

## WINSLOW “FAMILY MEMORIAL”: DESCRIPTION OF CONTENTS

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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.*

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### VOLUME TWO

**Chapter Thirteen (Volume Two, Chapter One)** (Ms. II: i-l) Biographies are more interesting than works of Fiction. A digressive style is inevitable when writing the biography of a whole family, and Isaac proposes to carry on in the same style. Further recollections of Isaac’s as a small boy in New York. The house in William Street. Numerous connections in the city: Uncles Edward and John and their families; grandfather and Uncle Davis; Capt. Handfield; the children of his great uncle Isaac’s first wife, Lucy Waldo, move from General Knox’s back to Aunt Sukey’s in Beacon St., Boston. Letters from his father to these relations. The relatives and friends in England. Isaac’s carefree childhood amid the turmoil of his elders. Prince William Henry (the future William IV) trying to ice skate in lower Manhattan. Much to amuse children in the city. Dutch farmers and their produce. The House in Dock St. The nine o’clock signal gun and watching the King’s ships put out their lights at night. Learning to play chess. A French dentist on his father’s difficulties with the language. The Peace of Paris at last and its stipulations about Loyalists. The family decamps to Newtown, Connecticut as a stepping stone towards Boston. Almost shipwrecked at Hell Gate. The children’s delight in the Country. Their mother’s dismay at their rude house. Isaac’s father’s more relaxed life in the country, which suits his unambitious temperament. Further adventures with little Rose. Attempts to go without shoes. Rose’s musical entertainments. A misadventure with a nail. Schooled (poorly) by a Frenchman. Watching overnight a small sick friend. Travel by horseback. Isaac goes to see his first play. A misadventure riding with his mother. His father’s trip to Boston. Letters between his father and mother. Isaac’s father visits family in Newport. News from his mother. His farther arrives in Boston and his reception by Governor Hancock is “beyond his greatest

expectation.” Isaac applies to the Governor and Assembly for permission to return. He reconnects with family in Boston. Financial worries. Isaac’s mother grows tired of keeping house without her husband. Still no word from the Assembly on permission to return. More visits with family in Boston and more about his civil reception by the town’s citizens and leaders. An exchange of gloomy letters. Isaac’s father discouraged about his business prospects. The removal from Newtown to Boston of the whole family at last. Renewed family connections. Aunt Sukey’s big Beacon St. house. His sister Mary is pretty and precocious, but alas a spoiled child.

**Chapter Fourteen (Volume Two, Chapter Two)** (Ms. II: li-xcvii) The family resides with Aunt Sukey and numerous relations. A letter from Isaac’s great Aunt Mrs. Alford. Changes in Boston. His father’s want of Boston friends after the War. Boston localities: shops and storefronts in almost all dwelling houses in the central part of the town; Vernon’s Head Tavern; bridges, dams, streams, and rope walks; Mount “Horam”; a house in which Isaac was tutored; the powder and pest houses; the Leverett Street neighborhood; the streets and how they were paved; Beacon Hill, its history and how it came to be developed, the splendid views from atop it; the old alms house, workhouse and Granary. There was little new building until after 1789. The new houses of the prosperous. Isaac is sent to Boston Latin School. The headmaster Mr. Hunt and his failings; dwindling numbers of his pupils; Isaac delivers the English Oration. The family moves to the very large old family house in Dock Square. Resident relatives and ones estranged from the family. The numerous female relations. The house again becomes a family center, as it had been in the days of Isaac’s grandfather Joshua. The Capt. Stanhope fracas; an exchange of letters about this recently published. Isaac’s Uncle Davis and brother Tom go to Shelburne with Stanhope. Isaac’s father’s trip to Shelburne and Halifax to petition for War losses; news from there; The death of Isaac’s close friend the Sandemanian John Sparhawk. A fire at Dock Square that might have been disastrous but for a lucky accident. A fishing expedition and an unlucky and mortifying accident. Births and Aunt Sukey’s death. Cato her slave and Chance her dog with anecdotes about these. How slaves ranked their masters and Cato’s disappointment in Isaac’s father. The division of grandfather Winslow’s estate and how the slaves complicated this. His father full of business, but with little profit. Why Isaac didn’t go to Harvard: religious as well as financial reasons. Isaac, age thirteen and a half, escorts his Aunt Malbone and three young ladies to Newport. Seeing the sights there. Compass confusions. An amusing malapropism by the French Vice Consul of France on the return voyage. Isaac works temporarily in the front store at the Dock Square house. The house sold. Real estate prices. Isaac apprenticed to William Payne. The practice of entering into business then as compared with now; the nature of Isaac’s work; no regrets at not being at Harvard — but a little envy.

