes & though it gives me next to no trouble the Doctor warns me that while it lasts I must read very little & not use instruments at all.

1879/06/12 [through 1884]

[CSP appointed lecturer in logic at Johns Hopkins University, while continuing fulltime Coast Survey work.]

I venture to call your attention to the circumstance that the circular of June 26 relating to supplies of stationary, does not mention pens among the articles which parties may purchase for themselves. Considering how various and peculiar people's wants are about pens, and how dependent they often are upon having exactly what suits them, it seems to me possible that it was not intended to require that pens should be obtained by requisition; and therefore I hope I may be pardoned for bringing the matter to your attentions. [This is not the first nor the last time that CSP refers to pens in this manner; he seems to have been very exacting in the pen he used.]

1879/12/25 CSP: DCG

In consequence of certain symptoms, I yesterday went to see my physician in New York, & he, after calling in an eminent practitioner in consultation, informed me that he considered the state of my brain rather alarming. Not that he particularly feared regular insanity, but he did fear something of that sort; and he must insist on my being some little time in New York and he could not promise that I should go back on January 5th. For my own part, I do not think the matter as serious as he thinks. The intense interest I have had in the University and in my lectures, combined with my solitary life there, & with the state of my physical health, has undoubtedly thrown me into a state of dangerous cerebral activity & excitement. But I feel convinced that I shall surprise the doctors with the rapidity with which I regain my balance. I don't think the matter of any particular importance.

1879/10/28

[First meeting of Johns Hopkins University Metaphysical Club.]

1880/00/00

[CSP designs and supervises the construction of the first of four gravity pendulums bearing his name. Trains members of the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition on the use of Peirce Pendulum No. 1 prior to their June departure for the Arctic.]

1880/01/10 CSP: CPP

I have been confined much to my bed for the last ten days with a bronchial attack.

1880/02/28 CSP: DCG

I have had an unfortunate week in New York. Whether I had already taken cold in working on some coefficients of expansion or whether it was on the sleeping car, certain it is that when I arrived I was so ill with rheumatism I had to go directly to bed & shortly after came a violent neuralgia in my face & also an obstinate & severe diarrhea. From these last two I have suffered all the week & have past most of my time in bed, so that to my intense regret I shall miss another week's lectures...My physician expressed last autumn his regret that I had changed my plan of going abroad last year; I hope however that by remaining rather late in the season when I go this year I may come back good for some years uninterrupted work. I have been deeply disappointed at being ill so much this year, though the Doctor did fear something of the sort.

1880/03/11

[CSP elected to London Mathematical Society.]

1880/03/16 CSP: Peabody Librarian

I am absolutely unable to leave my room...

1880/04/00 [1880/08/00]

[CSP on fourth Coast Survey assignment in Europe.]

...I therefore went over to England, though I had at the time a bronchitis which I had had since before I left Baltimore where I was confined to my room with it for several weeks. It has hung on ever since & when I reached England it was so cold there that I was made downright ill at once and the doctor advised my immediate return to France. So I did return, and the English journey was useless. I then got hold of a French physician who treated me with hypophosphite of soda which had a wonderful effect so that I am now entirely free from my cough, which I really did not hope ever to be.

I regret to say that I have been quite ill with intermittent fever of late.

1880/08/00

[CSP elected to American Association for the Advancement of Science.]

1880/10/06

[BP dies.]

1880/12/14 CSP: William Staples Marston

I had been desirous of going to the Metaphysical [Club] this evening but I beg you will make my excuses inasmuch as I am suffering from the for me unusual infliction of a severe headache....

1881/00/00c [Edwin H. Hall remembrance of CSP at JHU]

I saw him and heard him speak informally more than once, and my impressions of his appearance and manner, whether accurate or not, are rather vivid. I remember him as a youngish man of rather stocky build, perhaps a little below medium height, his neck being very short. He

had bright, dark eyes set far apart under an impressive forehead and he wore a full dark beard, perhaps a little streaked with gray,—not a flowing beard such as his brother James Mills Peirce used to wear as a member of the Harvard Faculty. C. S. Peirce was, as to face and head at least, a very handsome man.

{Letter to Paul Weiss, 1931/08/28}

1881/01/19c CSP: SMP

[Re: leaving JHU]...I have not been at all well all this term and have suffered a good deal of loss of energy. But by following the rule to be out taking exercise a large part of each day, and never allowing myself to be in my room except to do necessary work I hope to keep my courage up...I think if I live several persons will find out that they have made several little errors about me, which have hurt them more than me.

1881/02/09 CSP : DCG

...on occasion of my quitting the University upon a pure question of price for my services...

1881/05/06 CSP: DCG

I am shut up this morning by damp outside & neuralgia within.

1881/05/22 CSP: JMP

My eyes are getting well.

{L339:00126}

1881/11/10 CSP: JEH

I have been detained in N. Y. by illness much longer than I had expected to be here.

1882/01/01 CSP Diary

Juliette up but not out. Boils on my chest getting well.

1882/01/03 CSP Diary

Vaccinated.

1882/01/07 CSP Diary

Lunched with K. Dined also.

1882/01/11 CSP Diary

J. on lounge. Hardly walks at all.

1882/01/14 CSP Diary

J. out and the happiest day of year so far.

1882/01/18 CSP Diary

Sick in bed. Vaccination.

1882/02/05 CSP Diary

Pissed. [five tick marks; probably one for each urination.]

1882/03/03 Bill of Divorce

[Filed 1882/03/03; JMP was only witness; ZP did not appear; divorce granted on 1883/04/24.]

1882/03/17 CSP: JEH

Am ill....

1882/04/08 CSP Diary

Chez J.

1882/04/09 CSP Diary

Chez J.

1882/04/10 CSP Diary

Chez J.

1882/04/25 CSP Diary

J. had disappeared.

1882/05/14 CSP Diary

J. made an important communication.

1882/06/01 Report of meeting of National Academy of Sciences

Mr. Peirce [CSP] talks to his blackboard, as his illustrious father used to do; but he does not imitate the old professor's genial and fascinating way of taking the audience into his confidence. In this indifference to his listeners....

1882/06/20 CSP: [possibly to brother-in-law W. R. Ellis]

Madame Pourtalai [JP] and I have not been indulging in wantonness. What she has been doing has been to struggle with all her might that her conduct should be such that when all was known those whom she honored should honor her in return; and I have been lending my aid to her, in this endeavor. Her reputation has suffered from four causes. 1st, from a terrible error committed by me at the outset; 2nd, from the unavoidable championship of a gentlemen; 3rd, from the evil machinations of a man who tried to take advantage of her in her unprotected state, and 4th from the brutal conduct of the Peirce family. (Not of all; because my father, who really did know the world, was with her.)

1882/10/04 CSP: JMP

Can you come on to Baltimore this month about my suit [divorce]. Please examine your papers & see whether Zina did not lease that house in the Spring of 1877. You thought in 1878, but that is not my recollection. Please write me about that, because my lawyer wished to use that fact....I also suffer agonies of anxiety about Madame Pourtalai's health.

{L339 : 00134-00135}

1882/11/00c CSP: JEH

I am laid up with one of the dreadful colds to which I am subject.

{National Archives: Coast Survey}

1882/11/00c CSP: JEH

Office work has been somewhat neglected this month owing to my severe cold.

{National Archives: Coast Survey}

1883/00/00

[CSP begins contributions to *The Century Dictionary*.]

1883/01/18c CSP : JEH

Mr. Farquhar accuses me of rejecting observations...I am very averse to making alterations in the record and usually prefer to reject an observation altogether rather than do that.

{National Archives: Coast Survey}

I am very anxious, & indeed alarmed at Juliette's health and dare not leave her till warmer weather comes. She is seriously threatened with consumption & the doctor urges me to get her abroad as soon as possible. The present plan is that we should be married by a man of the law the day she sails & afterward again in France in church....

1883/04/00

[Studies in Logic published.]

1883/04/24 Decree of Divorce

[Divorce from Zina final.]

1883/04/30

[CSP marries JP in New York.]

1883/05/00 [-1883/09/00]

[CSP takes fifth and final Coast Survey assignment in Europe.]

She [Juliette] is very feeble & her health requires the most unremitting care.... I therefore write to assure you of her perfect good-will.

{L339}

1883/09/19c SMP: HPE

...a telegraph from Charlie announcing arrival at N. Y...Poor Charlie is like a child about conventionalities & has no idea that any thing stands in the way of her [JP] being received every where!!

1883/09/21c CEP : HPE

Juliette was sick...

1883/10/03 CSP: JEH Dangerous illness of wife retains me today.

1883/10/18 SMP : JP

It is very hard for you, & hard for poor Charlie to see one he loves so much suffering & unhappy. I know how much he feels for you, & how he longs to help you— We at home always thought him quite a skillful Doctor, he was so gentle & soothing when anyone he loved was sick or suffering— He seemed to know by instinct what was best to be done & to do it so lovingly—but poor fellow, in your case he seems quite in despair about finding any way of relieving you—because of the terrible strain upon your nervous system which has brought this Hysterical Attack upon which is always a kind of mysterious puzzle to the Physician.

1883/11/00 CSP auto.

[CSP sold a large number of books to Johns Hopkins, and then wants to buy them back. Since he could not get the books from the Library he needed, CSP suspended one of his classes. There is a note from the Library to DCG stating that CSP never made any formal written request for the books. Later CSP stated:] "I will buy the various books I need, as I can pick them up, and let the work wait until I get them."

1883/11/23 SMP: HPE

Charley and J. are still here [Cambridge] but she keeps to her bed by C's express desires— He says her Doctor insists that she must do so the first four days of her "times." She seems to me a very feeble person & looks [corner torn; could be 'pale'] delicate— Of course I am with her part of the time & she talks while I am there as fast as her tongue can go— If I could see you I could tell you a good deal that I have gathered from these interviews— I can on paper only say that my impressions of her life and character are a good deal modified for the better by what I have seen of her— She is certainly intelligent & amiable I believe— seems quite devoted to C. & he to her— Yet he is as usually quite absorbed in his work & tossing up his hands & withdrawing into himself in his old way a great deal of the time— then with his pen & paper making profound calculations & entirely abstracted for a long time. Just as the old Charlie & just as affectionate as ever—

1883/11/27c SMP: HPE

J. was very reasonable & not too exacting— She was 4 out of the six days in bed— as she has to be every monthly— After that she sat up stairs in my room or her own— in her wrapper— & talked all the time & as she speaks English very imperfectly it was hard work to follow her— She told me a great deal about herself & about her intercourse with Charlie— & I am very sure there has been much less impropriety than has been supposed between them— Her manners are very pleasing & sometimes when she is animated her eyes are beautiful— Her teeth & hair too are very handsome— & she has a pretty figure & hands—but her cheeks are hollow & she is deathly pale. Is it wicked to hope I never shall see her again? She seemed amiable & affectionate— I had rather she would be happy at a distance. Poor thing. She looks very delicate— and so do reeds. Charley ought to clear up her story— as far as is possible. I detest mysteries & secrets [i.e., JP's background].

1883/12/18 CEP: HPE

It seems to me that she [JP] is a spoilt child—& I should be wretched if I had to pass any length of time with her; it would be so impossible to satisfy her or make her happy. Your mother [SMP] says she pities Charley— so of course we all do to a certain point— But he married Juliette with his eyes open—& he is no mere child & when he swallowed the pill— he could

easily foresee all the consequences— Well— as we brew so we must bake— & it is easier to jump into a ditch than over it— What in the world did Charley want to marry her for? is the question always uppermost on my mind.

1884/00/00 [written in 1904] CSP auto.

I am aware that my modes of thought and of expression are peculiar and gauche, and that twenty years of a recluse life have made them more so, and am grateful to people who help me by correcting me.

1884/01/26

[CSP dismissed from Johns Hopkins University.]

1884/02/11 *Baltimore Sun*

Margaret Hill, an old lady, was charged with assaulting her employer, Dr. Peirce of Calvert Street, with a brick. Harris J. Chilton, her counsel, pleaded strongly that a doubt existed in her favor. Judge Duffy—It is only on that doubt that I act. I strongly suspect that the woman struck the man with the brick, but I give her the benefit of the doubt. Not guilty.

1884/02/18 George W. Brown : DCG

Peirce's case is most difficult to deal with. The last letter furnished new proof of the desirableness of making a change. I feel strongly tempted to advise the payment of his year's salary and to let him go [this was done], but what is to become of him and his wife in Europe [Peirce's intention was to go] unless they have money and friends? The plan seems to be too wild even for him to attempt to put it in execution. If we could part on friendly terms by paying him the rest of his year's salary and seeing him transferred elsewhere I should be glad.

1884/02/19 CSP : DCG

Before your note [of dismissal] came, I had already determined that I would not abandon the course of lectures I am now giving but keep on as long as it is agreeable to the University.

1884/02/21 CSP: DCG

I am regularly ill and unable at the moment even to think of any serious matter. I am therefore, obliged to postpone replying to your letter from the subcommittee.

1884/02/28 CEP: HPE

[Re: letter from CSP] Poor Juliette—She can hardly take care of herself—at any rate I should not want her to take care of me. Charley added a very please postscript [sic.]. He had been sick—"a sort of rhumatic [sic.] fever—without rhumatism" but was better.

1884/03/12 DCG : CSP

...it is better for the university that your engagement should be terminated...but I am forced to believe that you are better adapted to the work of an investigator, than to that of a university professor.

1884/03/15c CEP : HPE

I don't believe a bit of C's professions. It is easier to talk but actions speak louder than words as is known the world over. He says "dearest," "sweetest" & yet his whole acts are selfish— & I

never want to see Juliette again. Still I pity her & Charley from my heart—but what can I do? To have her here would be impossible—simply impossible, and would besides do no good. She would want to rule us all & would soon get tired of us as I got of her, with her everlasting talk about nothing. But still I say "poor Juliette" whatever her past life has been—"poor J."

1884/03/18c CEP : HPE

At any rate she [JP] is just the reverse of Zina— in some respects— & Zina is no saint & never was, & never will be in this world. I wonder how she [ZP] will contrive to get along in the next world... & whether she will open a cooperative store....She never will be happy unless she has something & somebody to manage—

1884/04/10 CEP: HPE

She [JP] is better—but has terms of hysterics— He [CSP] wants your mother or me to go on [to help care for JP]. Of course I cannot go...How strange that a man of his [CSP's] sense can have been fooled by two such queer & odd fishes as Zina and Mad. [JP]!

1884/04/12 CEP: HPE

[CSP & JP are coming to Cambridge.] I should at once have said "no" as I did when Charles asked me to lend him \$2000. That poor sick creature (is she sick?) on her—"last legs"—a victim to hysterics...Since she & Charles were here in Nov. I have heard a good deal more about her & there is no doubt she lived with him as his mistress...But it is perfectly evident that Charles cares & thinks for nobody but himself & Juliette...I never told you that when she was here I pitied her when she was sick in bed & looked so pale & frail, but when she came down stairs in the evening she was like a spoiled & forward child & I thought I never could bear to be with her except for a very short time....I think she believes herself irresistible & she means to catch me & make the most of me & very likely she imagines me to be richer than I am...

1884/04/14 CEP: HPE

...there is no hurry about getting mourning for her [JP] & Charles— as he said he meant to lie down on her grave & die with her— but there is not the least danger of her departing "for one while" & as to Charley I doubt if he would even put on crepe for her...she [JP] said she had not been much sick— only she has a falling womb— which requires her to be careful— but she has been able to be about & working most of the time— When she is sick it was entirely owing to Charles' treatment of her— It is strange that Zina & now Juliette should have the same sort of experience— She [JP] told me that when Charles gets into his passions it is "perfectly awful"— I asked her what he did—she said "Oh I cannot tell you—it would pain you too much!"...She said she was on the point of leaving the house never to return. She told Charles she would & he said "Why don't you try it for six months." & she then said to him— "Why I did not marry you on trial—if I go away now it shall be forever." One of her complaints is that he interfered so with the housekeeper & the girls—that she could not get along at all. & the servants would not stay. She told me that within a few weeks Charley lent Bradford nearly a hundred dollars, that he had often lent him money- but never got it back- & that it was in reality Mrs. Bradford to whom he lent the money & that both Mr. & Mrs. B. dressed a great deal— & she wore jewelry &c. I suppose you remember Zina's old long jealousy of Mrs. Bradford—who is I suspect a woman of no principle. I said to Juliette— "This then (your trouble with Charley) was the cause of your coming now?" Yes, said she it was, he thought that if I came here I might "give in" to him—but I shall not." This I didn't exactly understand—you see she had not come to the "worst" part of

the story— Now what she did tell was bad enough— I suspect she is obstinate & self-willed & likes to rule— yet when she pleases she can be very winning...At any rate while she is here we are under an embargo— for Charles has been too open in his ways with Juliette not to lead every body to conclude that she was his mistress...I have heard from the best authority that the ladies in Baltimore keep aloof from her—

1884/04/15c CEP : HPE

I really have not seen any thing wrong in Juliette. She is kind, pleasant, always ready to help (too ready) & seems modest & discreet. Yet there is the great fact of their imprudences... Charley has been most kind & attentive to me ever since he has been here, & Juliette also. If it were but for the preliminaries of their marriage I should like her. I suppose, though I am afraid always at a distance.

1884/04/16c CEP : HPE

When I came home, Juliette, whom I had left sick in bed, was sitting with your mother apparently quite restored. She told me afterwards, that her sickness was caused by something unkind, that Charley has said to her. She says that all her sicknesses have been caused by that...If I had a husband & he did not treat me well – I would go away from him— For I know I should hate him. I should rather "dig clams," than live in the same house with a man, who is unkind to me and if he treated me brutally I should be afraid to live with him— lest I should treat him worse than cut off his hair. What a queer story is that of "Sampson & Delilah!" It must be true in the main— & happened so long again. Well I guess Juliette would do the same to Charley— for a reward!

1884/04/17c CEP: HPE

I asked her [JP]— if she had money of her own— independently of Charles— She said she had but that she did not let him know she had any, because he would get it & spent it right & left she did not know how—only he was so extravagant. I had heard that she was in Boston at the time of your father's sickness [1880] that long sad summer—you remember Charles came home from Europe— I said to Juliette— were you in Boston that summer, when my brother was sick?" "I was sick in New York." she said—but there was a woman whom Charles has brought with him from Europe & she was in Boston at that time! I understood her to say, that this woman was introduced to Charles by Marston— She told me also that there was another woman, to whom Charles gave a great deal of money & whom he sent for to come here— & she came. She was a handsome "Dutch" [?Deutsch?] girl! How strange Juliette could have married if she knew these things to be true! She said, she did not want to marry him—but he teased her— & he came to her with a pistol in his hand & said he would shoot her if she did not consent to marry him— & then your mother wrote her...She says Charles has fits of passion, which are dreadful...Now your mother asked Charles if Juliette had any property of her own & he said, "No she has not"—He also told your mother, that Juliette kept everything nice & in good order; but that she understood nothing about figures & he was obliged to interfere about housekeeping—if he did not—things would go all wrong financially...Charley's and Juliette's stories do not at all agree...One thing is certain—that Zina's and Juliette's accounts of Charley agree in the main. She tells strange stories of Mrs. Bradford— & is or seems to be as jealous of that silly woman as ever Zina was-...Then on Friday (a week ago last Friday) Charley left Washington in the afternoon train-& she left in the later evening train— with her maid— whom she took with her. Strange actions

for a sick woman— who was at her last gasp— for it must [have] been then that Charley wrote so dismally about Juliette's condition.

1884/07/00 [-1886/02/00]

[CSP Directs pendulum operations to determine relative gravity at Washington, D.C, and various field sites.]

1884/09/00

[CSP's contract with Johns Hopkins University having been terminated, the Peirces move to Washington, D.C,.]

1884/10/00 [-1885/02/22]

[CSP in charge of Coast Survey Office of Weights and Measures.]

1884/11/10 CSP : GWB

[When CSP was at Johns Hopkins he leased a house for two years, and was dismissed from Johns Hopkins before the lease expired. Therefore, he asked Johns Hopkins for either \$1000 or for John Hopkins to assume responsibility for the house. (Johns Hopkins did pay the \$1000, and CSP sold the contents of the house.) The reason he gave for wanting to get rid of the house was:] My wife's health, already delicate, has been shattered by her strange experience of American dealings. I mean that line of conduct on the part of the University which has placed it under an acknowledged obligation of reparation. Consequently she cannot keep house, and requires to be carried to the south. [In a letter to JEH at the Coast Survey on 1884/09/19, CSP states: "My wife's health seems to require my carrying her North…."]

1884/11/10c CEP: HPE

She [JP] has told me that it was she who got Charley to write in more loving ways to his mother— & Queer— if it is so— & queer she should tell me.

1884/11/14 CSP: Lord Rayleigh [probably Baltimore]

I ought to have mentioned that Mrs. Peirce is strictly confined to the house by the order of her physician so that she will be deprived of the honor of calling upon Lady Rayleigh.

1885/00/00c [written in 1905c] CSP auto.

Logical Analysis of Some Demonstrations in High Arithmetic...It is written for my own eyes solely like all my logical papers of the last twenty years...Indeed, it was, in effect, refused by the editor of the Am.J.Math., Simon Newcomb, who said he would print it, if I would declare that it was a mathematical paper. That I could not do. [A later comment on the same subject:]....is part of a principle thoroughly developed by me in a memoir in 1885 or 1886 which Newcomb practically refused to print which is the reason why I have never since printed anything on logic which could not be put in popular form.

{CP 3.403A-M}

1885/01/25 J. Bradford : CWE

CSP,...since his second marriage, has thrown over his old friends who did not approve of his action.

1885/06/00c CSP: HHDP

Juliette seems to have a continual large correspondence about my imaginary irregularities. Why cannot some one say plainly to her that she should not keep these letters a mystery but show them, show who they are from & what charges & evidence are?...Juliette is pursuing a wild course; doing all she can to prevent her husband from earning his living & hers; and it is surprising how many people she gets to aid her in this.

She has lost me my place at the Johns Hopkins and then my office of Weights & Measures [in the Coast Survey]. Not content with that she must prevent my getting this lectureship at Harvard, & has your help in a telegram very carelessly worded. She will go right on. In a few days, I shall lose my present place on the [Coast] Survey. [CSP threatened to resign in 1885/08, but left in 1891.] Soon after we were married she told me she had married me to ruin me. It will come to that (though the expression was not serious) & when she is brought to want people who have encouraged her insane course will be responsible.

One habit of hers, is to look over my papers without saying anything to me. She totally misunderstands documents, and then thinking herself very discreet, tells the falsest things owing to her mistakes.

1885/06/21 HHDP: Wife

Speaking of Charley, I agree with you in pitying him most profoundly. He has many truly noble impulses and is very generous and kind and gentle of heart. I think though his first marriage was the beginning of all his troubles and the real cause of many of his later ones indirectly. I mean that it had an effect of perverting his moral sight. I am sure he is to be pitied enough now saddled with Juliette. I suppose I must acknowledge that I am somewhat troubled at being left in a sort of charge of her.

{Letter purchased on eBay by private collector and contents made available to David Pfeifer}

1885/08/01

[Juliette's lung trouble diagnosed: consumption.]

1885/10/25 CSP: JMP

Besides that [CSP's difficulties with the Coast Survey], all this has awakened me to the duty of making some effort to do that thing for which I am in the world, namely to set forth the true nature of Logic, and of scientific methods of thought and discovery. I have a great momentous thing to say on this subject. Without it molecular science must remain at a stand-still. It must continue what it is, idle guess-work. The true theory of the constitution of matter, which can only be based on sound scientific logic, must have the most important consequences in every direction. On psychology too, which is to be the great science of the coming hundred years, logic must exert weighty influence. About logic, I have something to say which other men have not thought of, and probably may not soon think of. That at least is my conviction. I know that it is true.

1885/11/24 HHDP: JMP

I hardly know what to say about Charley's affairs— It seems to me pretty hard that you with all your load should be called upon to help pay Charley's debts— I am myself thoroughly well satisfied that Charley's money goes largely to Juliette's extravagancies but I am not so sure that

he himself tries very hard to curb her. Perhaps he thinks it useless— As you say I don't see how you can help him out doing what should be equivalent to lending him the money and I can't see that you ought to pay any part of his debts unless the case is a very extreme one. I can see no hope for Charley as long as he has this woman on his hands— If he leaves the C.S. [Coast Survey] what can he do.

I recommend your instructing me telegraphically to proceed to Smithsonian to oversee work there.

[Note on top in ink:] Answered 27th.

[Note on top in blue pencil:] Ass't in Chg.

[Note written over telegram in red ink:] I see no need of ordering Peirce to fly back. He will not be needed for a week I am sure. This is a sample of his erratic course. B.A. Colonna, Asst. in Charge [of Coast Survey Office].

1886/00/00

[CSP with JP settles in a New York City apartment, and begins to prepare reports on his gravity field work.]

1886/03/27 CSP: FMT

I telegraphed you Friday suggesting that I be instructed at once by telegraph to go on to look after the work at the Smithsonian. I received no reply. It suits my personal convenience well enough to remain, but I must point out that I cannot be responsible for the work going right if what I consider necessary is not done.

1887/00/00

[CSP works on scientific and philosophical definitions for the *Century Dictionary* throughout year.]

1887/01/00c CSP : JMP

Uncle Sam [the Coast Survey] and Juliette are enough to drive me out of my wits. I have not learned to calculate in any measure what the former will do; but from the latter I can expect with confidence 30 different lines of conduct per month, of which 25 will be in one way or another impedimentary to my success. "Burn this letter." which is imprudent, because I love her devotedly. But I am rather exasperated because last night she kept me kneeling at her bed & rubbing her back from $11 \frac{1}{2}$ to $2 \frac{1}{2}$ and this morning broke up a business interview with a gentleman by bursting in about my "bitches."

{L339:00069}

1887/01/21c CSP: JMP

Meantime, I feel so disgusted at the low estimate which my countrymen place upon my possible utility, that I am strongly tempted to clear out, & go & find in some other land some employment which nobody can think is above my capacity. If I disappear, that is why. [Scientists in Europe placed high estimate on CSP's gravitational determinations, while in the U.S. these were to an extent overlooked; also, the common opinion was that CSP should continue as a scientist, and should not be a professor of philosophy.] P.S. the above was written before receiving yours enclosing Colonna's [Coast Survey]. As you insist on putting me into the position of choosing

between you and my wife, — quite unnecessarily — of course I choose my wife. You thus get rid of a troublesome relative very neatly & at a time when he is more troublesome than ever.

