

in the country be more obnoxious. But our lives are all in his hands who has commanded us to fear Him Those of us whose concerns are not large are doing well – there being much employ for tradesmen[?] (meaning those of the society who were such) [“]owing to the numbers gone out, but then every necessary is most exorbitant wood 52/ Sterling per cord Beef 12^d Mutton 18^d candles 18^d Coal 72/ if to be had, West India Rum 9/, Cheese 12^d – Both whigs and tories are bent on destroying their country (it should seem). You would not know your own town scarcely – Fences, old houses, and such sort of fuel all greedily caught up, Dr Sewalls meeting house has been gutted of pews, and galleries, to make a riding school for the light horse – Dr Boyles’s is a barrack – Fanueil Hall a play house – These are strange metamorphoses which would hardly have been believed some years since” – he repeats in this that the works round the town are very strong, and the citizens

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having become familiar with danger seem to have few apprehensions – some remarks on the gratitude due to God, for various mercies are torn off. – They seem to refer to the publicity of the Scriptures, and their free course allow’d in the British dominions – Founded on the truth of these, he considers is the religious Society, with which he and the correspondent he addresses, were both connected, but for himself, in the doubting or humble style of speaking of themselves which was common in the Society – fears his liability to Self delusion “This[?] says he [“]I have more reason to look for than any thing like the honor of being a retainer to the cause for the grand contention[?]” (meaning of the faith deliver’d to the Saints) – [“]However it may be with me, this honor will have some of the saints, by the mighty weapon of the word, to confound the kingdom of darkness – How far this is to be done we know not. – Societies of the nature of ours, especially in intolerant countries, we may well suppose, would be scarcely known in the places where they are, much less would the bruit* of them come abroad – It is more sober to cherish the thought, that all things are ready for his coming who says, “I come quickly”† May it be given to you and me and all our friends in the faith to say “Amen &c–”

I shall here introduce some of Mr Barrells letters to my father* after his arrival in England.

* see notes **A.B.C.D.E.F.G.**

[new unnumbered page]

note **A** following Pa 125

Mr Barrell (Colburn) in his letter to my father dated Gosport feby 11, 1775 mentions his arrival at the place‡ after a “severely rough passage of 30 days from Charlestown,” having suffer’d severely from sea sickness, which reduced him very much, but which he says he considers, “a profitable preparation for the small pox for which I intend to be inoculated as soon as I conveniently can” His wife (a Langdon of Portsmouth) and daughter, were with him and he speaks of the favorable character of his ship, in which he was a passenger, and the prospect of Sale (it being the course of trade in New England before the revolution, to build ships here for Sale in England by way of remittances) and adds “I have reason to thank God that I have escaped whole from my native country, where I was hated, not because I

* Report or rumor.

† Revelation 3: 11, and in three other passages in this book.

‡ Gosport is just across Portsmouth Harbor from Portsea and Portsmouth.

hated that[?] (my country) [“]but because I would obey magistrates. I can’t but be anxious about my friends in Boston, and hope a few days will bring me more letters from you, and ease my anxiety. In hopes of agreeable intelligence from you, and begging salutations to all our dear friends I am my Dear Sir
Yours very affectionately –
Colburn Barrell

[new unnumbered page]
note
B following Page 125

From Mr Barrell London Feby 23 1775. [“]I have been in this great city now about three days, and we are hardly fixed in our lodgings so that you may well think, I am not settled enough to write you a long letter – I can only say that as to our friends[?] (he means the Sandemanian Society in London) [“]they are just such sort of folk as usually assemble at our Convent[?] (probably meeting house in Boston) [“]and after so long a separation from such friends I find myself exceedingly happy, in some degree as happy as if I was returned to that, I can say, (but for what reason can’t be so certain) much loved little society. I purpose very soon to let you hear from an American pen more particulars about our British friends[?] (meaning the religious society before mention’d)]” He speaks of Lord Norths[?] wishes for a pacification with the Colonies. – He adds that he hears from Mr Lyon, that a contribution from the church in Boston to that in London had been received and is glad to find, that notwithstanding the unfavorable circumstances of the town, the Boston church was able so to do – and “join with our British friends in joy and thanks for your Macedonian gift.* We are preparing to be inoculated – In great haste with love to all our friends – Very dear brother – Yours very affectionately Colburn Barrell”

[new unnumbered page]
note
C follows Page 125

Extract of a letter from Mr Colburn Barrell to my father Isaac Winslow dated London may 30 1775 [“]I have just received a letter (a few lines) from J Sparhawk[†] dated April 15, but how do I wish you had drop’d me a line concerning the news we have received of the action of the 19th (of April)[‡] I am at my wits end concerning my friends. I hope life and liberty will have been your privilege, and the next vessell will bring me some account of matters from your own hand.

May the Divine providence, the goodness of which, we have many a time experienced, be still your protection – The accounts which we have here, bode to me the breaking out of a dreadful war, and I must confess I never felt distress before, equal to what I now do, of this or of a similar kind” – He mentions the admission into the church at London of a young girl 13 years old, and another woman about doing so, talking with the elders – [“]I never was in worse spirits for writing, therefore with salutations to all friends, I conclude V D B. Yours affectionately

* In 2 Corinthians, Paul alludes to the fact that despite their own adversity, the Macedonians were able to assist other Christians in need, even though not well known to them.

† Isaac’s father’s brother-in-law from his first marriage.

‡ The battle at Lexington and Concord.

C.B.

[new unnumbered page]

D follows Page 125

Extract of a letter from the same to the same dated London June 27, 1775 – Mentions his having been occupied in meeting his uncle at Gravesend (suppose Joseph Greene[?]) “and have but just time to say, altho every account in your letter and from other quarters, is fraught with calamitous news, yet such were the terrors of my apprehension before; that the arrival of Callahan* was a sort of mournful relief to me – I can say, Thank God my friends were alive the 17th of May, and the reflection draws from my eyes, tears of mournful joy, while I am writing – we do not cease in the church and in private, in all our prayers, to make supplication for your lives, and from your good deliverance from the horrors of civil war nothing but experience would have convinced me that at 3000 miles distance, I could feel so much as to mar my every pleasure, and to haunt me sleeping and waking. If my pain is so real and so great what must be the terrors and dismay; attending your situation—O my friends, trust ye in the Lord, he can shield your heads in the day of Battle,[†] if you are called to

[new unnumbered page]

E follows Page 125

it; your situation seems to be such as to leave you[‡] alternative, may God then grant your conduct may honor the Christian principles. It is easier for me to talk thus, at this distance, I conclude than it would be for me to act were I on the spot” – –and adds “God grant means may be found for your decampment in due time, rather than be forced to the last extremity. – A word to the wise is sufficient. I reckon you will understand me.* -- I tremble for my dear and worthy Mr Davis,” . . He adds remembrance to his natural brothers and other friends by name, and concludes “with affectionate salutations to all – I am &cr. &cr. Serv[?]Yours affectionately and sympathetically, C Barrell

*I presume Mr B. here means, that as the Society held it as a matter of conscience to bear arms if called on by the lawful authority, and were yet as conscientiously opposed to revenge or bloodshed, it was highly improper[§] in such a state of things, to quit if possible, the field of contention and civil war so as to avoid, compulsory measures.

[new unnumbered page]

F follows Page 125

Mr Barrell writes to my grandfather Benjamin Davis, also one of the Sandemanian Society under date of Aug 30 1775, accompanying a donation of 9 Casks – Peas – Oatmeal – Barley,

* Probably Capt. John Callahan (1745-1806). His granddaughter Mary Timmins Quincy Hill would marry Isaac's son Benjamin Pollard Winslow.

† Echoing Psalm 140:7: “O God the Lord, the strength of my salvation, thou hast covered my head in the day of battle.”

‡ It makes sense to suppose someone has omitted a “no” here.

§ The “im” of “improper” appears to have been struck through, but I cannot be sure about this. The sense of the note does not entirely clear this uncertainty up, but it seems most likely that Barrell is indeed saying he hopes things do not arrive at such an extremity as would require his friends to join the battle.

raisins, cheese, and 36 doz Portable Soup,* being a donation or as in Mr B's words, "including 5 Guineas from Trowbridge a token of love and sympathy from the church in London for the use and refreshment of their Shut up Christian friends in Boston – the disposal of them, is left to the discretion of David Mitchelson, Isaac Winslow, & yourself. I need say nothing to you on the subject of this distribution, only mentioning by way of my love to that seat of hospitality, Mr Fosters house, that I have no doubt, it will be mutually joyful to allow friends in Boston, that a good share be deposited, where the community of goods is literally observed. It would be in vain for me to describe, the hearty sympathy and tender concern of our dear friends here, for your present distressed situation, let me just

[new unnumbered page]

G following Page 125

say, that this is not the only noble instance wherein I have seen and experienced their readiness to every good work – May God give you abundant joy in this token of their affection, and multiply the seed sown, and increase the fruits of their righteousness.[?] – In a PS to my father Mr B gives some particular church news and mentions his design of going to Scotland, adding that he was in great pain on account of a rumor that a contagious disease in the army had spread amongst the inhabitants. "We are in peace,[?]" (meaning the society) ["and constantly remember you in our prayers – may God be your health and protection is the prayer and ardent wish of, my dear friends Yours affectionately C B.[?]"

By a letter from Mr B, dated in London 24 March 1777, he refers to another letter of same date which he had written, which is lost – I infer by the former in which he says he is "on his way to Portsmouth in order to embark", that he was then coming to New York, where I recollect him when a boy – He was not then in the very small Sand.ⁿ Society which met there.

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Jan'y 15, 1776. My father writes his brother in law Mr Peas. "I wrote you lately with 50£ for my mothers supply, but as you must be anxious to know how we are, I cannot but embrace every opportunity to satisfy you at this unhappy time when social life is almost at the last gasp. —As for news I think if there was freedom to communicate all ones sentiments I could not do it, and if I live to see peace restored to our unhappy country, I shall be indifferent whether I hear any more[?]" (meaning the news of the day then peculiarly interesting to every individual) ["we are what remains in our family (all in health) and have passed favorably through the small pox, which has now become so different in its character from what it was, that it quite stole through my family while we were looking for its appearance –

I long to hear from Nantucket when you have an opportunity for that place tell them we are all well. – My brother Joshuas widow with her poor little ones are all well – with love to my Sister – Yours affectionately[?] – This letter must have been written when my father was in a depressed state of mind & Spirits.

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The town of Boston had continued in a state of siege, from the period of the battle of Lexington in April 1775 or soon after to March 1776 when the British army left the place

* A dehydrated product and precursor of bouillon cubes, popular with seamen from the mid-eighteenth century because of its very long shelf life.

– there was no intercourse permitted with the country, the port however was constantly open, so that most articles of general necessity were to be obtain'd though at high prices – Gardens were then numerous there being one to almost every house and some quite large ones – These probably furnished to the possessors a scanty supply of vegetables – I have heard my mother say, that the common garden purslain* was frequently used as a vegetable and much sought after – as a substitute for the summer vegetables of which there had always heretofore been such an abundant supply at market – On the whole however less inconvenience was experienced by the inhabitants, than might have been expected – Amongst the buildings taken down for fuel during the Siege was the old North Church in North Square which is said to have furnished a large supply of heavy oak Timber

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No correspondence, relating to family details are in my possession after December 1775[†] – (when the Americans having extended their lines to Dortchester Point, it became necessary for Gen Howe[‡] the British commander to leave Boston. – The embarkation took place 17th March 1776* [“* see next page” is written sideways at the left margin here]

The army was accompanied by the loyalists and their families Those of the Sandemanian Society, took passage in a vessell principally by themselves – One of their number Doctor McKinstry who had long been an invalid died in the lower harbor, and was buried in one of the islands (Georges) not however without the attendants at the funeral being fired on by the Americans under the supposition, that they were a marauding party, landing for hostile purposes – The hurry of embarkation and the deficient accommodations for such a number of families as were to go in the fleet, prevented their taking only the smallest possible quantity of absolute necessaries with them – about 1500 loyalists are supposed to have been thus hurri'd on ship board, leaving behind them their furniture, and every thing but what could in such haste be taken on board – By a pamphlet published in London in 1779, it appears that Gen Howe was directed to evacuate Boston four months before he actually did, and that he had intended to move the army to New York, but the causes of the change do not appear –

The loyalists were landed at Halifax after a few days passage, in a miserable State, In such a small place, but few could get decent accommodations for themselves or families, and some had to remain on ship board for several months – My Uncle John, and family – Great Uncle Isaac with his family my grandfather Davis and his family were in the Fleet – My uncle Edward the clergyman

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had at first remained with his family and church at Braintree. I have in my possession a letter from him dated Nov 29 1776, in which he says to his Uncle Isaac then at Halifax, speaking of his mother and family “She is in a most pitiable situation having scarcely any exercise of her rational faculties. – The Distill house stock is seized, and none of the family here to apply for it.[”] It has been before mentiond that my grandmother with three of her

* Misspelling of “purslane,” edible—indeed, relatively nutritious—as a leaf vegetable, though commonly regarded as a weed.

† But in fact Isaac will quote from such letters in the next few pages.

‡ William Howe, Viscount Howe (1729–1814). He replaced General Gage as commander-in-chief of the British army in October, 1775.

daughters, had been sent to the island of Nantucket in June 1775, as a safe asylum from the dangers of war. She probably came back to Boston after the evacuation in 1776. The situation and circumstances of this relation have been before referd to. My Aunt Pollard,* (the maternal great grandmother of my children) remained in Boston during the greatest part of the war – her only daughter Peggy, mother of both my wives, having been married to Mr Joshua Blanchard of the popular party – She remained quite unmolested – Her son Jonathan embraced the same side, and was a Colonel in the American Army – her Son Peter in the American Naval Service – Benjamin[†] obtaind a Commission in the British army – and Joshua[‡] was in the British Navy. The latter, after the war went to sea, and was never heard of – Peter,[§] I only remember when a boy, at my fathers house in New York, then a prisoner of war – I believe he died young – Benjamin was killed during the revolutionary war, by a bomb shell falling on the house, where he was quarter'd, as I have heard, at the siege of Savannah in Georgia.** My Aunt Hannah, Mrs Jeffries, wife of David Jeffries,

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as well as an Aunt (Mary) who married Nathaniel Barber,^{††} both especially the latter, of the most zealous partizans of the revolutionary cause in Boston, have been before spoken of. – Mrs Peas remained quiet in Newport – Some more distant connections of the family and name, sided also with the whig party as well as my mothers Uncle, William Davis a very determin'd whig – His brother Edw^d Davis, a very moderate man, not known to have espoused either side was suffer'd quietly to remain – Thus as in other civil wars from the first, the nearest connections often become political enemies –

In a letter from my father to Mr Barrell then at New York dated in Halifax June 14, 1777, he speaks of his having remained in that place, principally from being the only elder of the Christian Society with which he was connected, and his strong desire, from regard to his family and other obligations, if possible, to get back to Boston, but if that should be impossible, then proposes to go to New York, where some of that Society had preceded him; adding that [“]though at all times my conscience suggests to me much to make me fear my standing as a Christian, yet peculiarly do I feel unfitness for the elders office” speaks of having passed

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a comfortable winter &c –

In a letter of 20 Jany 1777,^{‡‡} he writes his Sister Sukey “I beg you to believe Dear Sister that I am anxiously concerned for all of you especially my poor mother. I never take one of my

* She was both Isaac's aunt by virtue of being sister to his father, Isaac, and his wife's grandmother. So Isaac married his first cousin once removed (though in the family she was referred to as a second cousin).