**Chapter Fifteen (Volume Two, Chapter Three)** (Ms. II: xcvi-ccxv) describes leaving the old Dock Square house for one in Sudbury Street. Sally Tyng Winslow (daughter of the late Isaac Winslow Sr.) married out of this to her cousin Mr. Waldo. The family is particularly attached to this virtually adopted daughter, who had been part of the family since her father’s death in New York when she was twelve. She and Isaac are especially attached to one another, and he relates his early romantic feelings as well as the strong attachment between Isaac’s mother and her only brother, Benjamin Blanchard. Isaac at the time thought the attachment too strong, but now, having experienced marriage, he understands it better. Discusses the differences between fraternal and conjugal attachments. Ben’s extreme unwillingness to cause offense makes him a favorite with the children. Isaac’s sister

Margaretta is born but soon dies. Mr. Blodgett drowned. President Washington's visit to Boston and Isaac's observation of him. The town visited by the Influenza. News of the Revolution in France. Isaac's early attempts to converse in French. He reflects on weather and sickness, and another round of the Influenza. Capt. Scott accused of smuggling and the changing attitudes towards such evasions of taxes. Isaac's father resumes the distilling business and wishes Mr. Waldo (Sally Tyng's husband) would join him in the concern. A digression on Congress's assumption of the States' debts and the good and bad consequences of this: it disadvantaged soldiers who had had to sell their state-issued certificates acknowledging debt when these were well below par; but it raised millions in new capital. Federalists and Anti-Federalists. Isaac's mother gives birth to a premature child and the serious consequences for her health. Real estate dealings. A visit from cousin John Winslow, a British officer. A mortifying incident involving an Irish Long Wharf barber. Isaac has his hair cut and queued and powdered. Isaac's mother takes a journey to New York for her health and the good effects of this. The death of his Uncle John's widow. Another move. The visit of cousin John's sister Eliza from England. Her person and character. The attachment between her and Mr. T. C. Amory, though she will later marry her cousin John, son of the parson, now in North Carolina — of which more in its proper place.

**Chapter Sixteen (Volume Two, Chapter Four)** (Ms. II:125-170) relates how business picks generally up after the States are united, and the rum distillery is promising. Mr. T. C. Amory's business thrives, and Isaac sends out "small adventures" for spending money. Letters of his father to Mr. Waldo about Margaret's continuing illness; about the rage for Tontine speculation; about a fire in extremely cold weather. Isaac recalls an accident with a splinter at this time. A letter from Isaac's father to grandfather Davis about Margaret's illness and the death of Isaac's friend young Charles Humphreys. Letters from Isaac's father to Mr. Waldo: on the heat of the summer; the proposed separation of Maine; "cousin nephew" Mr. George W. Erving; about General Knox's offer on a large tract in Maine owned by Isaac's great uncle. Isaac's mother's trip to Portland, Maine; Isaac's father tells her the smallpox is in Boston His mother apologizes for not writing. News of friends. Isaac writes his father-in-law Benjamin Davis inviting him to his house and mentions friends on distant voyages. Isaac's father writes to Mr. Waldo about the smallpox and about Margaret's health. Before Isaac will recount the melancholy event to come, he will take a general review of his father's situation: as a non-citizen he was unable to file lawsuits; renters are slow to pay their rents; Isaac's father's numerous dependents near and far; the unsettled estate of Isaac's father's Uncle Isaac and the difficulty of collecting rents due it; the many impositions on his time to conduct business for friends and family; his being head of the Sandemans in Boston; the problem of the derangement of his account books during and after the Revolution occasioned by all the family's moves; he has no proper place to write and the difficulty of doing business out of the home owing to the power of association; his attempt to keep a rough account on loose pieces of paper full of erasures, alterations, interlineations; his growing concerns that he had inequitably made distributions to the heirs, overpaying the elder and underpaying the younger and more distant relatives; the effects of all this on his nervous system; (Isaac notes that after his father's death, his father-in-law will spend months trying to balance the accounts and will find the estate was actually considerably indebted to Isaac's father); Isaac's father's lack of friends to advise him; contrasts between Boston and the happy former life in rural Newtown; reflections on the beliefs of the Sandemans; Isaac's father's internal conflicts; Isaac reflects at length on the theological aspects of mental depression; Mr. Howe, Isaac's father's only adviser in the religious Society, did not deserve