1887/04/11 WHB : DCG

[Books which CSP took out of the Johns Hopkins library turned up at a bookseller who bought them at a sale of unclaimed packages conducted by the Adams Express Co.]

1887/04/28

[CSP & JP settle in Milford, Pennsylvania.]

1887/05/08 CSP : FMT

[Johns Hopkins had written the Coast Survey about the books CSP has taken with him, and then CSP replies through FMT.]

Illness has prevented my answering sooner yours of the 4th instant relative to a proposition of Mr. D. C. Gilman to open some boxes of mine at the office. I refuse permission to open these boxes.

The books referred to are not there but here in use. They originally belonged to me, with a great many others, the whole collection having been made with a view of writing a projected book. Finding great difficulty in managing so many books, and despairing of ever writing my book, I finally sold them to the JHU. Subsequently a publisher induced me to resume my abandoned work. When I left Baltimore, I obtained permission to keep a few of the books in order to finish my work. A limit of time was named and this has long been surpassed. My work is now 7/8 done, and it would not be absolutely fatal to it to return those I have for the opening of the University in October.

Any sensible man will see that I shall not consent to have an extensive piece of work spoiled by the return of the books if I can help it. I have already made an unsuccessful effort to buy back the books, and I shall now make another. Mr. Gilman once told me the books were of no earthly use to the University. My book will be of much use to them.

[Explains how two books got into the hands of Adams Express Co.]

Since they are now happily recovered, I can say that no book of any consequence has been lost.

It will be seen by this statement, that I am not unreasonable in refusing to have my boxes opened, and in delaying still further the return of the books.

1887/08/22 CSP: JMP

You are mistaken if you think Juliette would in any way prevent or hinder my going to Cambridge & equally so if you suppose I would go. It is very insulting to suppose I would, but those are sentiments you seem unable to understand.

Your inviting us to meet you in Newport & then not letting us know till you had been these nine days, when mother wrote I could put whatever construction I liked on her silence had a good healthy effect on my mind.

1887/09/21 CSP: JMP

I wish to express my sorrow and shame at having used an insulting expression in my telegram to you & I will write you at fuller length on my return to Milford.

As long as mother lives, at last, I want to have the best relations possible with those she loves.

1887/09/22 JMP: CSP

[JMP would like to maintain good relations also.]

1887/10/10 SMP dies.]

1888/00/00c CSP: JMP

I write from my sickroom to which I have been confined since Friday night, but am now getting well & I expect to be out by Sunday or Monday. I have been feeling very wretchedly at times all along through the fall, & especially for the last fortnight. Going six times in one week to Coquelin was not exactly an easy please for an old codger, & I dare say was the thing that finally upset me. It is mostly a wrong state of the bowels with severe pain. But a lithaesuic condition of the system (if that be good medical Greek for a considerable excess of acid & usater,) deems to have been the thing lying behind, & I hope now I can take a fresh start & keep clear of this trouble. I am inclined to think it a prevailing tendency, however, & at the bottom of most of the sicknesses I have had for twenty years. Have not you had the same trouble?

The severe pain comes on in an instance & cut like knives. I inferred it at first to the bladder. But it seems to have been in the lower bowels. There is still a marked soreness in the place. Then there was for several days a great development of wind, keeping my bowels painfully distended, & howling inwardly like the winter's blast. And when relief came, —nothing but squalls & water spouts. I have done nothing but keep quiet (mostly in bed), take a laudanum when necessary, & feed sparingly on the diet of an anchorite—without wishing for any better or other.

{L339:00074-00076}

1888/01/01

[CSP appointed to U. S. Assay Commission by President Cleveland.]

1888/02/04

[CEP dies.]

1888/05/10

Pike County, Pennsylvania, Deed [CSP received some money from the estate of CEP; he purchased a farm, fifty acres, but the deed

is in JP's name.]

1888/07/00

[CSP submits two short reports on aspects of his gravity work to the Coast Survey, and corrects proofs for his gravity report for the Lady Franklin Bay Arctic Expedition.]

1888/10/12 Dr. W. W. Bidlack: CSP

Having occasion to enclose a letter, inadvertently handed to me at the Post Office, I also enclose in connection with a prescription which I would advise you to have compounded in New York preferably at Reece & Gamricks,—a leaflet on which you will find the diet best adapted to your case. After mature reflection I think Maltine had better be discontinued & some of the liquids mentioned on the leaflet used instead.

1888/12/00

[CSP sends Coast Survey plan to incorporate all his gravity determinations along latitudinal and longitudinal arcs in a single report.]

1889/01/02

CSP Diary

Juliette is very poorly & irritable. I weigh with clothes on 182 lbs which alarms me.

{Ms. 1616}

1889/01/03. CSP diary.

Juliette weights 104 with thick clothes and heavy shawl.

{Ms. 1616.}

1889/01/05.

CSP diary.

Much alarmed about Juliette's health. She spits so much blood. If I should lose her, I would not survive her. Therefore, I must turn my *whole* energy to caring [for] her.

{Ms. 1616.}

1889/01/26.

CSP diary.

Got Dr. Bidlack to examine Juliette's chest. He says one lung is somewhat affected.

{Ms. 1616.}

1889/03/30

CSP: JMP

If at any time of life I were to lose my young wife, with no children or any person with me to whom she is deeply attached, I feel life would be quite an intolerable burden.

1889/04/04

CSP: JP

I have not had a single well day since you left. [JP went south for her health for a while.]

1889/04/05 [through 1897/05/27] Hospital Bill

[JP a patient at Samaritan Hospital for an operation by Dr. W. Gill Wylie.]

1889/07/09

S. Newcomb: W. D. Whitney, editor of *The Century Dictionary*.

I may say to you confidentially that several years ago I should have regarded Peirce as the ablest man in the country for such work [dictionary] but I hear he has since deteriorated to an extent which is truly lamentable.

1889/09/30

CSP: JMP

This is dear Juliette's health. She has some symptoms of disease of the lungs which occasion me the greatest quietude, and produce in her a serious depression of spirits which is in itself a serious matter. She suffers great pain in her chest and left arm, is very weak, and brings up considerable mucus. On the other hand, many of the symptoms are not present. She has no cough, she does not lose flesh, and she does not look particularly ill. Doctor Stimson has not yet seen her this season; but he said a year ago, when she was certainly not near as ill as now, that she could not think of passing a winter in the north for several years. Her depresssion is such that I think this year it will be absolutely indispensable that she should be where she finds amusement.

1889/11/29 CSP : JP

[JP has gone on a trip to the Mediterranean for her health, and CSP is at a hotel.] They haven't been very polite to me at the Lenox [Hotel], & evidently are trying to get rid of me. I could not stay there with the least self-respect. I don't pay enough. Yet I could easily be much better off for less.

1889/11/29 CSP : JP

My own little wife! My wealth & treasure!....I do nothing but think of you, I can't help talking too much about you.

{L340:040-041}

1889/11/29

[CSP submits the major part of his long overdue gravity report to the Coast Survey.]

1889/12/06 CSP : JP

I had a very encouraging talk with Dr. William Otis in New York, a very accomplished young physician. He said, the notion that people do not get well of tubercles in the lungs is utterly exploded. Almost everybody has them at one time or another; but with care and good weather they become perfectly well, except that a portion of a lung may become useless.

1889/12/06 CSP: JP

Dearest love, I seem to feel you about me more than ever. I love & worship my precious wife, my heart's heart.

{L340:042}

1889/12/24 CSP: JP

I have been and still am sick with the grippe, and this is the reason for my delay in sending you the enclosed cheque....I don't pass many hours at a time without thinking of my little girl with passionate love and longing; and you may be sure I am as far from the slightest infidelity as possible.

{L340:044-045}

1890/00/00 CSP auto.

1877 Juliette to Europe—Stuttgart, Berlin, Paris.

1883 Married to Juliette.

1887 To Milford.

1888 Juliette Bought [sic] farm.

{Ms. 1609, p. 2, selected entries}

1890/00/00c [date is a guess] CSP diary.

I like and esteem the man who knows when to resign a game of chess, and does not insist upon protecting it to a tedious and melancholy mate. I like and esteem the man who gives Death a cordial shake of the hand when the time comes, and having fought a good fight, does not finish it with a feeble, frittering, factious, fretful, futility.

{Ms. 1626, page 5}

1890/00/00c CSP auto.

I don't amount to a row of ping. (according to any such mode, or *any* mode of estimation). The distinctions of which I am proudest are the devotions of friends, especially my wife & several women whom I have never seen and probably never shall see.

{Ms. 1613}

1890/01/01 CSP: JP

It disturbed me very much to learn how ill you had been...I shall send you a paper to sign [power of attorney] in case you should be very ill...

1890/01/24 Business Card

Docteur Fouquet recommande à Madame Santi de vouloir bien faire out son possible pour donner un excellent regime a Madame Ch. Peirce.

1890/03/07 JP: CSP [from Cairo, Egypt] [Telegram]

Await explanation before sending power of attorney.

1890/04/05 JMP : CSP [from Cairo, Egypt]

I have seen Juliette's several times in the last week or ten days...she speaks of the serious attacks she still has, & seems to regard herself as doomed. But whenever I saw her, she looked & appeared strong & vigorous, & evidently enjoyed much....she never seemed to grow tired or to lose her clearness of judgment, and she displays skill of a high order in selecting the best specimens and bargaining for them...Now & then, there seems to be some effort of breathing & of speaking.

1890/04/22 CSP : JP

[First two line heavily crossed out; reconstructed as "Your letters to me are so full of hate and rage, that I know not how to write to you. What my difficulties have been you do not know."]

It would be best for you to date your letters and state what money you receive precisely, so that I may know it has not been lost as some of it seems in fact to have been. I will send you a statement from the Bankers. Meantime I may mention that I sent you by telegraph 750 francs April 11 and 750 francs again April 17. Now I will write to you about a dear friend I once had and whom I think about every night when I put my head upon my pillow. When I first saw this dear young lady, she had on a very thin brown veil. It hid her face from me, but it did not hide the delicacy, the nobility, the truth, and the strength of her heart. That shone out; not with all the clearness and radiance that it did later, but still enough for me to feel the charm of it. Afterwards, I used often to see this young lady. I have even taken walks in the park with her. Sometimes there was moonlight, and sometimes there was only the beautiful splendour of that wonderful heart of hers. It makes me weep this minute to think of those times; and how the little thing was afraid of a toad so that I had the blessed privilege of clasping her. Then I used to see her more intimately. My life became bound up with hers. I used to regard her with deep love and still deeper adoration as being very pure & very noble.

And when I look back upon it all, it is that that is the strongest impression. She was a very true and noble heart, that nothing ever could corrupt. And then I knew her in Washington when she showed capacities which surprised me. Then there was dreadful period when everything in life was terribly terribly embittered. I wish now I had been drowned, before I had to pass through such things. Very gradually, the curse seems to pass away, & there was a time in

Milford when there seemed to be happiness, shaded by some doubts only. All this time, I was getting to know and to adore this dear lady more and more and to love her more deeply. In the future I don't know how it will be. The present is dreadful. Life is just a <u>supplice</u> without that lady's loving heart. I can only set my teeth & try to do my duty as well as I can....I shall send you more money, no matter what happens, very soon. For should you part with the watch I gave you, I should think you had given me the right to suicide.

1890/04/25 James H. Fay: CSP

I am very sorry but I do not see how I can procure \$250 for your emergency. [At different times, CSP asked many persons for loans.]

1890/06/00 [through 1890/08/00] CSP's record of JP's health [1/4 of full chart.]

9/6 Temperature Food Medicines General facts.

9pm 100.1

9 ½ 99 Gruel 4 oz.

11 ½ All wet with cold sweat. Wiped off. Is hungry.

9/7 A pretty easy night, slept fairly well.

A good deal of sweating. Breaks wind often.

Peptonized milk 4 oz. 12 min. later, a sharp pain causing her to cry out, in side below ribs.

9 1/4 Gruel 4 oz.

Movement of bowels. Good, health, spontaneous.

1890/06/13 JMP : CSP [from Rome]

...she [JP] herself believed it was best for her to get home as soon as she could...I did not believe she was so ill as she herself thought. She is easily excited and depressed. When she felt well, she felt happy and interested in all about her, and could not resist exerting herself too much. Then would come the reaction & fatigue, and she would be in bed for several days. I could not help wondering at her energy and self-reliance and capacity, & though she is certainly a most delicate and sometimes suffering woman, I am sure she has a vast fund of strength and life to draw upon.

1890/10/24 Docteur Fouquet, Docteuir en Medecine, de la Faculte de Paris. Caire. Re Juliette Peirce. [Blanks are in manuscript.] Madame Ch. Peirce que j'ai euy l'occasion d'examiner au point de vue des voies digetives et respiratoires a présénté les symptôme suivants : 1. Du côté des poumons : à la percussions : sub-matité des deus côtés dans la fosse sus-ép surtout à droite. A l'auscultation un peu deminution duy murmure respiratoire, un peu prolongée, aux deus sommets, mais sure une très petite étendue. Pas de craquements, pas de râles humides, pas de souffle. L'examien des crachats n'a pas été fait. Du côté des premieres voies— : Obstruction lV gere des foosses nasales par une hypertrophie de las partie moyenne des cornets ingerieurs des deuz côtés et à gauche hpertrophie du cornet moyen.— Les narines sont néanmoins perméables, mai d'une façon insuffisante, surtout quand la malade Vprouve un léger refroidissement. Le pharynx est le siége d'une inflammation chronique diffuse occupant l'arriére cavité des fosses nasales, les piliers postérieurs et la base de las langue. Un peu d'hypérimie largngienne, les cordes vocales saines. De côté des voies digestives : dilatation peu prononcée de l'estomac. La malade a présené autrefois divers troubles du côte de l'uterus et de ses annexes. Mais au moment où je ls vis elle était à la fin de la pVriode

menstruelle et, en dehors de tout accident aigu il n'y avait pas lie de faire porter l'examen de ce côté. Contre les accident pulmonaires, hje suis d'avis de continuer l'uage intermittant du Sirop de Felloir.— Mai surtout de nonner la créosote de Hêtre, en pilules. Ttraitement du Prof. Bouchard) avec Suralimentation, aération diurne et nocture de la chambre.— Frictions séches le matin, fritions térébinthinées le soir.—Pour l'estomac : régime sec. De temps en temps, limondade. J'estimate que le climat du Caire est favorable à Madame Ch. Peirce jusqu'à l'époque des chaleurs et même jusqu'au mois d'avril.—Il y a tout lieuy d'essayer, un régime bien compris pouvant amener la guérison fadicale d'une affection aussi peu avancée, ce que j'ai constaté un grand nombre de fois depuis neuf ans que j'exerce an Cair.— Dr. Fouquet. P.S. L'état de nez necéssitara probelement un petit traitement spécial. — Dr.

1891/01/00 [- 1893/01/00]

[CSP publishes first of five articles on metaphysics and cosmology in *The Monist*.]

1891/01/00

[JP has a hysterectomy which involved a great deal of moving and re-arranging of intestines.]

1891/08/19 Funk & Wagnalls : CSP

[Re: Standard Dictionary] We would not care to tie our hands or the hands of any of our editors as to the future; nor could we consent to pay you five thousand dollars for suggestions before we know what those suggestions are worth.

1891/08/29 CSP: CLF

How many times in going over the proofs of the Century Dictionary have I berated them for inserting ignorant weak and irredeemable stuff, and then found I had written it myself; and on examining why I had said what I did found that it was because I had pushed my inquiries further than I had later remembered.

1891/09/21 TCM : CSP

[The resignation of CSP from the Coast Survey is requested; CSP complies. CSP was in effect dismissed.]

1891/11/15 CSP: JP

Here I am on thanksgiving day, sick and kept away from my dear wife by wicked conduct. Dear, dearest, love. My own sweet wife! I cannot tell you how I grieve. Believe me, my own sacred one, that I am entirely faithful to you. Yesterday, somebody tried to lead me away; but it was no use. I love my own sweet and divine little wife, and I am faithful to her. I love her more than tongue can tell....Dearest Love! I long for you! I love you. I worship you.

{L340:053-054}

1891/11/17 CSP: WJ

Royce is about the only person who ever paid me a compliment in print.

I regret to inflect another long letter upon you, the purpose of which will perhaps not at first be clear. I trust you will treat it, as far as possible, as for your eyes only; for reasons which will be obvious as you proceed.

You say, "I think I thoroughly appreciate your feelings in this matter." I venture to think you do not. No doubt, you are not mistaken so far as your perception extends. But will you bear with me so far as to listen to a history going back for about ten years? At that time, I was lecturing at the Johns Hopkins University. I went on to New York to consult a physician. He looked very grave, and though very eminent, insisted on having the opinion of another doctor. I found they thought my mind was affected, the first gentleman being rather doubtful, but the second expressing himself quite positively when I questioned him. I myself rather pooh—poohed it in my mind; but now I am sure it was so. My mind was never so brilliant as then, though I have since learned much in the art of thinking. I wrote about that time a paper on logic about which a good deal has been written in different countries. In fact, it has been praised too much, owing to a certain beauty in the thought. But it contains some very curious and unaccountable errors, one of which is very prominent and important. I detected it and corrected it in a new statement before anybody else. Since that time, I have no doubt been subject to slight mental aberration after intense mental application. Sometimes, I can myself see the marks of it as when the other day I wrote "Thomas Wanamaker" on my letter [to you]. I think you suspected it was done purposely; but I assure you it was not; and I can remember now a peculiar feeling at the time that it didn't seem right and yet did. At other times, my wife tells me I do absurd things without being aware of it. However, I do not think there are any effects which self—control cannot guard against. Of course, I resist thinking so. My mind, as it seems to me, is generally sound and decidedly strong. But of late years, in a certain direction a singular weakness has been growing upon me; though I cannot but believe with a good rest I should recover. When Thorn had been in [as head of the Coast Survey] about a year I think it was that I found I got all messed up about my computations, and at first complained of it openly. Then, I began to see that it would injure me to be sent into the field. Then I came into the country and found myself better at first. Besides, I got upon hydrodynamics which did not affect me the same way. I worked very hard, and could find nobody who could give me much help. But my tendency to become confused about complicated computations increased, and was aggravated by having no aid [a worker who only did mathematical calculations]. I became almost incapable of reading certain kinds of mathematics, though other kinds, much more difficult to most minds, afford me little difficulty. The more trouble I had, the less I liked to acknowledge it. So I temporized and got along as well as I could till you came in. I liked you, though I confess I did not do full justice to your ability. But you are weak in certain directions in which I am strong, & vice versa. Some cordial letters passed. I wanted and expected to get into the field. My work became constantly feebler, though I have done something in hydrodynamics. Now if you insist on these papers being ready before December 31, I fear I shall be so crazed by it that it will be the end of me. Yet even that would be less cruel than making me return them as they are. Let their return be postponed...But I cannot complain at your wanting my resignation. I say to myself that I am the victim of a malady the result of excessively hard work in the Survey. But, alas!, why did I let this go on & time slip away with resigning it? But think what a reflection I shall carry to my grave,—after all the work I have done in the survey,—what self reproach! Now for the sake of the good work and hard work I have done, and even these last months I have not been idle, do this for me. Give me six months leave of absence without pay. I will take a good vacation (though I must do something to support myself) and then I will make these papers ready and send them on....Then give me another six months without pay, sending me computation or something to do, and so on till I resign. Then I shall be able to feel when I die that I have tried to be a faithful servant to Uncle Sam....Now I do feel as if I deserved that degree of indulgence. I cannot injure

the government or anybody; and it will be a great kindness to me to which I think that 30 years of zealous service almost gives me claim.

I shall be happy to have you put me upon the rolls in a capacity corresponding to that of Ferrel [i.e., someone whom the Coast Survey consults on special problems only]. I am so ill with the grippe it is impossible for me to write more.

1891/12/31

[CSP's forced resignation from the Coast Survey takes effect.]

1892/01/01 CSP auto.

I have [had] a hard year, a year of effort before me; and I think it will help me to keep a diary. My greatest trial is my inertness of mind. I think I shall very soon be completely ruined; it seems inevitable. What I have to do is to peg away and to try to do my duty, and starve if necessary. One thing I must make up my mind to clear do. I must earn some money every day.

{Ms. 1607}

1892/01/02 CSP: TCM

I am still ill.

1892/01/13 CSP: Augustus Lowell

I have been too ill with the grippe to answer letters for some time.

1892/01/15 Augustus Lowell : CSP

I am sorry to hear that you have been suffering from the Grippe.

{L257}

1892/01/25 CSP: Postmaster, Milford

Two successive weeks I have failed to received [sic] my Sunday newspaper. Please inform me whether it was not received. I return you a paper directed to the care of E. S. Peirce. If you send me his papers, perhaps you send mine to him. [Answer: "I do not know E. S. Peirce and thought the paper might be for you. Any papers you have not received, have not come to this office."]

1892/02/02 CSP : JP

[Talking about making money.] I need very much to consult with you....I need you & must have you here. I want your counsel and help.

{L340:059}

1892/02/26 CSP : JP

I ache all over.

{L340:061}

1892/02/29 CSP: JP

I was at work all day yesterday writing notes into my copy of the [Century] Dictionary so as to get a better price for it.

1892/03/03 CSP auto.

...those who are themselves visited with genius have always been ready to admit there is something like a malady about it. No doubt, our ordinary sense of behaving rationally is in the main, though not entirely, an illusion. The right hand, for instance, is connected with a certain part of the brain, and that is joined by commissures to other parts connected again with the eye, ear, tongue, etc.; and it is the structure of the commissures, medial and lateral, between different parts of the brain which determines how we shall act under given stimuli. It is true that, no matter how, we can control our actions to a certain extent; at a short notice, only slightly, but if time for preparation be allowed, a great deal. We can force ourselves to take habits, certain commissures becoming partially atrophied, while others are brought into activity under exercise. But in the main we behave as it is our nature to, like wild animals; and, as it happens that our nature is adapted to our circumstances, we take occasion to compliment ourselves upon our rationality. If the brain becomes diseased, the connection between certain parts get broken, and we begin to act in new ways. As we acted right in the main before, to act differently is to act ill. Yet it may happen, in special cases, that the breaking down of certain commissures may cause certain special actions to be done better than before; because the wave of nerve action is restricted to certain channels and its dissipation prevented. Indeed, it is probable that an excess of medial commissures, or those between the two halves of the brain, causes stupidity, deliberation becoming impossible when the thinking vessel leaks so fast. If so, we can see how disease of the brain may cause an improvement in the general intelligence.

Now, the brain of a genius, say of a great mathematician, a Gauss or a Dirichlet (of which two brains Prof. Lombroso gives drawings), is seen at a glance to be quite unlike that of a common man. It may be larger; it is certain to be far more complicated and implicated. These foldings imply that the parts are more disconnected. Its connections of parts being different, such a brain must act differently from common brains; and consequently it will in general be less adapted to the ordinary purposes of life. It is not disease, but greater development; yet the unfortunate man whose shoulders have to carry it, becomes the victim of his own higher organization. Of course, there will be special things for which such a highly complicated brain will be specially adapted; and in being exercised continually on those things, as it naturally will be, it will grow more adapted to them. Such actions will not be insane; they will be like the operations of common sense, only more perfect. In doing such work, such a brain will take steps for the advancement of mankind of which ordinary heads would be quite incapable. The world will reap the benefit of it, and the unfortunate individual will have to pay for it. But, circumstances being generally unfavorable, the energies of such a brain are largely spent in vainly trying to make it do things for which it is entirely unadapted, though other brains do them with ease. The result is, that first derangement, then disease ensues, and we get the phenomenon of aberrations of genius.

The Nation, 54 (3 March 1892) 168-169

1892/04/04 CSP: Rector of St. Thomas's Church, New York City.

[CSP had gone to church for the first time in years, and took communion.] ...I must not go to the communion without further reflection! I must go home & duly prepare myself before I venture. But when the instance came, I found myself carried up to the altar rail, almost without my own volition. I am perfectly sure that it was right. Anyway, I could not help it. I may mention as a reason why I do not offer to put my gratitude for the bounty granted to me into some form of church work, that that which seemed to call me today seemed to promise me that I should bear a

cross like death for the Master's sake, and he would give the strength to bear it. I am sure that will happen. My part is to wait. I have never before been mystical; but now I am.

1892/05/17 CSP : FCR [Chicago lawyer & philosopher]

So long as I pursing a studious life upon my own country place and studying to learn, with no ulterior design, it is pardonable if not commendable that I should wish to show what I can do in various kinds of literature. [CSP has written a novelette which was read before friends, and it seems to have been enjoyed.] But I fear the telling of emotional stories is hardly compatible with the self-abnegation and exclusive devotion to the cause of sound learning and education to which a man who proposed to become a professor must surrender himself. Therefore, if you think there is any prospect that I might receive a call to [the University of] Chicago, and if you have not gone too far in the matter of my reading to draw back, I think is will be best to give that [the public reading of the novelette] up.

1892/05/23 PC : CSP

Being disposed toward you as I am, I was surprised to receive a letter from you which I do not know either I shall take as an insult or an unwarranted outbreak of temper. If you are displeased with somebody, don't you think that the other party has a right to be heard before you use angry words? I am willing to publish articles of yours, and am glad to receive contributions as often as possible. But I must have the MSS in time.

1892/06/04 G. H. Palmer: Harper [President of University of Chicago] I know, too, very well his eminence as a logician. But from so many sources I have heard of his broken and dissolute character that I should advise you to make most careful inquiries before engaging him [CSP].

1892/07/05 CSP : Augustus Lowell

...no man can do good work on the brink of starvation...I might not succeed in holding body and soul together until December...

1892/07/10c CSP : JP

I am working so hard that the whole of my mind goes into it & it leaves me almost silly the rest of the time. So I do some very stupid things. Today I jumped out of bed and went to church as seven o'clock. Then I went again at 9 o'clock, and I then came back to write for the rest of the day.

1892/07/21 E. S. Huntington : CSP

I cannot tell you how glad I am to hear from you after all these years, and to find, in reading between the lines of your writing, you are the same old Charley with whom I (as an immature youth) used to touch glasses - and !!!

