

WINSLOW “FAMILY MEMORIAL”: DESCRIPTION OF CONTENTS

The Winslow “Family Memorial” was written by Isaac Winslow (1774-1856) from about 1837 (volumes I through most of III) and continued after his death by his daughter Margaret Catherine Winslow (1816-90), who worked on it until about 1873 (part of volume III through volume V).

“Isaac” in this description always refers to the first writer, and “Margaret” always to his daughter. The person typically identified in Isaac’s portion as Isaac’s brother Tom, for example, will in Margaret’s portion be most often identified as Margaret’s Uncle Tom.

The page references that follow refer to page numbers of the original manuscript. References include the volume number in Roman numerals. Where Isaac has paged his numbers in Roman numerals, they will be given as he gives them. Where he has used both Roman and Arabic, only Arabic will be given.

VOLUME ONE

The Memorial begins with a **Preface** discussing how it came to be written and reflections, chiefly religious, on the question of family pride (Ms. I: I-viii).

Chapter One (Ms. I: 1-26) discusses Isaac’s immediate family. Reflects on the difficulty of separating the feelings of a youth of 19 (his age when his father committed suicide) and those of an elderly man. He still dreams often that his father is alive. He remembers his father at about the age of forty: a kind but not overindulgent father, a tender husband, an affectionate and sincere friend, a good citizen, and a humble Christian. First records of his father during his attendance at Boston Latin School. Headmaster James Lovell. His father’s Latin oration and ceremonies in honor of Gov. Pownall and the visiting committee of Schools. Little known of his career at Harvard. Love of Tacitus. Today’s residential colleges dangerous places having departed from their monastic traditions. Alienated from most of his classmates in after life for political and religious reasons. Introduces his father’s siblings and the families of those who have moved from their father’s home. His father becomes *paterfamilias* upon the death of his father in 1769 and takes over the family Distillery and other business. His father temperamentally not well suited to trade. His father’s engagement in 1770 to Margaret Sparhawk. Marriage and housekeeping in Cole Lane. Margaret’s early death following childbirth in 1772 and his father plunged into despair. Reflects on grief, his father’s critical state of mind, and on the conjugal union. His father’s friends and family urge a second marriage, which was accomplished in April 1772 to Mary Davis, age 15.

Chapter Two (Ms. I:27-29) provides a sketch of the previous family history and its collateral Branches: the Davis Family; Isaac’s father’s second wife, Mary Davis, also descended, like him, from Edward Winslow the Sheriff and Silversmith; Major William Davis. Appearance

of Robert Sandeman in Boston (*circa* 1765), who founded several churches named after him in New England, and to whose church Isaac's father and father-in-law evidently belonged from some time before Isaac's marriage. Sandemanians, Congregationalists, and Episcopalians. Sandemanian divorce. Accounts of several Davis relations.

Chapter Three (Ms. I: 30-31½) relates Isaac's parents' early housekeeping. Isaac's birth in 1774. The causes of the neglect of his mother's early education and reflections on education versus instruction. His mother's youthful disposition, her elastic and cheerful temperament, and her absentmindedness. Birth of Isaac's brother Thomas in 1775. The family's probable removal back to the Dock Square Mansion of Isaac's grandmother Winslow. His mother's recollection of observing the battle of Bunker Hill from the roof of that house. The gloomy pre-Revolutionary period. Reflects on partisanship and discusses why his father was a Loyalist. The difficulties of religious trust in a man like Isaac's father, who was of a naturally anxious temperament.

Chapter Four (Ms. I: 31¾-42) relates the family's even earlier history from the first Settlements. English progenitors: The five Winslow brothers. Rehearses some of the well-know facts about Edward Winslow the Governor of Plymouth Plantation, his brother John, who arrived in the *Fortune* in 1621, and Mary Chilton, the Mayflower passenger who became John's wife. Anne Hutchinson and her great-grandson Edward the Sheriff. His early life. His marriage to Joshua Moody's daughter Hannah. Their second son, Joshua (Isaac's grandfather). Joshua's marriage to his cousin Elizabeth Savage (great-great granddaughter of Anne Hutchinson). His early voyages to London, which became the basis for future business successes. Edward and Hannah's other children. Their sons' businesses in foreign trade. Letters between Joshua and his father *circa* 1720. Trade with Bristol, Spain, and Italy. The twelve children of Joshua who lived to adult age: Aunt Margaret, who married Benjamin Pollard; her sisters Hannah, Elizabeth, Catherine, Martha (Aunt Patty), and Susan (Aunt Sukey). An anecdote regarding Aunt Sukey's funeral (later, 1786), her dog Chance and the slave Cato.