the censure of members of the Society following Isaac's father's death; nor could the immediate family have foreseen his end; a mind that was not just distressed, but alienated from its normal functioning; a tender conscience may need Gospel mercy more than the Law; his father's mind was unsound; in health he regarded suicide as unchristian and cowardly.

**Chapter Seventeen (Volume Two, Chapter Five)** (Ms. II:171-79) offers a narrative of the particular circumstances of Isaac's father's death; Isaac's painful and still vivid recollections, but ones that are valuable to him to reflect upon and may be so to his children. His father's last day: depressed, he does not go to the regular Sunday morning Meeting, which surprises and distresses the family. He receives a visit from Mr. Howe, and Isaac copies the minutes he wrote of his meeting. Isaac's father tells Mr. Howe he found he had "done wrong." His worries about the unsettled estates and his fear that missing meeting "is the wickedest step of all." Mr. Howe agrees that "certainly it was very bad," but urges him go out among his friends. Isaac's father is afraid to be seen and that his looks would betray him. (The visit was not beneficial, but Mr. Howe did not deserve the severe censure soon applied to him by some of the Sandemanian Society). His family's growing distress. He goes out in the evening, and the family assumes he had sufficiently regained his spirits to attend the customary Sunday evening gathering of the Society. The family's anxiety intensifies when Isaac's father fails to return at his usual hour. Isaac visits the Society and is surprised to discover his father hasn't attended. There is nothing to do but wait. He sits up all night with his mother and cousin Eliza. Their unspeakable distress. At daylight Isaac visits his Aunt (Mrs. Benjamin) Pollard. Mr. Blanchard searches with Isaac along the wharves, but they find nothing. Mr. Amory being away, Isaac has sole charge of the counting house, so he goes to work and, returning home at dinnertime, he finds that his father's body has been found at low tide at Lyman's Wharf and conveyed home, where it now lies in the front parlor. Isaac wonders why might his father have chosen Lyman's Wharf as the place of his death. The evident insanity of his father's so doing. His father's disordered mind is evident in his sending Aunt Pollard about a thousand dollars on the day of his death. Neither Isaac nor his aunt ever understood why. Isaac reflects on how religious scruples and financial worries combined to unbalance his father's reason. A digression on Christianity and suicide. The effects of the suicide on the Sandemanians more widely. A letter from Hopestill Capen to Mr. Tillinghast. Daniel Humphreys believes it was a judgement for the Society's evolving worldliness. The beginnings of a controversy and schism away from the church in both England and Connecticut. The church at Danbury's reply. A letter from Mr. Dechezeau to Mr. King in New York, mistaken in its belief that Isaac's father had told Mr. Howe of his plan to kill himself. Isaac's further reflections on the suicide and the Society and more about Mr. Humphreys' extreme reaction: he sells his house and property, gives the proceeds to the poor, and burns his books in the street; this is disapproved by the old Society as self-righteous or even deranged. Isaac thinks it likely Mr. Humphreys too was mentally unbalanced. Mr. Humphreys convenes a public confession at which he connects the Revolution in France with signs of the Second Coming. He is not alone in this view, which was common among the Millenarians.