1892/08/16 HHDP: CSP

I have just had a session with Col. Paine and Montgomery during which in the midst of a warm defense of your position on the part of the Col., Montgomery produced a letter from you advising him to have nothing to do with Col. Paine in this bleaching matter and expressing views as to his integrity, and square dealing which might well lay you open to an action for libel— Whatever may be your views of Col. Paine I cannot conceive how you could have entrusted an expression

of such an opinion in writing to Montgomery. It has of course killed you with Col. Paine and if it has not cost me my position it will be fortunate—

1892/09/03 WPG : CSP

I have never intentionally suppressed any notice of your writings in any shape that they came properly up for review—e.g. in a book.

1892/09/23 CSP : FCR

Probably I must have forgotten to finish my last letter. Thanks for your suggestions about Hegeler [Owner of Open Court publishing that puts out the *Monist*.] That talent is already somewhat a matter of breeding Galton certainly proves.

1892/10/14 WPG: CSP

I need not enumerate the liberties I have taken with your text. I cut some anti-English remarks, for I desire to do nothing unnecessarily to foster antipathy between us & our British cousins...At the end I forbore to call Sidgwick a dunce and this perhaps leaves the notice somewhat abrupt; but I could not make an artificial tail of it.

1892/11/26 CSP : Augustus Lowell

My wife is ill,—I fear it is phthisis...I was yesterday seized with the fear I might not be able to get to Boston...But I will manage...unless a railway accident or apoplexy or some such thing intervenes.

1892/11/28 [-1893/01/05]

[CSP presents Lowell lectures on "The History of Science."]

1893/00/00 CSP : JP

I found a bunch of violets in my bag this morning, sweet girl. Thanks! Deep love and kisses, my hearts treasure.

{L340:067a}

1893/00/00c [possibly 1894] CSP: WJ or William Everett

Berts [HHDP] wants me to exhaust all my influence with Congressmen & Senators & others to get him a consulate. Now I think this is pretty hard. I might get a consulate for myself. We can't both be consuls. Berts is worth a couple of hundred thousand... Besides he has a salary, very likely more than one. I have a mind to tell him that Juliette & friends are talking of having me appointed minister, which is true, & that I need a place too badly to spoil my chances & that if I am appointed minister I will try to make him Secretary of Legation. What do you think?

1893/00/00c [Spring] CSP : JP

I am so horribly ashamed of myself for drinking so that I don't know what I do. It was all owing to a man Otis brought who insisted on drinking and on eating ducks at midnight.

[An unpublished note written 1923] Thomas S. Fiske conversation with Christine Ladd-Franklin Quite shocking—What Prof. Fiske tells me today about Peirce;—and I thought I knew enough before! But he says that Peirce, as a member of the Century Club, drew money on checks to

which he had forged the names of friends of his (admirers of his genius) who he thought would not expose him—& who did not.

1893/01/05 CSP auto.

It is not more certain that the inches of a man's stature will be affected all his life by an attack of fever as a baby, than that we are now less happy because of the many great geniuses whom untoward circumstance have put down.

{P. P. Weiner, Values in a Universe of Chance, 260}

1893/01/27 Elizabeth. C. Agassiz : CSP

I have never heard Alex [her son] say a word about you that was not friendly and for your scientific work I know he has cordial respect....

You may be sure that he has never had any grudges or ill will against you of anykind. I do not think however it would be worth while for you to come on again for the purpose of consulting him. I told him something of what you told me, but I inferred from his answer that he would not be ready to consider the plan now.

I did not show him your note this morning because you asked me not to mention your writing — but I know he would have said that there is not and never has been any cause of offence between you & him....

There is nothing more depressing than anxiety about pecuniary matters....

I should make this comment. "in reference to the Open Court Publishing Co.'s disclaimer, Mr. Peirce wishes to say that he would be unwilling to publish anything in Mathematics, Logic, Physics, or any branch of science or philosophy which should bear any endorsement. He does not guarantee the correctness of his own doctrine, nor recommend their acceptance, except so far as the reasoning may prove convincing." So far, I do not see that there ought to be any difficulty. But here comes the obstacle. You say: "In a general way, it is understood that we endorse the views of the books we publish."

1893/03/09 CSP: JP [Writing from Delavan House, Albany, NY.]

It is with deep emotion that I find myself in this hotel which I have not been in since we were here together in the old days when you were, oh, so sacred to me, before the City Hall rowdy had put things on a different footing. Oh my dear love, it makes me want to fall on my knees & worship you to remember all that, my pure devoted friend. Alas, I fear that of late years I have sometimes most dreadfully forgotten the deep deep worship and honour that I owe you. But this brings it all back to me; and I pray I never may forget it any more.

{L340:070-071}

1893/03/22 Funk & Wagnalls : CSP

Your telegram to hand, in which you ask that we telegraph you at Milford if we accept your terms for certain work. As we understand your terms, they are that we pay you \$300 for getting the list of color terms in shape for the Dictionary. These terms do not seem to us reasonable. You will remember that you offered to do this work for us for \$150, the number of colors in the table to be somewhere in the neighborhood of 400. You set your own price upon the work, and we paid you just what you asked. When you brought in the work, our Dr. Funk paid you the money without having it carefully examined, on your promise to make right whatever defects

there were in it. You also agreed, for that amount of money, to read the proofs of the color terms. You have not corrected any proofs, although they have been forwarded to you, nor have you got the list of color terms in shape. Instead of your list containing in the neighborhood of 400 colors, it contains only 222. Why you should now ask \$300 to get the work into shape for the Dictionary, when you originally agreed to do the work, and this after we have already paid you the original amount. To this we cannot consent.

1893/05/20 AS : CSP

I have just received your telegram, and am much disappointed at my misunderstanding. Unless my memory is at fault—my telegram said that I should come "if quite convenient to you"—I assumed that should have an answer—if you got it—and my coming would be convenient. Pardon my error. I am very sorry to lose the visit and put you to inconvenience.

1893/10/08 Ogden Rood: Mathilde Rood [wife] [from New York City] ... I will for certain reasons begin with Charles Peirce. This gentleman had for well known reasons been exiled from New York and located in his country home at Milford Pa., but hearing of the presence of Helmholtz in the city, started on last Monday in a train, that with thoughtful consideration to save us all ingeniously stood still the whole night in a solitary forest. Charles sat bolt upright through many weary hours, but finally arrived in a state of exhaustion. He took a dose of strychnine, and having established himself in the Windsor hotel sent me a note. This document was to the effect that he had left his country abode for the sake of the honor of a presentation to the greatest living scientist. He also stated two facts which were incontestably true: viz., that non-payment of debts at the Century Club prevented him from being present at the Century reception for Helmholtz, and that no one would think of sending him a card for the Columbia College reception. I took pity on him and sent a card obtained from Mr. Low. The evening came and with it Charles....being engaged in introducing people to the distinguished guest I could not refuse the request of Charles, but had the curiosity to linger a moment to hear what he would say. He instantly began to tell Helmholtz that he was engaged in an investigation that was intended to prove by ordinary astronomical investigations, that space itself is spherical and that no real straight line existed, but that a straight line would be bent around by space itself and come back to its starting point &c &c. That was enough, and drawing off a little I noted that Helmholtz made no reply, and that in a few seconds Charles was swept off by a throng of new people, who we will hope made remarks on other subjects. But Charles was happy; he said "Helmholtz looked interested"; possibly he was wondering whether in this country we allow lunatics to run at large...The Century reception was to be on the following day, so on Wednesday afternoon I walked down 5th Ave to get the precise hour. On the street I encountered Charles and young Dr Otis who is useful in paying for Charles' drink and lending him money. Charles seized me and I was informed with much effusion that his main object in coming to town was to inform newspaper editors that Helmholtz was a very great man, a far greater man than Bismark &c &c. After considerable effort I shook him off, and since that moment have not laid eyes on him. But do not for a moment imagine that this was the end of Charles' performances during his trip to this city; oh no....Charles had got up a plan of having Helmholtz all to himself on Thursday evening, and had persuaded young Otis to carry out the idea....Then probably the idea was to publish in the newspapers an ornaments account of the meeting of these two great scientists, which it was expected would greatly redound to the benefit of Mr Charles....[CSP shortly afterwards wrote an obituary of Helmholtz which The Nation held until Helmholtz' death at which time it was published, N-1894-11.]

1893/10/09 CSP: JMP

...My hand is so swollen that I cannot use the pen at all; and my head is so weak and ailing that I cannot do much with that...

1893/10/10 WPG: CSP

Your swollen hand had a bad look, & your diagnosis of it has a bad sound,—worse, I hope, than the reality will prove.

{L159a}

1893/12/26 CSP: WJ

I am more sick of life than I can tell you. I have of late received blows from which I can never recover; & no amount of wealth, consideration & fame could ever make life anything but a horrid bore to me. But the duty I have to do is to publish this book, provided the public will pay for it.

1894/00/00c CSP: JMP

We both are ill owing to insufficient food & that is why the Geometry is not yet finished; but it soon will be if I live...Juliette has been very very good. She has learned a wholesome lesson she will never forget. I know in a general way that she wrote an angry letter to you, which she regrets. I don't know whether you received it. I should be very glad if it could be smoothed over. She won't live long [JP lived until 1934] & I shall not survive her. Garrison dropped me from the Nation...I have little doubt somebody has bought a share in the Post in order to oust me. [The Post & The Nation were published by the same firm.] Thus the \$25 you generously sent was absolutely the last dollar I have had.

1894/00/00c Thomas Fiske's reminiscences published in 1938

Conspicuous among those who attend the meetings of the [American Mathematical] Society in the early nineties was the famous logician Charles S. Peirce. His dramatic manner, his reckless disregard of accuracy in 'unimportant' details, his clever newspaper articles on the activities of the young Society, interested and amused us all...He was always hard up, living partly on what he could borrow from friends, partly on what he got from odd jobs like writing for the newspapers. He seemed equally brilliant whether under the influence of liquor or otherwise. His company was prized by the various organizations to which he belonged; and so he was never dropped from membership even though he failed to pay his dues. He infuriated Charlotte Angas Scott by contributing to the *Evening Post* an unsigned obituary of Arthur Cayley, in which he stated, upon no grounds whatsoever, that Cayley had inherited his genius from a Russian mother.

1894/01/00 Back leaf of CSP's January Diary in another hand.

Deerpark Sanitarium. Miss Beulah O. Sipple / Mileses [city] / Sull[ivan] Co. / N. Y/ (Your night nurse) [An alcoholic rehabilitation center; in 1899 the Sanitarium moved to Port Jervis.]

1894/01/24 CSP Diary.

Time is noon. Clock now going right.

1894/03/25 Reported by David Pearce.

[CSP had been expelled from the Century Club because of unpaid dues.] CSP then went back to Milford from New York in a 'rage' because O. N. Rood had refused to try to raise money so he could be reinstated.

1894/04/03 WJ : Geo. Howison

As for Charles Peirce, it's the most curious instance of talents not making a career. He dished himself at Harvard by inspiring dislike in Eliot...He is now so mature in character, with rather fixed half-bohemian habits, and no habit of teaching, that it would be risky to appoint him. I yield to no one in admiration of his genius, but he is paradoxical and unsociable of intellect, and hates to *make connection* with anyone he is with. With all this curious misanthropy, he has a genuine vein of sentiment and softness running through him, but so narrow a vein that it always surprises me when I meet it. Anyhow he's genius, and I look forward with avidity to his work.

{Thought and Character of William James, II: 117}

...Juliette I am quite sure will give me no help of any kind. She will just promise to do so for a few days, — long enough to cause a loss of time, — nothing more....

Juliette's skill in deluding people is shown by her persuading most of my friends that I am trying to attain sudden wealth instead of industriously earning what I can. How talk with no back can cause people to overlook all the facts of my life I can't see. True, when all possible chance for steady work was gone, I did try to see if I couldn't make a little hit; but it was always with the proviso that my time be paid for and profits be contingent on results. I should be most happy to accept any position which would give me \$3 a day. But where shall I find such a prize? The most extraordinary idea which I understand Juliette has talked is that I am an idler....

My difficulty is that I have no capital & can't find remunerative work requiring none; and if I had any, Juliette would bend all her great ability to prevent my succeeding.

I don't mean to say she is a bad woman. As you well remark, I went into the union with my eyes open. Her physician warned me beforehand that women with her complaint were always a curse to themselves & all their friends. I think her moral qualities are in many respects wonderful; but she has a constitutional aptitude for intrigue — She was brought up in a court. And weakened as she is by different causes, she plots & plots always with a view to getting some advantage over me. She wanted most seriously to bring a divorce suit & nothing in the world stopped it except finding that all her witnesses (except one small girl who is forced to swear to all Juliette tells her) were going to testify the wrong way.

I am much more that attached to her; and if I could afford it, would wish for nothing better than living with her. But under the unfortunate circumstances, & notwithstanding her great force of character & great cleverness, I don't believe I can make headway against the adverse influences unless I leave her— Perhaps not then, because her scheming would be even more active than ever, but I shouldn't care so much if nobody was dependent upon me.... Meantime, I have no doubt that she would make money hand over fist

I never in my life could be happy without her, & with her I must starve.

Before she came to this country, she had never known as an equal a man of my age who had to do more than a couple of hours' work a day; and were I in that condition (& could abstain) she would think me delightful and holy. But what words are black enough to paint the hog who

immures himself day & night & only emerges when utterly worn out & who in addition allows his wife to be without necessaries?

{L339:00180-00182}

1894/06/04 JP : A.H.Larkin [letter draft in CSP's hand]

When we got up here [Milford] the man (whom we had not left in charge but under supervision) whom the lawyers put in charge as Prof. J. M. Peirce's [agent] wanted to keep us out of the house, supposing the transfer had been made; so that my husband was obliged to have him arrested. If it had not been for your preventing the transfer we should have been kept out as they plainly intended.

Professor J. M. Peirce insists on selling my husband's books which would be [my] husband's ruin. But I shall be able to prevent that.

One of the lawyers has been round telling everybody to who we owe a few dollars to commence suit at one. Has he a right to stir up suits against us?

1894/07/01 PC : CSP

You speak of my hostility towards you and seem to think that my little satire "The Circle Squarer" was aimed at you. I assure you that you are mistaken.

1894/07/31 CSP: JMP [Might be earlier draft of below.]

I resent the continual and outrageous accusation which she does not cease to make against me. I lament her hatred of me.

I know her to be of high origin, and to be connected with some of the best and most powerful people in the world. I know her to be a woman much above the average of innocent ladies in the spotless purity of her character. I know her to be a thoroughly noble woman, & a very wonderful woman in her charms and in her powers. I regret that she has on some occasions carried on systematic deception of me; but I know her motives were good...I do not vacillate at all. I declare & always have declared that I love, admire, and worship Juliette above everything, so that without her the whole light of my life would be gone out....

I have committed sins which I deeply repent. But I am free from those vices. I do not feel sure she does hate me.

1894/07/31 CSP: JMP

I have made up my mind that I have been utterly wrong-headed about the most important point of all. I blame myself bitterly for harboring the idea the Juliette did not love me. The human heart is an intricate thing and I ought have seen things in another light. She commits the same fault in judging me. She will not allow herself to believe in the tremendous [sic] I have, or which possesses me. I am convinced that I have been totally wickedly wrong on this vital point.

By the side of this all other matters are rubbish. I never again will commit the fault of complaining of her.

{Ms. 339 : 00188-00189}

She [Juliette] was down in New York on Thursday and did not return by the train by which she was expected. A telegram came [for JP]. I opened it without thinking. It showed me she had only to cross a gangplank to pass from extreme poverty to all that wealth can give.

{Ms339:00190}

It is pretty certain a separation will take place. But I shall never lend myself to a villainous lie about her. <u>I know her purity as no living being knows it</u>, although it shines forth so

that only those can fail to see it are themselves impure...She is a noble character, through and through. She is a marvelous woman in her charms and powers.

{Ms339:00191}

You seem to imagine that there is condescension on your part in recognizing this lady. You saw her in Egypt traveling about with the Duc and Duchesse D'Harcourt. Do you fancy people like that pick up unknown females? If you do, you don't know much about the French.

{Ms339:00192}

[Ms339 seems to have some areas where something was whited-out. One cannot quite tell from the photocopy.]

1894/08/20 WPG : CSP

My books show that I have printed a large amount of matter from your pen during the past year or two, much of it with very little alteration. You accuse me of having uniformly suppressed your best. If this be so, that I reply your best is no more for me.

1894/08/29 FCR : CSP

[E. C. Hegeler had been advancing money to CSP for a book they, Open Court, were going to publish. CSP offered his library as security. The book never came out.] E. C. Hegeler didn't want your library and don't want it and cares little what it is worth. He wanted to accommodate you with some extra funds. The library was taken [as security] as a saving to your pride...

[Re: CSP's proposed book for Open Court that never got written or published.]I dare say I may be greatly at fault in some way, & probably more than you seem to think,— or more than you say. But how I am so, I really don't at all comprehend.... No person can understand what the nature of my difficulties are. Besides the "eccentricity of genius" which seems to consist in being a perfect idiot in all dealings with human beings, in my case, I have to contend with certain peculiarities in the health & mind of some of those I have to think of, which I certainly ought not to explain & ought not even to hint at them as I am doing, but which would account for certain things for which I am violently blamed...I am one of the men who do not inspire confidence of any kind & people calmly assume I have various radical incapacities which I have not & which they have no reason to suppose I have.

That I am extravagant & heedless about money to put the thing in its mildest terms I must acknowledge.

Hegeler was just as insulting and disagreeable as Prussian resources in that line enable him to be. If you can manage it, as I shouldn't wonder, if [money] would be a great help; for till my books are out I am quite strapped. In fact, there is hardly enough food to keep body & soul together & I am considerable weakened by it. I don't suppose this state of things will last very long; but it don't take very long to finish a man.

I could not comprehend what was the difficulty [I, CSP, was having with Hegeler]. My horrible business habits I suppose; from what you now say. Certainly I am very culpable in that respect.

{L387a, 00098-00099, 00102, 00103}

1894/09/06 CSP : FCR

[Re: publications for Open Court.] He [Hegeler] will act as before, pretend to agree to it in the hope of getting me into further difficulty & turn around at last & show his animus. "Kiss it," he'll say. Kiss what? I shall ask. "My animus," he will reply.

I have seen several rich men whose great amusement & pleasure was to get poor men into difficulties & who would rub their hands & chuckle when they heard somebody committed suicide by their machinations. Hegeler has elevated & noble elements; but it is clear to me his mind is somewhat diseased & he has something of the trait which

makes a man the most contemptible of all traits [possibly should read: persons or animals]....

I have a number [of articles] which were written for them & which Carus says were accepted. But Hegeler don't seem to think himself bound by anything. (I easily understand how he gets the courts down on him. He simple refused to take them & lets his engagements go to hell. I am badly in need of cash.

1894/09/06 CSP : FCR

Your thinking I have no capacity for making money because I am a "brooder," has this mistake about it, that I am not the least a brooder. There is nobody less so. I think the idea of trying to advance thought in any such way utterly wrong. When I have had anything to do with business men so that they could understand my course they never failed to be struck with my business ability. Besides, I have always made from three to five thousand a year outside of any salary, until the last few years when I have had to contend against a fearful combination designed to ruin me. It is true I have always and continually had losses owing to my excessive confidence in men, & I have never failed to excite the enmity of very stupid men I had to deal with, because jokes slip out of my mouth & such men don't like jokes.

{L387a:00107}

1894/09/08 CSP : FCR

....One has to feed one's family & in the last year I suppose I have written about 60 papers for the Nation, of which the most laborious have never been printed, though a great many have appeared....

1894/09/08 CSP : FCR

I know I have one of the most powerful men in Europe as an enemy who will leave & has left no stone unturned to make people act in a way really ruinous to me. Contributed to cause people to give my wife such advice as nearly landed me in a madhouse—& how can I guess what has been said to Hegeler? I know Rood and others (how influenced I don't know) have joined in a regular hounding of me. I believe I shall come out on top; but I don't know why...

Juliette got some very very bad advice,—quite naturally when my family treat her as they have. It may near ruin me, and I fear will be her death, which means mine too. But she has been an angel & a saint, beside a skillful manager ever since. Her genius, her courage, her nobility have so enslaved my heart, that it is no more use asking me to leave than asking me to be chopped in two.

1895/00/00 CSP: auto.

I was not a precocious child....

{Ms 1606, p 11, (c.1895)}

1895/01/07 CSP: JMP

I am very ill. Juliette had left me saying she would not stay to meet the disgrace she foresaw. The poor thing was half out of her senses. I don't know what became of her. I naturally became sick & my mind all a blur at a moment when my best powers were wanted to finish up my geometry. I cannot now prevent a sheriff's sale [of the house; always seems to be a problem] & worse. For my enemies are determined to do their worst & they say they have the means to imprison me. I don't understand exactly how. I think it was that some of the books sold to Hegeler were not paid for. I have to crawl into a corner & die. If I had a second class passage to London I would go there and not be heard of again.

P.S. If you are going to answer at all you had better do so very soon. Now that I have lost the Century Club, the Astor Library plainly manifests an intention to shut down on me. If I were in London, possibly I might play old men at some theatre & so scrape along. This geometry I thought so easy has been my final ruin. But then my spirit has never been unperturbed.

1895/01/29 H. A. Taylor [lawyer engaged by JMP] : JMP

Your suggestion about the Astor Library proved valuable, inasmuch as we found your brother [CSP] there, and I had a talk with him at the office.

He did not look as if in want, but seemed decidedly eccentric, nervous, and constrained. He said, and I think sincerely, that he was not endeavoring to avoid you, but had been so busy that he had not had time to write....

The difficulty in giving him aid is that probably no statement by him could present a really intelligent view of his financial situation. He doesn't seem to know just what they are trying to do to him in Pa. He spoke as if nobody was pressing him here in New York, and said he was not in the hands of any money lenders here....

1895/02/07 JMP : WJ

...Admitting all that is erratic in his [CSP's] judgment & temperament, all that is rebellious against the commonplace in his personality, I must think it a glaring proof of the want in our country of the sincere love of intellectual truth, of even the ordinarily current respect for the intellectual standard that we see in Europe, that nobody cares even to render a formal encouragement to one who shows intellectual originality without popular gifts. I do not think that it is primarily C's [CSP's] originality of mind which wrecks him. That is not a quality which commends itself to the American newspaper reader. He is preeminently suited to a University lectureship somewhere. He has things of real value to say to scholars. He needs the freedom of mind which only a salary can give. He has for months been toiling at work that he fancied more saleable than a volume of his projected philosophy could be. But he seems to have toiled in vain. The little that he can pick up by a notice hear & there has been his sole support. He has been & is much out of health. I fear a total breakdown....

{L224-5}

I am driven too much to write much. Until you left suicide seemed the only course. A strong desire for death had long been on me, is yet. I felt that Juliette's friends who had done so much to get her away from me & wanted to take her to Egypt, Jerusalem, on their yacht, would certainly take care of her if she would let them. As for my services to mankind, mankind has distinctly stated that they are <u>de trop</u>. However, your conduct & everything showed so much feeling, —and cordial feeling is something I very rarely meet with,—and then my obligation to make money & pay off....The fault of my style which I am perfectly aware of lies deeper than you think. It is augmented by my great use of the logic of relatives which embraces everything together so easily; so that my instinct for how much people can comfortably swallow at a mouthful (never strong) is now ruined. You would have to rewrite, not merely changing wording, but ways of stating reasons.

{MS339}

1895/02/19 H. A. Taylor : JMP

...It also was apparent that she [JP] is entirely sane, and knows very well what she is about. She treated her husband without much consideration and blamed him for the present state of affairs, and intimated that you could look to him for any return for what you had done, inasmuch as he had asked you to do it and not she. At that stage of the interview I decided that the only method that might avail would be to make her feel that she had to do what we wanted [Turn the deed to the house and property over to JMP]. She instantly went off in a thousand directions, and her husband obediently added his echo....I feel very sorry for your brother, because I think that his wife has him entirely in her power, and that she does not care how she uses the fact. Her sickness is more or less a sham....

1895/02/26 *N.Y. Sun* [newspaper]

...He [CSP] was considered very eccentric, and driving along the highway in a state of absentmindedness has collided with passing vehicles and has had to pay damages on several occasions. Some time ago he left his home and has not been seen here since. His horse was found dead in the barn a few days ago, dying, it is said, for want of food. Since his departure the place has been in charge of a butler.

1895/03/00

[CSP hired by George S. Morison to analyze forces for suspension bridge across Hudson River.]

1895/03/03 CSP: JMP

[On paying bills because of a business deal gone awry:] I may mention that in order to send the people & the animals food Juliette pawned not only everything left of her jewelry and sold part, but also pawned every dress.

{MS339}

1895/10/04 CSP : FCR

...my ideas are immortal...

1895/11/15 CSP auto.

...in my own mind all my work has been exclusively the study of how to find out the truth, which is the business of reasoning in a broad sense. I have devoted 58 years to this study; and therefore I must be an exceptional person indeed, if I do not know more about it than the next man the reader sees is likely to know. I believe I do, and a fortiori that I know more about reasoning than the majority of those who have written about it.

1896/00/00 [-1902/00/00]

[CSP consulting engineer for St. Lawrence Power Company.]

1896/01/22 Wm. Hirsch: CSP

[CSP has been translating a book by Hirsch, *Genius and Degeneration*.] In the second chapter I had to make a good many corrections. In the first place, please bear in mind that the object, to have a <u>Translation</u> and not a <u>critic</u> of my book. To combine the two is impossible. If somebody wants to criticize the book, it must be done at some other place, but not in the book itself.

In some instances you did not catch on to the meaning, but expressed by your translation just the contrary of what I meant to say....

1896/02/05 Appleton & Co. : JP

The first translation was most satisfactory, but a certain translation was not owing apparently to certain changes Mr. Peirce had made in his perhaps too great zeal to improve Dr. Hirsch's work.

1896/02/06 JP : Appleton & Co. [draft in CSP's hand]

When he did something like it, in order to avoid some strange blunder in the book he thought critics would laugh at, he wrote and said what he had done and requested the manuscript should be submitted to the author. As soon as the author signified that he did not wish mistakes corrected, my husband left them from that moment unnoticed....not his fault at all, but because the MS was not sent to the author for approval as he wished, your person Mr. Hitchock undertook to blow him up, as if he were a negligent boy. I have never before interfered with my husband's business and now that your personal attention has been drawn to the matter, I am sure he need not apprehend any further undignified comedies....