† Born 1752. He married Hannah Johnson, whose sister became the mother of Mary Timmins Quincy Hill (1813-1902), who would later marry Isaac's son Benjamin Pollard Winslow (1810-79) in 1832.

‡ Born 1755. According to the Joshua Pollard Blanchard and Arthur Winslow Family Trees, he died a castaway at Egg Harbor.

§ Born 1756. According to the Joshua Pollard Blanchard and Arthur Winslow family trees, he went to Africa and was never heard of.

** And see below, III, 110-11 for Margaret Catherine's comments on this from the perspective of their mother.

†† They were married on December 19, 1776.

‡‡ Note that Isaac is not making use of letters in chronological order.

little ones in my lap, but it makes painfull reflections arise, and yet I know not how I could otherways have done. It is little in these times that mortals can do for one another, when the vengeance of Heaven seems abroad – May Divine Providence bring us to see one another however poor yet in peace enough to do for one another” – speaks of his late brothers family being well – I suppose, this means his brother Joshuas widow and children
 In a letter of my father to his brother John dated at Halifax 25 April 1777, the first part of which relates to a vessell of his brothers, then there, he says “I am in a poor way here – Perhaps if I cannot sell your schooner I may come in her to New York, but must first consider how this will serve your interests – it is only a sudden thought, and perhaps no prospect may offer of convoy – I have lost and spent nearly all I brought off, so that it is time to make a move, but see no prospect of doing much better at York – I long to hear from you again – Yours affecy

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In a letter to his Aunt, (widow of Isaac)* at New York dated April 15, 1777, he condoles with her on the death of her* husband. “May that Being who stiles himself the judge of the widow, and father of the fatherless† be the support and guide of your distressed family,” and mentions his being one of the Executors of the will. “My own share in the distresses of these times would make me gladly excused, but gratitude forbids my refusing at present every office in my power, to alleviate the distress of the family” – presumes Mrs W will decide on going to England with her sister Mrs Deblois,‡ and purposes – now since the death of his uncle to go to New York, as soon as he can.

To his brother John then at New York under date of July 1777, he writes for advice how to proceed to that place. Having heard of the death of his uncle at New York, the preceeding March, and being one of the executors of his will, he is anxious to proceed there to take the affairs of his estate in his hands, and aid his aunt and her children, all that he could –

In this letter he speaks of his nephew John Winniett having “quite finished his affairs there is a vessell directly from thence and not a line”

This young man

[written sideways at left margin bottom to top]

* he died at New York Mar 23, 1777

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had gone out I believe from Boston in 1776, in the charge of a small vessell of my fathers to the West Indies – but never returned with either vessell or cargo, and the family never knew what became of him§ -- This was also the case with three other first cousins, Abel son of my uncle Edward, Josh Pollard son of my Aunt – and Samuel Sparhawk at a later period about 1805 – Son of my mother’s Sister Hannah Davis – making four out of the family whose fate was always uncertain –

* Jemima Debuc (1732-90), second wife of Isaac’s father’s uncle Isaac (1709-77). D. Kenelm Winslow in *Mayflower Heritage* spells the name “Debuke.”

† Psalm 68:5.

‡ Probably Mrs. Lewis Deblois, the former Elizabeth Debuke, who had married Deblois December 25, 1770 in Boston.

§ Mentioned above, I, 40.

In a letter to Mr Colburn Barrell at New York, 12 March 1778, my father writes that “the house he occupied was sold over his head, and was indebted to a friend Mr Forster for Shelter at the time of my mothers confinement with a Son Ben – (who died soon after in New York,) speaks of the embarrassed situation he is in probably from the loss caused by Winnietts going off &c – “It will be only owing to preventing mercy, if in this situation I may be found acting soberly and honestly –

It is an object of the brotherly prayer here, that we may see
again the order

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of Christs house, what we thus pray for should be attempted by you and us – I really doubt if your situation is so convenient for the church as the peaceable state of this place hitherto, and where so many of the brethren have been able to get a living. I know not, what more could be desir’d in such times of confusion – I would fain flatter myself the overturn in the times may justify in some measure the state I am in, but I am anxious still to be doing business to more profit, however my arrears have happen’d, and have ground to fear whether my industry and care have been what a sober man should have had in any situation”

My own earliest recollections are in Halifax. At this place, my mothers sister Hannah Sparhawk* died in the year 1777 or 1778. – I have some faint recollection of this event, but a very distant one of her two children being in my father’s family

It was about July 1778, that the family quitted Halifax (I think under
convoy of a ship of war)

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for New York, being the year in which the French Admiral Count D’Estaings† fleet was on the Southern Coast, and bound to Newport – The vessell in which the family had embarked was called the Globe, and our passage was through Long Island Sound; stopping a short time at Newport, where I first saw my Aunt Malbone, then Peas. I have heard my father say that had we gone outside Long Island, the probability is, that the vessell might have been captured by the French Squadron –

My Aunt the widow of Joshua (whose death in Boston in March 1775 has been noticed Page 112) with four children was at Halifax and coming to New York, went from thence to England in 1777 or 1778 – one daughter Hannah remaind and was taken by Mr Peas – She died in Newport at the age of 8 or 10 years – My grandfather Davis & family, left Halifax for New York, a year or two before my father – They were captured by an American privateer and carried into Marblehead, from whence he was transferred as a prisoner of war to the Gaol in Boston and there confined for some months in company with Mr Hoptestill Capen‡ one of the prisoners on account of his adherence to the royal government – The Loyalists were subject to

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* No doubt an erroneous substitution for Davis. Isaac had an aunt Hannah Davis who was born in 1754.

† Jean Baptiste Charles Henri Hector (1729–94).

‡ See below, II, 171.

many severe privations in Halifax – The place was small and could hardly afford Shelter to the numerous population suddenly added to it – Some as has been said were obliged with their families to keep their domicile on board the vessells they came in, for a long time – others had to obtain shelter in stores and outbuildings – most were compelled to part with their plate or little valuables in order to furnish the means of subsistence, and all felt as exiles from their dearly beloved New England (their father land for five generations) to which the most of them were never permitted to return – as I have before said, my first recollections are of Halifax – The house where the family lived, its garden, the negro girl Rose owned by my mother – certain playthings of myself and cousins, the highland dress of some Scotch officers, who were occasionally visitors, are incidents as vivid in my mind now as any events of my life – Many incidents on the passage to New York, the name of the Vessel – of one of the sailors, very kind to myself & brother are distinctly recollected, but I think the regular chain of memory did not fully commence, till the landing in New York, in the Spring or Summer of 1778, then being 4 ½ years old from which time the series of events which come under the observation of a child was as regular and connected as more important events have been at any period of my life, since –

CHAPTER TEN

A chapter about family connections in England during the War of Independence containing extracts from letters from Loyalists exiled in England – First letters to his great uncle Isaac – His good character attested to in *The Revolutionary Adventures of Mr Ebenezer Fox* – Letters to his great uncle Isaac from his brother-in-law Richard Clarke; concerning supplies he will ship to Boston – Letter from Governor Hutchinson urging patience in receiving relief; another from the same concerning the receipt of funds to be invested in stock and hopes for victory – Letters from the same to his great uncle now 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; prospect of compensation now distant; anxious for news of his connections; success of his application to Lord Germain for a grant of £100 to Isaac; amounts of grants to other Loyalists – Letter from Thomas Flucker – Letters to the author's father from England – From his father's sister-in-law Hannah, 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 not only attorneys, but judges must be bought – Letter from Samuel Sparhawk concerning his children being sent out to him – 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 and the question whether Sandemanians may justly volunteer for militias in defense of Government – Extracts from many letters from Sir William Pepperrell (2nd Baronet) 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; hopes for victory; 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; concerning family illnesses; loss of income from his estate in Surinam, but he can live decently on his £500 per annum from Government; letter introducing Benjamin Thompson (afterwards Count Rumford) – Isaac discusses his uncle John Winslow, Commissary of Prisoners at New York and his death from a fever caught on a prison ship – Letters from Sir William; condoling the loss of Isaac's father's brother John 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 arrived badly damaged; further reflects upon the prospects for peace with the change of administrations; his family severely handled by Influenza; death of 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.

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Before continuing the family narrative at New York, when my own recollections will enable to shed some light on it I purpose now to look at the State of those connections who had left their own Country for England – The extracts which will be presented, from members of the family in that Country are not indeed necessarily associated with the family biography, but they are not without interest as indicative of the sacrifices, and privations to which the loyalists were compelled to submit – and also as bringing before their successors of the present and succeeding generations the opinions and feelings of those, whom party spirit had stigmatized as enemies to their country, because of their opposition to measures, which whether mistaken or not, they thought were injurious to its best interests – The letters are principally to my fathers uncle who as has been said died in New York – I have no recollection of this relation. He was always spoken of in the family, as, possessing that regard to his connections, which seems to have been a characteristic of the family in all its generations – That his character in Society was good may appear as well from traditionary accounts as from the manner he is spoken of by a plain writer whom I have lately perused (not at all likely to be prejudiced in his favor) in a very humble situation of life – In a little work called the

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Revolutionary Adventures of Mr Ebenezer Fox, the tribute of respect to this connection, may be justly supposed to be an impartial one – Fox whose family resided in Roxbury at the commencement of the revolution, then a boy, in company with another of his own age named Kelley, both animated as he says by the prevalent spirit of insubordination, which even amongst boys led, to the belief that their wrongs as well as those of their elders, ought to be redressed, determined to leave their homes, and set up for themselves “we made[?]” says Fox [“]a direct application of the doctrines we heard daily, in relation to the oppression of the mother country, to our own circumstances, and thought that we were more oppressed than our fathers were. I thought that the time had come, when I should liberate myself from the thralldom of others, and set up a government of my own, or in other words do what was right in my own eyes” These two boys as Fox says in his narrative, coming “to the sage conclusion that they were living in a state of servitude, which ought to be scorned by the Sons of freedom, eloped from their parents, found their way to Providence and Fox became engaged as a seaman as well as soldier in many of the scenes of the war of the revolution. “Kelley” says Fox “had lived with a gentleman named Winslow, who was highly esteemed for his benevolence and other virtues, but being a friend to the Royal government, he was stigmatized with the epithet of tory, and considered an enemy to his country and

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was finally obliged to leave the place when the British government evacuated Boston–Fox adds, that the two had but a dollar between them, “though I might” says Kelley “have taken as much as I wanted from the old tory, but I thought I would not take any more than

* Lightly in pencil and thus through page I, 237.

belonged to me”^{*} – At that period, April 1775, Isaac Winslow my great uncle, resided at his seat in Roxbury but, soon after moved into Boston – This testimony to the general good character of “the old tory,” though from a boy is not without its value. – Mr Clark[†] the brother in law of Mr Winslow (having married his youngest sister) had in Dec^r 1775,[‡] left Boston for England. I find several of his letters to my uncle dated in 1776 from which I shall make a few extracts. In Mr Clarks letter to his brother in law Jany 12 1776 he says “Governor Hutchinson informs me that Mr Amory paid him the proceeds of your plate, which with the other money you sent him he has invested in Bank Stock” “On my arrival here I found that a vessell was designd for Boston to carry provisions and other supplies for the officers and privates of the army, and made an immediate application for leave to put some articles on board, which I designed for you and Son Bromfield, and gave orders to have provided 2 barrells

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of beef two firkins of butter Two cheeses about Twenty bushels of potatoes, 100 doz eggs, and 100 [??] [????]” Mr C hopes he shall not be disappointed in being able to get them on board, and adds, “This Ship is burthend 400 tons mounts 16 carriage guns, and will also go out under convoy, she is laded by subscription from the nobility and others and amongst other subscribers I hear there are several of the minority, the sum subscribed at my arrival was as I heard 14,000£, and then going on. What I send must be under the name of some gentleman of the army; at present I think I shall direct them to B. G. Robinson[”] (i.e., Brigadier General) [“I hope your acquaintance with him and your neighborhood, will apologize for that liberty” – [“I was greatly distressed to hear that no supplies had arrived eleven days after I left you. I have mentiond to Gov Hutchinson and others, and shall continue to do the same, where I think it will have any effect, the necessity of sending out immediatly, further supplies of fuel and provisions. If I can’t do you and my other friends any further service you will have my most earnest wishes and prayers, that you may be preserved and supported thro’ all your difficulties.” “If anything material should occur before I put this out of my hands, I shall advise you, please to give my affectionate regards to Sister and your dear children God grant you and them a happy deliverance from your troubles” &c In a PS. dated 24 Jany, Mr Clark adds

^{*} *The Revolutionary Adventures of Mr. Ebenezer Fox of Roxbury, Massachusetts* (Boston: Munroe & Francis, 1838). Isaac quotes generally accurately, though with his usual disregard for punctuation. But he also omits another possible motive for Kelley’s scruples:

Kelley’s first question to me was, “How much money have you got?” I replied, “A half a dollar.” “That is just what I have got,” said Kelley, “though I might have taken as much as I wanted from the old tory; but I thought I would not take any more than what belonged to me.”

I know not whether this proceeded from Kelley’s principle of honesty, or from a fear of pursuit, in case he had embezzled anything which would render him an object worth pursuing. Kelley had lived with a gentleman named Winslow, who was highly esteemed for his benevolence and other virtues; but, being a friend to the royal government, he was stigmatized with the epithet of “Tory,” and considered an enemy to his country, and was finally obliged to leave the place when the British troops evacuated Boston. (20-21)

[†] Richard Clarke (1711–1795), married Isaac’s half-sister Elizabeth (1713-65), daughter of Edward the Sheriff’s second wife, Elizabeth Pemberton Winslow (1669-1740).

[‡] The date is not quite clear; Isaac appears to have written “1776” and then corrected that to “1775,” which is most likely the correct date. It is however sometimes given as 1774.