**Chapter Eighteen (Volume Two, Chapter Six)** (Ms. II:180-214) begins with a letter from his cousin Isaac Winslow to his brother-in-law Samuel Waldo informing him of Isaac's father's death. Mr. Waldo's reply, pondering how to inform Sarah Waldo and what not to tell her. The grieving state of the family in Boston. The funeral and burial. Isaac is too upset

to sleep alone. His generally disturbed mental state, with morbid and hopeful fancies. A ludicrous incident breaks the spell of his depression. His siblings are mostly too young to comprehend their loss. Isaac's religious reflections on Providence and free will. The business of settling various estates and his continuing responsibilities at Mr. Amory's store. His continuing dreams of his father. Constant occupation he finds an antidote to sorrow at this time and later in his life. Writing is also a consolation. His mother's gradual recovery. The effects of his father's death on other relations. His social life: friends of his own age in the Society. A digression on Sandemanian ideas on the membership of children of members and how they compare with other religions. Chess. Parties. How his father's religion had prevented his associating with circles previously open to him. Isaac's friendships with young men near his place of work: "high fellows" and their undesirable habits. Isaac's ambiguous association with these young men. He is grateful to have avoided dissipated tastes and worse. Billiards. His cousin Eliza introduces him to a wider and more worldly acquaintance. Discusses the geography of Boston's class distinctions at this time, which are now (1840's) happily extinct. Sandemanian views on associating with the worldly and a return to the question of children's membership in the church. Eliza's grandfather's house in Jamaica Plain. Eliza's sister Mrs. Paiba and her John Bull husband. His overbearing and selfish ways. The indignation of her female connections at his treatment of his wife. Grandfather Davis becomes an inmate of the house. News from France of Louis XVI's execution and then that of the Queen. Discusses How France figured in U.S. politics at this time. Washington's wise policy of neutrality. Business looks up because of this policy. New friends of Isaac's in the Counting House. How religion affected the social life of his mother's circle. Isaac socializes with Minots, Blanchards, Amorys. More thoughts on the children's ambiguous position within the Society. England's war with France in 1794 and a naval victory by Lord Howe. Reflections on Robespierre. Quoting Thomas Carlyle on this singular man. Boston republicans and a case of misidentification by a French republican living near by. The family's move to a house in Lynde Street and the need to economize. His mother's broken spirits lead her to indulge her younger children more than was wise. The arrival of his English cousin Capt. Thomas Winslow and his new bride from Bermuda. Mr. Amory arranges for Isaac to serve as supercargo on a voyage to Europe.

**Chapter Nineteen (Volume Two, Chapter Seven)** (Ms. II:215-256) discusses Isaac's ambivalence about going on a long voyage. His brother Thomas is to take his place as head of the household during his trip. His vessel, the *St. Marcus* of Copenhagen. The situation on the Barbary Coast. The plan was to go to Lisbon, there take on board Col. David Humphreys (Daniel's brother), then ambassador to Portugal, who was to proceed to Alicante and then take measures to liberate the prisoners and return them in the *St. Marcus* to the United States. His ship's Captain, Hans Heysell. The departure in January, 1795. The ship's accommodations. An anxious first night out: a gale, and Isaac finds himself locked below decks; his escape and the calm of the crew in spite of the heavy seas; they are in a more perilous situation than they had supposed. Bad weather the whole crossing. The captain's shortcomings. Lisbon and Isaac's letters to his mother from there. Disappointed discovery that Col. Humphreys had departed a month before. To Alicante. The hospitality of the foreign merchants there. Isaac's inexperience at dealing with businessmen. To Genoa and a letter to his mother from there. The crowded situation onboard and the variety of passengers. Partisanship among the Genoese. Isaac attempts to cook a pudding. The generosity of a Turk. Customs and dress of the Genoese. To Leghorn. Isaac's fellow American-born passengers: Mr. Hall of Virginia, who becomes a lifelong friend; Capt.

Cuyler, a former schoolfellow in New York, and now a British officer. A side trip to Pisa and its leaning or hanging tower. Through the valley of the Arno and on to Florence: the Pitti Palace and anatomical preparations in colored waxwork. Engaging a Danish vessel, *The Five Friends*. Hotel accommodations. Isaac's inexperienced generosity at a *table d'hote* and with a couple of adventurers fond of oysters. From Leghorn to Barcelona, on to Reus, Tarragona, and Salou. Delays caused by late arrivals of cargo and a serious leak. Leaving Malaga for the Atlantic. Fair winds. The captain's gout leads Isaac to learn navigation. Extracts from his last letters to his mother before beginning the voyage home. His joyous and overpowering reunion with his family in Boston.