1896/02/11 CSP: James R. Edmunds

If our numerous universities would allow the establishment of a great National University in Washington, the cause of science and learning would be on a very different footing. But they all fight it tooth and nail. Why do they do so? For the same petty reasons which have caused my overthrow [from the Coast Survey and of my scientific reputation] for the time being....I only mention them as an example of that petty spirit which is rife inour science, the ultimate cause of which, in my opinion, is the multiplication of universities without one great over-ruling National institution.

{L126}

1896/02/14 CSP : James R. Edmunds

I have myself been in the habit since I left the Survey and before, of receiving students into my house gratuitously and furnishing them with remunerative occupation for the intervals between their studies. I have always succeeded in getting them good places afterwards. But the result of

this conduct on my part was that a systematic war was waged upon me to break me down financially & for the present at least I am obliged to give it up.

1896/03/00c Letter drafted by CSP with the intent that it sent by JP's physician to JMP

Not having your brother's [CSP's] address to communicate with him, & Mrs. Peirce refuses to give it to anybody just now, owing to his recent outrageous arrest, I write to you to state some circumstances, which have come to my knowledge as Mrs. Peirce's Milford physician. Mrs. Peirce took your brother in an awful storm in the middle of the night going ten miles to enable him to escape the arrest and to give him time to escape the consequences. Mrs. Peirce was some days later found in the house in an acute access of pulmonary hemorrhage without fire, bodily comforts, or succor. As her physician, and as a humane man, I inform you [JMP]; as your family seems to be under plain obligations to this lady. Your brother is at this moment a fugitive from so called justice; and it is all because of a series of blackmailing annoyances kept up by persons supposed to be your agents. I have necessarily been somewhat cognizant of the circumstances; as every event was mirrored in the state of my patient's health. It is the condition of mental worry, too intense for her strength which has rendered her pulmonary complaint much more threatening than it would otherwise have been, but has caused nervous prostration, with a train of disorder, — inflammations of nerves, neuralgic pains, etc. — and all this when she had done a great deal for your brother, as I happen to have learned, and has gone security for \$1200 or \$1500. I understand it was breach of faith on the part of a party who had accepted that security which brought on the sale of his books. On Mr. And Mrs. Peirce's arrival at the house, they were met, I understand by some people who said the place belonged to you and that they were put there as your agent with directions not to allow Mr. And Mrs. C. S. Peirce to enter the house. If this is so, it seems out of place to speak to you in the language of human feeling. While Mr. Peirce was seeking a constable Mrs. Peirce was assaulted and injured, and has been under my treatment more or less ever since for her injuries then received. Subsequently a lawyer was sent to your brother to beg him to withdrawn the complaint against those persons, on the ground of their connection with you. He did so; but by the neglect of this lawyer, no release was obtained; and thus they have been able to keep up a continual persecution, extremely detrimental to my patient's health if not endangering her life, as at some times it certainly has done....Should all these burdens result fatally for her, which is not impossible, her friends ought to make the cause of the aggravation of her pulmonary, cardiac and nervous disorders known.

1896/03/10c CSP : FCR

I consider myself a well-educated man. Some branches have been neglected. I do not play on any instrument, except a nocturne passionata of my own composition on the pianoforte in which while ten fingers play the treble, five toes do the bass. My efforts in the way of counterpoint are not quite up to Bach,— not Sebastian. If you ask me if I sing, I must reply with Florence in the play that my friends assure me I do not. Though I draw incessantly, I have never drawn a prize. But I have covered a pretty wide field with my studies. There is, however, no part of my education that I value more than that of the last few years which have made me by right a Doctor of Misery. I could write a book on the subject which would teach people much. If there be time, after I have written about 18 other books on subjects fewer persons are acquainted with, I will do so. Among the compensations for my experience,—if I ought to speak of compensations for anything so valuable,—not the least is that of discovering some most genuine and disinterested good-feeling in the world. It is impossible to tell you the satisfaction your correspondence gives

me, and how doubly anxious it makes me to rise above my misfortunes... I have proof that several very rich men are my bitter and active enemies. Some of them are well acquainted with one another, in fact, particular friends. They may very likely be acting in concert. At any rate there is positive and almost conclusive evidence of at least one conspiracy to ruin me. Be that as it may, incredible obstacles are put in the way of every attempt to better my situation, or even getting any employment... I have proof that several very rich men are my bitter and active enemies...Beside that, it turns out that (though I have always considered myself the most affable and unpretentious of men) a large number of my former "friends" are perfectly delighted to see me humiliated, and are ready to do anything easy to them to increase my humiliation. Some of these are offended at my having, however quietly, conceited myself the peer of the greatest philosophers, and still more because some eminent men have admitted such claims,—perhaps all because I have always by my manner shown my ridicule of a man because of any gifts or powers, apart from any official position calling upon him to lead and command, putting on airs of superiority. In fact, I have always laughed at all talk of "authority" not derived from very definite power of enforcement. Anyway the fact is, that many old "friends" and my brother have shown a disposition to do anything not too conspicuous or troublesome to aid my enemies in their most wicked plots...[discusses indictment for supposed assault]...it seems quite likely I shall be sent to the penitentiary. My brother says he is "sorry," but that he thinks I richly deserve to go to prison for turning the woman away; and he shall do nothing to prevent it. I believe he has sent the other side money to help. At any rate, it is said in Milford that he aids them. I shall go up and stand my trial. But I will not go to the penitentiary, because I am persuaded my poor wife would ruin herself and kill herself in efforts to get me out. Hence, if I am sentenced I shall then and there take sudden poison...[Gives rights to manuscripts on geometry and mathematics to Russell and Ernst Schröder to sell to pay debts; debts are listed]...Perhaps I ought to add to them [list of those to whom CSP owes money] Prof. Wm. James (always thinks of his own ambitions, and ready to shove another man down if tempted in that way)...At the same time, I stand in such a position that life appears to me like a spectacle upon which the green curtain is descending. If, just as I disembark upon the shores of eternity, the cabman who drives me to my mansion in the skies says to me "What did your honor think of Man, anyway?" I shall say, "Well, Cabby, he promises to develop into something very noble. But it is curious how many of them think of power only as a glorious opportunity to make themselves more contemptible than they could ever otherwise hope to be." I shall reserve for a more lofty spirit the remark that such a man as Dr. Ernst Schröder is a sufficient excuse for the existence of all the rest.

1896/05/00 CSP : FCR

[CSP writes that JP was in the hospital, thrown out, and then went back in the hospital.]

1896/10/04c CSP : FCR

This is merely to say good bye. If it is to be good bye. I have been tramping about night & day in the rain & am ill & can't hold out any longer.

1896/10/08c CSP: JMP

It's a pity I did not hang myself long ago. I would have saved myself & others much suffering.

1896/11/05 CSP : FCR

My grand schemes for making money are all going to come to nothing, because I am so infernally strapped hand & foot for want of money...[Speaks of water power and acetylene plans and the money needed to get them off the ground].

{L387a:00260-00261}

1896/12/28 AS : F. Blake

[The facts about the supposed assault:]...apparently led to Prof. Peirce ordering the Walters off the place. Prof. Peirce and his wife, as I understand, a servant in their employ, agree in saying that the aggression and all the violence actually used were on the side of the Walters....I am very confident that the affair was of slight importance, and that neither Walters nor his wife received injuries of any seriousness. The Peirces immediately took proceedings against Walters and his wife, which as Prof. Peirce states, were withdrawn by him.

Walters retained a lawyer who was the District Attorney of the county, who procured an indictment to be found against Prof. Peirce...[Goes on to claim some shady & illegal dealings are being put together by the county District Attorney; AS states that the entire matter can be settled for \$300.]

1897/03/13 CSP: WJ

...No man can be logical who reckons his personal well-being as a matter of overwhelming moment. I do not think suicide springs from a pessimistic philosophy...But men commit suicide because they are personally discouraged, and there seems to be no good reason to anybody in their living...

1897/03/13 CSP: WJ

I have learned a great deal about philosophy in the last few years, because they have been very miserable and unsuccessful years,—terrible beyond anything that the man of ordinary experience can possibly understand or conceive. Thus, I have had a great deal of idleness & time that could not be employed in the duties of ordinary life, deprived of books, of laboratory, everything; and so there was nothing to prevent my elaborating my thought, and I have done a great deal of work which has cleared up and arranged my thoughts. Besides this, a new world of which I knew nothing, and of which I cannot find that anybody who has written has really known such, has been disclosed to me, the world of misery. It is absurd to say that Hugo, who has written the least foolishly about it, really knew anything of it. I would like to write a physiology of it. How many days did Hugo ever go at a time without a morsel of food or any idea where food was coming from, my case at this moment for very near three days, and yet that is the most insignificant of the experiences which go to make up misery? Much have I learned of life and of the world, throwing strong lights upon philosophy in these years. Undoubtedly its tendency is to make one value the spiritual more, but not an abstract spirituality. It makes one dizzy and seasick to think of those worthy people who try to do something for "the poor," or still more blindly "the deserving poor." On the other hand, it increases the sense of awe with which one regards Gautama Booda...

1897/03/14 CSP: JP

[CSP giving JP advice on her will, which he believes is her business alone, not his.] Then you cannot conveniently make a will respecting the bulk of your property until you hear from France. As for the French property, though I don't like to say so, I am confident it will come in some

form, —most probably and most properly in the form of a life-annuity or life-interest. There will be considerable <u>at once</u>...At any rate, I should think you ought to leave all property coming to you from France, except income received from it before your will comes into action to your niece or some other friend there.

{L340:074,076}

1897/03/27 CSP: Dickinson Miller

For years I have not only not attempted to write for pure amusement before, but I have not read amusing things nor talked with amusing people nor frequented any kind of amusements,—for which I have lost all taste. So if this my first attempt [at writing amusingly] is a little lowly, please remember this: Everybody who has tried me has remarked my surprising readiness at learning things that did not come natural to me. [Then goes on to propose a series of amusing articles on infinite collections.]

{L290}

1897/04/22 CSP : Schröder

....My wife is dreadfully ill. The doctor says to me brutally. "We think the thing to be done is to extirpate [cut out] the womb and ovaries." a pretty speech!...

1897/04/22 CSP: J. W.Pinchot

Mrs. Peirce underwent her operation this morning. It was very skillfully performed a large tumor being removed with little extra loss of blood so her pulse came up well afterwards. But her abdomen was all open for very nearly two hours, so that the danger of blood-poisoning is extreme....

1897/05/00 CSP: HPE

The operation was according to Dr. Wylie the second in difficulty he has ever had. I guess it really was the very worst. All the organs were too twisted out of shape that they were hardly recognizable. Notwithstanding the doctor's wonderful skill & rapidity, he was over two hours taking out the fibroid tumor weighing 7 pounds (her total weight being 90 pounds). Fortunately, there was absolutely no cancer.

Such delicate flesh he had never seen; & healing was phenomenally rapid....Her lung trouble at once burst out again, though it had long been passive. Dr. Wylie & his assistants worked over it in vain, & became greatly alarmed. Finally they sent for Dr. Stimson. He took hold of it & pursued the very course which I suggested in a letter to him, namely, large doses of carbonated creosote. She smells strongly of it when you go near her. The disease soon abated under this treatment...if the money does not fail, she will at last enjoy such health as she never has enjoyed since we have been married.

It was a great pleasure to her to come back to life again, after she had completely resigned it.

1897/05/30 CSP: WJ

I beg you to bear in mind that it does not at all suit the views of J.M.P. [brother, James Mills Peirce] that I should be in Cambridge [MA].

{L224-1}

1897/06/14

CSP: E. C. Stedman (broker and poet)

...I have a wife with very weak lungs and Dr. Stimson says she must be overfed. In point of fact we often go two days at a time without a morsel...

1897/06/14

CSP auto.

There was, it is true, a time when my calamity was approaching its worst when my nerves were so unstrung that several times I drank too much, not being then able to drink at all. But that was a brief state of things & happened two or three years ago. For the last two or three years, I probably don't touch liquor over once a week & doubt if on any one day I have had three drinks. Certainly I have never been noticeably affected.

1898/00/00

[Walter Gassmann letter of remembrances; first met CSP at age 13 in 1898.]

Mr. Peirce never mingled much with any of the neighbors or they with him, as he seemed to revolve in a world of his own. To-day he would be classed a "queer" by most of the people. But as you became acquainted with him, to the point, when, as a saying goes, "let's down his hair" he became an entirely different man, made himself easy to converse with, and made you feel at ease. [Gives examples.]

About Mr. Peirce having a room on the second floor or attic to which he retreated and pulled up the ladder after him, to my knowledge is "absolutely false, ridiculous and without foundation." I had many times been in his study which was located on the ground floor in the left side front, facing the house, it always reminded me of the pictures of "Henry Wadsworth Longfellows (sic)" study.

Mr. Peirce always called Mrs. Peirce "Little Girl". I never heard him call her by her name, and she always addressed him by calling him "Bopper". She came over to our house quite often in the evening....she spoke mostly of her young years, as a girl when she lived in Austria with the Royal Hapsburg family, she often related how Franz Joseph Emperor of Austria used to bounce her on his knee, occasionally she would bring over a deck of cards to tell our fortune, the cards were slightly smaller than the regular playing cards, each card had a symbol of some kind on its face, they looked old and worn...

{Walter Gassmann letter with date written on it of 1974/2/1.}

1898/01/06c

CSP: JP

I have had a headache all day...I shall take some podophyllin...I look like an old hermit. White and wild...

1898/01/21

CSP: JP

When you get the \$100 will you kindly send me tobacco and tea? I take both to excess, but they are my chief comfort here...

{L340:084}

1898/01/22

CSP: JP

....What do you think happened yesterday? I washed my face. I wash my hands often and I brush my hair very frequently, sometimes twice in the same week...

1898/02/10 [- 1898/0307]

[CSP gives Cambridge conference lectures on "Reasoning and the Logic of things."

You have suffered so terribly physically, morally,—with a husband generally inattentive & sometimes very foolish & sometimes even worse,—you had had so much to put up with in every way that I feel if ever I can come by some money, as the prospect is I shall very soon know, why the greatest part of my exertions must then be devoted to seeing how far I can recompense you for all your noble life...

1898/03/03 CSP : JP

I kissed the little line I got from you today a hundred times. Oh I do want to be with you again so much. We will have a new & happier life together. My own sweet girl.

{L340:092}

1898/08/05 CSP : Mrs. Jacobi

I thank you very much for the prescription...

1898/09/23 CSP auto.

It is perhaps hopeless to try to do some computing like this with a raging neuralgia; but I cannot help believing it can be done. I am going to try again.

{Ms 1358, p.1}

1898/09/28 CSP: JMP

Being very ill, and not knowing what might happen...

1898/09/28 CSP : JP

If I write in French, it is because I find it stirs up my solitude a little to do so.

{MS339}

1898/10/04 Nelson S. Easton: CSP

Yours of the 2nd inst to hand & I am very sorry to hear of your illness...

1898/10/12. WPG: JP

Your bad news concerning your husband finds me quite unprepared. I hope he has not a touch of typhoid fever, which some of my friends near Milford have reported to be prevalent.

{L159b}

1898/10/20c JP : PC

Since Oct 5th Mr C. S. Peirce has been ill with brain fever.

1898/10/28 WPG : CSP

I am sorry to learn of your late illness, & with some hesitation comply with your wife's request to tax your brain once more...

1898/10/29c CSP : PC

I have had brain-fever and now am in a situation difficult in various ways...

1898/11/20 WJ : CSP

I had already heard from W. Ellis of your brain-fever, and was much relieved to find you so well recovered as to be able to write, though your hand writing shows your shaky condition of nerves. I am exceedingly sorry for the occurrence, and hope that it will leave no effects to last more than a few weeks.

{L224-6}

1898/11/25 JMP: HHDP

...I have better news from Charley. He wrote me himself. He is said to have had brain fever. But I don't believe it. He wrote a very sweet uncomplaining affectionate letter.

1899/02/00 CSP Diary

[Kept record of stools; examples :] Feb.1 Sat 10. Supplement later

- 2 Stool at about 10
- 3 Stool at 11 Supplementary Proceedings 1 ½
- 4 Stool at 8 1/4 Supplement at 10 Appendix at noon
- 5 Canonical stool at 10 AM Supplementary Proceedings 11 ½ Appendix 5 PM
- 6 Canonical Session 9 ½ highly refreshing Supplementary Proc 1 ¼

{Ms. 1619.}

1899/02/05 CSP diary.

Juliette very depressed..

{Ms.1619}

1899/02/06 CSP Diary

...Juliette's depression continues...To bed at Midnight but on going up, I found Juliette frantic with a pain in her head, so that it was 1 before I got to bed.

{Ms.1619.}

1899/02/13. CSP diary.

Furious [snow] storm all day. The storm depresses Juliette's sprits and causes pain in her lungs.

{Ms. 1619}

1899/02/14 CSP Diary

Juliette has had a very bad night with pain in abdomen & would get up though I was much vexed at her imprudence. She ought to be in bed. She don't see she is making herself ill.

To bed at 10 PM on account of Juliette who is miserably.

Juliette talked in a very interesting way at dinner. Everybody has genius in some line.

Mixed races were the finest. Californians a fine people.

{Ms. 1619}

1899/02/15 CSP diary.

Juliette becomes more and more interesting & lovable. I never can be separated from her.

{Ms. 1619}

1899/02/16. CSP diary.

Juliette delightful.

{Ms. 1619}

1899/02/17 CSP Diary

Lost a pair of spectacles, the second within a few days.

1899/06/01 CSP completes Civil Service application.

- 9. Do you use intoxicating beverages? If so, to what extent? Very moderately. About half a glass of claret daily. Do you use tobacco? Yes. Do you use morphine or opium? No.
- 10. Have you ever been convicted of or indicted for any crime? Have been indicted for assault and battery. Not tried. See enclosure. Are you physically capable of a full discharge of the duties of the position sought? Yes. Have you any defect of sight in either eye? Somewhat old sighted. Not astigmatic or at all blind. Have you any defect of speech? None.
- 11. Have you any defect of limb? None. What is your exact weight in ordinary clothing, without hat or overcoat? About 160 pounds. What is your exact height measured in your bare feet? About 5 feet 9 inches.

1900/00/00

[letters running over a number of years to JP from Sister Mother Clotilda; mostly in French; reports of JP illnesses and broken arm]

{Ms89a,Ms89b}

1900/00/00. Mrs. Quick (Edna May Gassmann) interview by Victor Lenzen. Mrs. Quick said that Peirce had told her father, Charles J. Gassmann that he had taught French to Juliette [Probably not true; CSP taught JP English.]...Mrs. Quick stated that Juliette was a pest to Mrs. Gassmann. She would get Mrs. Gassmann to write letters for her. Juliette stumbled in German, whereas Mrs. Gassmann knew German quite well. Thus according to Mrs. Quick, Mrs. Gassmann wrote the German letters that went to Massachusetts from Juliette.

Mrs. Quick said that Juliette loved the gypsies and when a gypsy caravan came along invited them to camp on the Peirce property.

She received 10 cts. when she performed the errand of going to Peirce's drug store in Port Jervis and buying him 2 quarts of "Cologne Spirits" (Cologne spirits = grain alcohol = ethyl alcohol. It is recorded in Dr. Aster's chemical dictionary.) Peirce used to receive by express boxes of pills & drugs which were delivered by Mr. John Watts. He would take a handful of pills of various sizes and colors, lift his shaking hand to his mouth, the pills would rattle around in his mouth, and then he would take a big drink of Cologne spirits to wash down the pills. Peirce put his hat on his head (like Santa Claus hat) and then his robe which he tied. His face turned pink, a smile came on his face, and he passed out for many hours. This happened frequently. Peirce also took 2 lbs. of Arbuckel's coffee—added a cup of chickory, covered with water and let steep. Then he would drink it.

{Victor Lenzen letter of July 11, 1961, page 6-7. Max Fisch Collection, "Milford – Gassmann Family} [The context of these remarks indicates that Mrs. Quick did not like the Peirces.]

1900/00/00c

Walter Gassmann Recollections of 1974/02/01

Sometimes he [CSP] would bring a deck of playing cards and do many card tricks, not of the "sleight-of-hand" kind, but rather figured out "mathematically" always spread out on the table, not held in his hands, sometimes in a circle, or in a square, or row, truly amazing and remarkable.

1900/03/16c

CSP letter draft

I am in legal difficulty....I have been indicted by the Grand Jury for assault and battery upon a woman, with some aggravating circumstance for whether with intent to kill, or what I do not know.... [Goes on to say it is all lies, and that the District Attorney "took up a lawsuit" against Juliette, and was defeated, but only after two years of litigation. Speaks of the poor state of the legal profession in Pike County and the dishonesty of the lawyers.]

1900/03/18

CSP: JMP

[Writes about an <u>Editor's Manual</u> he is planning which will make him a great authority on grammar and make money. Fills several pages with examples.]

{L339}

1900/09/10.

WPG: JP

Sympathizing with you in all your distresses, I can at least congratulate you on not having typhoid fever....

{L159b}

1900/12/03

CSP: ???

The health of Mrs. Juliette Peirce, my wife, is now in so critical a state, that we must be prepared for the worst. She informs me that she gave you, as administrator of the estate of Christern, a note of some kind.

{L84}

1900/12/15

CSP: J. M. Baldwin [editor, Dictionary of Philosophy and

Psychology]

Herein enclosed is a letter I started to write you a fortnight ago; but violent neuralgia, putting me back in everyway, and especially depriving me of the power of normal judgment, prevent my finishing it...

1900/12/21

CSP: JMP

...Juliette still struggles but I am too far gone. I dropped a log of wood on my foot & as there was little upper leather to my shoe it made a wound, which has swelled up a great deal and suppurated. I was already very feverish with pain & nausea.

1901/00/00

[CSP contributes to Mark Baldwin's *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology*.]

1901/01/00.

CSP diary.

[during months of January February, & March, keeping records of stools.]

{Ms. 1623a}

1901/01/04

CSP: W. W. Goodwin [One of CSP's College teachers; author of *Greek Grammar*]

You have without doubt quite forgotten what a singular incapacity for language, — not foreign merely, but also for my own, — I rejoiced in as a college student. It was so. I am left handed, which means that the functions of the two halves of the brain are abnormally distributed, resulting in abnormal associations, which make it difficult for the left-handed subject to come to an understanding with his fellows. The result, of course, was that the bent of my studies was away from language; and a further result was that I was forced to learn every language I had to use by more analytic study than other scientific men....

{L172}

1901/01/10

New York Sun [By CSP according to E. S. Holden;]

"Tribute to a Door Mat"

A door mat

Is perfectly unaffected; Without conceit;

Puts on no frills;

Makes no unworthy attempts to hide its blemishes; Never turns tails to its vilifiers;

Makes no display of its deepest feelings;

Is not too squeamish to submit to disagreeable duty; Doesn't blow its own trumpet;

Doesn't strut and doesn't shirk; Doesn't mount the high horse; Takes everything in good part;

Promises no more than it performs;

Is quite unaware of its own perfections; Is public spirited;

Is long suffering; Is forgiving;

Is differential;

Shrugs its shoulder at adversity; Flatters not and listens to no flattery; Never deserts its power; Is not a sensualist; Never drinks.

1901/03/24.

CSP diary.

A soft & sufficient passage [stools] (having eaten no meat for sometime).

{Ms. 1623a.}

1901/03/26

From Dr. W. Gill Wylie

The treatment Dr. Wylie proposed for you, was to stretch the vagina as it is contracted and sensitive in fact so sensitive and small that he said it would be impossible to do it without giving you ether. But he simply used a dilatory to stretch the parts as you are perfectly well aside from that.

1901/04/01

CSP: S. P. Langley

My wife whom I sent to N. Y. to see the doctors, came back with their verdict that a second great operation has to be performed just as quick as she can be brought up into condition to undergo it.

1901/04/20c

CSP: Christine Ladd-Franklin

I have read your article <u>Syllogism</u>, which is certainly very original. But it would be next to an impertinence for me to expatiate on its good points. My business is to carp about the smallest faults, as long as carping can do the least good; if need be, even to set down a veto.

{L237}

1901/05/01 George Morison : CSP

I am sorry to hear of Mrs. Peirce's illness; her former operation was so successful that a second one must be less appalling than to many people...

{L300}

1901/08/00 [Sometime after this date]

A reprint inscribed: Professor Peirce/ with respect of / H. O. Sommer.

Title: "The Abdomino-Sacral and Other New Methods for the Extirpation of Rectal Cancer," by H. Otto Sommer, M.D. (Freiburg), Washington D. C. (reprinted from the *Medical Times*, July and August 1901.)

1901/11/01 CSP: I. Remsen [President, Johns Hopkins University] ...My expectation of life is only about 13 years.... [An accurate assessment.]

1902/00/00 CSP auto.

The Rules of Right Reasoning Introduction

....I have never yet published a book upon the whole subject. I have written half a dozen; none of them have approved themselves to me. The main difficulties were two. The first has been that I am not naturally a good writer. I am a left-handed man; and it has always seemed to me and I had a left-handed mind. That is to say, the ways of thinking,

including the ways of expression which are natural to me are so contrary to those that are natural to men in general that my own thought would have to be translated into a language with which my acquaintance was very imperfect. The second difficulty has been that I have always been so ardently bent upon correcting and improving my own opinions and concepts that before I would reach the later chapters of a long book, those that I had written earliest would appear to me poor, and the whole plan of the work, which, of course, had been laid out first of all, to be unenlightened. Time has lessened both of these difficulties without entirely overcoming them, and for a long time I have been at work upon an elaborate treatise intended to discuss systematically and thoroughly the whole subject. But...

{Ms 694}

1902/00/00c. CSP auto.

She [JP] inherited this delicate build that everybody notices, and was brought up in the lap of luxury, treated with high honor by the highest people....

{L129, page 126}

1902/01/02 [Nathaniel Southgate Shaler in his letter for recommendation on CSP]

The trouble is that he is as irresponsible as he is able.