“There has been so much ice in the river that I have not been able to get the provisions onboard, [”] and after referring to some matters of business he continues, “I am well informed that the exertions of government will be powerfull and speedy. The particulars of what has come to my knowledge I am not at liberty to mention. The American secretary* is universally acknowledged to possess the greatest abilities, and a sufficient degree of spirit.

In a letter of the 12th of March 1776, Mr Clark mentions the shipment of the articles of provisions onboard the Ship Renown for Boston and that he had added to other matters – Sal volatile[†] and rhubarb, for Mr W’s private use – Such very common articles it appears, could not then be obtained in Boston In another letter from Mr Clark of the same date he says “By what I have seen of England my affection to my native country is not abated – Tis devoutly to be wished that the Americans had known their own peculiar happy situation, and although this may not easily be recoverd again, that they may at least prevent a great accumulation of miseries – You may be assured, that the hopes, that have been greedily nourished

of raising an opposition to government by a decrease in trade and manufactures, have appeared entirely groundless, I have been assured by all the gentlemen of the city whom I have conversed with, that there was never so great a demand in general for the manufactures of the Kingdom as there is at present, the prices of woolen goods have even advanced within a few months, the commerce of the nation is on the whole in a very flourishing state – The Public funds notwithstanding the heavy change which will accrue from the great exertions which Government are now making, have not fallen, and as to the opposition that is carried on by the great men to Governmental measures (but without any effect) it’s well known the contest is for loaves and fishes

I hope this will find you and your family safely and comfortably carried through the difficulties of the winter and that the spring will open on you with a more favorable aspect. I most earnestly wish you and yours the divine protection and guidance. My children here are all well. We send our mutual affectionate regards to you my dear daughter your children and my little boys – I am

Yours faithfully
R C.

Gov H was a frequent corres of the author[?]‡

Extract of a letter from Governor Hutchinson to Isaac Winslow Esq dated St James Street London 30 Jany 1776, after acknowledging a letter of Dec 4, on business – Gov H adds – “I am never free from anxiety for my friends in Boston and feel a great proportion of your distress. If I could hear of your being secure for the winter, I should hope the great armament gone and going to America, would restore peace and quiet before another winter.

* George Germain, Viscount Sackville (1716–1785), Secretary of State for America during the American Revolution.

† Used in smelling salts, but also known as “baker’s ammonia,” a precursor to baking soda and baking powder.

‡ Lightly in pencil.

It will be to no purpose for any of us who have lost our estates for our fidelity to seek relief at present. we must exercise patience, and hope that in some way, and at some time or other, we shall in a greater or lesser degree be relieved.

It has been a very cold season in England for three weeks past, I would fain hope that there is no reason to infer, it is proportionably cold with you. I am Dear Sir Your faithfull humble servant -- T Hutchinson

In the letter from Gov Hutchinson to Mr Winslow date 16 feby, 1776, acknowledging the receipt of 375£ to be invested with 950£ previously sent in the Stocks

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he says “I am glad you are relieved from an Admiral so much complained of (

) * I hope his successor will give better satisfaction, but you will soon have a gentleman with you, Lord Howe, to take command of the navy,[†] who seems to have the universal voice of all ranks of people in his favor – May the extraordinary armaments now making produce eventually peace and quietness to the most deluded and infatuated people that ever yet existed from the beginning of time – This is the constant wish of Dear Sir Your faithfull humble servant -- T H

In a letter May 6 1776 principally on business – Gov Hutchinson concludes, “My children are not yet come to town – we ought not to despair of the final success of a cause, which I have no doubt appeared to you as it did to me, to be just and righteous Your affectionate friend & humble Servant

TH

July 18 1776. Governor H writes Mr Winslow in regard to the investment of money in England, and adds, “I hope the success at Quebec will make you and my other friends more easy at Halifax and

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that it will tend to facilitate our meeting again in America, but this we must leave to the great disposer of all events–”

On the 31 Dec 1776, Gov H writes Mr Winslow at Halifax that he was apprised of his being about to remove to New York, that the ministry declined making any grants to the Mandamus Councillors except to those in England, and in that case only temporary aid, according to their necessity– “What[?]” says Gov H “will be the settlement of the province, or when it will be, nobody can tell. I am very indifferent about any share I may have in it, or rather my inclination leads me to a private, if it may be, a quiet life, but I am uncertain whether I may chuse for myself – I beg you will forward a letter to my brother, and if it be possible one to Doctor Pemberton of Boston. Tis only a few lines of meer friendship and I care not into whose hands it may fall.”

The brother of Mr Winslows first wife, M^r: Francis Waldo, was collector of the customs at Falmouth (now Portland),[‡] and had probably quitted his station there about October 1775, at which time, that place was

* Isaac evidently hoped to be able to supply a name here later on.

† Probably Richard Howe, Earl Howe (1726–1799), the brother of William Howe.

‡ Maine.

set fire to, by a British force sent to demand a supply of spars and other articles for the for the* navy in Boston – This demand being refused the mariners were landed, and the town burned, according to the order of the commander in chief.

The first letter from Mr Waldo to his brother† is dated in London, Nov 6 1775, he writes, “Untill a few days ago, I was not able to deliver your letter to Miss Halerow who had but just before been writing you – I found her at her brothers, a wine merchant in Mark Lane, he being from home, I desird her to converse with him relative to your son Isaac‡ – Miss H was very polite in repeated invitations to dine &c, but my engagements that day and the distance from Brompton prevents me that pleasure”

“As a resolution is taken to push the war against America it remains for your and Mr Fluckers’s§ consideration, whether to remove your families to Halifax or elsewhere before the Spring, but I am willing to hope that the Congress may in the course of this winter discover a disposition to listen to the proposals to terminate the unhappy dispute with this country and that my dear friends and country may feel no further distresses” “I shall be obliged to your opinion of the value of my fifth part of the patent[?] – (a large tract on the Kennebeck River[])

[“]and whether you think I should not accept an annuity of 200£ for life”

On the 1st of March 1776, Mr Waldo writes “I have your favors of 27 & 30 Jany by Capt, Urquhart and the pleasure to learn from him, that you had a valuable acquaintance by means of which your family was well supplied with fuel and all necessary provisions. I hope the same will continue thro the unhappy siege you have had to contend with, my niece Hannah I hear is a great favorite with Gen Robertson** as she has been long of mine, tell her so and that she will always have my best notice and good wishes”

“Compensation to any individuals is very distant, if ever obtainable – The treasury has now more applications, for temporary relief than are attended to.” Mr Waldo writes Brompton Row Oct 16 1775 (should be 1776) “I found no disposition in Mr Wilkins (the wine merchant before referd[])] to take your son Isaac an apprentice Miss Halerow I have not yet seen, therefore cannot say what can be done there”–(meaning through her influence with her brother Mr Wilkins) “It may be best to cover your letters to Gov^f Hutchinson, the last three weeks I lived at Westminster in the same lodgings with

Harrison Gray and wife – we are removed here together, to a good air and pleasant situation in neighborhood of Judge Sewalls Comm^f. Robinson &c, and live in the family way, with as

* The phrase is repeated because Isaac made slight deletions and additions between them and overlooked the need to delete one or the other instances of “for the.”

† That is, brother-in-law.

‡ 1765-1806.

§ Thomas Flucker, Mr. Waldo’s brother-in-law, also a Loyalist, whose daughter Lucy had married the distinguished revolutionary (then) Colonel, later Major General and U.S. Secretary of War Henry Knox (below, I, 190).

** General James Robertson (1710–1788). The military governor of the Province of New York from 1779 to 1783.

much economy as decency and comfort will permit, distance about two miles from St James Palace—”

“I am wholly at a loss to write you what future plan will be adopted for America. The meeting of Parliament next week is purposely on American business, nobody that I converse with has any idea that Government can grant an indemnity to individuals – If that is to be the case, he is best circumstanced that has not made himself obnoxious to the peoples With respect to yourself I wish it maybe so, that you may not be under the necessity of making a voyage with your family to this country, at your advanced time of life. Should you and they remove from Boston in case the army does, perhaps Halifax may afford a good retreat”

The preceding letter is dated in October 1775, but is evidently an error, as Mr Waldo was in America at that time, but this was not noticed

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at the time of transcribing This circumstance has deranged the regular order of dates Mr Waldo writes from Brompton 16 May 1776. “I am very impatient to hear further from you and of my Sister Flucker and family being safe arrived at Halifax – there I hope you will make your families contented and comfortable, instead of submitting to a long voyage to this expensive country upon very uncertain prospects, for Governor H[?] (Hutchinson) [“]agrees with me in opinion, that the friends of Government have a better chance to obtain assistance through General Howe than they would have from the Treasury, were they here. Gen Howe has power in all cases to act as he sees fit” “Your letters to me must be directed to the care of some friend, as I never go to the NE Coffeehouse, and am uncertain whether I shall go down to Bristol to pass the summer on a frugal plan with Miss Bon----- Rob---- G. &c In a letter of 25 Aug 1776, Mr Waldo writes to his brother* –“My application through Lord George Germaine† to the Treasury hath obtained you a present grant of 100£ with the satisfaction of your being stiled a Mandamus Councillor – Mr Flucker had a second grant of 300£

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as Secretary,‡ and amongst the crown officers I came in for 200£, many Americans have not yet obtained any thing and many have not yet applied, others have had 100£ and others 50£ for present support.

“Present my love and regards to my sister Winslow and my neices Hannah & Betsy – I hope it was well judged to send Isaac to Canada, I wish much to have it in my power to invite my niece Hannah to come to England.”

I find amongst the letters one from Mr Flucker who was secretary of the province and father of the late Mrs Knox, Mrs Flucker was sister of Francis Waldo and therefore of Mr Winslows first wife – Mr Flucker writes July 28 1776. “. I hope the arrival of Lord Howe, and the forces that are soon to sail for various parts of the continent may give a favorable turn to affairs – Wilkes§ losing (his election in) the choice of Chamberlain yesterday is a very mortifying stroke to him, and his friends; I hope it is an omen for good. You will hear from

* Brother-in-law.

† Misspelling of Germain.

‡ Of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

§ Possibly John Wilkes (1725-97)?

Governor Hutchinson, Mr. Clarke and Mr. Waldo by by this ship. That you may be able to continue in Boston, and I may return thither the ensuing year is the earnest wish of, Dear Sir, Your affectionate humble servant – Thomas Flucker.

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Mr. Winslow to whom the preceding letters were addressed has been already spoken of, in pss. 37 & 38 of this work. He died in New York about March 1777 – The extracts which have been made, are given to shew the situation of the loyalists in England, during the war of the revolution, more especially those who were connected with the family. The communications to my great uncle of course ceased at his death but before closing this part of the subject, I shall fill up the picture, by a few extracts of letters from the more immediate connections of the family in England to my father – In Dec 1779, his sister in law* widow of my uncle Joshua, whose death is mentioned in page 112, writes from Highgate of her surprize at the news of the death of Mr Joseph Goldthwaite† a particular friend of the family “who would have thought, so healthy and jolly a person, would have gone before my old and miserable father” (Commodore Loring then suffering under the loss of both bodily and mental powers.) Mrs W. then states her disappointment, that the promise which had been made her by Mr Goldthwaite, that herself & family should be provided for, in his will, was not complied with. Mrs W. adds, “This neglect hurts me beyond expression, indeed my feeling in regard to my darling children, in addition to every thing else, is more than human nature can describe. If I could barely have enough

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enough to feed and clothe them decently, it is all I ask of heaven—Try to persuade them[?] (meaning Mr Apthorp & Mr G— (probably Geyen[?])‡ [“]to pay the other twelve months schooling as he[?]” (her only son Joshua)§ [“]will then be old enough to think of business – The army and navy are out of his thoughts at present – The Sum will only be about Thirty Pounds – I have got nothing from government yet and yesterday gave warning to give up my house and live with my father[?]” (Commodore Loring, who I presume was then superannuated) [“]and take my two girls from school and if I get nothing from Government God knows what is to become of me, for my father has but 300£ Per year and that with him in this country always sick, will hardly bring the year about” mentions that she had just

* Hannah Winslow (1742-85).

† (1730-1779). He was Commissary of British Troops in Boston from 1768 and died childless in New York, leaving his entire estate to his nephews and nieces.

‡ Not clear who has introduced the parentheses here, but it may be more than one person.

§ Joshua and Hannah were married in 1763, and Joshua was their oldest child, so he may have been as old as 15 or so in 1777. There are portraits of all three by John Singleton Copley reproduced in *The Winslows: Pilgrims, Patrons and Portraits* (Brunswick, Maine: Bowdoin College Museum of Art, 1974), Pls. 16-19. The Catalogue notes (by Sinclair Hitchings) say of Hannah, “The last decade of her life was tragic, for she found herself a widow, beset by poverty and in exile in London and with six children to try to support” (18). So sad a fate is surprising given the family’s tradition of supporting their connections in distress. Her cousin Susanna Farnham Clarke, daughter of Richard and Elizabeth (Winslow) Clarke, who had married Copley in America, was living well with her husband and father (whose letters have been extensively quoted above) in London in 1777 and would be expected to be supportive. And Sir William Pepperrell informs Isaac, Jr. that he has secured an annual pension for her of £100 (I, 169 and see also I, 165).

good servant to come out with them. I shall not now be at ease till I know of this event from you and Mr Davis, and to hear of their coming; indeed I long for them to be with me. May they be preserved from the hand of the enemy. As to politics I am heart sick of the subject – When we have taken and afterwards evacuated a few more places, we may by & bye get to rights. I think you must have many reasons which lead you to regret leaving Halifax”

In a letter from Mr Sparhawk to my father at London Oct 30 1780 he mentions the safe arrival of his children The second wife of Mr Sparhawk, who was an English or Scottish woman whom he married in London, belonged to the Sandemanian Society – She came to this country about 1792, and died in New York, I believe about 1802 or 1803 as did her husband about the same time By a letter from her to my father dated in London January 1781, I infer that, her husbands brother Mr John Sparhawk, who did not leave the country as did

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most others of the Sandemanian Society, had different views on the subject of submission to the Powers that be from those generally received – probably considering that the obedience of a Christian was due to a government defacto, without going into the consideration of the abstract rights of the government de jure – By the letter of Mrs Sparhawk this seems to have been made a subject of consideration, with the British churches but no decision on the subject is stated – Mr John Sparhawk was a very sensible and worthy man, much engaged and attached to his religious views – in fact almost the pillar of the Society in Portsmouth and possessing great decision of character, it is possible that his continuing to reside amongst his countrymen instead of leaving the country arose from the more restricted and probably more just view he took of the extent and limits of Christian obedience to Government – Yet as such was the case with many ^x A letter from Mr Walter Barrell* one of the Sandemanian dated London Oct 31 1780 quotes the opinion of William Sandeman a leading man in the Society at Perth in Scotland

[written sideways bottom to top at the left margin]

^x others of the Society in Connecticut and Taunton. I am by no means clear that any then thought they owed allegiance to the Whig party till the peace.