Chapter Five (Ms. I: 43-66) transcribes and excerpts more letters from his great grandfather Edward the Sheriff: to his son Joshua in Barbados *circa* 1720 on several topics and to the same in London *circa* 1722. Father and son's religious concerns about episcopacy. Reflects on religious toleration and speculates about Edward's views. Transcribes letters concerning smallpox inoculation. A letter from Dr. William Davis on war with the Eastern Indians. Discusses the unjust treatment of Indians in the Colonies. Discusses the character of his grandfather Joshua, his religious views, and his hospitality to "strangers." Joshua's widow, her love of family and children, her firm parental authority. A letter to her son Edward on her religious hopes for him. Foreshadows the melancholy end of her life after she took refuge in Nantucket with her daughters in 1775. Transcribes letters concerning this, the blockade of Nantucket, her developing dementia during a miserable winter. Reflects on insanity, its causes, and moral accountability.

Chapter Six (Ms. I: 67-78) excerpts further family letters: between his father and Uncle John *circa* 1765; another concerning the poor accommodations for travelers in Philadelphia 1767; between his Aunt Sukey and her father concerning fears of smallpox in Newport and her account of her flight from Boston; from Simon Pease (who had married Isaac's Aunt Catherine) on family reunions. Discusses the extensive family connections and circle in

Boston *circa* 1730 until the Revolution. The gathering storm of Revolution. Reflects on how our opinions are formed almost imperceptibly and come eventually to constitute “the I.” Reflects on the wisdom of “popular” versus the dangers of “public” opinion.

Chapter Seven (Ms. I: 79-96) discusses and refutes the Abbé Raynal on the causes of the American Revolution. Raynal overlooks commercial and religious causes, notably the considerable religious changes in Colonial history, the threats to the dominant Congregational party from Episcopalians. Discusses the rising power of the “popular branch” (the House of Representatives) in the run-up to the Revolution. Excerpts a letter from his father concerning “Pope Day” (5th of November) 1765. Discusses the role of the clergy’s going over to the anti-prerogative party. The principle of “No Taxation without Representation” had already voiced by Edward Winslow the Governor in 1646. Examines the role of the “love of distinction” in political motivation and discusses several popular uprisings — riots concerning the Stamp Act, the destruction of Governor Hutchinson’s house, and the Boston Tea Party.

Chapter Eight (Ms. I: 97-106) discusses the Family’s mixed motives for siding with the Government and the position of the Sandemanians on members’ duties to the secular powers that be. Why his father felt evacuation from Boston the only prudent course. Excerpts from letters on the Port Bill and Non-importation Agreement. Discusses how the Sons of Liberty and others evaded these measures. Letters from Simon Pease, merchant of Newport and his father’s brother-in-law on this topic. Few family letters from 1770 to 74 survive. Excerpts from letters *circa* 1774 about the consequences of the Port Bill. Governor Hutchinson succeeded by General Gage. A letter from his father anticipating the entire stoppage of the importation of tea from any source. Hopes for accommodations with Great Britain. Interruption of all communication by letter.

Chapter Nine (Ms. I: 107-135) discusses General Gage’s administration. The Mandamus Councillors (of which his father’s Uncle Isaac Winslow Sr. was one). The battle of Lexington. Letter from his father to Colburn Barrell in London concerning the battle. Anxiety about the possibility of being called to bear arms, given the position of the Sandemanians. His father’s brother Joshua’s premature death in 1769. The battle of Bunker Hill. A fire at the Town Dock that began in his grandfather Davis’s store and destroyed most of the stores there. Further letters to Mr. Barrell about conditions during the Siege of Boston. Discusses the state of business and the state of worship. Vessels captured by privateers. Skirmishes and random shellings. A play at Fanueil Hall staged by British officers interrupted. The Sandemanians at New Haven scattered. His father’s worries about paying his debts and looking after the affairs of his friends. High costs of commodities. Pulling down old buildings and churches to provide fuel. Religious reflections. Several letters from Mr. Barrell in England to his father and others. A generous donation from the London church to their friends in Boston. Letter from his father to his brother-in-law Mr. Pease in Nantucket. Scarcity of vegetables in Boston. End of the Siege of Boston and removal to Halifax. His Uncle Edward the Episcopal clergyman and his family in Braintree and conditions there and in Boston. Their mother’s pitiable state. Relatives who could remain because connected to people of the Revolutionary Party. Fates of some relatives who chose the Revolutionary side. His father writes to Mr. Barrell (now back in New York) of his wish to return to Boston. His father now an executor of his father’s uncle’s Isaac Winslow Sr.’s estate (following his death there in 1777), which will necessitate his going to New York. His

Uncle John already in New York. One of his father's ships to the West Indies under the direction of a nephew disappears and the financial anxieties following this. His grandfather William Davis is captured by a privateer and taken prisoner of war to Boston. Isaac's own earliest recollections begin at this time, on the passage to Halifax, and in New York his memories become "connected."