1902/01/03 CSP: HPE

...In the first place, I have been a very hard worker all my life with the same intense concentration that father exerted, but with the difference that father so completely & exclusively occupied himself with the essentials of what he was doing that he made the few things he ever wrote too difficult for readers by neglect of punctuation & other universal conventions & had it not been for a wonderful grace in all he did even his last book would have lacked its charm while

I who was quite without such native grace & was most gauche about everything & utterly destitute of any natural powers of expression have not only thought out things of the very greatest difficulty but have also so said them that those who are willing to do the drudgery of thinking, which not one in 500 persons is, although no thought can be got into a person's head unless that person thinks it, — that the few who are willing to take that trouble find that I have fully done my part toward lightening their task. Now when father had reached my age of 67 [sic; actually only 63], he was so aged that he could do no more real work; and I, who am not naturally so robust & athletic as he, do by grim determination still keep on, but the work now wears upon me dreadfully. I must keep on, because God having entrusted me with a very narrow sort of talent, but more of that special kind than is likely to be made useful for a century or more, — it is a grave duty of mine to give those who could not have thought out the whole thing for themselves the advantage of being shown how to think reasonably upon the most important matters in regard to which common sense & the experience of life are simply useless. That I know to be my solemn duty, — a duty which those who cannot think with precision and rigor are freed from. It must be done. I could not appear before my Judge without having done it. Now this requires complete absorption for many consecutive hours of many consecutive days and weeks and months and years. That is my first and special task, & I claim some measure of indulgence for what that duty renders humanly impossible. Besides that, my health for more than two years has been so bad that every week or two, I am nailed to my bed for two or three days at a time. Besides that, dear Juliette who has stuck by me through thick & thin & has voluntarily embraced & shared my extreme poverty for love of me, and has submitted to the cold cruelty of a family widely notorious for that quality has as a consequence of the hard work & privation been attacked by three successive diseases under any one which a less noble nature would have given up thinking of anything but self and suffering, has now terrible swellings round her neck which quite deform her; and they are so painful that she sleeps very little & can hardly drag herself out of bed — she whose energy has always been that of the descendant of great warriors; and the consequence is that I have to do a thousand things daily for her, which singly amount to nothing, — sweeping some rooms, bringing firewood, water, etc., making beds & so on, — but they come so frequently that I have hardly leisure to give her a brief little session of conversation which is a husband's duty to a wife so immured and isolated as she is far from any neighbors except common farmers; and there is but one inhabited house within a mile of us...

You thus see that when I write, I do in moments snatched from less agreeable duties, & so it happened that in my last letter to you I omitted, by momentary forgetfulness to thank you with the warmth I felt for that long letter of news you wrote me, — a kindness that I felt all the more, because on the whole you have not only not been a sister to me, but have been my enemy, have tried to set Jem [JMP] & others against me, and have shown in many other ways that you reluctantly did just so much as was necessary for appearances sake, though you have always done that much. Having in my haste & under my burdens of so many kinds, very unfortunately forgotten to thank you for that letter you punish me with icy cruelty that I have so often experienced, by merely telling me that Mary Huntington is very ill, although by this time you know, or ought to know, my emotional nature, & that Mary is the only friend of my childhood that is left, & that I have always had a great affection for her, (more a good deal than I should dare avow having for almost any New Englanders of the Unitarian, icicle-type).

...I did not count upon anything like affection from you, or any feeling of family honor in letting a stranger be ruined for helping me [a friend loaned money to CSP which may have put

this friend in a serious financial situation], but I did think it would occur to you that quite as much talk has gone about & comment too as you would like as to your attitude & that you would on that account probably make some effort. What you did was merely to say that \$50 was too much to let me have in a lump!...I have a feeling of shame for you & I do not want more talk about the family than there has already been. I hear of it from Boston, from Washington, & from more distance places, — from our very antipodes. I wish with all my heart for your happiness for the coming year.

{L129:39-42}

At present, I am at the very height of my philosophical powers, and in admirable trim for hard work which my farm-life favors. Still, this is the year of my great climacteric, and what does not get done speedily can hardly get done at all.

1902/01/23 JMP : DCG

...His [CSP] character and temper are hardly judged by many, and have received, as I believe, far less than justice, though I am aware that he has often stood in his own light, and sometimes through a quixotic loyalty to others...

1902/01/27 Geo. A. Plimpton : DCG

...I should think that if he [CSP] had enough money to pay for his bread and butter, he would work like a Trojan on this book until it was finished. He has his peculiarities, but so have all other geniuses that I have ever struck...

1902/01/29 JMP : CSP

[Re; manuscript CSP sent to JMP] There are some expressions of antagonism to Germans as such which ought, I think, to be eliminated or softened.

1902/03/21 [after this date prior to 1902/04/02] CSP auto.

I underwent a surgical operation yesterday, and took anesthetic and today find myself unfit for work. My thoughts are frivolous, and take a dialogic form as if connections between different parts of the brain are deranged.

1902/04/12 CSP: AHJ

Yesterday I met the village clergyman and had a talk with him of twenty minutes. During the interval, I had had not over half a dozen chats with my wife, chiefly sustained by her in French, and otherwise had n't spoken two consecutive sentences to anybody. There were four or five months' silence. It is not an exceptional period. I live always so. In this life I find I lost all discernment of grades of expression; and, in particular, in endeavoring to express my divergence of views use language that is adapted only to convey the idea of utter hostility...

1902/04/25 E. J. Sommer : CSP

...Please give Mrs. Peirce our best wishes, which are deep enough to cure her of her catarrh.

1902/06/18. WPG: CSP I was much grieved to hear of your late fall.

{L159b}

1902/07/15 [possibly earlier] CSP auto.

From 1856 until this day my passion for the study of logic has been so intense that no other motives could prevail, although the amount of encouragement I have received has been so small that I have mostly been in desperate depression.

{Ms L75, A2-A3, 59-60}

1902/07/15 CSP : Carnegie Institution

I am in excellent health and capital trim for this work. I do not think there will be much danger of my breaking down in five years.

1902/11/25 CSP: WJ

Old age is showing itself in me in my omitting letters in writings words. This is very convenient, for I have only to take a census from time to time to see just how fast I am going.

{L224-2}

1902/12/12/ CSP Diary

To P. J. [Port Jervis, near Milford]. At 6 P.M. watch 5m 44s fast.

{Ms. 1620}

1903/03/11 CSP Diary

Juliette went to P. J., took watch & found at 4 P. M. watch 41s fast. Put back watch 1m so that now 19^{8} slow.

{Ms. 1621}

1903/03/16 CSP Diary

Watch 8 1/2 s slow at 1 P. M. Gains 19 s in 5 days.

{Ms. 1621}

1903/03/24 CSP Diary

Watch in P. J. about 40 m fast.

{Ms. 1621}

1903/03/26 [- 1903/05/17]

[CSP presents lectures on "Pragmatism as a Principle and Method of Right Thinking," at Sever Hall on the Harvard campus.]

1903/03/28 CSP Diary

Got watch fixed, set, and the regulator touched....

1903/03/30 CSP Diary

Watch 6s slow.

1903/03/31 WJ: Dickinson Miller

As Alice says, Peirce has never constrained himself in his life...

1903/11/23 [- 1903/12/17]

[CSP presents Lowell lectures on "Some Topics of Logic on Questions Now Vexed."]

1903/11/27 CSP: W. R. Thayer

...I am the last person in the world to know about social ostracism for I have never belonged to society myself nor been able to conceive what any student should be doing there...

1903/12/01c CSP: JP (from Cambridge)

The room here is too hot, except late in the evening when it is apt to get rather cool to sit in but too warm to sleep & the window being right across the head of the bed I can't have it open. I suppose this was the reason I had a very bad night & have been miserably shaky all day...I try to do all you wish; but I spend too much...I am working just as hard as you ever saw me; but I take a bath every day, I have to, my skin itches so...I am sending on something about consumption.

1903/12/07c Personal report from F. Green

Near the end of Peirce's lecture course, I went to see him at his lodgings, and introduced myself. He was very untidy as to dress, and covered with tobacco stains, as I judged, but was very simple, kindly and genial.

1904/00/00c CSP auto.

I am one of the persons with the least power of visualization, never while in health dreaming anything connected, and only convinced with difficulty that anybody ever imagines in a way that has the smallest resemblance to seeing...some properties of space which I could not in the least imagine visually and whose possibility I doubted, I first succeeded in assuring myself of by imagining myself blind and swimming about in a fluid.

{Ms. 95}

1904/02/07 CSP: HPE

...Juliette continues very ill. Perhaps less delirium the last two days.

1904/03/01 CSP: WJ

... besides that my wife was ill in bed for five weeks & does not yet leave her chamber....

1904/03/07 CSP: WJ

I have been ill for three or four days,—one of the feverish attacks that I don't understand but that one in two or three years I am subject to...

I said I did not understand my illnesses. But this much I do understand. Namely, that though my constitution is very strong, my emotional system is such slush that to see my wife suffering & particularly to see her power of bearing it, which completely transcends my impotence before suffering, let me steel myself against my feelings & dominate them as I may, they make me sick. They put me into a stupor and a fever. And I mention it because if I have any message for the world, it must be given while my wife lives. For having only her & having this poor paste of an emotional nature should she go I should be gone...

1904/03/24 A. Brennan : CSP

I am very glad you received the "glorious" Scotch all right and promptly....And besides, who could possibly appreciate more fully than you do the excellencies of a bit of sound liquor!...

1904/03/28c CSP : I. Husik

[Husik asks to borrow a book that CSP owns; CSP sends the following note for Husik to sign.]
I, the undersigned, Isaac Husik, 66 Morris St., Philadelphia, promise upon my sacred honor that if Mr. C. S. Peirce will send a copy of Ockham's Summa Totius Logices (Paris: 1488) to Prof. Edgar R. Smith for my use, I will use the volume with care, not make marks in it, and will attend to its being returned complete to Mr. Peirce before July 4, 1904, and not on any account to anybody else, done up in ribbed pasteboard & good stout wrapping paper, securely sealed, and directed as follows:

Mr. C. S. Peirce
"Arisbe"

near Port Jervis, N. Y.

By Wells Fargo, Co's Express

Value \$50

I fully understand this is not only a great undervaluation in money, but that Mr. Peirce's work depends on his having the book and I pledge my honor as a scholar to carry out these directions minutely & to avoid in every way occasioning Mr. Peirce trouble about it.

1904/05/07 CSP: LVW

My wife is better & my immediate anxiety is relieved; but she remains weak, & without her indomitable energy would be crawling about an invalid; while the trial has aged me,—for the time being, at any rate,—and I am able to accomplish little.

1904/07/31 Billings & Stover (Cambridge pharmacists) : CSP

...The tablets we have asked Wyeth to mail to you direct from the factory having them charged to our account, as we did not have the required number in stock...

1904/09/29 CSP: WJ

...I am simply done up with over work. My wife is lying down exhausted or I might play a game of backgammon...I was duly impressed by your many admonitions that what I write is very obscure. I flatter myself the obscurity does not lie in the writing but in the vast thoughts that cannot be compassed at once. I know very well that I have a mental lefthandedness which make it unnatural for me to express myself as others do, but I have conquered that in a measure. I have even learned some bit of that which the immortal Louis Stevenson declared to be the whole art of writing,—the art of omission. But I am not going to exercise it in this letter, this imaginary epistle...[one CSP will not send].

1904/10/06 CSP: WJ

As to your theory that 'I breathe' must accompany all thoughts, I call you attention to the circumstance that many people, of whom I am one, involuntarily hold their breath while thinking, so that I have become accustomed to holding my breath for unusually long times, showing perhaps that attention can be held steady longer than is supposed.

{L224-3}

1904/11/10 CSP : F. A. Halsey

A prudent man will not be drawn into a public controversy without calculating what the loss of time will cost him and how he is to be remunerated.

{L180}

1904/11/10c CSP : F. A. Halsey

I am now 65 years old and cannot expect much longer to retain the power of doing such work.

1904/11/15 CSP : FCR

As to what you say about me, partly seriously, strictly <u>sub rosa</u> I hold that a man of 65 well read in philosophy & a thinker himself must be a precious fool or be able to place himself better than anybody else can do, and I place myself somewhere about the real rank of Leibniz. Of course, Leibniz had the advantage of coming to a field into which no reapers had come. But what I want to say which is more practical, is that I am by nature most inaccurate, that I am quite exceptional for almost complete deficiency of imaginative power, & whatever I amount to is due to two things, first a perseverance like that of a wasp in a bottle & 2nd to the happy accident that I early lit upon a method of thinking, which any intelligent person could master, and which I am so far from having exhausted that I leave it about where I found it,—a great reservoir from which ideas of a certain kind might be drawn for many generations....P.S. Add to the elements of whatever success I have had that I have always unceasingly exercised my power of learning new tricks—to keep myself in possession of the childish trait as long as possible. That is an immense thing.

{L387b, 00272-00273}

1904/12/05 Edward Morley: CSP

I was sorry to learn of your painful accident, and hope that you are perfectly recovered from the bruises and shock.

{L301}

1904/12/06 CSP: LVW

...I slipped on the waxed floor. Now it has been a nervous peculiarity of late years that when I fall, I come stiff & cannot put out a hand or do anything to fall in an easy way. So down I went, hit my forehead over my eye & cut it open & had a slight concussion of the brain...I had not long before stumbled over a steam pipe in the dark cellar & bruised the shoulder of my writing hand so that I have by no means recovered from that yet.

{CSP:Lady Welby Correspondence, 45.}

1904/12/17 postcard CSP : WJ

By one of those freaks of luck for which Fortune has always been noted I lately had three bad knock-outs. It was odd that any one had not killed me. The last has disabled my brain, as the first had my writing arm, that I can't write...

{L224-3}

1904/12/26c CSP: JMP

...Now Juliette & I have both been & are seriously ill. For my part, I fall down oftener than most men. That would not matter, were it not that a singular nervousness makes it absolutely impossible for me to do anything that others do in spite of themselves to break the fall. I just fall as a stone tower would & sometimes hurt myself. I had three falls since the Academy meeting. In the first I bruised my shoulder that it is still painful. I stumbled over a steam pipe in the dark cellar. The second time I was knocked down by a horse, but was not hurt. I have no rubbers & no money to get a pair & therefore Juliette said I must not go out till I got a pair for fear of a fall. One day she was shivering by the fire which was low & when she left the room for a moment I thought I would just slip out & get a stick of wood I knew of to put on the fire. So I hurried &

when I hurry I am apt to fall. I came back with snow on my heels, slipped on the study floor which is rather slippery, was stunned a little I think, cut a gash just over my eye. That was 2 weeks last Saturday. The wound has not yet closed, I have been really ill with it, & not being able to see very well since the bandages prevent my spectacles from being straight, I have suffered as people are apt to do under such circumstances, some very disagreeable mental effects, confusion, etc. together with the annoyance of the pain & the loss of most of my sleep...As of Juliette, you know that it is only by incessant attention to her health & her indomitable will that she has been alive for very long. Especially since a severe pleuritic character excruciatingly painful utterly destroying sleep & always alarming. But she won't stay in bed & she won't take medicine & in short she won't be sick when anybody else would be sending for the coffin-maker & she pulls through wonderfully....

{L339}

1904/04/10 CSP: LVW

The reason I have not written for so long is that my dear wife has been very ill & for five weeks I hardly left her bedside & even now that she is up, I am continually worried about her too great energy, besides being myself in a state of nervous fatigue from it all...I very often wished to write to you during my wife's illness, but I am unwilling to do so without explaining my exceptional dependence upon her & in order to do what I should have had to tell the whole story of my life, which I had no time for, nor have I now...But I will mention that she is much younger than I, is a Frenchwoman (knew no English when we were married), and is a person whom all men reverence & all women love & of whom it is impossible to tire. If I were to lose her, as I feared I should, & am not yet quite reassured, it would be the end of me. If we can only sell this place, I will take her traveling for a year.

1905/02/07 Augusta Barnard : CSP/JP

...I am deeply sorry for Mr. Peirce's suffering from the terrible pain of neuralgia and from the loss of sleep...

1905/04/00 [- 1906/10/00]

[CSP publishes in *The Monist* a series of papers on pragmatism.]

1905/04/16 CSP: LVW

Early in February I was suddenly collapsed with nervous prostration. After more than two full months I find myself able to do half a day's work, but all my engagements are thrown back, a great printing establishment is put to inconvenience & I am in a *panting* [sic] condition of effort that brings little fruit.

{CSP : Lady Welby Correspondence, 52.}

1905/04/27 CSP diary.

Juliette very very ill my poor treasure. God, if she is to leave, let me not remain one hour.

{Ms. 1622.}

1905/05/29 CSP: Daniels [Daniels had written CSP about contributing to the

gift for WPG on his retirement as editor of *The Nation*.]

The Garrison circular & enclosed note reached me today. I enclose \$3. The note, I remark, does not touch upon the truly remarkable skill that Garrison has shown. However little he may know

of a subject, his flair is such that he knows pretty accurately what the value of each book that he sends out [for review] really is before he sends it. Moreover, I hope every contributor understands that in addition to the gratitude we owe him for the "graciousness" of his behavior, he also recognizes that this is part of the business talent of the man dealing with the most difficult class of all workmen. The immense influence of the *Nation* far beyond its subscription-list has been used with great sagacity to elevate and rationalize the ideas of the country.

1905/06/20 CSP : B. E. Smith [Century Dictionary editor]

You make a mistake if you are not sending me the proofs of the supplement....you leave me to imagine that it must be something quite outrageous that makes it so important I should not see the proofs. However that is merely said in passing. I don't care anything about it...

Wednesday at 9 p.m. summer begins.

1905/07/03 CSP : FCR

...When one suffers from rheumatic fever,—for which I am keenly sorry for you,—or gout, isn't it,—too much beer, perhaps?—the kidneys not equal to the work put upon them—I have never had it myself, but only slight twinges of gout, but I have seen intimate friends suffer fearfully with it, so that my heart and sympathy are with you,—why under those circumstances one would like to shut the doors, & not have so much "co-being." One puts in the willow-acid to dissolve the stuff & sometimes dissolves parts of the body that one cannot well get along without,—teeth, bones & such like. I have had several relations on my mother's side whose lives were ruined by rheumatic fevers. One of them [Charles H. Mills], a most charming man, took to laudanum, which he would drink by the tumbler- full. The result, of course, was that he lost all power of doing work; but he was a most delightful companion and a true gentleman to the last. In this respect, he did not forget that the true consolation is more co-being, not less. In my miseries, which have not been light, I have found philosophy really did afford consolation...Lately when I was suffering at every mouth through which a man can drink suffering, I tried to beguile it by reading three books...

1905/07/22 CSP: WJ

...Nothing can be more completely consolatory to me than my religion...simply writing about my theism has given me great comfort. It is not, therefore, from despair that my intention is to commit suicide before long. I consider it a clear right of a man who has no services to render, & the plain duty of a man who is in danger of becoming a burden upon people who have no use for him...

{L224}

1905/07/30 CSP: WJ

...When I was so ill that that whole month was ever after blotted out. Mrs. Pinchot came to my wife and thrust a fifty dollar bill into her hand...Long after, I learned that it was currently said in the village that the Pinchots supported us. Of course this illustrates in a general way the dangers with which persons in reduced circumstances are encircled. The only way is to keep silence, write no letters, and let mispresentations have full swing...

1905/09/23 CSP: WJ

....She [JP] feels evidently that it is best to let me judge. To show how necessary it is for me to exercise this sort of protection I will mention two circumstances. The first is that I found her

stretched upon the floor with no pulse that I could detect & I was more than an hour bringing her to. The doctor came & prescribed for the heart. For a long time we could not get her teeth apart. She said she was not entirely insensible but still she hurt herself badly in falling so I think she must have been insensible at first. But she said after that she was aware of things but could not move or speak. How was it brought on? I found it was that an impertinent answer had been made to her. Her father died in just such an attack. Had I your knowledge of medicine I don't know what I should think, but as it is nothing but shielding her so far as I can from every trying emotion will do. The other circumstance I wanted to mention is that since you so wonderfully generously placed me in the situation you have, there have not been above 3 or 4 nights in which I have slept. I wake, think of that, & bed & darkness become intolerable, so that I come down & go to work. I have aged a good deal in these weeks. Now I am not very sensitive but nobody knows till he had had the experience [of] these secrets of human nature...Well now I come to what I had to say. A letter to Mrs. Peirce came from Mrs. James. I feared it might refer to the subject & I intercepted it. There came successively two more. I had not written for fear Mrs. James would take offence at being supposed to have referred to the matter. But when the third letter came, I opened the first one only. But the character of that was such that I thanked my stars that Mrs. Peirce had not received it. Then came a fichu [woman's triangular scarf] with something wrapped in it & today a post-card which I read. I might give her the fichu [scarf] without the enclosure & the post-card. I think I will. But she, Mrs. James, I hope will pardon me, for I am quite sure Mrs. Peirce cannot stand the shock of a circumstance that Mrs. James or any other vigorous person would not think twice about. At any rate though I may blunder & it is very true that my own mind is out of gear, yet still I am bound to do the very best I can. I think if Mrs. James will permit, I will send back the two unopened & the one opened & then with the knowledge of Mrs. Peirce's condition I am sure Mrs. James will do nothing to endanger her life. Before next week is out I expect to be able to send you the first portion of what I ought to send [repayment of loans].

1905/10/17 CSP: WJ

The face of my poor wife begins to look different & I am half crazed to think I cannot have her another year. Her nerves which were much better fell back. I told her of the July remittance, but after a test experiment I thought it best not to tell more. She is too ill to ask questions & if she asks where your deposit comes from. I shall tell her that I will tell her when she is better...

1905/11/04 CSP : WJ

Mrs. Peirce has received the letters. She at once became very ill,—far too much for me to inquire whether she will accept the money [from WJ and friends].

1905/11/05 CSP Diary

Began 100 strych. [?strychnine?]

1905/12/04 CSP Diary

7 A.M. Opened 2nd box tobacco 2d 18h 15m.

1905/12/07 CSP Diary

3:45 P.M. Opened 3rd box of Tobacco [CSP seems to have kept track of his tobacco consumption, and in this period he averaged about 3d 6h per box.]

1905/12/25 CSP notes for a letter

Box not immediately opened. Addressed to me Burst out crying and walked off Most beautiful jacket she had ever seen Juliette's hand Tries to learn to write to you & hand gets worse Wound every two hours Completely done up Juliette began a letter But impossible Burglar alarm Sat up in dark room to watch weapon pleurisy pains

1905/12/27 CSP Diary

8:45 P.M. open box antikamnia. Juliette very ill.

1906/00/00 [undated, but late] CSP auto.

Why should not beauty and youth freely indulge in baudery? Is not a baud girl happier than a swinking [toilsome, slavish] hag?

1906/01/01 CSP: JMP

I am ill with a cold & all its accompaniments & I am more ill yet with a breakdown of my nerves under terrible strains, & I am driven with the hardest kind of work with every possible influence to render me incompetent to do it, & with that I have a lot of letters to write, —always the hardest task that can be set to me & can hardly keep up at all.

Juliette reviewed a couple of French novels for the <u>Nation</u> & Garrison promised on receipt of them to send her any such books that might come in. [CSP probably wrote the reviews.]

In her daily attacks of fever she [JP] is often greatly wrought up mentally, although I am always amazed even when she is most so, that she has the extraordinary self control that she has. Certainly I never met any person whose will power approached hers. She often feels most bitterly against me & no doubt I have been far from the sort of man to make so delicate a creature happy far from the refinements & delicate sentiments of her young days and often treated with a brutality that can naturally not be forgotten although I have tried hard to bend my nature toward what she would desire it to be. Her lung trouble began to be aggravated when we were exposed to cold of one kind and another when we went to a funeral in Cambridge.

[Added on 1906/01/11] Juliette's state of health is terrible. I have arranged her a sleeping place substantially out of doors though roofed over; and there she sleeps, or rather passes the night without any heating whatever. Nevertheless she has such terrible fever every night that often when the thermometer is near zero she throws the bedclothes off. She is an utter wreck, worn out by her noble and superhuman devotion to me & now can hardly do the least things. Especially she cannot rouse the energy to do anything for herself, not even to warm up her food. She ought to have a nurse who could cook for her. But we are entirely without help of any kind & I feel that it is question of weeks rather than of months how long this can last. When she goes my impatience to be gone will be irresistible.

What I have wanted chiefly was some opportunity to earn a decent living. But so many things on different sides have gone to shatter my nerves that I am beginning now to fall off in the power of my work. I struggle & struggle, but I fall asleep very easily. I seldom get to bed before two. I am up usually before six...

{L339:00015-00019}

1906/01/04 CSP Diary

Thanks to Juliette's loving care and self-abnegation, I am this morning able to write a little note for Garrison.

1906/02/12 AS : CSP

...Be careful of any falls. Your dizziness—of course—was due only to the decreasing elasticity of the veins and arteries—which will not be denied at our time of life....

1906/03/06 AS : CSP

....I am extremely sorry for your trouble with your physician

1906/03/09 CSP: LVW

I have been shut up in the house ill since Feb. 1...I never had the slightest capacity for any art, music, poetry, or anything. Very much the reverse! And I have a theory about that too...My theory is this. It is a fact that I am left-handed. Now you know, nobody is left-handed in the same degree in which ordinary people are right-handed. That convolution of Broca which supposed to be the organ of language is I believe within the area associated with the right hand. At any rate, it is very near it. But the left-handed person, owing to his not being so one-sided as right handed people, are, must, even if he does his talking with the right side of the brain, yet have decidedly different associations between the talking part of the brain & other parts from those that others have. Now simply to be naturally different from other men, in the matter of language, is enough to make intercommunication between him the left-hander and & others decidedly awkward. But this is not my only disability; for our family is markedly mathematicalminded, & especially geometrical. My father was an eminent mathematician of the school of Cauchy, my brother is head of the mathematical department in Harvard, and specially addicted to quaternions. B. O. Peirce, who is another physicist & mathematician of power, is a descendant of my great grandfather. His ancestor, my great grandfather's guardian, was the first man killed in our Revolution which separated us from England—or else the first man killed in the battle of Lexington, the first battle. I think that was it. A few others had been killed the day before, I think. Besides that, there is George [Winslow] Peirce of the same family, but a couple of generations more remote, who is also a mathematical genius! Now we all think habitually in diagrams (I will show you how I think) and thus we do not, as children, get the usual training in the use of words. Add that disability to my gauche lefthandedness, and it partially explains my utter ignorance of poetry, & incapacity for judging its merits. The way my connate aphasia worked is rather curious. I liked to talk to my father extremely. But he was always putting in the wrong word, besides tacking on the phrase "in relation to it," without regard to the context; & as I had no talent for interpretation, I was greatly annoyed at this; and seeing that I had the same defect myself (& I was constantly,-yet, if there is any more frequent than constantly, that is what I would say! getting told that what I said was entirely unintelligible), I determined to devote great attention to English and French, and German (but of late years I have lost much German). So that ultimately I got to write just differently enough from other people to make what I wrote read sometimes as quite brilliant. Though too much study of English marked itself (& still does) by pet affectations...