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On the marriage of my grandfather Davis to a Mrs Ross his former, a 3^d wife having deserted him on account of his religious principles, but who was living at the time he became married to Mrs R – “I am not at all disposed to find fault with B Davis’s marriage but rather approve of it from the Scripture you quoted 1 Cor 7.15”[†] – Mr Barrell adds – “Your being but few in number should not discourage you in the cause of Christianity for while you are adhering to the New Testament you must expect to appear contemptible in the eyes of your adversaries as Christs Kingdom is ever destined to appear weak and despicable in the world, therefore it may be consider’d as an evidence of the truth being among you – The din of war and the bustle attending it, is so great that politics seem to engross all the attention of men, so much that the concerns of the Kingdom of heaven have become so little interesting as to

* Formerly Inspector General at the Custom House.

† “But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart. A brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases: but God hath called us to peace.”

appear in danger of being lost sight of altogether – But God knows them that are his, and none of them can be lost There is little or no notice taken of the profession here, it seems like a stale story neglected and set at naught – Indeed there is reason to fear the Laodicean lukewarmness* has come upon the churches” –

Mr Barrell congratulates my father on the grant of an allowance from Government, through the agency

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of Sir William Pepperell† “Sir William is a most friendly humane man as ever lived. I am under particular obligations to him for his endeavours to serve me., and for many instances of his kindness. He is a man without his like among ten thousands” – A letter from Mr Barrell dated Dec 4 1781, encloses a letter to some leading man on the whig side name not mention’d “a great enemy to Great Britain and Americens who has been active in the evil of both countries,” which covers a letter from Mr Barrells sister to her husband, as the best means of her letter getting safely to hand – Mr B. regrets the necessity of addressing, a letter to such a decided enemy – he mentions having heard of the death of my uncle John at New York, (about August or September 1781)‡ – “Knowing” he says “your great attachment to him your only remaining brother I cannot but lament your loss in so grievous a seperation” Mr B. adds – “The great public calamity that has befallen this country in the disaster of the gallant Lord Cornwallis and his brave army, has thrown the friends of government into the greatest consternation, while there are many called Patriots who rejoice at it – for myself it has brought a grievous burden on my spirits

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and fills me with apprehension for the consequences[?] – His great anxiety on account of his friends in consequence of the tenth article§ of the capitulation, which he considers fraught with cruelty and evil – “My poor brother Colburn I fear partakes largely of the affliction attending this public misfortune, though with pleasure I see he cannot be involved in the tenth, but come under the ninth,** which is not unfavorable to the merchants – The only consolation that can intervene in this time of trouble is that what has taken place is the will of Omnipotence therefore it becomes us to be perfectly resigned, knowing that no event is

* Revelation 3:14-22: “And unto the angel of the church of the Laodiceans write; These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God; I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot. So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth.”

† Not the first Sir William Pepperrell (1696–1759), but his adopted grandson, William Pepperrell Sparhawk (d. 1816), son of Col. Nathaniel Sparhawk. As an exile in London he founded the British and Foreign Bible Society. After Gov. Thomas Hutchinson’s death he became the recognized leader of the Loyalists in London.

‡ Isaac had written 1780 and then corrected that to 1781, it appears.

§ “Natives or inhabitants of different parts of this country, at present in York or Gloucester, are not to be punished on account of having joined the British army.” George Washington refused, however, to accept this article, leaving the loyalists at risk.

** “The traders are to preserve their property, and to be allowed three months to dispose of or remove them; and those traders are not to be considered as prisoners of war. The traders will be allowed to dispose of their effects, the allied army having the right of preemption. The traders to be considered as prisoners of war upon parole.”

permitted, but for the grand design of displaying infinite wisdom, power, justice and mercy, and I confess I see no reason to despair, and not to hope that good may come of this great evil, by bringing about a more hearty reconciliation between this country and America, and a more speedy and firm peace, than if our arms had succeeded over the enemies – by sowing or rather maturing the seeds of jealousy and dissension among the rebels and their perfidious allies – You see how easy it is when one ground of hope fails to resort to its

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opposite – This is human nature – and what can come of it? No solid consolation I am sure ofen[?] there is but one point, that that can come, which it is our nature studiously to avoid – even the committing ourselves with all our concerns to Him who only can take care of us, and does everlasting good. – That we may find in this that comfort and joy, that all the good things of this life, will fall infinitely short of affording the possessors ought to be our daily prayer at the throne of grace”. In concluding Mr B. congratulates my parents on the birth of a daughter, (my sister Mary that year in 1781. Mr Barrell writes to my father from London June 2^d 1781 – This being a long epistle, I can only briefly notice the contents – he is much pleased, to hear that his brother Colburn & his son had arrived safely at New York after the siege (suppose of Yorktown) “The brig of his which you mention as falling into the French fleet at the Chesapeak is indeed, unless he had two” – Hopes he may be able to pay all he owes, but apprehends that such will not be the case – Mr. B. mentions a case of one of the members of the Society in London, having become united in an armed

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association of many of the citizens of London, for the defense of the country and capital, thought necessary at the time by the mob in London which was headed by Lord George Gordon in June 1780 – That members of the religious society should have become united to an armed volunteer force of this description, appears to have been disapproved, by those belonging to the society in America They all admitted that compulsory military duty was allowable to a Christian, nay could not be avoided, if they were liable to the law of the country to be called upon as members of the militia, but by an exception quoted by Mr Barrell from a letter of my father to him, I judge he and others in this country were not satisfied as to propriety of a Christian volunteering on such an occasion – The exception alluded to is, that “if any brother here was to join any association (meaning similar to the one in London) it would not be allowed” This being communicated to the elders in London led to an investigation of the subject, and the result of their consideration was – “That when suffering for the sake of the truth is out of the question, Christ has allowed his people the liberty of self defense, against violence done to their lives and consciences in common

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with other men, and as members of worldly societies to associate with them for that purpose.”

They think my fathers view would have the effect to disallow what is allowed by Jesus Christ, and add that if a Christian unites himself to such associations from improper motives, or conducts himself improperly in them,” he is subject to the Christian discipline for the abuse of a liberty that the Lord has granted him” I am not clear that the view taken by the society in London is not the Scriptural one, as being only a modification of the

compulsion which in most human societies is exercised to oblige their members to take up arms – If however the friends are right in considering the taking up of arms contrary to the law of God then they are right in refusing submission to human laws which are opposed, to those of God --

Mr Barrell writes my father, 5 May 1783, and introduces Mr Joseph King a young man recently united to the Society – This he mentions as having increased* “since the contention for national power had ceased” – Peace had then been concluded–Mr B speaks of his brother Colburn as having been very unfortunate – “Indeed I fear to think where his misfortunes will end”

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These letters from Mr Barrell contain a good deal of information as to the state of the religious society with which we was connected, both in England and Scotland but most of it being of a temporary character I have not thought it necessary to extract – The hand writing of these letters is very fair – the style and composition respectable, and the sentiments they contain are those of a man under the influence the kindest feelings, regulated by a[†] conspicuous religious principle.

I now purpose, to present, some extracts of letters from a warm and stedfast friend of my fathers, Sir William Pepperell. He was a cousin of my fathers first wife and in the same class with him at Cambridge[‡] College, when an intimacy was first formed which continued unabated till death – The character of this gentleman is strongly though briefly portrayed in Mr Barrell’s letter page 155 “as one of Ten thousand”. I never knew him personally, but have heard a confirmation of Mr B’s testimony, from so many various quarters, that I am sure his estimate of Sir William’s character

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is not overstated –

The mother of Sir William Pepperell was daughter of the first of that name, who was commander in chief of the New England troops at the capture of Louisburg in 1745, in consequence of which he became a very conspicuous person in New England. – He had either no sons or** who lived to adult age and, only one daughter, who was married to Col Sparhawk of Kittery^{††} near Portsmouth, where her father and family resided -- of^{‡‡} The issue of this marriage was^{§§} Two or three Sons, and one daughter at least I

* “Occurred” would make much more sense here, but “encreased” does appear to be what Isaac has written.

† This “a” may have been struck through.

‡ Isaac had first written “Harvard,” but then immediately thought better of it and struck it through. Local practice was commonly to call the College “Cambridge,” but here Isaac seems positively averse to calling it “Harvard.” Sir William was Harvard class of 1766; Isaac’s father was of the class of 1762. So they were not classmates.

§ At the top left and partially over “Vol I” is written in pencil “Another correspondent[?]” then, quite illegible, “who[?] Vol[?] 2”

** Following “or” Isaac had written “none” and struck that word through twice in pencil. Probably he meant to strike through “either” and “or” as well, but omitted to do so.

†† Maine.

‡‡ Added in pencil.

§§ “was” struck through in pencil. Everything from this point on to “The last Sir William must” has been lightly struck through with quasi vertical strokes, but there is no syntactic continuity between the text before and following that striking through, so I regard the cut as provisional. Perhaps Isaac had become aware of the

never knew any more – The eldest Nathaniel ought of right to have inherited his grandfathers title and estate but did not, why ~~I never knew~~ There descended to the late Sir William a younger grandson I never knew but such was the case. The last Sir William must have come into possession of the estate & title a short time before the revolution – Sir William married a Miss Royal daughter of Col, Royal of Medford, who in 1774 was appointed of the Mandamus

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Council but never served, and I presume* went with his daughter & her husband to England in 1774 or 1775 – Lady Pepperrell I have always understood died a few years after her marriage, but am not certain whether Sir W^m was a widower when he left America, or became so afterwards – They had four children, one son and three daughters all of whom might have been born before 1775. Sir William was said to have been so attached to his wife as to decline a second connection, and continued a widower to his death at London in the year †

There was a very active correspondence maintained between Sir William and my father from the year 1775 or 1776, till the death of the latter in 1793, but the letters in my possession do not reach further back, than 1779 – In March of that year after congratulating his friend on being safely situated in New York, he says, “I have a very great satisfaction in any correspondence with you, and I should be extremely sorry that it should fall through by any seeming

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neglect of mine and as you was not agreeably settled when I last, heard from you I have been very anxious for your situation – If merit brought prosperity I should not be concerned about you, but every day furnishes us with proofs to the contrary – I have often told you and I am sure with the greatest truth, that that there is not any thing in my power which I should not be happy to do for you and I must now beg of you if you are not able to get a comfortable provision for your family in New York, to come to this country, where if you do not find an end to your difficulties, it shall not be my fault” –

“There is nobody better entitled to the assistance which many of the loyal Americans have received from Government than yourself, nor anybody who who would be more likely to succeed in applying for it” – “If it should be more convenient to you to come here take your passage in the first ship that offers and I am persuaded you will not repent it” – [“I cannot help hoping that the late success of his majesty’s arms in almost

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every part of his dominions, will finally be productive of a happy reconciliation with America I have no wish nearer my heart than this[?]” – speaking of the probable stoppage of letters written to his friends in Portsmouth, and Kittery he says, “as these letters recommend peace, I am apprehensive that they never got to hand, though they contained no other political idea, and that was expressed with decency.” In a letter of June 24 1779 Sir William writes that

shakiness of his knowledge of the Pepperrell estate and circumstances and planned to revise his account at some later date.

* “I presume” struck through in pencil.

† A blank left here, evidently to have been filled in later. Sir William died in 1816.

since his preceeding letter advising my fathers going to England as the only mode of his serving him and adds “Within a short time I had had an opportunity to mention you to Lord George Germain (who feels very sensibly for all the loyalists who have suffer’d in the cause of government) and have had the pleasure to find that you could be assisted in New York if you prefer’d continuing there – His Lordship was so kind as to promise me that Governor Robertson should give you a sum of money on his arrival in New York” – and says that he is satisfied that further relief will be granted in future &c – In a letter of Dec 4 1779 Sir William writes “I do assure you my friend that I have

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been very assiduous in my endeavours not only to save you, but to do it in the way you would like best – I do not wonder that you are desirous of returning to New England, when this unhappy difference shall be at an end which let it terminate how it will, I do not see how your comfort in that country can be insured by the miseries you may undergo, during your exile – I trust if the report of D Estaings fleet, being driven back to the West Indies be true, we may yet hope for a happy reconciliation” In a letter of feby 15 1780, Sir William mentions the signal success of Admiral Rodney* against the Spanish and hopes soon to hear that General Clinton is in possession of Charleston or rather of South & North Carolina”

In a letter of May 3, 1780 – He regrets that the expected grant from Government has been delay’d, not owing he says to [“]want of assiduity in me Governor Robertson promised me he would be attentive to you and I will hope that a good Providence will not let you and your dear family suffer” speaks of his efforts to save Mrs Winslow[?] (either the widow of my fathers Uncle Isaac[†] or of his brother Joshua[‡]) who had before secured an influential friend in a Mr Thomson. – “Let us hope” says the writer in the conclusion of his letter “for a happy reconciliation with America, It seems impossible that our, unhappy countrymen should much longer reject

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the honorable offers of peace which this country has offerd, and I am persuaded is still desirous of giving them.”

In a letter May 24, 1780, Sir William lest his friend should be disappointed in not receiving any relief from the Treasury informs him that he as[§] “at last been able to succeed in a plan which” says the writer [“]I flatter myself may be productive of advantage to you, I shall no otherwise be concernd in this matter myself than to be responsible for the amount of your invoice – That must not be less than one Thousand Pounds** if it should be considerably more I have no objection – Should an opportunity offer I shall persuade Mr Lane to lend you out a few things before he hears from you, I would advise you to write them (the house of Lane Son & Frazar)^{††} immediately” In a letter of July 4, 1780 Sir William still hoping for

* Admiral George Brydges Rodney, Baron Rodney (1719–1792).

† Jemima, already in England.

‡ Hannah, also already in England. See also below I, 169 where it is discovered that she has received a £100 per annum grant from the Treasury.

§ In error for “has,” no doubt.

** Almost \$200,000 in today’s money.

†† Misspelling of “Frazer.” More often spelled “Fraser.”

some treasury grant repeats his offer of becoming guaranty for a shipment to New York to the extent of 1000£, stating that he had urged the London house to commence at once notices the successes of the British arms at Charleston “I sincerely wish” says the writer, “it may be productive of that happy event for which we have both been so long, wishing – The news of this success was

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not more complete, than the time of its arrival was fortunate – It found this town in the midst of a most alarming insurrection[?] (Lord George Gordons), [“]which had it not been for the spirited and judicious military, would in a little time longer have proved at least he destruction of this city.”

“Should a reconciliation later take place with America if I can be instrumental in accomplishing any views which you may have in consequence of such a happy event I shall be very glad of rendering such a service. My little folks are all amusingly grown particularly William who is really almost a man. I am the only invalid in the family and I sometimes fear I shall never be any better I am at present of so much consequence to my dear family that I can’t help wishing that I may recover.