Chapter Ten (Ms. I:136-185) is a long chapter about family connections in England during the War of Independence containing extracts from letters from Loyalists exiled in England. It begins with letters to his great Uncle Isaac Winslow Sr. while still in Boston. His good character is attested to in *The Revolutionary Adventures of Mr Ebenezer Fox*. Letters to his great Uncle Isaac from his brother-in-law Richard Clarke, one of the chief consignors of the tea at the Boston Tea Party, concerning supplies he will ship to Boston. A letter from the exiled Governor Hutchinson urging patience in receiving relief. Another from the same concerning the receipt of funds to be invested in stock and his hopes for a British victory. Letters from the same to his great uncle then in Halifax concerning possible grants from Government. Letters to the same from the brother of his first wife, Francis Waldo on the question whether Isaac should remove his family from Halifax; on the prospect of compensation now looking distant; about his anxiety for news of his connections; the success of his application to Lord Germain (Secretary of State for America) for a grant of £100 to Isaac; and the amounts of grants to other Loyalists. A letter from Thomas Flucker (a Loyalist in exile whose daughter Lucy had married the distinguished revolutionary Colonel, later Major General and U.S. Secretary of War Henry Knox). Letters to the author's father from England; from his father's sister-in-law Hannah (née Loring), widow of Joshua Winslow, concerning her disappointment in being left out of the estate of Joseph Goldthwaite, upon which she had been relying; another from the same bemoaning the complexities of settling estates in England, where she finds not only attorneys, but judges must be bought. A letter from Samuel Sparhawk concerning his children's being sent out to him in England. Isaac explains various aspects of the Sandemanian Society both in England and New England and quotes letters from Walter Barrell, a Sandemanian in London, on religious and family matters; another from the same concerning the Gordon Riots in London and the question whether Sandemanians may justly volunteer for militias in defense of Government. Extracts from many letters from Sir William Pepperrell (second Baronet, and adopted grandson of the first Sir William, the "Hero of Louisbourg"; the younger Sir William had been Isaac's father's classmate at Harvard) to the author's father; a brief account of his history and connection to the family. Sir William invites Isaac's father to England; secures from Lord Germain a promise of aid in New York through Governor Robertson; his hopes for victory; he will guaranty £1,000 or more for a shipment of consigned goods to Isaac's father; success in securing a grant from Treasury for Isaac's father of £100; discusses family illnesses and loss of income from his estate in Surinam, but he says he can live decently on his £500 per annum from Government. A letter from Sir William introducing Benjamin Thompson (afterwards Count Rumford, an important inventor and scientist). Isaac discusses his Uncle John Winslow, Commissary of Prisoners at New York and his death from a fever caught on a prison ship. Further letters from Sir William, condoling the loss of this uncle and assuring his assistance should his widow remove to England; condoles on Cornwallis's defeat at Yorktown; reflections of Sir William on the war and politics; urges Isaac's father not to worry about the shipment of goods that has arrived badly damaged; further reflects upon the prospects for peace with the change of administrations; his family severely handled by Influenza; death of the Prime Minister, Lord Rockingham; peace at last in sight; death of his

brother Andrew. Isaac reflects on these letters and their “moderation in language” and love of country under such difficult circumstances.