But for my part, I prefer...to live the life of a man & not that of a dog; and the reason I gave for it is that so I shall seem to be doing what God put me into the world to do. This is personal to myself; but, I think every man is endowed with a capacity of being influenced by an ideal and of controlling himself into conformity to it, & that that is what he should live for, & let the "living thrill" be indulged in moderation during the period of youth, but not using [sic] the place of an ideal

{Ms. L463 : 00080-00084, 00088-00089}

1906/03/24

CSP & JP attend funeral of JMP in Cambridge.

1906/03/26 CSP: J. McK Cattell (New York)

Mrs. Peirce and I are on our way home from the funeral of my brother in Cambridge. I, for my part, am downright ill with a grippe, which I regret, as I looked forward to seeing you; but now I must hasten home...

1906/03/27c JP: CSP (from New York where JP stayed a few days)

...Get a clever paper up for the Academy...eat & sleep all you can because all depends on your appearance now, for every body that knows you must know also that your brains are only stuffed with Bismark's herrings & potato salad...

1906/03/28c CSP : JP

Dans ma fatigue extreme je ne le pouvais faire sand quelques disques rouges et aussi de blanches. Tu comprends. Mais depuis aujourd'hui je ferai tout ce que tu désirerais. Suelment, tu sais...moi enrhumé, il me faut me garder contre une diarrhea violent...

1906/03/29 CSP auto.

It is a rather ridiculous thing for a husband to say, but having lived the last twenty years almost alone with her, I cannot refrain from saying that she improves on acquaintance—at least for the first twenty or thirty years! She will scold me for putting such stuff into a letter of introduction; and in truth it is absurd; but I cannot help it.

{L41, pages 1-2}

1906/04/02 CSP: JP [who is in Washington trying to get CSP an appointment

as Secretary of the Smithsonian to succeed Langley.]

...I abjure altogether the red & the white, the solid & the liquid, for your dear sake, my own heart of hearts...

1906/04/04 CS: HHDP

I wish you would procure and read a little book [Gustave Simon's *Le Roman de Sainte—Beuve*]...You no doubt have heard something of the matter about Ste Beuve & Mme Victor Hugo. But hitherto the letters of Ste. Beuve himself have been lacking & the history could not be made out. Now it is complete. You know that Ste Beuve was a bachelor. We are informed in the 18th verse of the Second Chapter of Genesis that at an early date Jehovah made the discovery that "It is not good for man to be alone." What pranks led to this conclusion we are not told. But after reading Simon's book, I think you will agree with Jehovah. Mind that Ste Beuve is one of my idols. He was as near an upright man, except as to what is there disclosed, as men often come. I had rather be skinned alive than to know all that. Yet as long as it is so, I want to know it. Ste Beuve was a poor man & sacrificed fortune to principle sometimes. After reading that I can't help admitting the possibility that he sometimes reversed the sacrifice. Bah! God knows that I have been bad enough; but that book is like looking down the throat of Hell. Are we all like that, I say in anguish! Well, get the book & read it; and after that be lenient to

bachelors whatever they do! I would send it to you, but I want to review it. [CSP's set of Ste Beuve, in French, is more extensively annotated in his hand than anything else known from his library.]

P.S. I have been bad I know. But we all have some pet virtue that we try to persuade ourselves covers many sins & mine is loyalty. Never to my knowledge have I been disloyal to any friend or miserable succedaneum for a friend. I have tossed everything I valued overboard rather than do so. It is a certain consolation to me when I read such a book [as Gustave Simon's *Le Roman de Sainte—Beuve*] which takes the starch out of human nature & humiliates one that he belongs to the genus homo.

{L338}

1906/06/23

HPE: CSP

I am sorry you have had another fall & that you have hurt your head so badly. I am sure Juliette is the most able of nurses & I hope that by this time the wound has yielded to her good care & that you have decided relief...

{L129, page 66}

1906/06/3

LVW: F.C.S.Schiller

[LVW is "peace making" in a dispute between Schiller and CSP.]

...he is very youthfully impulsive in his mode of writing...I can't imagine anyone reading it [CSP's letter to LVW] —even after being attacked!—without being drawn to the writer. There is such a refreshing humanness and warmth about it all, and he [CSP] has evidently a real regard for you, and what is more an even keen appreciation of the value of your thought...[He says,] "I do not doubt that he [Schiller] is a very loveable man as James is..."

1906/09/16

CSP auto.

11 ¼ P.M. Fell asleep standing & dreamed something about a tablet in a church...

1906/10/15c CSP

CSP: AS? [intended recipient not clear]

...Although the famous physicians, of whom we have consulted a great many, have all said she [JP] must eat all she can possibly digest, she is always on the brink of starvation...I eat more than she;—I must. Yet I suffer from hunger daily, though I have trained myself to eat so little that of the many records of small eaters that I have read in physiologies, where they are stated as well—attested yet as staggering, I have never read of but one man who lived on less than I do, and, as I say, I eat more than she...The joie de vivre is delicious, when one has a sentimental constitution as you and I do, and one is reproached continually for not earning more money, in every term the tongue of woman,—of a passionately loved woman,—can find, including face-spittings and reinforced with gesture, of which the dashing down of an inkstand, for example, affords an example of its emphasis. What an immense relief is anger. You ought to know...But even that is cut off from me; for all such feminine "tantrums" can excite nothing but keen commiseration mingled with self-reproach....The joie de vivre! Oh, I have the joie de vivre to burn! Like a man who is broken on the wheel, but whom one gives a primrose to smell upon during the process. I don't know how this ridiculous topic ever got itself under my pen...

1906/10/31

CSP: WJ

... I am suffering from a bad influenza. My wife is terribly ill with a goiter apparently...

1906/11/11 CSP: WJ

....Juliette is very ill with a Goitre [crossed out in letter] (she told me not to tell anybody what & she don't know I am writing to you or that there is any reason to do so. She is most terribly excitable. I am ill; but I hope only for today....

1906/11/12 CSP : FCR

The Nation people, like the jackasses,—asses; I won't certify to their jackitude—declined to keep up the long years' arrangement by which I reported on the meetings. [A new editor is in charge.]

1906/12/28 CSP : FCR

I am in danger of serious illness,— very serious, & the temptation to give up & commit suicide when I find my mind weakening under worry and starvation is greater.

{L387b : 00295-00296}

1907/00/00c AHJ: JP [when CSP was lecturing in Cambridge]

I am just as sorry for you as I can be. But the only way out seems to be for you to take charge of your husband, and at Milford.

Here he evidently spends more money than he can be provided with...

Don't mind what Mrs. Ellis [HPE] says about the money being in "your bank."

1907/00/00c Dr. Pobe Recollections

Peirce was a model man, soft-toned, always writing, kindest instinct. The Peirces were a devoted couple, honest, good and kindly.

Before I knew him he was hard pressed financially, sold a good deal of furniture. For example, teakwood tables for 25 cents to \$1.00. About his love for Harvard: he regarded it as holy. Must complete his work for Harvard. Took cocaine in later years to keep awake so as to finish his work.

Peirce knew more about medicine than I did. When I went to see him I would stay with him a half-hour to an hour at a time. It did you good to talk to him. When I arrived he would often tell me all of his symptoms and diagnose his illness. Then he would tell me the whole history of the medical treatment for this illness. Then he would tell me what should be prescribed for him now. He was never wrong. He said he had to ask me to write out the prescriptions since he did not have an M.D. degree. Peirce was gentleness personified. I never saw him in anger.

There was usually a light on in Peirce's house all night. He worked day and night, and slept in a chair for the last two years of his life. It was a big Morris armchair. Peirce was tied up with rheumatism and neuritis. I was his physician from about 1907 to the end of his life [1914]. He suffered from insomnia due to pain. At times he could hardly walk. He didn't care about the suffering and only wanted me to prolong his life until he could finish his work.

He took cocaine for the last two years to complete his work and to ease his pain. Peirce had a cardiac condition. Could hardly walk upstairs he was so short of breath. I gave him my services as a professional courtesy. I went to see him so that he would not have to walk up stairs to my office. He would say, "It is so nice for you to come to see me. So few people come to see me. They don't find me very interesting and I don't go out and mix much."

The children often smirked at him when he drove about in his buggy. He looked like Father Time.

Mrs. Peirce did the housekeeping.

Maybe he died in his chair, certainly he was not in bed long.

He often talked to me about medicine and astronomy and also about other sciences. He had white uncut hair and a white beard. He walked with a stick.

{Interview of Dr. Pobe by H. S. Leonard in 1933}

1907/01/00c CSP: WJ

He who carried the burden of a genius for logical analysis sees perfectly, sees too clearly, that it is nothing but a mental parasite, no more implying any worth of character, nor any good mark for himself than being drawn for a juror; but, like that, demanding considerable inconvenience, self-restraint, and responsibility; while he is forbidden to feel all that to be other than a privilege.

{L224:00164}

1907/01/05 CSP : JP

My life! My all! Ah, what a thing it is not to be able yet to do anything for you! It is now 5 P.M. of Wednesday, & I have been half wild to know about you...I have gone into town this forenoon, [crossed out] as soon as my diarrhoea,—due to not taking what I usually take,—permitted...

1907/01/22 HHDP: HPE.

Charley is a singular case. He has most undoubted genius but an utter inability to use it. Formerly this was not so I think, but thanks to the charming Juliette he has lost all his great opportunities and with his poverty and straits he has lost the perception of what the world demands and has become more than ever set in his opinion of what it ought to want. Besides this, he has lost, if he ever had it, a certain perception of the right of others which seems to ensure his making enemies of those who try to help him. I had experience of this once myself when I put him in a position in which he owed it to me to carefully observe the responsibilities and the confidence reposed in me. The thing I threw in his way offered him a fair compensation for his work and scientific knowledge but without consulting me he undertook to make my employers a proposition which not only defeated all of his own ends but entirely upset my relations with them, they holding me responsible for his employment as my brother. I never spoke to you of this nor did I so far as I can remember to Jem [JMP], but it cost me my place in New York, such as it was. On the other hand, Charley's genius certainly has a right to recognition and support. But that support I have not the power to give it. I did my utmost to get the Carnegie Institution to award him a sum on which to carry on his magnum opus. But the enemies he had made stood in the way and were able to block every move of mine, though I was supported by the President and Cabot Lodge. One thing however I must say for him himself is that Juliette had so prejudiced the then head of the Institution, Pres. Gilman, that I saw he would do nothing favorable to Charley. You remember he was president of Johns Hopkins when Charley was there and Juliette accused him of the vilest conduct and took her nasty stories to Gilman. In the same way she ruined his career on the Coast Survey coming to Washington and destroying his prestige with the authorities. When I last saw her she had come to W. on some errand. She said it was to see Root and secure his appointment as Langley's successor at the Smithsonian. Of course she did, and could do nothing. I happen to know that Langley's estrangement with Charley began when he [CSP] tried to introduce Juliette into Langley's family at Pittsburg while C. and J. were living in the irregular manner they did for some years. As for the hospital and operation, this is an old and threadbare story. It may do for James [WJ] who can be misled by any mountebank. You do not tell me but I

gather that Charley has quarreled with the Jameses or they with him. If so it is again Juliette's malign interference with his affairs. I want you to write me explicitly about this my dear sister for if it is so I am not going to contribute to his support so long as he devotes his earnings, such as they are, to the maintenance of a person who at every turn defeats his attempts to get abreast of the world. For you remember that it was by James's influence and efforts that Charley was enabled to give that course of Lowell [probably Harvard] Lectures which seemed to come just as his affairs were at the last gasp and to save him from starvation. To tell you the truth, I now understand much about James's belief in Mrs. Piper. If Juliette was attractive I could understand her influence on people but to me she has the repulsiveness of a venomous snake... But dearest little sister I only tell you this to guard you against C's being disposed to take advantage of help. Don't let him know that I can or will do anything and then tell me the least that will bring him out of the worst. You might also write to Nannie. She can't do much but she might be able to help a little at a pinch. But don't let C. know where anything comes from. I told him of Nannie's giving me a check for \$25 and it seemed to create a turmoil in the Milford establishment. Why I don't know and never could understand but that was the reason of Juliette's stateliness toward Nannie at Jem's [JMP] funeral. Perhaps it was because the check was not for \$2500. Dear little sister, I wish you could be spared all this trouble and that I could come to the relief of all with a liberal hand. What curse is upon our family that we can't gather enough of that saint seducing commodity to make some of us easy. Why since Jerathmael, in his top boots, have we lost the power of "money getting"? Why can't I even afford the luxury of death until all my dear ones are provided for?

1907/02/21 CSP: JP

I believe I sent you yesterday all you asked for. I did not dare send anything you did not ask for for fear of annoying you. I should have sent them by Post if it had not been for the bread. But it can have made very little difference. Won't you let me send you some bread weekly? I must keep track of the different remittances of money sent to you. So, as you only say in a general way that you got them, I will enclose a slip of paper which you can correct by striking out "not" whenever necessary and them send it back to me. Please be so good as to scratch out or draw a pencil line through every line that makes a falsehood and return the slip to your loving husband. You had better have some of your hand writing along so I can know that no [one else] has scratched out the "not"s....

You must let me know as soon as your money threatens to give out. I can never tell what I shall be able to send but will do my best. My health has picked up greatly since I have been able to think you were more comfortable...I am writing several things & working as hard as I can. But it is not very hard. I am most seriously & earnestly desirous of conquering my tendency to take too much alcohol, & to get rid of other habits. The alcohol is the most threatening. I have cut them all down much; but there is room for improvement yet. It is difficult because I don't want to make myself too ill by going without. I have faint spells sometimes. My tobacco is also cut down. All of them to about 2/3 of what I was taking...

But above all! This counts more than as one single request. Don't over exert yourself. I can get along.

{L340}

1907/03/00c

[WJ and friends get together a fund upon which CSP lives more or less the rest of his life.]

1907/03/10 AHJ : JP

He [CSP] said when he last dined here that he was very anxious about you and had written to some of your friends to telegraph him if he had better go to Milford...

1907/03/10 JP : AHJ

...my husband's letters have been so discouraging...Dear Mrs. James never mind about me I have been for the last 12 years accustomed to suffering of endless privations & humiliations & miseries, that what is hardest of hard to bear to think I have married a man that must depend more or less on charity. For in other countrys a man of his ability would be eagerly sought out, instead of being called too old at 66 years to a well deserved post in his own country. I better write no more for I am too depressed...

1907/03/27 CSP: WJ

The particular form of mental decay from which I suffer, senile garrulity, consists in my holding with a weak hand the rein of my ideas; so that, if an idea shies or bolts, it runs away with me and carries me quite aside from my route. This is what happened when you came to me this afternoon and my trifling dissatisfaction with a detail of the arrangement [of the fund] most disgracefully turned my mind that way notwithstanding the amazing bounty of this wonderfully gracious arrangement...The will-power to work to pay old debts is rare, & I can only hope that I learn to practice close economy for that...

I shall be most careful not to drop a line to cause my dear wife the shock of learning the true significance of the proposition about the two signatures...[It was necessary for both CSP & JP to sign checks to get money out of the fund.]

{L224-3}

1907/04/08 [-1907/04/13]

[CSP delivers Harvard Philosophy Club lectures on "Logical Methodeutic."]

1907/04/02 CSP: HPE

Please lose no time in letting Berts [HHDP] knows that I have finished my paper on pragmatism which will be regarded by pragmatists the world over,—as far as New Zealand & Siberia, as well as Europe—as most important, and that I want him to take it to the Atlantic editor & get me what he can for it. James & Royce would testify to its importance.

I have been so ill I was forced to buy a little medicine & have been making up for it by starving which does not conduce to hilarity exactly...

1907/04/02. CSP: HPE

I am almost out of my senses to be so separated from Juliette.

{L129, page 81}

1907/04/12 CSP auto.

It was a poor talk I gave you Monday [1907/04/08]. I was overcome by this Boston April; how ill it always made me & nearly drove me frantic. Was so ill at last lecture & so gave to sundry points colors I had never intended.

{Ms 754}

1907/04/13

Apology. Had been really very ill for 24 hours previously and had no sleep. I am still far from well, but hope to do better than last night.

CSP auto.

1907/04/15 CSP: JP

I cut off all drugs except a little coffee and tobacco and little strychnine which my heart warns me to take it...When you want me to do anything, if you will try to write a brief letter, leaving out all upbraiding, which drives me frantic, and just confine yourself to saying what you want me to do; it will be done...

But when you write as in this last letter, my poor girl, I am put almost out of my wits & can understand only that you are very angry about I know not what....

1907/04/27 CSP: Mary Huntington

I have been very ill with an old trouble, marked by continual ups and downs but very weakening. An irregular check can be put upon it for a time by morphine and this week I have been taking a grain of that daily; because I wanted to finish a very urgent piece of work. But such false strength must be husbanded, since as soon as I give up the dose, I shall go right back. Even so, there is but a limited time daily during which I am able to write legibly. P.S. I hardly need add that I refuse any sum from a person who may ask to have it back without having made any provision for such return at the time of the gift...

{L212}

1907/05/00c

Personal report by Henry Alsberg

[when CSP was lecturing in Cambridge]

One day, the landlady asked him [Alsberg] to see an old gentleman, who had been ill and was very likely dying. When he went in, he saw a sick, worn body of a man obviously suffering from under-nourishment and lack of care; and when he asked his name, he was told, "Charles Peirce."

1907/05/07 CSP : JP

Only two things prevent my committing suicide to which I am greatly tempted. One is that I may be useful to you. The other is that I want to write those two little books both of which will do good to many people and bring us money. I am fully resolved to turn over a complete new leaf, give up all my habits of self-indulgence and try to make the rest of my poor life useful.

{L340:127}

1907/05/07 CSP : JP

You see I now write very well. That's the way it goes with me in these days.

{L340:129}

1907/05/08

WJ date book

Ultimatum to Chas. Peirce.

1907/06/03 JP : AHJ

How can I ever prove my gratitude to you for all your loving interest in me. I am always most thankful for any suggestion or your valuable advice. I would be slow to believe that you had betrayed my confidence, or withdrawn your dear sympathy and loving friendship, which has become all and everything to me. There is no one in this wide world that I would care to talk

from heart to heart without injuring my husband. The truth is his family is so heartless on my behalf, if ever anything leaks out about their brother they are always ready to accuse me. Mrs. Ellis' [HPE] notion that no one knew about her brothers habits is most absurd, his shiny eyes are sure sign for they hounded me day and night. Up here a great many knew for he give the bakerboy and others orders for the drugs and it returns labeled morphine, and a good many know of his alcoholic habit, he sends for it in a most open way. How he could write again to Mr. Stickney [AS] that he was starving when he had right along every cent of his pension, and he keeps besides every cent of his earning, although I have on & off asked him to let me have a little of his earnings, he pays not the slightest attention to my sorrows. The truth is that the drug habit has made him indifferent to my sufferings, it always has been so. For how he could endure to have me worked far beyond my strength into a cripple and deprive me of the most vital necessities to enable him to indulge in the drugs and drinks. His crueltys at times are such that my heart would fail me to care for him. If I was not sure he cannot be himself. For believe me dear Ms. James he has never while under my care suffered from want of the best food, which I thought it was not enough to go around, under some pretext I did not sit at the table with him, for a good many days at the time. And when you remarked about my gloomy breakfast when visiting you, I dreaded to change my habit. I am ashamed to own to it all. But the cruelty of his family and my husband's great indifference prevent my silence any longer. Over two weeks ago I stated matters very plainly to him. I had not a line from him since. I suppose he needs every cent for the deadly stuff & alcohol, and his good has become a secondary thought to him. I often noticed when here, or traveling[,] in his absentmindedness paying people twice over, and they are not always scrupulous in returning the money. & still he insists in keeping a bank account. He ought to be afraid to look at money, for all the disgrace and suffering he has brought me...[Discussion of how he got money out of AS]. How well you seem to understand all my sorrow and cares. I have saved him several times from being burned alive, as we have no gas here, for when loaded with the deadly stuff I dare say a cannon shot only would wake him & he insists on sitting in his high rocker at all hours of the night, complaining he cannot sleep in bed, and it means a vigilant watch such as only a wife can perform...

1907/06/30 CSP : George A. Plimpton

...I was in Cambridge in a half-starved condition...They called in a doctor...The doctor after watching my case for some weeks, told me he didn't think I was long for this world. This more than his treatment brightened me up & gave me the strength for the journey home...

1907/07/13 CSP: WJ

Nobody understands me...America is no place for such as I am. Nor would any foreign country be for a pauper. I detest life, & just as soon as I can frame a plausible excuse to myself—in about a fortnight I hope,—I shall follow Frank Abbott's example [suicide],—except that I leave no unreadable book behind me. No, no!

{L224-4}

1907/07/16 CSP: WJ

[The doctor] said he did not know what it was she [JP] had; that he had never seen the likes of it. Whether this was true or not, of course, I cannot tell, for I only know my wife's attempt to repeat what he chose to tell her. He did say positively that it was not goiter. The swellings are on different parts of her person, are intensely painful, as I can see, knowing her bravery, and seeing how she winces under taking in her hand a weight of half a dozen pounds. I mention how I know

what I know of her extreme suffering, because she does not complain,—except in a sort of attack now and then, especially in the evening; and also because I have always had the same sort of difficulty in understanding what she means when she speaks that I have in understanding you....

I am perfectly wild to earn money, in the first place in order to be able to relieve my poor wife, who suffers torture incessantly, physically and still more mentally, as I can detect with certainty, notwithstanding her wonderful bravery in working hard under it; and perhaps the way she bears it on the whole make the wear of the suffering greater. Her determination to fight for her life amazes me considering how she suffers. Her character, energy, vitality (very weak & feeble as she is) amaze me....

My poor wife really very much more ill than I and suffering dreadfully nevertheless was able to summon the energy to nurse me and take care of me with a tenderness that distressed me very much.

1907/07/16 CSP: WJ

I have since I got home twice had spells of being sick abed for two [illegible text] days, when I simply could not get up.

{L224-4}

1907/07/18 CSP: HHDP

At last I am home, having arrived July 1st, and although I have had two spells of illness, when on each occasion, I absolutely couldn't leave my bed for three days, yet I am infinitely better than I was in Cambridge and am in tip-top trim for work. In Cambridge there was only two or three hours each day when I could handle a pen at all and even then it was like a ten year old boy's handwriting. That instantly disappeared when I came home, and I attribute it to my vague fears about Juliette's health. It is true I find her much worse than I had realized. But then I see just how the thing stands and I have no longer that uncertainty which broke down my nervous system. Today my writing is pretty shaky because yesterday I worked very hard from 5:30 A.M. to 3 A.M. – 21 ½ hours — which is too much...

She [JP] is as full of fight as she is full of good and cheerful feeling for everybody about her who does not offend her...

1907/07/18 CSP: HHDP

[What is transcribed is the entire sentence; nothing additional is presented; the sentence needs more context.]

Juliette by the way has one of her closest friends at the court of Christiania,—a great friend of the queen she is.

{L338}

1907/07/21 CSP: HPE [Juliette's flight from Europe]

...for you must know that what forced her to come to this country was a diabolical plot, of one of the highest prince's of Europe, who, being the worst kind of <u>voué</u>, was going to force a charming young girl to marry him, by inflaming her mother's ambition, and Juliette contrived that, by his own action, he should display his own, disgusting character, and thus stopped the alliance. It was a good action, for which the highest people thanked her warmly, but he, with unlimited wealth and no scruples, contrived to place her in a position in which her own generous nature led her....[letter breaks off]

{L129, pages 83-84.}

1907/07/25 CSP: WJ

...Still, it never would do in the world to let him [C. W. Bull, Milford lawyer, through whom mortgage interest is paid] or anybody else to know our true [financial] situation...

1907/07/25 CSP: WJ

Formerly Juliette used to receive an allowance from a lady on the other side now dead; and she died neglecting to provide for its continuance.

{L224-4}

1907/07/29. Note by CSP on letter WJ: CSP.

Oh my own girl, I have such waves of longing to see you, to be with you!...

{L224-7}

1907/09/11

[CSP's last will and testament written, with copy in Juliette's hand]

1907/11/01 CSP: HHDP

...You can have no idea how dreadfully ill Juliette is with what appears to be inflammation of the sheaths of almost all her tendons brought on by hard work beyond her strength. She is now unable to lift a pound or do the least thing except mentally...

Juliette is by no means incompetent or a fool...

1907/11/01 CSP: George A. Plimpton

Mrs. Peirce came here and I remained there, which was a very great strain on my health and spirits; for after all my disappointments, due to my having no "pull" in Washington, which in turn is due to my having the habits of a student and a recluse,—as well as to other or secondary causes,—had worked so much on my spirits that I had no pleasure in living. I have none now, and would rather try my fortune in a future life. Only, I must be sure that I have used my talents first. I feel it incumbent upon me to explain certain things that I understand better than others do; and especially to deal a final coup de grace to agnosticism, and everything like that...long before men can really know, it is not altogether unprofitable that they should develop their thoughts in simply guessing.

{L357:00024-00025}

1908/00/00c CSP auto.

...[My father] positively for bade my being taught what was then in this country miscalled "Intellectual Arithmetic," meaning skill in instantaneously solving problems of arithmetic in one's head. In this as in other respects I think he underrated the importance of the powers of dealing with individual men to those dealing with ideas and with objects entirely governed by exactly comprehensible ideas, with the result that I am today so destitute of tact and discretion that I cannot trust myself to transact the simplest matter of business that is not tied down to rigid forms.