~~A letter of Oct 18 informs my father that an annuity of 100£ per ann had been granted from Jan 1 – speaks of Sir Henry Clintons success at the Southward and adds “I am dissatisfied to tell you that Mrs Pepperrell is I fear very near her end, having been in a duse[?] consumption~~

[written sideways bottom to top at bottom left margin]

Andrew P*

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Nov 21 1780, Sir William informs my father, that he had succeeded in obtaining a grant from the Treasury of 100£[†] “It was” says he “I confess with some difficulty and a good deal of perseverance that I accomplish’d this matter for you, but I would cheerfully go over all the tedious ground again to do you any service and to receive so much pleasure myself from having done it – I can say with great truth that the services which my situation in this country have enabled me to render my brother loyalists have been in the worst of times a source of real comfort to me, and a very great alleviation to the weight of my own misfortunes – I trust I cannot in any one instance be charged with having neglected to render those very worthy but unfortunate people every service in my power. I claim no merit from a faithfull discharge of this duty. I only mean to convince you that in this instance my duty and inclination have gone hand in hand[?]” – He speaks in very friendly terms of Mr Blowers[?] and Mr Walter[?] and says “that Mr Royal has had a severe stroke of the palsy but is I hope in a fair way of recovery” He mentions in this letter that he had become responsible to the house

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* Possibly a reference to Andrew Pepperrell, the first Sir William’s only son, who died at age 26 in 1751, though why Isaac makes this annotation here is not clear. He had been engaged to Hannah Waldo. Or possibly the reference is to another Andrew, Sir William’s brother, whose death is mentioned below, I, 183. It isn’t clear to me why the bottom lines have been struck through, since Isaac does not return to this letter of Oct. 18 again.

† Almost \$20,000 today.

of Lane & Frazer for an Invoice of goods directed by my father to the amount of 800£, and would cheerfully increase his liability – In a letter of Sept 29, 1780, Sir William mentions that “through the interest of his friend Mr Thompson who” he writes “I have the pleasure to inform you is appointed under Secretary of State for the American department your Sister Mrs Hannah widow of Joshua has had a 100£ a year granted her from the Treasury.” In reply to the desire of my father that he should apply the money coming from the Treasury towards the discharge of debt due him from my father he says “I cannot possibly consent to take any part of your notes till your situation is more eligible I am well paid for the present in the thought, that my exertions in your behalf may have been of some assistance to a worthy family whose welfare I shall always most ardently wish” – In a letter of May 1781, He says that the letter enclosed to him by my father for his Sister at Highgate / widow of my uncle Joshua was immediately forwarded and adds, “I am highly

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flattered by the affectionate manner in which you address me in all your letters and the anxiety you express for my welfare, and that which I think I feel is much nearer to me than my own, the welfare of my dear and much loved children”, speaks of having besides an habitual complaint in the breast just got up from a troublesome slow fever by which he was much reduced in flesh and strength – The former he is apprehensive he shall never get entirely rid of, thought it has been much alleviated by change of air and exercise on horseback and adds – “Though I have met with the most poignant affliction, and have lost the greatest of earthly blessings[?]” (alluding to the death of his wife which he never seems to have got over) [“]I am sensible that I have a great deal left to make me wish for life, I am very necessary to the happiness of my beloved family and I have a number of dear and very worthy friends, to whom I most ardently wish to render essential service, while these considerations are in force, life cannot be altogether unpleasant

I have the pleasure to inform you that my dear boy is perfectly recovered from his late illness. My anxiety for him was of no service

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to my breast, but I have been amply compensated, for that inconvenience by my joy and I would hope thankfulness on his recovery, but this I had no occasion to have told to a person of your sensibility” He mentions in his letter that he is sorry the goods are not gone, having been shipped a long time and waiting convoy – In a long letter which is principally taken up with an account of the recent illness of all his children, two of whom seem to have been in great danger and on whose account great anxiety is discovered “he says I have now no reason, but that if I am so happy as once more to see them well, I shall very soon be so myself – but that is only a secondary consideration” –

This letter mentions the loss by capture of several Dutch vessells some of which had on board sugar from a plantation which Sir William owned in Surinam On this property he had no insurance which could not be effected at any premium. He speaks of the probability of peace between England and Holland in consequence of a late naval action, adding for though the Dutch had a superior fleet, they were certainly worsted. This circumstance of hostility between the two countries forbad the expectation of being able to get any produce from

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his estate in Surinam the ensuing year, seems to acquiesce in what he considers a providential

dispensation the privation of his income, and closes by saying “If things came to the worst I can live decently in a retired situation for 500£ per annum, which I am allowed from Government, therefore be under no concern about me”

In a letter dated Oct 2 1781 – he expresses his satisfaction at hearing that the meditated attack on New York by Gen Washington had been abandoned owing as was supposed to the garrison of that city having been reinforced – He introduces by this letter his worthy friend Mr Thompson who is going out to join the regiment of dragoons – “I have recommended you to him as one of my best friends, and “I am sure from the friendship that has ever subsisted between us, he will be desirous of rendering you any service in his power my friends in New York cannot oblige me more than by showing particular attention to this great and worthy man. He has been uniformly the patron of our loyal American brethren – The services he has render’d them, and the ardent zeal which he has constantly shewn in their cause, as well as his amiable disposition and I

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may say, his very uncommon literary merit give him every possible claim to their warmest esteem and affection – He will expect nothing from them but their notice and friendship which I am sure my worthy friends will think him entitled to.”

I think this refers to a Mr Benjamin Thompson afterwards Count Rumford* who raised a corps of troops I believe cavalry, in New York – about the year 1781. – I remember hearing that he was on intimate terms of friendship with Sir William Pepperrell – I think he was knighted in Great Britain before he got his German title – I recollect his daughter the Countess having brought a letter of introduction to my father from his friend with some expectation of making part of the family.

My fathers brother John Winslow who was acting as commissary of prisoners at New York, died there 26 Sept 1781, at the early age of 39 of the bilious fever. I remember hearing it said, that he took cold from his exposure and over anxiety to alleviate the sufferings of his fellow countrymen the most of whom were confin’d in the Jersey† prison Ship, lying at the Wallabout Long Island, the spot which

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has since been selected as the site of the U S Navy yard near New York. Sir William in his

* Sir Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford and Fellow of the Royal Society (1753 –1814). Thompson was in addition to his military career an important inventor and scientist who is considered to be a player in the nineteenth-century revolution in thermodynamics. He invented a kitchen range, very much improved fireplaces, and a percolating coffee pot. In later life he married Marie-Anne Lavoisier, widow of the chemist Antoine Lavoisier.

† The prison ships at Wallabout were notoriously horrible, and likely thousands of prisoners died in them, although political maneuvering by both sides may have contributed to the miserable conditions on board as much as intentional cruelty. I can find but one reference to John Winslow in material relating to the prison ships, and that doesn’t tell us much: “Commissary Winslow came and released Major Winslow on his parole on Long Island.” This is from Danske Dandridge, *American Prisoners of the Revolution* (Charlottesville, Virginia: The Michie Company, 1911), 120. For an account that is more balanced than most in its conclusions about the treatment of their prisoners by the British, see Eugene L. Armbruster, *The Wallabout Prison Ships: 1776-1783* (New York: n. pub., 1920). This small book, by a self-published author, has the appearance of being well researched. Another Commissary of Prisoners was Joshua Loring, Jr., son of the Commodore (see above, I, 113) and brother of John’s sister-in-law Hannah. He is charged with great cruelty, the starvation of prisoners, and theft of their rations.

letter Dec 3 1781, says, “I heartily sympathize with you under the heavy affliction you have lately been called to meet with in the loss of your unfortunate brother, and condole with you and the poor unhappy widow on this melancholy occasion” and in the kindest manner of his willingness to aid her all in his power should she proceed to England, or use all the interest which he can make to obtain for her assistance from the Treasury if she prefers to remain in New York and petition for an allowance –

He adds, referring to the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown Virginia “I condole with you on the great national misfortune, that has befallen us in Virginia – It is great and distressing beyond measure, and when I think of the sacrifice made of our dear and worthy brethren I am filled with horror, but I will say no more till I hear the particulars – I am quite in the dark as respecting the measures, Government mean now to pursue in America, but it is generally supposed that we shall not extend our ports, but strengthen those we have and confine our future operations chiefly to the sea – You will believe me I am sure when I

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tell you that I heartily join in your wishes for a peace but I cannot possibly see how that happy event can be brought about till America becomes a little more reasonable. The constitutional dependence of that country for no other is talked of or wished for, seems to be so interwoven with the essential rights and privileges of the mother country, that it is a question whether any ministry could be found in the kingdom that would dare I may say to dissolve a tie on which our very existence as a free people must principally depend. The nation notwithstanding all its weight of misfortunes however heavy it may be is not prepared for a measure so ruinous and disagreeable – It will suffer again and again before it will consent to its own annihilation –

I am sorry to find you have met with so many discouragements in pursuing your business at New York. Our late misfortune in Virginia will I am afraid add to your embarrassments, but be not cast down a brighter day I doubt not will soon appear, and we shall all see better times.”

[“]You will be pleased to hear that there is much reason to hope that we shall soon be at peace with Holland – The mediation afforded by the Empress of Russia has been accepted by both the contending powers – a cessation of hostilities will

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probably be the result” &c He mentions the pleasure this anticipation gives him as he has received nothing from his Surinam estates, from the commencement of the war with Holland, and adds “I hope soon to be able to communicate to you this pleasing intelligence, and to inform you that this country has one power less to contend with” – He mentions in this letter the death of his father in law Col Royall, on the 16th October preceeding (1781) and that he is informed by Lord George Germain, has desired Sir Henry Clinton to give the widow of Mr John Winslow support out of a fund he is entrusted with for the relief of the loyal American sufferers which he thinks will be more for her interests than she had petitioned the treasury “where there are already upwards of a hundred petitions, the prayers of which I am afraid will never be granted” In this letter Sir Williams begs his friend not to be uneasy, in regard to his liability to Lane & Frazer for the goods, sent to New York Sir William writes Jan 2^d 1782, “I am sorry to find your goods from Mr Lane are so much damaged and more so that you have suffered yourself, at a time when you had so many other troubles

to distress you, to be so anxious about them on my account – I do assure you I am under no sort of concern about them myself, except that I feel a little mortified, that my expectations respecting them will not be so fully answered as I could wish. Let the event be what it may, I beg leave to remind you of my being a volunteer in the matter, and that there is not anything for which you can possibly blame yourself – You never made any request to me upon the subject, but the goods were sent in compliance with my wishes. As Mess^{*} Lane & Frazer have not said anything to me about them, I have no doubt they will wait with patience for remittances, more especially as by their not acting in conformity to your orders that the goods were damaged” He thinks the British Government is very desirous for peace, but that the claim for independence is incompatible with the safety of Great Britain. He hopes the Government may be guided by Infinite wisdom “for surely if there was ever a time when it was when it was more devoutly to be wished for than another, it is the present.” Referring

to the deaths in my fathers family – He says in this letter – “The wounds caused by such afflictions I too well know are never to be entirely healed, they will at times bleed afresh, in spite even of the powerful aid of time and friendship – If I sensibly miss, the high degree in which you enjoy the consolation of this, I do not envy but heartily rejoice with you” – This has no doubt a reference, to his own case, and, the recollections of a beloved wife, which if in some measure alleviated by, the transfer of affection to his children of whom he speaks very affectionately in all his letters, were as I have always heard fondly cherished, during his life – He never married again – Perhaps, tho my father did take a second wife, and was, one of the best of husbands, yet there was a secret sympathy between the two friends – The feelings of my father at the death of his first wife must have been well known to Sir William who was her cousin. In a letter Feby 6, 1782 he mentions the arrival of my uncle John Winslow’s widow at her Uncle Simpsons at Bath, and in this and his next letter promises to render her all the assistance in his power &c, adding in the letter “Several

questions respecting a peace with America have been agitated of late in the house of commons. You will see by the papers that administration have been outvoted by the opposition, and left in the minority – The former seem desirous of going any reasonable length for the purpose of obtaining a peace, but cannot see themselves clear in purchasing it at the enormous price of American independence – I have been very long convinced that this country would be very happy to hearken to any reasonable terms of accommodation with America, but her Sovereignty over that country she finds it hard to relinquish” – He doubts whether the administration will be able to keep their ground, though they are as desirous of peace as their opponents, mentions the resignation of Lord Sackville[†] in which the American Loyalists have sustained a loss—and regrets that his wishes to serve my father in the shipment of goods from Lane & Frazer are likely to involve his friend in loss. – In April 1782 Sir William informs my father of the change of administration and of his hopes that it may produce [“]the

* Presumably “Messrs.” is intended here.

† George Germain. After his resignation, King George made him a peer, 1st Viscount Sackville.

desirable event we have been both so long wishing, and if a peace should also be settled with Holland: I am sure . . . that an event in which your friend is so nearly concerned will not be unpleasing to one who wishes him so well, many are sanguine in their expectations, that both these important objects will be attained in consequence of the late revolution^[*] (change of ministry) [^[*]should they be right, I shall bless the day in which the change took place.”

In his letter of May 1782, he says [^[*]I have been a good deal hurt by my having embarrassed you by an intended kindness, but had the goods been sent you when I first made the request for them, it would have been otherwise”.

[^[*]Nothing new has transpired in the political world since my last a general peace before Christmas almost everybody here is in expectation of” – In Sir Williams letter of June 6 1782, he mentions himself and family having been severely handled by the Influenza “The town has been for a fortnight past a perfect hospital.

The uncommonly cold and damp weather which we have had for six months past it is thought occasioned this disagreeable complaint” – The 3rd July 1781,^{*} Sir William writes “I am sorry to inform you that the Marquis of Rockingham[†] died the 1st instant – The public as well as myself sustain a loss by his death, I had much reason to expect from his civil deportment to me that my friends as well as myself would have been patronized by him – The place of Premier is now vacant and no one yet as I can find determind on for that post – You will see by the papers of the day, that Mr Fox[‡] has declared for himself and friends that unless the independence of America is immediately acknowledged, they will retire – The result must be known soon”

In Aug 1782. He states that the prospect of peace is not more favorable than it was some months ago, that the object of the ministry was to carry on the war by Sea, in order to cripple the French marine, that Charleston and, Savannah would be evacuated, and New York retained, and “America be let alone by land till she is disposed to

accept of conditional independence, which even Lord Shelburne[§] I think has consented to grant, as soon as she is in a humor to negotiate”

In a very long letter of Dec 8, 1782, Sir William informs my father of the prospect of peace and congratulates him on this event, “I think^[*]” says he [^[*]that a cessation of hostilities will soon take place between GB and the United States of America and that it

* No doubt a mistake for “1782.” See the note following.