Chapter Eleven (Ms. I: 186-203) Excerpts letters in America from those under British rule to those under American jurisdiction (and vice versa), constrained by the fear of interception and therefore fewer in number. Letters from sons of Richard Clarke in Canada to their Uncle (and Isaac’s great-uncle) Isaac Winslow Sr. on military preparations for attack on Ticonderoga. A letter from Nathaniel Taylor to the same on anxieties in Quebec. Letters concerning the sisters Betsy and Sally Tyng Winslow (great-uncle Isaac’s daughters by his first marriage to Lucy Waldo) and their cousin, wife of General Knox. Relates the general’s history and the sisters’ coming to reside with him across enemy lines in Morristown, New Jersey in General Washington’s “court circle.” The relatively few letters from the family in Boston: from Isaac’s Uncle Edward the clergyman on the distressed state of the family; from Isaac’s Aunt Sukey, also full of distress; from Mary Hubbard to his Aunt Kate Pease on the death of her husband, Simon. Letters from his father to his cousin Betsy at General Knox’s. Further distresses of Aunt Sukey. Mentions Isaac’s future first wife, Margaret Blanchard, then a small child. A letter from Samuel Winslow (son of great uncle Isaac) from Boston. Reflects on the dispersed family. Discusses two aunts who had married Whigs and become estranged from the family. Reflects on the despotic power seized by the “popular branch” before the Revolution. Discusses the confiscation of much of the Loyalists’ property, though his grandfather Joshua’s estate escaped. Notices a prescient letter by the Marquis of Montcalm in the mid-eighteenth century concerning the early desire of the Americans for independence and the impossibility of England’s militarily defending its governance of the Colonies. Discusses Quaker opposition to the Revolution and an ingenious plan of the Bostonians to obtain a supply of specie from their enemies.

Chapter Twelve (Ms. I: 204-238) Describes the family’s arrival in New York. Isaac reflects on his childhood memories and children’s memories more generally. Describes the voyage from Halifax and his memory of his brother Tom’s throwing items overboard. The landing in Manhattan. Isaac is separated from his father and (age four) attempts to rejoin him in the city streets. A digression about his grandfather William Davis’s being held prisoner of war in Boston for some months after capture by a privateer between Halifax and New York; he is eventually freed in a prisoner exchange. The family resides first with grandfather Davis, who is now in New York. A terrific explosion of an ordnance vessel in the East River is vividly recollected. His father takes a house in Smith (now William) Street at \$400 *per annum*; he takes in friends as subtenants to avoid having strangers billeted with them. An attempt by a Hessian soldier forcibly to billet himself; the courageous Irish maid servant who prevents this. Isaac is first schooled at a “woman’s school,” then at a school run by Daniel Humphreys, a Sandemanian (who was educated at Yale and whose brother Daniel, on the opposite side, will soon become Washington’s aide-de-camp). Recollects various city locales and how they have since changed. The story of the great city fire of 1776, believed to be the work of incendiaries. Another fire in 1778 at which his father is wounded by a British soldier, likely believing him not to be a firefighter, but an incendiary. The open fields and the children’s play at the Battery. “Canvas Town.” A trip to Bushwick (now Brooklyn) in the country with Mr. Humphreys’ son. Isaac’s subsequent fever of months’ duration and his recovery after treatment with quinine. Another remedy, being dipped in salt water, leads to his almost being drowned in the East River, but he is rescued by the crew of a small boat of

a Man o' War. His father's residence in Dock (now Front) Street. The severe winter of 1779-80 and the frozen harbor. Fears of attack by Washington. Major John André's execution (he was the co-conspirator of Benedict Arnold); his popularity and Isaac's impression that he had lived nearby the Winslows in New York. Isaac's uncle and neighbor John Winslow, a Commissary of Prisoners; his death from fever. Isaac's Uncle Edward the Episcopal clergyman; his death from a fall on the steps of his church. A little slave girl named Rose; her fearless and mischievous nature and the dangers it led her little playfellows into. Isaac's mother's youth and beauty; her tending to her children by herself at first. Word of impending Peace and the unfavorable terms proposed for the Loyalists. The hard feelings expressed by Boston patriots against the "ingrate" Loyalists (and the possible motivations behind these). Uncle Edward's twin daughters Catherine Isabella and Isabella Catherine taken in by Uncle John's and his father's families respectively. Isabella Catherine a great favorite with Isaac's family; she would later marry an English Sandemanian immigrant. Letters from her father (Uncle Edward) to his friend Mr. Deblois in London; political reflections in these; his pitiable situation; he hasn't been paid two years' salary; he receives an appointment to a regiment of Jersey volunteers; he hopes to be appointed to the chaplaincy of King's Chapel Boston after the Peace. After his death, Uncle Edward's widow and children join his son Edward in North Carolina. Discusses their afterlives. Letters from Isaac's cousin Jonathan Pollard to Isaac's father. News of Joshua's brother Benjamin's death. The afterlives of his siblings, especially his brother Isaac and his miraculous recovery after a celebrated shipwreck at Cape Breton Island. The conclusion of the first volume and anticipations of the next, for which richer materials and recollections exist.