{Ms. 905}

1908/02/23 HHDP: HPE (from Norway)

I am dreadfully distressed about Charley and hardly know what to write to you. I have no belief in this alleged attempt at suicide having been bonafide. A good many years ago during the

period of his early associations with Juliette he did something of the same sort, as I always supposed, in order to produce an effect on J's mind. I never knew much of the details and the whole matter is after this lapse of time somewhat vague in my mind, but that he did take a dose of some opiate or other narcotic as to require the aid of two physicians to restore him to sensibility is certainly a fact, and from subsequent events I got a strong impression that the whole affair was a deliberate ruse. This last affair may have been an attempt to work on our feelings so that we should come forward more liberally. The phrase in Dr. Medrich's letter speaking of Charley's threat to employ some "more unpleasant" means of making away with himself sounds to be significant of an intent to intimidate us all. Of course, Juliette will make the most of this incident but we can't help that. Indeed all this phase of the matter does not seem to me important. What does trouble me is ways and means of keeping him from starvation. I don't care a single solitary damn about her...But the question is what can be done. I am much opposed to the idea of a sanitarium. I suppose we must accept it as a fact, from what Dr. Nichols says, that Charley is addicted to morphine. At the same time the habit does not by any means deprive him of the use of his faculties although it may be the principal cause of his not being able to employ them advantageously toward his support. Still he can earn something, as small as it is. As an inmate of a sanitarium this could cease while the cost of his maintenance would be increased and I have no fear of any real attempt on his part to take his life...

1908/04/00 [- 1909/01/00]

[CSP publishes a series of papers on mazes in *The Monist*.]

1908/04/04 CSP: James Mark Baldwin

....ou must know that not only do I find incipient senescence [state of being old] a great impeder of all work, as my father did at the same age, but, moreover, I am hampered by the necessity of earning my living, and by the fact that for fifteen months I have been suffering, or enduring rather, the effects of a grippe. We have no such thing here; but I got it in Cambridge.

1908/07/10 CSP: [FCR?]

[part missing]...a perfectly inert, amorphous insoluble very fine powder) shaken up with gum Arabic water, so that it covers and protect the raw places. I was treated by various physicians & I never saw one that after a fortnight of my attack did not think I was going off the hooks. But the wonderful part is the sudden disappearance of the inflammation, and since I made the acquaintance of John Wyeth & Brother's Beef-Juice, I am left weak but not in a state of inanition. When your letter came I was in the midst of an attack & last night suddenly got well so that I could swallow a couple of eggs this morning...

1908/07/25 CSP: William Smith

...when I grew up I joined the Episcopal church, without believing anything but the general essence and spirit of it. That I did & do profoundly believe; but yet I look upon it as one of the species of that genus of religions of which Buddhism and Confucianism are others.

{L408}

1908/08/16 CSP auto.

I have to an unusual degree a way of holding my breath in thinking especially in making logical analyses. I am little aware myself of doing so, but many years ago an ingenious secretary of

mine remarked the phenomenon and made some observation of it. I think there is some connection between this habit and my power of logical analysis. It seems from the observations of that secretary that when I was in the height of my powers, I often held my breath for as long as two minutes without being aware of it. As well as I can ascertain I do not, now that I am growing old, do so for more than a quarter of a minute. Ideas do not rush upon me in such mobs; but they no longer stumble over one another as they used to do, but are much more orderly; and I think a good deal more effectively than I did in the fullness of life.

1908/08/23c CSP auto. [entry in Logic Notebook]

Every man begins life with a natural confidence in his own powers,—or rather with an absence of any suspicion of their proving insufficient. But each step we take toward perfect self-consciousness consists in learning our own weakness, ignorance, or error.

1908/09/18 CSP: FCR

I wish you would acknowledge receipt of my letters. I wrote you a long letter which I infer you got (I haven't yet finished reading yours of the 16th inst.). But as you did not acknowledge it, I sent you a reply postal to ask if you got it. It would have been easy to write

Yes Russell But it seems to have been too much trouble...

{L387b, 00411}

1908/10/00

[CSP publishes "The Neglected Argument for the Reality of God" in *The Hibbert Journal*.]

In 1907 I was far too ill to write anything but such articles as I did write...This year I am quite well & have the abstracts of the concluding papers of my series on Pragmatism fully elaborated and one of the articles itself nearly written, treating of logical analysis and definition and its methodeutic.

1908/11/10 CSP: Mrs. Pinchot

Mrs. Peirce has crushed her finger terribly and so being unable to write asks me to do so...

1908/11/11 WJ: HHDP

I return you Juliette's letter which is horrible enough. Hard to help a person of that kind! I begin to congratulate myself on not being in the family! Most of the allusions to facts in this letter are to me unintelligible, and I am quite willing that they should remain so. My continued help is an expression of pure pity, as well as gratitude for Chas.'s inspiration in the past...

1908/11/17 CSP: WJ

...Juliette has been losing ground steadily. Her nerves have become more and more worn down...

Mrs. Peirce has been wondering what Mrs. James referred to in saying you like the "Date marmalade" she, Juliette, sent. Was it the grape or plum? She has jammed her fingers so that she cannot write...

1909/00/00 CSP: LVW You know that she [Juliette] is a Françoise.

1909/00/00c CSP: WJ

I admit that I have been ruined by my indisposition to suspect of disloyalty & that every year I have been a loser from that cause...I don't give a tinker's damn what becomes of me. All the message I had for mankind will be where it can be understood if anybody has the sense to look for it & I don't think it is my part to give them that sense, since I have received from heaven no gift for making myself appreciated by the world at large, but an almost insurmountable aversion to the applause of fools...

{L224, 00219}

1909/00/00c CSP : WJ

Nevertheless, that there are elements of good in the worst men is shown by a happening which has never been revealed to any person except myself and the persons concerned; and I have Mrs. Peirce's permission to tell it to you, which I will do in outline & sometime I dare say she will tell you more. When she was living in Washington, before we were married, George Bancroft, who had had occasion to know the remarkable powers of diplomacy of her to others, told her how two relatives were forced to earn their living because their deceased father's fortune had disappeared, and they had reason to believe that Ben Butler had it; and he Bancroft asked her to see what she could do toward getting some valuable knowledge of it. She told him she would undertake it, provided she were left to pursue her own course without making any report for six week after she should have been introduced to Butler. The result was that in three weeks she turned over to the ladies two and a half millions of negotiable securities worth any stroke of a pen. She accepted a very small present for it. She never liked to hear ill spoken of Ben after that.

{L224:00219}

1909/01/00

[CSP's last published article, "Some Amazing Mazes: A Second Curiosity," appears in *The Monist*.]

1909/01/01 CSP auto.

I must tell you that for more than a month I have been terribly over worked & have not averaged 4 hours a day in bed.

{L187}

1909/01/11 CSP: Mary Huntington

I have been so hideously overworked, averaging about 4 hours in bed daily since December 1...

{L212}

1909/01/23 CSP : FCR

I wonder whether everybody does not find himself subject to unaccountable fluctuations in his power of expressing himself. I do, especially in French. One naturally would in a foreign language, and though I have been studying French diligently for sixty years, I have doubtless command over it, perhaps less than I have over English. But as to that I am different on different days. Some times one language seems a misfit, sometimes the other. My natural mode of

utterance, which I always practiced before knowing that is a system having rules of its own, is Existential Graphs...

{L387b, 00446}

1909/01/31 CSP: LVW

...I am left-handed (in the literal sense) which implies a cerebral development and connexions of parts of the brain so different from those of right-handed people that the sinister is almost sure to be misunderstood and live a stranger to his kind, if not a misanthrope. This has, I doubt not, had a good deal to do with my devotion to the science of logic. Yet probably my intellectual lefthandedness has been serviceable to my studies in that science. It has caused me to be *thorough* in penetrating the thoughts of my predecessors....

{CSP:Lady Welby Correspondence, 96.}

1909/02/23 JP: AHJ

...By experiment, I discovered that a woman to help would not answer so well as part of the time of a man, whom in any case we should have to have within reach, especially in view of my husband's occasional fits. They are perhaps not two in a month and last barely a quarter of an hour but they seem dangerous while they last...

1909/02/24 CSP: LVW

Ethics I would teach my son, if I had one, is the study that will teach you to get what you desire. {L463, 00184}

1909/03/09 CSP: WJ

P. S. My poor wife has been for a long time—some months—with one of her legs cold up to the knee, sometimes higher & sometimes lower. It not only feels so to her but is so to my touch, very decidedly. We cannot both leave the house together. She won't take any medicine of any kind. You can tell me what this signifies & what it portends. I suffer little. But I am terribly inert mentally every morning. It is so hard for me to do anything intelligently except my logic. I am slow even at that, but what I do in that line, analyzing concepts, i.e., defining them really, I do better than ever. But I can't do anything else well, all the morning, and not for so many hours a day as I ought. I think it is because there is urea in my blood, though I have not tested my urine, not having the chemicals[,] the test tubes or the spirit lamp. When I was young & felt this there was some vegetable mild diuretic I used to take. But I can't for the life of me remember the name of it. I think it was an African seed. But I took it in the form of a fluid extract. I used to fancy it did me much good.

1909/03/25 CSP auto.

...I am naturally deficient in aptitude for language. When a new bit of slang comes into vogue, I am about the last person who discovers what it means, and when I come to do so, it is by requesting somebody to explain it to me. I am very frequently in such doubt about the shade of meaning of some common word, such as "lovely," that I am obliged to hunt it up in concordances and in the poems to which they relate, and scarcely a day passes that I do not resort, once or twice, to the quotations in the Oxford Dictionary. Unfortunately for me, that work does not seem to have been designed for such defectives as I am, and familiar quotations, which have oft-times had decisive influence upon the shades of meaning, the associations of words are distinctly avoided there. I do not think I ever reflect in words; I employ visual diagrams, firstly,

because this way of thinking is my natural language of self-communion, and secondly, because I am convinced that it is the best system for the purpose. But there is nothing fanciful about my diagrams. I do not, for example, see numbers with colors attached to them and placed upon some curve; and it perfectly astounds me to find how useful some persons are able to make such strange constructions. When I am in health I am not aware of having any dreams, unless perhaps of a problem in algebra where no real significations are attached to the letters, or something equally abstract. My "Existential Graphs" have a remarkable likeness to my thoughts about any topic in philosophy.

{Ms 619, pp. 7-9 (3/25/09-3/28/09)}

1909/03/25

CSP auto.

...nine papers of mine were printed in the three years 1867-9. Then, not hearing of anybody's following my reasonings, I held my peace; for I was not disposed to exert myself to give elementary instruction.

{Ms 619, p. 12 (3/25/09-3/28/09)}

1909/03/26.

CSP auto.

From time to time, he [BP] would put me to the test by keeping me playing rapid games of double-dummy from ten in the evening until sunrise, and sharply criticizing every error. He also stimulated me to train my sensuous and esthetic discrimination, in the broadest sense of the later adjective. He specially directed my ambition to delicacy of palate; so much so, indeed, that I subsequently placed myself, for two months at monstrous expense, in tutelage to the *sommelier* of Voisin opposite the church of Ste. Roche, to learn the red wines of Médoc, and at the end of which time I was almost fit for the profession of a wine-taster in the particular line. But as to moral self-control, he unfortunately presumed that I would have inherited his own nobility of character, which was so far from being the case that for long years I suffered unspeakably, being an excessively emotional fellow from ignorance of how to go to work to acquire a sovereignty of myself.

{Ms. 619, pages 5-6}

1909/06/18c

CSP: ???

...matter of so much concern to me to know just what my comparative powers in logic are that I have taken the utmost pains to estimate them correctly, and neither too high nor too low...the only writers known to me who are in the same rank as I are Aristotle, Dun Scotus, and Leibniz, the three greatest logicians in my estimation...

Now if I am right in my appraisal,—and mind that such powers have nothing at all to do with the worth of one's character, and are no ground whatever for self-satisfaction, but quite the contrary,—it places a heavy load of responsibility on my shoulders to return the talent faithfully employed. I early saw this, and also that I neither deserved nor could expect any reward whatever; but that, on the contrary, it placed me in a situation in which it became my duty to sacrifice my life and all it brings to other men, in order to perform the duties laid upon me, the nonperformance of which would be despicable and the performance merely what ought to be expected.

...My father talked to me very seriously, representing that I was sacrificing all hopes of success in life by devoting myself to logic, and that people would never think I amounted to much if I did. I told him that I fully realized the truth of that, but that my bent of mind was so strong in that direction that it would be a very hard struggle to give up logic...

1909/08/24 1 A.M. CSP auto. [Fragment; sample of CSP's pen testing.] I haven't sufficient command over my muscles today to judge very well. But all three pens are satisfactory; this, I think is the best. If I had a decent writing-table, it would be better.

1909/08/24. CSP auto.

Relying on my own estimates, then, I say that my own natural powers of mind were rather below than above mediocrity; and my fondness for logic confirms me in this opinion; for in my extensive readings in that science I have been struck with the low average degree of good sense of the logicians. It seems as a man's interest in logic were proportionate to the difficulty he finds in reasoning. But my three strongest points have been self-criticism, persistence, and logical analysis, and because of the fundamental nature of my chosen study, those seeds have brought me a harvest of rich value to any man who interests himself in anything beyond his earthy *métier* whatever that may be...

{Ms.631, pages 2-3.}

1909/08/29 CSP auto.

I can imagine one of my readers saying to another, "Why can he not express himself naturally?" I can supply the answer to that. It is because no linguistic expression is natural to him. He never thinks in words, but always in some kind of diagrams. He is always struggling with a foreign language; for to him every language is foreign...

{Ms. 632, page 00010-00011}

1909/08/29 CSP auto.

I will remark by the way, that I am led to surmise that this awkwardness [in writing and thinking] is connected with the fact that I am left-handed. For that my left-handedness is not a mere accidental habit, has some organic cause seem to be evidenced by the fact that when I left the last school where it had attracted attention, I wrote with facility with my right hand, but could not write legibly with my left; and yet when I ceased to make the effort to continue this habit of these years standing, I soon fell back to using my left hand though I have always used knife, fork, and spoon at table, just as others do. Now since my heart is placed as usual, it would seems that the connections between different parts of my brain must be different from the usual and presumably the best arrangement; and if so, it would necessarily follow that my thinking should be gauche and [ends abruptly] [handwriting style changes in middle of paragraph]

{Ms. 632, page 00011}

1909/09/29 CSP: LVW

...Meantime for several years I have been subject to nervous attacks which consist in my stiffening out and being unable to move a muscle for perhaps a quarter of an hour or less. When they first came on they came only once in several months. But when they came I would fall like a stick without being able in any way to lessen the force of the fall. I thus got severely hurt several times, & that made me timid. I then observed that the dread and the imagination brought them on. But my knowing they were imaginary did not in the least enable me to move. Now they come more frequently but I have learned how to manage them & them give me no uneasiness. They worry my wife, however, very much & in her state of health that must not be; and so I am considerably debarred from exercise...

1909/09/29 CSP: LVW

...the loss of my mental powers begins to be very sensible to me...

{L463:00200}

1909/09/29 CSP: LVW

But without my wife's companionship & aid in an hundred ways they [CSP's ideas] never would be written.

{L463:00204}

1909/10/11 CSP: LVW

I am 70 years old and can perceive that my powers of mind are beginning to fail...I feel that I am in possession of truth [in logic] which must be put into writing before my powers quite fail. This haunts me constantly...

1909/11/13 CSP : Felton

...If I have not sent you some articles that I promised, it is owing to my difficult position, which already has given rise to zigzags before my eyes & other symptoms of a dangerous strain upon the brain. I am over 70 years old, and ancestors have mostly lost their powers at that age as mathematicians often do...When we settled here [Milford, PA, in 1887] I had an income of about \$6000 and my wife three or four thousand. But we both lost every cent within a fortnight of one another & without the slightest—without two days warning. I for my part had a good many bills to pay & nothing at all to pay with,—no business habits, experience, or natural faculty. I am still a perfect 3-year old in such matters. I turn every penny over to my wife & wonder how she contrives to make the two ends meet. So you see the number of different duties that weigh upon me just as I am beginning to lose my faculties at a pretty trot, I assure you render it difficult to do all the duties of a new friendship...

{L482:00062}

1909/12/14 CSP : PC

I am suffering from a very bad cold...my poor wife though she is suffering agonies from tuberculosis of the lungs & is driven to death with hard work, learned to do without me...My internal difficulties are great, but I shall be able to overcome them. But I can't say how soon. I can't write much per diem. After 3 hours I become fatigued & find it best to stop; and I write very slowly because I need to be extremely accurate in the subject...my health is bad. Some days I cannot handle a pen at all; and every week I have more than one attack of a nervous nature in which I can move hardly a muscle & am in danger of falling. If I had not had so many that I know how to manage, I should fall often...

In short, she [JP] is worn out. Naturally, in my state of health, having the strange nervous attacks, perhaps for aught I know of the petit mal of epileptoid nature, with tense muscles, having these now several times a week usually, I miss her tender attentions...

{L224-5}

1909/12/25 CSP: WJ

...I am not only over 70 years of age, but my powers are waning, and my health presents alarming features as to the continuance of sanity...

1910/00/00c

Alexander S. Rose report

Mrs. Rose has the picture of two neurotic people, showing extreme devotion to each other at times, extreme cruelty at other times...

{Arthur Burks interview, about 1957.}

1910/01/01c

CSP auto. [In a manuscript on "Definition']

...for more than twenty years, from before 1865 to after 1885, I was almost daily training myself to recognize and analyze by immediate consciousness the different elements and respect of difference of colours, odours, flavours and other sensation. I also paid a good deal of attention to phonetics...

1910/01/06

CSP auto.

I am...an old-fashioned Christian, a believer in the efficacy of prayer, an opponent of female suffrage and of universal male suffrage, in favor of letting business-methods develop without the interference of law, a disbeliever in democracy...

1910/01/10

CSP: WJ

...Mrs. Peirce's condition could only be more critical if she were at the point of death. Her haemorrhages [sic] I do not know of from personal inspection and hope she may think they are more serious than they are. But there are plenty of other symptoms that I can see and I regard them as most immediately alarming...

1910/01/10

JP: AHJ

...Between nursing my husband (who has not been the same since the loss of his earliest and best friend [WJ] and who had had the worst fall he ever had, so that I thought at first his skull must be broken. I have not been able to find more letters [from WJ] those I send among the big piles of logic papers for my husband never wanted to have them separated from the work in which he lives...

1910/01/11

AHJ: JP

[The envelop is marked in JP's hand:] A.J./ before C/ lovely [This may mean that JP got to see the letter before CSP did; earlier mentions indicate that AHJ's letters were always received by JP opened, assumedly by CSP.]

1910/01/27

CSP: Mary E. Huntington (cousin)

Here we are closing the fourth week of January and I haven't even sent my greetings of the New Year to my oldest of living friends! But you see, dear M., that I am struggling with might and main to get two books written before my old friend Death catches up with me; and every sentence requires concentration of mind. I must be entirely unaware that there is anything in any of the three universes but the particular subject of that sentence that I am writing. If you take into account my too emotional build, you will see how distraught I must be much of the time. Last night I slept not a wink. Do write to me. I am very unhappy. I am confident my two books will be very useful to many people and I am quite sure they can both be read and understood by anybody who will take the trouble to think. But that is just it. There is nothing people hate so as thinking. I get letters constantly from men telling me how much they have learned from my articles, and so in the respect am encouraged. But I hear from none of my old friends.

Admiration is particularly worthless...I know just how much my own powers amount to, better than anybody else can.

I dream of you and of those early 5 year old days in Northampton. Sometimes night after night for almost a week—and it would do you good I hope to know about it. Do apologize, or rather convey my humble apologies to Mayor Jo [sic] for not writing to him. I did fill several sheets of letter size, but was interrupted, and haven't had time since to write anything. Give my particular regards to Mr. Q. Do write, dear!

1910/02/02 CSP: WJ

...I was going to say perhaps she [JP] would write herself. I know she wishes much to do so; but I must put my foot down about that. For I know that it would mean a haemorrhage...

{L224 (5)}

1910/02/08 CSP auto.

Reproached me as having told tales. J [JP] said to me I [JP] was so glad to have received one of those loving letters from Mrs. James, for I had been fretting for fear of having offended her. I am bound to write to her if it be but with a pencil...

1910/03/08 CSP: Helen Muirhead (cousin)

...I have been almost constantly suffering from an excruciating pain in one hip joint that would not let me make scarce a movement & forced me to sit so close to the heat that there was no room to write; and whenever the pain let up, I was so exhausted by it as to fall asleep, & even so could never get above three hours in the 24 or if I could keep awake while tolerably free from pain there was something or other I had to do for Juliette who is much worse in health than I...

{L307}

1910/03/20 CSP: WJ

...I too have suffered in health from the winter, so that with hardly an exception in some part of the day,—and often all day, I could not even get across the room without assistance. I think it has been mainly a nervous,—and in part even imaginary complaint, though I have had a severe lumbago all winter. But people who have not themselves suffered from imaginary complaints have no conception how real they are, and to know it is imagination makes no difference...Often I go without a book I need to consult in my writing, simply because I cannot get it—being out of reach,—when I am perfectly sure I could if I only could think I could. But that reflexion does not help in the least degree...

{L224-5}

1910/03/27 CSP auto. [Notes concerning a manuscript.]

In this "copy" all that is written green ink, is intended as directions to the printer. See further explanations on p. 8!! The printer should take careful note of all that is in red. All that is to appear in print is in black, except that some of part of the subtitles written in the upper left hand corner in brown may be inserted as marginal or other subtitles in print, if the editor, Dr. Carus, thinks it would contribute to perspicuity. What is in red is needed by anybody who may read the MS. What is in blue is for my own personal convenience in keeping my papers in order.

1910/04/00c {Easter} CSP auto.

I don't let her [JP] write to anybody whatever but I know it would be useless to try to prevent her writing to Mrs. James...I see clearly what a care I must be to her [JP]. Have days when I cannot walk from one room to another & have not been away from the place all winter. I have been writing every minute I could but there have been interruptions [due to my] being unable often to hold a pen and often have been unable to make my mind work and when I have been in good trim much time has been lost on account of business, chores, etc. etc.

1910/04/12 CSP auto. [Digression in a manuscript on "Definition"]

...I well remember when anesthetics first came into use...Dr. Morton's great discovery which was accompanied with such universal expressions of joy has proved it to be probably the most memorable and certainly the beneficent event in modern history...has made us all pretty babyish in our attitude toward pain,—a statement which compels me to add, with deep personal shame, that I am myself one of the worst cowards in that particular...

1910/04/23 Harvard Alumni Directory

[CSP's occupation listed as:] Investigation of the theory of the attainment of truth.

1910/05/01c CSP auto.

As I was entering upon old age I began to find a new pleasure in eating of afternoons one or two confectioner's chocolate drops filled with sweet paste of various flavors, prevailingly of the orange-lemon order; and having considerable faith in the veracity of Pleasure-Pain Feelings, I followed the intimation, using not to eat until I should receive the counter-intimation of cloy; and now I come across a statement by a physiologist, to which I accord a certain degree of credit (though less than long experience leads me to attach to my appetite) that the state of Fatigue partly consists in the lowering of the stock of sugars in the organism, or in some part thereof.

1910/06/11 CSP : F. H. Giddings

I am not quite recovered from an illness of many months which leaves so many arrears upon my hands that with the need of economizing my forces, I can in this letter set down but a small fraction of the comments I might make on your plan.

{L164}

1910/07/00c CSP : PC

...and the result is that I worked, until, —what with worries, too, —I was in a state of downright nervous exhaustion from which I have now been for a good number of months recovering, but owing to the decay of my powers and being so sick of writing about the same things, I can not even yet write but a few equivalents of pages of this letter very slowly and for not over three hours and with many days when I can do nothing...

1910/07/19 CSP : PC

...writing only on one side of the paper, so that, if I should suddenly die in one of the fits to which I am almost daily subject, what I write would be set up & printed...

1910/07/27 CSP: James McKeen Cattell

...exhausting labours in trying to make my future treatise on Logic really useful, our having to make extensive repairs on the house...and then the experience of a second exceptionally severe

winter, and then the breakdown of my wife's health...so works at last on my nerves that I broke down completely and for a long time had a sort of fit every day, and all that I wrote—about a ream of it—will have to be thrown away. I have been slowly getting well...

1910/09/16 CSP auto.

To begin with, then, my brain can certainly not be larger than the average. I should say it was a trifle under. But I have a great curiosity to know what it does look like, being naturally interested in it, and being convinced it must be peculiar. My guess is that it is unusually convoluted. For I suppose that convolutions have the effect of rending what is going on in one part of the brain more or less free from interference by another part.

Now this must favor highly abstract thinking. In another respect, however, its effects will be unfortunate. But unquestionably the effect of evolution under natural selection is to adapt every normal type to its normal environment; and consequently the man who is in any respect decidedly unlike his fellows must necessarily be ill-adapted for the normal every-day affairs of life. Now this describes me: I am strong in whatever is abstract and theoretical, but a perfect baby in every-day gumption.

{Ms. 657, p. 4-6}

1910/12/24 CSP : PC

...My wife, to whom I am so deeply attached, is suffering the last tortures of pulmonary tuberculosis, with all the perturbation that that implies...I am in a critical condition of health myself & am on most days so inert, that it is a tremendous effort to do what would otherwise be a trifle...

1911/01/01 CSP diaries.

[For much of the year CSP is keeping track on an almost daily basis of his stools and their passage. He also is keeping track of the accuracy of his watch and his use of perique tobacco.]

1911/01/16 Josiah Royce: James McK. Cattell

He [CSP] is not morally a really deserving being. James, laboring for him for years found that, and his lack of moral desert means, in his case, simply a persistent and incurable shiftlessness, —fairly pathological I think,—regard a proper care of his resources. A great,—a very great soul, —lost in a desert of petty cares,—that is what he has long been. Only there is a beauty about him even in his ruins...

1911/01/23 CSP auto.

[two family traits : one, strong opinions and took unpopular views; two, aptitude for mathematics]

{Ms 847 and Ms. 848}

1911/01/24 CSP auto.

[adds a third family trait: "emotionality"] That emotionality I must confess to having inherited to a very extravagant degree...

{Ms848, page 6.}

1911/04/26. CSP diary.

Juliette worse. Blood with every raising.

{Ms. 1623a.}

1911/04/27.

CSP diary.

I terribly unhappy. I long to die, but I must not desert J[uliette].