† Charles Watson-Wentworth, Marquis of Rockingham, (1730–1782). A Whig, he became Prime Minister in 1782 and began the negotiations that led to the end of the War of Independence.

‡ Charles James Fox (1749–1806). British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs under Rockingham (1782). Fox did indeed resign in July, 1782, but returned as Secretary of State and as co-leader of the so-called Fox-North coalition government in 1783.

§ William Petty-FitzMaurice, Marquis of Lansdowne (1737–1805). Known as The Earl of Shelburne between 1761 and 1784. His brief ministry succeeded Lord Rockingham’s.

will soon be followed by a general peace. If the result should be the happiness of GB and America, which it is beyond the limits of our understanding to say that it will not be, our expected grief will be turned into joy” – This letter is filled with the kindest expressions of regard and most friendly sentiments towards my father, discovering a very deep interest for him and his family, inviting him to England, and suggesting other plans, besides, for his future benefit – In a letter of May 7, 1783 Sir William says, “You must have heard of the peace and the independence of America,”* I wish either

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Country may be as happy as they were when both were united, but I think it is more than can well be expected – I heartily wish both well. In a commercial way they may yet be connected – Our unfortunate brethren, the loyalists I am much concerned for, though I can’t entertain a doubt that if the recommendation[†] of Congress to the different States, should prove ineffectual, that Parliament will do, something towards compensation. Ministry promise very fair, and I really believe if our property is kept back from us by the states, they mean to do something handsome for us; tho’ the talk of full compensation is impossible” This letter mentions a general reduction of the grants to the loyalists, and also the death of a dear and admirable brother, (Andrew) attending upon whom had impaired his health, which says the writer “is better than it has been, my unwearied attention to him during an illness of near five months, and my poignant regret upon the very melancholy occasion which succeeded were more than my shattered frame

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was able to support – You will sympathize with me I am sure under this heavy affliction – You well, know the nature of my distress!”

I have made very copious extract from these letters of Sir William Pepperrell, simply because there remained a large file of these, which have been preserved through the vicissitudes of half a century, – For the sake of making uninterrupted extracts from these according to the successive dates, I have been induced to deviate from the order of time, and anticipate circumstances, which would more properly have been noticed according as they occurred, after the arrival of my fathers family at New York.

All these letters from the loyalists in England, show the strong attachment they had to their native country – the interest they took in its welfare, their hearty desire for a reconciliation, and as it strikes me, great moderation in language towards their opponents, considering their position towards those leaders of the people, by whose means they had lost their property, and were compelled to become exiles from their beloved country – It is to exhibit these feelings towards this country, that these letters

* The Treaty of Paris was not signed until September, but the U. S. Congress of the Confederation had approved preliminary articles in April, so it is probably to this that Sir William is referring.

† The treaty merely directed Congress to urge the States to make reparations to Loyalists. Partly this was because it was the States that individually had confiscated property, but there were many complications in this thorny issue.

from Loyalists in England, have been extracted from In the following chapter I purpose to take a general view, though imperfect one from the scanty materials in my possession – of the circumstances & position of other members of the family, as well the few who remained in Boston, as those exiled from their country who sought Shelter in Canada and Nova Sotia^{*}

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* An obvious error for “Scotia.” Isaac’s hand is notably unsteady on this page.

Chapter Eleven

Letters from those under British rule to those under American jurisdiction (and vice versa) constrained by fear of interception and therefore fewer in number – Letters from sons of Richard Clarke in Canada to their uncle Isaac on military preparations for attack on Ticonderoga – 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) and their cousin, wife of General Knox; his history and the sisters' coming to reside with him – 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; mention of Isaac's future first wife, then a small child – Letter from Samuel (son of great uncle Isaac) from Boston – Reflections on the dispersed family – Two aunts who had married Whigs alienated from the family – Reflections on the despotic power seized by the popular branch before the Revolution; confiscation of property, but his grandfather's estate escaped – Notice of a prescient letter by the Marquis of Montcalm – Quaker opposition to the Revolution – an ingenious plan of the Bostonians to obtain a supply of Specie from their enemies.

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In the correspondence between England and New York the latter remaining in possession of the British, during the whole of the revolution, the intercourse was unrestricted, and hence epistolary correspondence sustained its general character of actual and unconstrained communication – not so however when written by residents under the British or American authority to their friends who were under the authority of the adverse party – In such cases the writer felt himself obliged for fear of injury to his friend to adopt a very guarded stile, to be very cautious in his language, and very brief in his communications – In short to consider himself as writing under the inspection of an enemy ready to destroy a letter or injure the party to whom it was addressed when there existed any pretext for so doing – All remarks of a political or general nature were therefore carefully excluded from such letters – Nor could these comprehend confidential communications of a private character, for such can only take place, where the writers are assured, that they are seen only by the friendly

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eye for which they are designed. Hence the letters between the members, of the family during the revolutionary war were few in number and of little interest – I shall begin with those from my fathers cousin Isaac W Clarke of Canada. This gentleman as well as his brother Jonathan Clarke were Sons of Richard Clarke, who has before been spoken of. Both were so fortunate as to obtain the appointment of Commissaries in Canada at a Salary of 365

£ Stg per annum, soon after the arrival of their fathers family in England, and from thence embarked for Canada I believe in 1776. In October of this year Mr Clarke writes his uncle of his intention to send Isaac the youngest son of the former then under his care to the seminary at Quebec “the expence will be light, 15 livres for his board and schooling per month (equal to 2 ½ dollars) his clothing will be but trifling, as I can always find something or other that will serve him, that I leave off. My attention to this matter shall not be wanting – The prospect of affairs has much alterd since your letter of 27th. – I hope and am persuaded, that the time is not very far off when you will not think of studying frugality

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so much as you then feared would be necessary. I thank you for the important news you sent me of Gen^l Howes success on Long Island[?] &c – Mr Clarke then enters into the details of the preparations making by the army under Gen Carleton,* for the attack of the Americans at Ticonderoga – He mentions also, a recent action between the American and British flotillas at Cumberland Bay on Lake Champlain, in which on a second attack the Americans lost 8 out of 16 of their vessells and adds that “the army with the general in the advanced guard had gone on to Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and I doubt they will soon send us a good account of themselves, There was never an army in better health or spirits .”. – He speaks of the American army as being about five thousand strong, .. besides a few hundreds more at Lake George and Skenesborough, and anticipates, the probability of the communication with New York, being open the ensuing winter, and concludes with remembrances of his father and other connections in England –

Mr Nath Taylor also writes my great uncle Isaac from Quebec under date 31 Augt 1776 in regard to his Son, Isaac, who he says, “arrived in Quebec the 19th inst after a long and I believe not very agreeable passage.[?]” (I presume from

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Halifax.” Mr Taylor speaks of Quebec as “not being a place well adapted to bring up young people in, for there is no business for at least half the year, so much idle time on the hands of youth is very apt to lead them into vice and folly, unless under the inspection of friends who have a, tender regard for them, and can restrain them from company which so often proves ~~to~~ so[†] fatal to persons entering upon life – Isaac bids fair to escape infection as any lad I know, and he could not be better placed than with his cousin Clarke’s provided they could employ him, you may be assured, that no endeavours of mine to promote his interest shall be wanting”

Mr T speaks of the army in the province making preparations to cross the lakes, and that he is persuaded from “Gen^l Carletons, abilities, prudence, and general good conduct, he will not risque anything which human foresight can prevent” mentions the arrival of a part of the Hesse Hanau troops, ‡ from Portsmouth in 8 weeks passage, that the whole number expected was 2200 men “when these join, the army will

* Guy Carleton, Baron Dorchester (1724–1808). Between 1776 and 1786 known as Sir Guy Carleton. He twice served as Governor of the Province of Quebec, from 1768 to 1778, serving at that same time as Governor General of British North America.

† Inserted in pencil.

‡ A contingent of Hessian soldiers sent by Count William of Hesse-Hanau.

consist of about 9000 men well furnish'd with everything necessary for a campaign" – speaks of the great anxiety prevailing in Quebec, to receive accounts from Gen

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Howe and to ascertain if his reported commanding position over the American army under Gen^l Washington was likely to be realized –

This Mr Taylor was grandson of the Mrs Taylor before spoken of * as dying at an advanced age the last surviving grandchild of the first John Winslow consequently second cousin of my uncle –

Mr Clarke in a letter to his uncle from Quebec Sept 3 1776, mentions the arrival of his cousin Isaac, that Quebec was overstocked with goods of all kinds with very little demand adding "I hope your separation from home will not be so long, as to put you upon thinking of any business" – "I assure you I sufferd very much on your account, when I heard of your moving from Boston I heartily wish you may have soon encouragement to return but I hear of nothing yet which gives me leave to promise it, we are impatiently expecting to hear of Gen^l Howes motions, nothing which can be depended on from him is known later than the account of his having landed at Staten Island – Speaks of the preparations for, a large army on the lakes, as well as a strong naval force, that the American army at Ticonderoga under the command of Major Gates[†] is only 4000 men. "It is impossible that such a force as that can withstand the army that is going over" The same friend writes to my father from Montreal in a letter dated 19th September 1779 – in this referring to the adjustment of a matter of business, by Mr Nathaniel Taylor also one of the loyalists, which had saved my father so very disagreeable a jaunt as he otherwise would have had to Canada In this he speaks of his brother Jonathan, who was a Commissary as well as I W Clarke, being with the army, (probably Cornwallis's) and adds Mr Clarke, "I am sorry to find, that by the movements of that army, my brother is prevented being of service to our late uncles estate, I

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think the return of the young ladies to New England was well judged" These two Mr Clarkes with my father, were joint executors of the will of their uncle Isaac, but he dying in New York, and the other executors absent, my father was left, the sole acting executor. The young ladies referd to were Betsey and Sally Tyng Winslow daughters of the deceased – These I presume after their fathers death,* got permission to go into the American lines in New Jersey, where they resided some months in the family of their cousin Mrs Knox, wife of General Knox,[‡] then with General Washington's army at Morristown[§] About the date of Mr Clarkes letter, these young ladies probably left their position in New Jersey to return to New England** – Mrs Knox was daughter of Thomas Flucker secretary of the province before the revolution, of whom mention has before been made – Gen Knox was originally a

* See above, I, 53.

† Horatio Lloyd Gates (c. 1727–1806).

‡ Henry Knox (1750–1806). He became the chief artillery officer of the Continental Army and later the first United States Secretary of War. He married Lucy Flucker (1756–1824).

§ And see below, IV, 134 (relating to Betsey's death in 1825).

** But the letter to Betsey quoted below (I, 193, verso) indicates the sisters were still at Morristown in March, 1780.

bookseller and kept a shop in Boston at the corner of Washington and State Street, and is said in his youth, to have been a well looking young man. At this time he was an officer in the militia company called Gridleys artillery, which was then rather celebrated for its skill in gunnery. Miss Flucker as I have heard, used frequently to visit the shop of Mr Knox and is said to have given him much encouragement, in fact rather to have courted him at first – The disparity of the situation and circumstances of the parties in life was very great, Mr Knox’s family being in a humble situation in society, and her’s of the first rank in the province – The match was strongly opposed by her friends but finally took place, (whether with, or without the connivance of the family I never heard,) and they were married at the house of her uncle Mr Winslow in Roxbury. I always understood, that he rather favor’d this union, and aided in its favorable issue. For this friendly disposition Gen Knox, as I have been led to think, from the little I know of the circumstances of the case, evinced more grateful feeling’s towards Mr Winslows family than his lady, who though not unkind to her cousins, yet when living in a good deal of style, after the peace in Boston, did not much notice her cousins, who were then in quite narrow circumstances – To return from this digression, to other parts of Mr Clarks letter to my father. This gentleman

[written sideways at the left margin bottom to top]

* They remained with the widow their mother in law* till Jany 1779 then went to Gen Knox at Morristown the widow went to England, the August following with her Son Thomas

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mentions his anxiety to hear about the expected fleet, and what movements will be made this year and says “we are alarmed here at hearing of Gen^l. McLeans[†] situation at Penobscot, our latest advices are that he is blocked up there by a number of armd troops. We hear of a large body of men under the command of Sullivan[‡] on an expedition against our upper country, what will be the event of this we cannot judge – Mr. C mentions in this letter the difficulty of obtaining any correct political information at Montreal – The Penobscot expedition referd to by Mr Clark was undertaken in July 1779 by the Province of Massachusetts, for the purpose of driving off or capturing a British force under a Col^l McLean stationd at that place, but proved an entire failure – The American force consisted of a land force of 900 men, one frigate of 32 guns, 16 sloops of war and brigs, and 24 transports – . all of which were destroyed, by a fleet under the command of Sir George Collier[§] composed of seven heavy ships of war fitted out at New York – The American vessells were principally burnt by themselves – The troops and seamen sufferd much in their return to Boston through the then unsettled[?]** province of Maine –

* Isaac’s second wife, Jemima, their stepmother.

† Francis McLean.

‡ Probably General John Sullivan (1740–1795).

§ 1738–1795.

** The lower half of this page is written on a pasted-on fragment evidently from an envelope, as it contains small circles of sealing wax. There is a hole at the bottom edge after the word “then” through which a letter, probably “g” and a bit of wax are visible, but this seems to have been intended to be covered up.

[written on the verso of the preceding page]*

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~~province under~~ the royal government Mr Winslows[†] eldest daughter Hannah is mentioned in the Gentleman's Magazine of 1778 as having been married to John Wall[?] Esq of his majesty's 45th Reg^t of foot. They went to Ireland together and never returned to this country

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The other expedition referd to by Mr Clarke under the command of the American general Sullivan against upper Canada was also unsuccessfull.

Having thus got through that part of the family narrative which has been extracted from the letters of its members at a distance from New England, I shall now take up from the few letters in my possession the narrative of those who who remained in Boston or were resident in New York during the war.

During the above period I find only three or four letters from members of the family in Boston – The first of them is from my fathers eldest brother Edward the episcopal clergyman before mentiond, dated at Boston November 29, 1776[‡] – In this he speaks of the distressd state

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of the family in consequence of my fathers leaving Boston, their mother he says [“is in a most pitiable condition having scarcely any exercise of her rational faculties, and we are extremely perplexed as to the concerns of the estate – the Distill house entirely stoppd since the evacuation of the town, all the stock undoubtedly the property of the family seized, and as yet no prospect of redress, nor any branch of the family to apply for it with any probability of success”. [“The rents of the Estate,]” he says, [“]will go but a very little way towards the maintenance of the family – Most of the houses belonging to the estate are in a miserable condition, But what will be effected or how anything can be is altogether uncertain” This letter was addressed to the uncle of the writer[§] at Halifax and is endorsed “Boston 2nd Dec 1776 opend and permitted Nat. Barber” – The latter was a high whig and either then or afterwards the husband of my fathers sister Mary. ** How my uncle came in Boston I never knew having been appointed in 1774 Chaplain on board the

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Kings ship Mercury by Admiral Parker then in Boston Bay. it might be thought that on this account he would have been particularly obnoxious to the leaders of the whig party – Perhaps however, this appointment being two years before the commencement of hostilities, and the above letter to his uncle written Eight months after the evacuation, it is probable his character as a clergyman protected him, and that he came into town from his parish in

* Except for the fact that Isaac has bothered to number this page (and he misnumbers it at that), the text is discontinuous with the preceding, unclear in itself, and may not have been intended for inclusion here.