{Ms. 1623a.}

1911/05/11

LVW: J. H. Kehler

...he [CSP] has that something of a child's simplicity which true genius has. He tells me as a mother of his troubles...his is a common case of exceptional genius,—that is, a tendency to neglect his own interests and mismanage his affairs. His wife however is sound enough and would bring things around if she had a chance, poor woman!...His letters to me are unique as far as my experience goes, and his powers astonishing. But there is no doubt a tendency to unsoundness somewhere—very often the case in original genius...

1911/05/20

CSP: LVW

I am extremely emotional, with great self-control; so that anything which affects me has no outlet and simply shakes my whole being, so that I cannot walk across the floor and can hardly hold a pen. The same causes affect my memory so that I cannot think of the words I use.

1911/09/10.

CSP diary.

In the evening Juliette sang most beautifully and ravishingly. It went straight to my heart.

{Ms. 1623a}

1911/11/00c

CSP: FAW

[letter of 1913/10/13]...23 months ago I met with a serious accident and have ever since been under a regimen imposed by a foolish and careless country doctor, and...consequently, though my muscular strength is not inconveniently impaired my nerves and power of work is [are] still very weak indeed...

1911/11/25.

CSP diary.

Slept outside of my bed I was so abused by Juliette's intemperate language in the evening due to the poor girl's intense suffering.

{Ms. 1623a}

1911/11/26.

CSP diary.

In the afternoon, I suffered so much in my bowels that in view of Juliette's excessive reluctance ever to give me antikam (which she keeps where I can't get at it,) that I took *fourteen* quarter grains of sulphate of morphine, to my great regret. I could not stand the torture.

{Ms. 1623a}

1911/12/04.

CSP diary.

Juliette slept with me last night. But was nearly 3 A M when we went to bed.

{Ms 1623a}

1911/12/13.

CSP diary.

This day or the next, I broke a rib.

{Ms. 1623a}

1911/12/27 CSP auto.

Game between Szew and Durfee B. [evidence that CSP maintained an interest in chess yet late in life.]

1912/00/00c Mr. Gassmann

Mr. G. saw Peirce taking drugs. This was the last few years of P's life...J. [JP] had explained drugs as a result of treatment given by doctor for neuralgia.

{Charles Hartshorne interview 1927 or 1928}

1912/01/27 CSP diary.

Got those damned straps off & according to Dr. Kenworthy they have been on just 6 weeks today. So that my accident must have happened on the 16th of December.

{Ms 1623a}

1912/01/31. CSP diary.

[written at end of month] I want to know which rib was broken & where. Also what degree of danger there is of breaking it again.

{Ms 1623a}

1912/02/04. CSP diary.

[Took] one red pill. [Mentions taking pills, but seldom much more.]

{Ms 1623a}

1912/04/05. CSP diary.

I went to Port Jervis & suffered greatly from indigestion & the torment of my back.

{Ms 1623b}

1912/04/06. CSP diary.

Have been forced to smoke all the time to relieve my torments. [perique? Diaries indicate much smoking of perique.]

{Ms. 1623b}

1912/05/26 CSP : AHJ

Juliette has been wanting very much to write to you for a long time; but I have been seriously ill and with great nervous and cerebral weakness,—along with equal weakness of most other kinds,—today being one of the rare days on which I have found myself able to shape my handwriting so that it may, I hope, be legible. This state has not lasted more than six months. Juliette's devotion may pull me through; it has been so great, and her consequent labor so great...so that she is now a downright sick woman, so much so that when she said to me today that she was going to write to you, I told her she ought not to attempt it, and would write to you instead, in spite of knowing well that both you and she will think my letter most unsatisfactory. That is not agreeable to any of us; but I am quite sure Juliette ought not to attempt writing. As soon as she attempts to do anything she becomes overwhelmingly dizzy...

{L224}

1912/05/28 CSP: Howes Norris, Jr.

...I am now, with exasperating slowness, recovering from a long and serious illness, which has weakened my energy and intellect to such a degree that it forces itself upon my own ordinary self-conceit and on many days renders my handwriting illegible to myself, and so disgusts me with myself as to indispose me to make any exhibition of myself even to my closest friends.

{L321}.

1912/06/02 CSP diary.

J [JP] washed me.

{Ms 1623b}

1912/08/28. CSP: HPE

...the state of my health (which, as you know, has been atrocious for more than nine months,) rendered all writing absolutely impossible...I wrote you an affectionate letter last November. A few minutes after writing it I slipped on something lying on the waxed floor of my study, fell, and broke some ribs. The same evening Juliette added a mention of this accident to my letter...but we never received any answer, and felt considerably hurt. Six weeks later when the bandages or straps were removed from my back, I had a long siege with an acne they had caused, and that was followed by a severe nervous prostrations...

{L129, page 111}

1912/08/28c HPE : CSP

[After CSP's letter] In clearing out my desk at Mary Huntington's the other day I came across [the letter]. So you had every reason to use the sarcastic tone in your last—

1912/11/06. CSP diary.

J. has pain in heart & in left arm.

{Ms. 1623b}

1912/11/07. CSP diary.

Juliette very poorly.

{Ms 1623b.}

1913.12.31. CSP diary.

...my everlasting stomach ache.

{Ms 1623c}

1913/00/00 CSP auto.

For that a man may be mistaken about his own opinions, let that regimen testify of whom every man has supposed that his opinion was that a speedy and sure death was the thing most desirable for him, but five minutes later, having taken a tablet of HgCl₂, has ascertained that his opinion was not precisely that.

1913/00/00 G. Alto Pobe, M.D.

He took cocaine for the last two years [of his life] to complete his work and to ease his pain.

{Interview of Dr. Pobe by H. S. Leonard in 1933}

1913/01/17 CSP : AHJ

...I am suffering with a splitting headache.

I must apologize for my delay in acknowledging these and other deeply interesting works. I have been seriously ill for over 14 months, and have some work that I am frantic not to leave undone, besides other indispensable tasks. So I beg to be excused.

1913/04/24. CSP diary.

I sat up all last night.

{Ms 1623c}

1913/06/05. CSP diary.

Our telephone fixed. 2 new battery cells in Telephone.

{Ms 1623c}

1913/06/07 CSP: AHJ

[JP has been] nursing me for over a year...

{L224-5]

1913/08/19. CSP diary.

Juliette, whose strength is breaking, has become subject to fits of bad temper which she cannot at once control, although her real nature is as admirable and charming as ever.

{Ms.1623c}

1913/08/28 CSP: PC

On Dec. 13, 1911, I was engaged in writing such an additional paper to be sent to you, when an important new idea occurred to me. I jumped up to think it over while walking up & down my study. I began, as frequently, with sort of a frisk for exercise. There was on the floor a wrapper of glazed paper. I trod on this. It slipped on the waxed floor. I was thrown on my back violently & broke some ribs, the broken ends sticking into the pleura and almost stopping my breath. I could neither get up nor call out. At last my wife came, and telephoned for one of the country doctors. If he had confined himself to dressing my back I should have been alright in a month or so. But after making a characteristically slochy diagnosis, he insisted upon putting me upon a regime the consequence of which is that I cannot yet put in ½ day's work...

1913/10/14 CSP: FAW

I have been ill and consequently indigent for the last 2 years, and my nervous power has suffered greatly at the hands of a country doctor. So my memory is weakened & I don't now recollect about no notice of your former book...

{L477}

1913/11/06 CSP : FAW

At that point imperative interests compelled my dropping this letter, and when business slackened a little, before I could collect my thought I was taken to bed with a severe influenza.

But now I shall have an hour or so, though it takes me a good fraction of a minute and great effort to frame each letter.

1913/11/20 CSP diary.

Walked out of doors.

{Ms. 1623c}

1913/11/21. CSP diary.

Poorly.

{Ms 1623c}

1913/11/23 CSP: HPE

[Thanksgiving day] You know I have been an invalid for the past two years and have almost entirely lost my memory and power of thought.

{L129, page 119}

1913/12/07 CSP: AHJ

Juliette is so terribly over-worked, since my illness began two years & more ago, (for although I seem physically as well as a man in his 75th year usually is, I tire and become confused so soon and have so lost my memory that I am of no help at all to my poor wife...

{L224-5}

1913/12/18. CSP diary.

Dr. Mitchell came for my inflamed stomach.

{Ms. 1623c}

1913/12/19. CSP diary.

[beginning on the 19th and continuing through the 23rd, records taking a pill for pain every 3 or 4 hours except when asleep. Mentions taking antikam.]

{Ms 1623c}

1913/12/31. CSP diary.

In the afternoon J[JP] moved me down into the music-room.

{Ms 1623c}

1914/00/00c Mary Huntington : HPE(?)

It was sometimes hard to do this [earn a living], for he was erratic and therefore not in favor with the powers that be. In short, he was a genius and had the failings of a genius...after he went to live in Milford...his health was much broken, and he would be incapacitated for days together. When he was well, his talk as brilliant as ever...

{L212}

1914/01/01 CSP diary

Juliette slept reversed in my bed. She suffers greatly...My eternal stomach-ache continues. P.M. Opened 4th box perique 4d 23h 30m.

1914/01/01 CSP diary.

Today she [JP] has brought down lots of things.

{Ms 1623c}

1914/01/04 CSP diary

Went to bed about 12:30 having taken a [Dr.] Pobe tablet.

1914/01/14. CSP diary.

Went to bed too early being fatigued by too much emotion.

{Ms. 1623}

1914/01/18. CSP diary.

Dr. Pobe was called & came & made a long visit.

{Ms 1623c}

1914/01/20 CSP: AHJ

I won't speak of my own life, which is nearly finished.

{L224-5}

1914/02/20 FCR: PC

He [CSP] is a case of a remarkably penetrating mind, well furnished with appropriate information but just as remarkably lacking in synthetic faculty.

1914/02/22 CSP auto.

The general equation of an ellipsoid referred to its center as origin and to coordinates parallel to its axis... [CSP's mind still clear at this late date.]

1914/03/09 CSP diary

Got pain in anus owing to an obstruction. Suffered much.

1914/03/10 CSP diary

Still suffering but less.

1914/03/15 CSP auto.

The doctrine of reasoning here outlined is the result... [CSP's mind still functioning well intellectually.]

1914/03/15. CSP diary.

Took 1 of Dr. Pobe's brown pills.

{Ms 1623c}

1914/03/16. CSP diary.

Dr. Pobe came & left various drugs.

1914/03/19 CSP Diary

Afternoon took effervescent citrate of Mg. But very little effect ensued.

{Ms 1623c}

1914/03/30 CSP Diary

Had taken castor oil last night & on waking "salts". This morning good washing out with hot water. Of course a good deal of pain. But was grateful to Dickens for allowing the book to end as he made it.

{Ms 1623c}

1914/04/18 [-1914/04/19] Charles Gassmann, son of next-door neighbor, age 22 at time of event.

During the middle of April in 1914 [he, Gassmann] had not seen the Peirces about their house for some time. He went to their door, knocked, and was admitted by Juliette. Young Gassmann saw Peirce, whom he called the Professor, with his white beard, lying on a small cot in a dark room with only a little fire in the fireplace. The room was cold, and Juliette said that they had no wood. The Professor was glad to see the young neighbor and called him Charlie. Young Gassmann then went out and cut some wood which he brought in and placed on the fire. This made Juliette very happy. He saw that there was no food in the house and brought some from home. He said that he would be back the following day. About ten o'clock the next morning [he] went to the Peirce home again. Juliette said, "Papa isn't so good today" (Juliette called Peirce Papa, since she was younger than he, while he spoke of her as "My little girl"). Peirce was very thin, shriveled up, weak and ill; lying upon the cot he looked just like a little boy. Peirce said he was cold. Young Gassmann then put wood on the fire. To warm him better, the young man lifted the Professor from the cot and held him in his arms. The Professor gasped two or three times, then stiffened out and died. Juliette wept, and Mrs. Gassmann came over to comfort her and bring some food.

{V. F. Lenzen interview, 1962}

1914/04/18 JP: ???

Husband's death April 18. Full name Charles Sanders Peirce. In one of our last conversations, I remonstrated with him to rest his brain, that he could not recover physically by hard mental work; and in handing me his last writings, in stating my book is finished, it will make a revolution in science. Life will be easy again for you, and & we are going to travel again. He requested me to pick him out a book of Dickens to relax from hard work, at random I handed him Dorety [Little Dorrit] & he remarked when finished reading that it was the only book of Dickens he knew not ending so gloomy, & I was most hopeful that he would recover. Previously I pulled him through brain fever & was a most hopeless illness & I will explain to you when we meet...[unfinished]

1914/04/18 JP:???

Husband's demise April. Full name Charles Sanders Peirce. One of our last conversations, I remonstrated with him that he could not recover physically by hard mental work, & in refusing to let him have more paper to write, but when he complained his pains were so great & writing would easing his pains, then I complied. The Dr. had left opiate to alleviate his great suffering but he refused to take. In handing me his last writing in stating my book is finished & will make a revolution in science, life will be easy again for you & we are gone to travel again, then requested me to pick him out a book of Dickens to relax from hard work at randum [sic] I handed him Dorety, & he remarked that it was the only book of Dickens he knew not ending so gloomy. I was most hopeful that he would recover again he also predicted a great war again...[unfinished]

1914/04/20 Death Certificate signed by G. Alto Pobe, M.D.

[Cause of death is listed as carcinoma of the bladder and rectum.]

1914/04/21 JP: ???

I had him embalmed right here in his favorite room and have the permit to keep him here until all his friends and relatives are notified. I want him to be cremated and the nearest place where this can be done is Jersey City. There is a chapel connected with the place where they hold service before the cremation...

1914/04/27 B. Ellis: HPE

...this by the way was one thing could not fail to impress one — the high regard everyone seems to feel and the fine way the stage drivers and everyone you meet speaks of him...The cause of Uncle Charlie's death was cancer of the kidney or intestines which Juliette says she did not know was the trouble until a week or so before he died.

1914/04/00c Obituary by HHDP

Even in childhood Peirce exhibited remarkable qualities of mind and profound love of study and research, pursued, however, in his own way and by original methods. He appeared to have acquired the art of reading and writing by himself without the usual course of instruction. As a child he was forever digging into encyclopedias and other books in search of knowledge upon abstruse subjects, while discussions with his learned father upon profound questions of science, especially higher mathematics and philosophy, were common matters of astonishment, not only to his brother and sister, but to his parents as well...His mirthful, contagious laugh, his keen sense of humor and ready wit made him a bright and welcome companion in all gatherings...

1914/04/00c Memorial by HPE

Charles was a student from the very beginning eager to learn, and to learn in his own way his parents would say...His discussions with his father on deep questions of the day in science, mathematics, or philosophy began at a very early age when his younger and less learnedly inclined brothers and his ignorant little sister would hold their breath in astonished and puzzled boredom, but which was an evident pleasure to the father who

was always ready to meet his children on their own battle fields and draw out the best that was in them...He was the brilliant star and of a more serious turn of mind than the other children, tho his happy contagious laugh seems to ring in my ears now...

1923/11/24 Laura McLaughlin : George Derby

Owing to Madame Pierce [sic] breaking her arm her right hand has become useless at present...[She] will be sixty next February. [Neighbor writing letter]

{L311:00011}

1929/00/00 Benjamin Peirce Ellis (son of HPE) remembrance.

Charles Peirce could write readily with either hand. I have seen him when lecturing employ either the right or the left according to which was the more convenient. My mother often told me that he could write a question with one hand and the answer with the other simultaneously, and she had seen him do it.

1929/00/00c Francis B. Ellis (son of HPE) recollection

His [CSP] was a vivacious, commanding and sprightly nature. He was a fine figure of a man—extremely alert and awake at all times. He was, as I saw him, keen of wit and full of fun and amusement. He was constantly planning things to do...He would walk up and down my Uncle Jim's [JMP's] study smoking his long, thin, black pipe and expounding his theories...He liked strong liquor, strong black coffee, and smoked pure black perique in his pipe. I can recall his sharp, high-pitched voice with a ring to it and a slight nasal twang.

1929/00/00c Helen Ellis (daughter of HPE) recollection

To entertain her [Helen Ellis], he [CSP] paced back and forth, like an old gnome, reciting "Jabberwocky," bring his feet down on the accents, having a good time putting on a show for her. His voice was high and squeaky. She thinks he was a tenor. Her impression is that all the Peirce men had high-pitched voices.

1931/08/22 FAW : James Woods

[Carl] Becker told me that Peirce was always experimenting with drugs and their effect on himself...[Royce said] Besides, if Peirce got a little money ahead he would spend it on some luxury,— especially on something to eat and drink. Royce said that in the old days in Cambridge if Peirce got hold of five dollars he would hurry to Boston, and have the best dinner and bottle of Burgundy possible...As Royce said, "He would not work in harness."...[Woman whose last name began with E told Woods something he remembered:] All I remember is that Peirce would make himself very charming at a fashionable dinner party, in talking to one person at a time. This I thought interesting considering the well-known utter inability of Peirce to make himself intelligible to classes and audiences.

{L477:00066-00069}

1933/00/00 Gifford Pinchot remembrance

Peirce was often bad-tempered...Peirce was very strong. For example, he lifted heavy logs into the fireplace with ease. Was broad-shouldered, about 5' 7" tall. He beard was dark but he aged enormously and rapidly in later life...Peirce's generation regarded social distinction as important. He did not get on well with country people...Peirce had no active outdoor interests, not even walking...Peirce was a thoroughly charming gentleman with an old-world manner. The presence of the Peirces in Milford added much to the pleasure of life there. There was no other intellectual society.

{Henry S. Leonard interview}

1933/00/00 G. Alto Pobe, M.D., interview.

Peirce was a model man, soft-toned, always writing, kindest instinct. The Peirces were a devoted couple, honest, good and kindly...Peirce was gentleness personified. I never saw him in anger.

{Interview of Dr. Pobe by H. S. Leonard in 1933}

1977//09/17. Carolyn Depuy.

I think I was six at the time...he had the loveliest smile, I was really frightened when I first saw him, you know...

{Preston Tuttle taped interview of friends and neighbors of Peirces, 1977/9/17, p. 46.}

1977/08/17. Elmer Roberts.

Well, she talked about her royalty and she was connected with higher people over in Austria...

{Preston Tuttle taped interview of friends and neighbors of Peirces, 1977/9/17, p. 11.}

1977/09/03. Preston Tuttle.

Peirce's regular recording of his eliminative schedule and of his timed need to open a new box of perique smoking tobacco struck me as a tragic conjunction, for perique is the most potent of prepared tobaccos and the carcinogenic properties affecting lower intestinal tissue are well known...Perique is the heaviest, most potent pipe tobacco known, is used only in modest portions as a 'flavoring' in certain blends...It is grown and processed in one place, St. James Parish in Louisiana, and the processing includes soaking in water, fermenting, pressing into cake, and shredding, with additives probably including molasses entered during the mix.

{Letter to Max Fisch, in Tuttle file, Max Fisch Collection.}

1977/09/17 Caroline Depuy.

[Juliette ill.] And over her was this perfectly beautiful robe. It was royal purple velvet. And it was created with the czar's crest. And as I took it off...it was lined with chinchilla fur...and she was quite delirious and she was completely going back to her days as a young girl, mentioned the same governess and how she and Willy used to play together. [Preston: She and Willy?] Well, the Kaiser...She spoke about his withered arm...every single thing was for Papa.

{Preston Tuttle taped interview of friends and neighbors of Peirces, 1977/9/17, p. 53-54.}

1977/09/17 Carolyn Depuy

I was very, very fond of her [JP], and if ever a woman adored her husband, Madame Peirce adored him. And I believe it was mutual, because they sort of lived for each other.

{Preston Tuttle taped interview of friends and neighbors of Peirces, 1977/9/17, p. 46-47.}

1977/09/17 Edna Green.

...his ashes remained there on the mantelpiece in her room where she stayed until she died, and they were buried in her casket...

{Preston Tuttle taped interview of friends and neighbors of Peirces, 1977/9/17, p. 51.}

1977/09/17 Ralph Gassman & Hazel Gassman interview. Ralph:

Why he used to get about five pounds of that Arbuckle coffee—that's that villainous cheap stuff, you know. And he used to bring it over to the house, and my mother [s]he'd have'em cook it down until it was absolutely, there was absolutely no strength left in it. And then they would strain that and then boil that down to that soup, until it got really thick, almost like a jelly, and the he would take that and he claimed that eased his stomach. And...take a little bit on a teaspoon. Just why pills didn't work, but he claimed that helped him out. Hazel: Mama said he took it at night when he was studying...

{Preston Tuttle taped interview of friends and neighbors of Peirces, 1977/9/17, p. 7.}

1977/09/17 Robert Blood interview.

Yes, I was very small, and I saw him a few times that I came in here in his study. That I recall, and I saw him in his study, and he was a very congenial person. As Madame Depuy says, he seemed to like children, he seemed to like my sister and I.

{Preston Tuttle taped interview of friends and neighbors of Peirces, 1977/9/17, p. 47.}

1977/09/17 Walter Gassman interview.

But everything was Bapa. Everything was Bapa. Go down and get Bapa some coals... {Preston Tuttle taped interview of friends and neighbors of Peirces, 1977/9/17, p. 31.}

1977/09/17. Edna Green interview.

...I was too little. The only thing I can remember is that I did sit on his lap. And I remember that he had a full beard and very kind, because generally you always thought of a bearded person not being too well natured in that day and age, but he was very, very kind and gentle and loved children...

{Preston Tuttle taped interview of friends and neighbors of Peirces, 1977/9/17, p. 52.}

1977/09/17. Edna Green.

[Discussion of JP's lack of education:]...that's how she lost her right as a Princess to the royal family of the Hapsburgs. Her older brother...made her sign papers, and she signed her rights away, and then that's why she was exiled from the country. And then, in the meantime, apparently while she was maybe with this theatrical outfit, she met Professor Peirce, was over across the...in the other country there, in France...She also got from, I think it was the younger sister, she told, and a younger brother who more or less kept track of her, even though the older brother had more or less hornswoggled her (would you call it?) out of her rights. They always saw to it every so often—I don't know just how often it was—but she got a dowry that they [gave] to her from the family, but it must be used for building purposes, and once that building was completed or finished, that stopped. So that is one reason why she never finished the place here or across the road that she had.

{Preston Tuttle taped interview of friends and neighbors of Peirces, 1977/9/17, p. 59.}

1977/09/17. Hazel Gassmann.

But Mom did talk about the wonderfully rich clothes that Madame Peirce had. She told about going over there, and she opened up a kind of a secret panel in the wall, and she said in there was beautiful fur coats and evening dresses and all of it. And she said she had a big box of costume jewelry, the most expensive kind...Mrs. Peirce had shown Mom some beautiful rosepoint homemade lace, a lot of it. And she said to Mom, she said, "You know, I make an income off a this." Said this belonged to royalty, the Austrian Royal Family. They use it in christenings and...You know how they use to replace it on wedding dresses?...They would take it off and sew it on, you know? She said, "I rent that out, and I make money off it."

{Preston Tuttle taped interview of friends and neighbors of Peirces, 1977/9/17, p. 32,33.}

1977/09/17. Hazel Gassmann.

[A claim for which there is no additional justification.] And she [Mary Carmen Rose] said that she heard somewhere or nother that he had a son, and that the boy died and that she went and found his grave up in the Milford cemetery, she claims. [No one has found such a grave site.]...Yeah, I heard that he [son] died in Switzerland, and that his body was brought over, brought over, according to what Mary said and wrote to her mother...And he was in his early twenties...

{Preston Tuttle taped interview of friends and neighbors of Peirces, 1977/9/17, p. 34,35.}

1977/09/17. Orra Shannon.

...she told me about having, oh, told fortunes, you know, for charity...

{Preston Tuttle taped interview of friends and neighbors of Peirces, 1977/9/17, p. 10.}

1977/09/17. Orra Shannon.

Her [JP's] sister, the Baroness.

{Preston Tuttle taped interview of friends and neighbors of Peirces, 1977/9/17, p. 9.}

1977/09/17. Preston Tuttle.

The interesting thing is Peirce wrote a play in which a woman, a young woman married to an older man twenty years older than herself. And Juliette was twenty years...younger than Peirce. He was born in 1839, and Kaiser Wilhem was born in 1859. And that would have been the same year Juliette was born.

{Preston Tuttle taped interview of friends and neighbors of Peirces, 1977/9/17, p. 15.}

1977/09/17. Ralph Gassmann.

She had a pack of cards. She said they belonged to Napoleon Bonaparte's, see [sic]. She called them her Napoleon cards. And she would mumble some kind of monkey business with the cards, and I assume that was the fortune told that way.

{Preston Tuttle taped interview of friends and neighbors of Peirces, 1977/9/17, p. 26.}

1977/09/17. Ralph Gassmann.

Up in the valley there—there's a little valley goes up here—why there's a spring up there. That used to be on our property, and they [the Peirce's] used to get the overflow from the spring. And it has a little reservoir there, see?...They had a lead pipe coming down the side of the hill and in here [the house].

{Preston Tuttle taped interview of friends and neighbors of Peirces, 1977/9/17, p. 42.}

1977/09/17. Ralph Gassmann.

See that put her pretty high, playing with the Kaiser.

{Preston Tuttle taped interview of friends and neighbors of Peirces, 1977/9/17, p. 14.}

1977/09/17. Robert Blood.

...she was of royal blood from Europe...This I had heard her tell my mother, she was an Austrian princess, but heard her tell about it, why she had to leave Austria for some reason or other. Then she met Professor Peirce and married.

{Preston Tuttle taped interview of friends and neighbors of Peirces, 1977/9/17, p. 56.}

1977/09/17. Walter Gassman.

...she [JP] used to go to Europe, and after she'd come back from Europe, why, they'd seem to have some money. Now, I think she was in some way actually connected with the royal court of Austria. I think she was. And she used to go over there occasionally to Europe and come back, and of course when they come back they'd seem to have some money.

{Preston Tuttle taped interview of friends and neighbors of Peirces, 1977/9/17, p. 6.}

1977/09/17. Walter Gassmann.

No, he didn't ...no, didn't have a rapid way of talking or slow or anything else, just talked. But, he was sharp. His eyes was sharp. Sometimes when he'd look at you, he'd look right through you. That's the way it appeared to me, that he looked right through you, and ...other times it was a sort of a dull haze.

{Preston Tuttle taped interview of friends and neighbors of Peirces, 1977/9/17, p. 28.}