† The author's great uncle Isaac.

‡ This letter has already been quoted, above, I, 129.

§ Isaac's great uncle Isaac.

** They were married on December 19, so just days after the letter just quoted.

Braintree principally with the design of getting a passport for Newport, from whence he might join some of his family in New York – His own family remained in Braintree –

* The only letters from the family which remain besides the above are two or three from my Aunt Sukey, to my father in New York, dated in Feb^y & April 1780 – The winter of that year was one of great severity, probably one of the coldest seasons on record. In her letter of 7 Feb^y, “speaking of the want of intelligence from her brothers in New York, and of the distressed state of those of the family who were in Boston she says, “I remember my brother Jack used to say that he never loved any of his poor relations, and though I must now be reckoned amongst them, yet it pains me to[†]

* note I find a letter from my father to his sister Sukey, dated New York Jan^y 2 1779 which begins “I can only now bid my dear sister the good wishes of the season

So uniformly are mankind impressed, and so agreed that something is presently wanting[[‡]] (meaning to complete our happiness) [“]that to this anticipation is this custom to be attributed.[[‡]] (“a happy new year) – [“]without falling under the imputation of being grumblers, such have been some of our past years, we may very justly be warranted to hope for a change

Our cousins Betsey & Sally had leave to come out if they went to Boston, Mr Clark and I thought of their living with you – They must cross a disagreeable passage to Elizabeth town[‡] which is thought dangerous now, we have had so much ice, and the weather is now too inclement for them to travel – The first good weather they will come out –

Your affect Brother

Sister Jack[§] much better and stands the winter well –

o v e r

[verso of the preceding]

I find amongst the few family letters during the war one from Mrs Mary Hubbard a particular friend of my Aunt then Pease (afterwards Malbone) a letter of condolence on the death of her husband Simon Pease dated Dec 18, 1777 – By this I infer his death must have taken place a short time before – after expressing her sorrow and sympathy with her friend in the loss of one of the best of husbands, Mrs H beseeches her not to sorrow as those without hope, that having experienced as much felicity “as commonly falls to the lot of mortals, the clouds of adversity have descended and life looks dull and insipid without your dear partner,[[‡]]” and beseeches her [“]to remember that an infinitely wise, gracious and merciful, God, who, presides over the universe, and who cannot err, is able to make our severest trials prove blessings – May the Almighty support comfort and bless you and give you the divine consolations which your present distress requires, and may you be enabled to say “Thy will O Lord be done – my heart my Dear Kate bleeds for you and most sincerely do I wish, it was in my power to be with you to mingle my tears with yours, to pour the balm of Comfort into your wounded souls and take my share of your affliction” Mary Hubbard

* The quotation mark here is premature.

† The text here is continued at the beginning of I, 194 below.

‡ Probably Elizabeth, New Jersey.

§ Perhaps his brother John’s wife.

Extract of letters from my father dated 18 March 1780 to his cousin Betsy at Gen^l Knox's Morristown New Jersey mentions his not having written owing to restrictions on letters, "we had many stories about you that you would not be received, but have since heard there was not the least foundation for such a report[?]" – is glad to find "you have spent your time agreeably with your kind cousins &c.

Aunt Winslow[?] (that is their mother in law* ["is yet here and well – Tommy[?]" (their half brother ["improves much. I have got him a good schoolmaster, and think and hope he will not be spoiled.

I am exceedingly pleased with what you say of Miss Tyng.[†] Indeed Dear Betsy, I believe you and Sally both must be out of the little matters you mention. I hope from what I see in your papers that paper at its nominal value will not be a tender for debts, and then your brother with what you have, will be able to make you comfortable – Here I cannot yet make out to pay your mama, compliments to Mrs Knox & the general, &c. Memo of articles sent. 19 yds silk for gown, cost 2\$ pr yd 16 yds ribbon 31 cts yd 6 yds gauze 94 cts y^d 3 pair Shoes 15[?] pair.

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to be neglected by those I tenderly love, now more than ever. How great this was, I never realized till this cruel separation – we have sufferd much this winter – many a time should I have been glad to have been partaker of the fare in one of your kitchens – The expenses of living are so great and the severity of the winter such, that many have unavoidably suffer'd. How many times have I wish'd to see or be near you all

All we have is sinking fast, and to avoid these gloomy communications write you seldom, but be assured I feel the tender affection for you all, and daily miss your tender care and assistance – This is hard, but I will try not to repine, -- Loss of health and low spirits have reduced me to a mere shadow – Tell my brother Jack he must nor forget me. I am no more weaned from my love to him than when we first parted – He knows I always loved him and had reason once to think he did me. Hannah Orrok[‡] is strong in the faith of our all seeing you again. I wish I could join with her. Aunt Alford[§] is still with me, has been, at times distressd for want of means, but in good health –" with the usual remembrance to her family, she concludes with a request for "a pair of shoes, a few pins, a little thread, nothing can come amiss, as we are in very great want – Don't forget me" – Your truly affct

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In a letter of 19 April 1780, my aunt writes to her brother "One more attempt will I make my dear brother, to hear from you, though almost discouraged as it is now almost four

* Stepmother, Jemima.

† Sally Tyng Winslow was named after her uncle John's wife, né Sarah Tyng, who died childless (above, I, 36 and below, IV, 146n.) But she had become Mrs. Winslow about 1760, which makes it unlikely that she is the person being referred to. But we know she much preferred the name Tyng to Winslow, and I suspect there were hopes that she might settle some of her extensive estate on her nieces. The sentence following, concerning "little matters," only deepens the mystery.

‡ Referred to above, I, 72, as Hannah Orrick.

§ Né Margaret Savage, Mrs. John Alford, sister of Isaac's grandmother Elizabeth Savage Winslow.

months since we have had any intelligence from our friends in New York except a letter from Brother Jack to his Sister Pease – I seem to be neglected and forgotten by those I tenderly love –” She speaks of the trying separation which this “cruel war” has made between friends – but her affection to them nothing can alienate, and adds “Many lonely hours do I spend in thinking of the happy days we once had together, round our venerable parents hospitable board, but alas what a change, no fond father to indulge, nor kind brother to advise, but left alone in this day of severe trial and adversity. Tell your Polly* if she could have anticipated the changes I have experienced since our parting, our tears at that time would have flowed more freely than they did – Aunt Alford has been remarkably well in her health through this dreadful winter – poor lady she is much broken, and seems almost tired of her long pilgrimage here – The vicissitudes she has suffered at times are too much for her – Sister Pollard† is well still resides with her daughter has her hands full with the care

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of two little girls of Peggy’s,‡ she is amicable as ever and wants much to see uncle Isaac again, Sister Jeffries well and desires her regards[?] – These two little girls were Peggy Blanchard my first wife born 1777 and her sister Catherine afterwards Mrs Houston born in 1780. –

another letter from this aunt dated 25 May 1780 is pretty much a recapitulation of the preceding one she speaks of her situation as being more comfortable than the winter before, having her aunts & cousins as boarders, and shewing the extreme scarcity of articles in common use she desires her brother to send her “ few pins, a little thread and a gauze handkerchief”

Samuel, eldest son of my great uncle Isaac writes from Boston July 29 1781, that such is the uncertainty of conveyance between that place and New York that 2 years had elapsed since he had a letter – mentions his Sisters Elizabeth & Sarah Tyng, being happily situated with their cousin Sukey, and expresses much anxiety for his brother Isaac lately arrived at New York from Quebec, who was then a lad of 16 or 18, lest he should have left his cousin Isaac Clarke without permission, This young man on his passage from New York to Quebec in the preceding winter was shipwrecked on the coast between the St Lawrence & Halifax, which will be noticed hereafter§ –

The family which for a century before the revolution had been a numerous and flourishing one, were nearly all exiles from the place of their nativity – They were scatterd abroad in Halifax New York, England, and other places. Their departure in 1776, was to most of them a final adieu to their own and their Fatherland –

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Two of my fathers sisters had indeed married Bostonians Mrs Jeffries and Mrs Barber, but their husbands having warmly espoused the popular party, little sympathy existed between them and their relations, whose feelings were all on the other side – Such is always the case in dissensions of a political or religious character. The nearest connections become often

* Isaac’s mother.

† Isaac’s aunt Margaret, who had married Benjamin Pollard, and two of whose granddaughters would both become Isaac’s wives.

‡ Margaret’s daughter Peggy Savage Pollard, who married Joshua Blanchard.

§ Below, I, 236.

under such unhappy circumstances alienated, and sometimes even hostile to each other – and the bitterness of party feelings, neutralizes the best affections of our nature –

The American revolution was not a sanguinary one nor was there much blood if any shed but in battle – But the power assumed by the leaders of the popular party was despotic enough – These were generally the members of the house of representatives, on which branch the effectual power of government had devolved, long before the revolution, even while the nominal power was with the Kings government – under the names of committees of the town of Boston – of correspondence,

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and of safety, an efficient government was exercised. The mass of people animated by dislike to their opponents then called tories, willingly acquiesced, in the absolute power which the popular branch, a self organized body (the collateral branches of Governor and Council not then existing) thought it necessary to assume – preexisting committees, fortified with the authority of the popular branch in October 1774, at once organized equipd and furnished the militia with arms and stores, under the command of officers tried[?]* friends to the popular cause – The revolution in Massachusetts and indeed in all New England was then complete – The Government had in fact passed from its former possessors – The new heads of the Government feeling their power, sure of the acquiescence of the people in its vigorous exercise against the Tories, gradually attained the consistence of a regular government – The property of their adversaries who had left the country was confiscated – The few who ventured to remain were imprison'd – certain leading tories were proscribed as conspirators, and all who had left the country were in fact expatriated† – The Public treasury benefitted but little by the confiscated property, being sold either for depreciated papers, or eaten up by the expences of‡

[a short page, pinned to the bottom of the preceding]

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agency. – The estate of my grandfather which was a large one was preserved from confiscation owing to his widow having a life estate in it, and being an undivided estate – part belonging to the sisters in Boston, and part to the families of the brothers who were absent, it did not share the fate of the loyalists property generally.

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It is not amiss to notice here a singular letter said to have been written by the Marquis of Montcalm§ the French general who was slain at the capture of Quebec in 1757 or 58 published in the Gentlemans Magazine London July 1777. This was brought forward by Lord Mansfield in a debate in the house of Lords, in Dec 1777, as a proof of the early desire of the Americans for independence, -- Lord Shelburne in reply affirmed that it had been discovered to be a forgery – Lord M however insisted that the letter was not spurious – The following is the extract “all the English colonies would long since have shaken off the yoke,

* As in *tried and true?*

† Probably a nonstandard usage meaning they were stripped of their citizenship.

‡ “oP” hidden under the page pinned to this one.

§ Louis-Joseph de Montcalm-Gozon, Marquis de Saint-Veran (1712–1759).

if the fear of seeing the French at their door had not been a check upon them – when Canada shall be conquer'd, and the Canadians and these colonists become one people on the first occasion when England, shall seem to strike at their interest will these colonies do you think obey? What will they have to fear from a revolt? Could England send an army of 100 000 or 200,000 men to oppose them at such a distance? It is true she has a fleet, and the towns of North America beside being few in number are all open, without forts or citadels and that a few men of war in their ports would be sufficient to keep them to their duty, but the interior part of the country which forms an object of greater importance, who will undertake to conquer, over rocks, lakes, rivers & mountains, which every where intersect it, and where a handful of men acquainted with the country, would be sufficient to destroy the largest armies?[*]" From the magazine in question, to shew what were the opinions of the Quakers on the revolution.

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I shall here quote some extracts from an address of that Society dated Jan'y 1, 1776 an interesting revolutionary document. – The position this society was placed in, was as well as that of the Episcopalians and Sandemanians, (all, from principle supporters of the old government) a very uncomfortable one –

Governments have been generally but too much alike in refusing toleration to dissenters from the dominant or established religion, especially when their tenets, independent of any overt acts, do not coincide with the popular sentiment – The address is signed by John Pemberton dated Jan'y 1, 1776, beseeching their friends, and fellow subjects to enquire into the State of their own minds and “whether the calamities & difficulties which now surround us are not owing to a neglect of the requirements of the religion of Jesus Christ, whether an upright & impartial desire to prevent the slavery and oppression of our fellow men, and to return them to their natural rights, to true Christian liberty, has been encouraged, or have pride wantonness luxury, profaneness, a partial spirit and forgetfulness of the mercies of God become lamentably prevalent?[*]" The address recognizes the manifestation of divine regard to their ancestors evinced, when they were a suffering and persecuted people “ in that the hearts of the King and rulers under whom they had suffered, were inclined to grant them these fruitfull [cou??s].”† This

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And that the benefits advantages and favors which they had experienced from the Kings and governors, under which they had enjoyed this happy state, ought to lead to constant endeavours against every attempt to alter and subvert that dependance and connection – This paper comprehends also part of an ancient address of the Society in 1696 probably to the home Government after the abdication of James 2^d – “that the setting up and putting down Kings and governments is Gods peculiar prerogative, that they could not plot or contrive the ruin or overturn of any of them, but to pray for the King and safety of our nation and good of all men, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and

* Isaac omits some sentences and phrases and makes some minor mistakes in transcribing this passage.

† The last seven words on this page are written on a slip that has been pasted over the final line. The slip ends apparently in the middle of the final word, which appears to begin “Cou” or possibly “coin.” at the end, and written on the underlying (pasted over) page is what appears to be an “s.” Elsewhere, Pemberton’s uses the same language, and the difficult word here proves to be “countries.” See, e.g., *The Friend: A Religious and Literary Journal*, 5, No. 10 (1831), 76.

honesty” – This concludes with a firm intention to observe their just and necessary subordination to the King –

Whether owing to this or the subsequent refusal of the Society to take the oath of allegiance, Congress on the 28 Aug^t 1777, recommended to the supreme executive of Pennsylvania to apprehend and secure the persons of Joshua Fisher, Abel James James Pemberton & others, Quakers to the number of Twenty one as being disaffected to the American cause, and that they be sent to Staunton in Virginia – The Committee of Congress justify themselves by the proceedings in other states in consequence of the Quakers refusing to take the oath – as well as by the conduct of the freest nations & the authority of judicious civilians.

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[Written in pencil at the top of the page]

Before making one or two selections from the correspondence of the author I [entrust? extract?] from M[?] [????]

As connected with the incidents occurring during the revolutionary war, may be mentioned an ingenious plan of the Bostonians to obtain a supply of Specie from their enemies. The army of Gen Burgoyne* after his surrender, was stationed at Cambridge, and for its supply Gold and Silver was sent from England, as well by the Government as by the friends of the captive officers – with this medium, purchases were made at the high prices consequent on a depreciated currency – In order that the State should profit by this, rather than individuals public agents were appointed, whose duty it was to pay the suppliers of provisions &c to the British army, in paper money, to be delivered them from the State Treasury, and to deposit in lieu thereof the Specie received from the army thus exchanging specie for depreciated paper – at the same time Oct 30, 1777 the General assembly, in order to secure a supply of fuel from Maine, made a provision that passes for the Coasting vessells should be issued by the commander in chief Gen Heath,† stating that their cargoes of wood were intended for the use of the British prisoners at Cambridge, and if the vessells were captur’d they would be deprived of their supply of wood -- Gent^m Magazine London Dec 1777.

From these two digressive chapters, imperfectly connected with the family history, yet not uninteresting as memorials of bygone times I resume the family narrative from the end of chapter 9th where it terminates with the arrival of my fathers family in New York in 1778.

* General John Burgoyne (1722–1792).

† Major General William Heath (1737–1814).

Chapter Twelve

Family's arrival in New York – Reflections on Isaac's childhood memories and children's memories more generally – The voyage from Halifax; his brother Tom's throwing items overboard – Landing in Manhattan; separated from his father and attempt to rejoin him (age 4) – Digression about his grandfather Davis being held prisoner of war in Boston for some months after capture by a privateer between Halifax and New York; eventually freed in a prisoner exchange – Family resides first with grandfather Davis; explosion of an ordnance vessel in the East River vividly recollected – His father takes a house in Smith (now William) Street, \$400 *per annum*; friends as subtenants to avoid having strangers billeted with them – Attempt by a Hessian forcibly to billet himself; courageous Irish maid servant who prevents this – Isaac schooled at a "woman's school," then at a school run by Mr. Humphreys, a Sandemanian – Recollections of various city locales and how they have changed – The story of the great 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 – open fields and playing at the Battery – "Canvas Town" – a trip to Bushwick in the country with Mr. Humphreys' son – subsequent fever of months' duration and recovery after treatment with quinine – Another remedy, being dipped in salt water and almost drowning; rescued by the 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 André's execution; his popularity – his uncle and neighbor John, a Commissary of Prisoners; his death from fever – His uncle Edward the 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 unfavorable terms for the Loyalists; hard feelings expressed by Boston patriots against the "ingrate" Loyalists (and possible motivations behind these) – Uncle Edward's twin daughters taken in by uncle John's and his father's families respectively; Isabella Catherine a great favorite with Isaac's family; she married an English Sandemanian immigrant – Letters from her father (uncle Edward) to his friend Mr. Deblois in London; political reflections in these; his pitiable situation; hasn't been paid two years' salary; receives an appointment to a regiment of Jersey volunteers; hopes to be appointed to the chaplaincy of King's Chapel Boston after the Peace – After his death, his uncle Edward's widow and children join his son Edward in North Carolina; about their afterlives – Letters from Isaac's cousin Jonathan Pollard to Isaac's father; news of a brother's death – The afterlives of his siblings, especially his brother Isaac and his miraculous recovery after a celebrated shipwreck at Cape Breton Island – Conclusion

of the first volume and anticipating the next, for which richer materials and recollections exist.

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The family arrived in New York prior to Augt 1778 at which time as has been said Benjamin an infant died in New York. – My recollections from that period are distinct, and generally connected – Indeed, these began at Halifax, and embrace the voyage to New York, stoppage at Newport, then in the hands of the British, many incidents on the passage, such as my brother Tom throwing overboard every thing he could get, once I recollect his committing to the deep a plate and silver spoon, to see how they would vibrate about in the water before they sank. – I presume the memory of children commences at about 3 or 4 years of age, and that the durability of mental recollections in after life, arises from the strength of the impression, which a particular incident, operating strongly on the feelings of the child at the time, renders indelible through life – On our arrival at New York, my father took me on shore with him, leaving the family onboard the Globe, and deposited me at my grandfather Davis’s corner of Pearl & Pine,* in the Store. – My father then left me, but watching my opportunity, I got into the street, determining to get back to the vessell in the East River, and the course I had come through Pearl Street

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I traced back right enough, till I got to the junction of Pearl with Cherry Street, now Franklin Square, when unable to find the Street, through which my father had brought me from the vessell lying in the East river, I came to a stand and began to cry – It so happen’d that some person knowing the family name, took me by the hand, led me to the house of my uncle Edward, which happen’d to be in the vicinity, being the dividing point between Pearl & Cherry Streets – Of course, I was soon restored to the family – At this time I was about[†] four and a half years old –

A word of digression here in regard to my grandfather Davis – at that time, he had lately returned from his captivity in Boston Gaol – He was captured by a Marblehead privateer – I believe on his passage from Halifax to New York, I think in the year 1777. – marched up to Boston from Marblehead as a prisoner of war, and paraded up State Street, with a mob following the escort, who insisted on his taking off his hat as he went along – Being very unpopular with the whig party on account of the very decided stand he, took as a loyalist, he felt afraid, of some very severe treatment by the mob, and as I heard from the family, was never better pleased, than when the Gaolers key was turned on him – He was under confinement I believe some months, and finally exchanged as a prisoner of war)

I do not recollect how long, the family continued at my grandfathers, but I well remember the incident of being in the yard, when a heavy thunder shower had just commenced, and seeing the cellar door suddenly fly off its hinges, and forced with violence against the fence, several feet distant – At the same moment, I heard a rattling on the roof of

* Isaac frequently refers to New York’s streets with names that superseded their Colonial names in use during the war.

[†] The word is split across two lines and “bout” appears to have been struck through, though this is not entirely clear.

the houses* from the falling of bricks from the chimnies and ran into the house, and from the front windows, saw burning pieces of wood falling in the Street. This as I afterwards heard, arose from the explosion of a vessell, loaded with Gunpowder in the

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206) the East River, which during a severe thunder storm had been struck with lightning The officers and crew on board, aware of their danger from the character of the cargo, had left the vessell as they saw the thunder cloud approaching, but an officer of the vessell returning for some papers which he had left in the cabin, was killed in the explosion which took place before he was able to quit the vessell a second time – This is the version of the story, as I recollect to have heard it when a boy, perhaps not so very correctly heard, or rememb'rd -- * see note on the other side –

In 1778, my father took a large house no 499 Smith (now William) Street, belonging to a Major Moncrieff[?][†] of Flatbush Long Isl^d – By a letter this gentleman dated Jan'y 31, 1779, probably in reply to the liability of officers being quarterd in the house he says, “That is the common lot of citizens &c+ -- fixes the rent at 160£ (400 \$ per ann), and adds that 15 years before (1764) he had let it from 130 to 160. I found a rec^t of Major Moncrieff May 7, 1781 for a yrs rent 40£ N.Y.^kCY[?][‡]

When I first recollect, there were several of my fathers New England acquaintances in the house, as sub occupants under him – S S. Blowers, Col Handfield of 22^d Br. Regt. Mr George Spooner[?] – Gideon white one of the Plymouth loyalists, and I believe a Captain in the army – This was done as I judge, as well as to help pay the rent, as to prevent strangers being billeted on the family.

The Colonel Handfield above mentiond was spoken of as a very amiable man and brother of a Capt Handfield, husband of Peggy, daughter of my Uncle Edward the episcopal minister – I

[verso of the preceding, written on a sheet pasted over the bottom half; the underlying sheet contains struck-through text, evidently an earlier version of Isaac's account of the explosion of the ship in the East River]

In regard to the explosion referd to – Gaines New York Gazette of 10th Aug 1778 – relates this as follows –

[“]Last Tuesday about one oClock PM during a heavy rain accompanied with thunder, the lightning struck the ordnance sloop Morning Star lying off the Coffee house in the East river with 248 barrells of gun powder on board – It produced a most tremendous explosion – A number of houses were unroofed – many windows broken, and some furniture demolish'd by the blast, the effects of which were similar to an earthquake – Happily there was only one in the vessell when the accident happen'd” –

* A mistake no doubt for “house.”

† William S. Hornor, *This Old Monmouth of Ours* (Freehold, NJ: Moreau Bros, 1932; rpt. Clearfield, 2009), lists a Major Moncrieff as among the wealthy Tory inhabitants of Flatbush during the war (33).

‡ Probably an abbreviation for New York Currency. The 40£ is probably a mistake for 400£.

rather think the plan my father adopted was successful in preventing the quartering of officers on the family – There was indeed one case of an attempt to quarter in the house a Hessian officer, one of Gen^l Kniphausens* army – This was rather a ludicrous scene by the determined courage of an Irish maid servant, first turning the Hessian sergeant out of the room he had taken possession of, and then standing guard at the door, until the return of her master and mistress, who were then out on a visit – .. The room was one where this woman, myself and brother Tom, slept, and we two were actually in bed, when the sergeant gave the order to clear out – She said she would not move for all the Sergeants in the army. – Neither could understand each other – I have no remembrance of any Hessian officer being quartered in the house and presume, this one did not follow up the proposed plan, and disposed of himself elsewhere, but have no remembrance of the results –

This house was standing either till the new Street called Exchange Street was open'd or the great fire of December 1837, and as long as it existed, I looked upon it with pleasure, as one of my earliest reminiscences, of course connected with many other interesting ones. The family lived in this house 2 or 3 years, and while residing there I went first woman's School in a rough cast house, corner of Smith and Wall, which was standing as late as 1807, when I was in New York, and if I mistake not, when I was there also in 1827 – At this school it is not probable that I continued a long time, as I see a bill of schooling amongst the old papers, from

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Mr Daniel Humphries,[†] one of the religious society to which my father belonged, who had opened a school in New York, “for a quarters schooling of his son Isaac” – To Mr Humphries's school I must have been sent as early or before the date of the bill 20 June 1779 my age being 5 the preceding February – The bill was *40/. York Currency or 5 dollars Mr Humphries school, was in Little Queen (now Nassau) Street, and in this I remained till the school was broken up by the evacuation in 1783. This house with the neighboring houses, the old Lutheran church north of it – a shop in William Street at the bottom of Nassau, where the boys used to buy Cookies and cock a neery – (Dutch names for Gingerbread toys, and mollasses candy) were all standing as late I think, as 1828. – Strongly were these, associated with the reminiscences of my boyish days. – Indeed when in 1799 after 16 years absence from the city, I first revisited New York, and was landed from the stage in Broadway near St Pauls church, every street and building, and the general localities of the city, especially from Broadway to the east River, every object was quite as

[written sideways bottom to top at the left-hand margin and upper half of the page]

* By Mr H's bill June 1782 the rate was £4 = 16 [\$? per qtr? annm?]

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familiar to me as if I had never left it. It is true that very many improvements had then taken place – and especially a new Street on the East river beyond Water Street, our last residence

* Wilhelm Reichsfreiherr zu Innhausen und Knyphausen (1716–1800).

† A misspelling of “Humphreys” (and thus throughout). His brother David, not a Sandemanian, would be appointed aide-de-camp to Gen. Washington in 1780.

being in a sort of on Dock now Front[?] Street* Store facing the East river – generally however, the places with which I was most familiar, remained very much the same as I had recollected them many years before – the town guard was at the city hall which from Wall Street projected 15 or 20 feet, with an arcade under it, through which if I recollect right foot passengers might pass – This faced Broad Street and I believe remained standing as much as 30 years after the war – I think that General Washington and the other members of the Federal government were here sworn into office in 1789. The Hessian troops were stationed at the hall as the main guard here, and when off guard used to amuse themselves with singing sacred music or national airs, and as I have heard judges of music say, each choosing his part, the effect was very striking, and agreeable.

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Near to this in front of the ruins of Trinity Church was a line of trees or sort of Park a favorite resort in summer evenings – This was enliven'd by a band of regimental music at one end, of the walk, for the amusement of those who were in the habit of frequenting it – Trinity church as well as many other buildings in Broadway was in ruins when I first remember it, having been involved in a great conflagration which took place in New York the 20 November[†] 1776 – The fire was caused by incendiaries, of which the following particulars are taken from the Gentlemens magazine of 1776 – On the night between the 20 & 21st of November an attempt was made to burn the city of New York which must have succeeded, but for the activity of the Kings troops, but yet, the destruction is computed at one quarter of the town. Another writer adds, that “all the city from the west of the new exchange along Broad Street top the North river to Kings College[?]” (now Columbia) [“]are in ruins. St Pauls Church and the college were saved with difficulty

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Trinity also was set on fire in three different places – The Lutheran church the parsonage and and charity school were destroyed. – Many of the incendiaries were seized with matches in their hands and instantly put to death” –

That this was the work of incendiaries seems not to have been denied at that time,[‡] on the contrary it may be infer'd from the manner in which Mr Burke,[§] then a conspicuous opponent of Lord Norths administration and consequently a friend to the American cause, speaks of the fire as the effect of design, and the result of political animosity – Mr Burke in the parliamentary debates of that year, January 1777,^{**} endeavouring to shew the individual exasperation which unavoidably followed what he consider'd an unjust war, waged against fellow subjects contending for their rights as Englishmen, speaks of the late fire “which has burnt the noble city of New York” and of “the conduct of one

* “on Dock now Front Street” inserted via caret after “sort of.” Probably the caret was misplaced and “in a sort of Store on Dock, now Front Street” was intended.

† In fact, the fire occurred on September 21 and 22.

‡ The evidence that the fire was intentionally set is not conclusive. George Washington is widely quoted as having said while watching the blaze, “Providence, or some good honest fellow, has done more for us than we were disposed to do for ourselves.”

§ Edmund Burke (1729-1797).

** In fact the speech was given the previous November.

woman who averted the progress of British success” “This miserable being” says Mr B. “was found in a cellar with her visage besmeared and smutted over, with every mark of rage

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despair and resolution, and the most exalted heroism, buried in combustibles, in order to fire the city of New York, and perish in its ashes – she was brought forth, and knowing that she would be condemned to die, upon being asked her purpose, said “to fire the city”

This fire having taken place two years before the arrival of my fathers family in New York of course I have no recollection of. –

I have a remembrance however, of an incident related by my father at another great fire which happend in New York, in the summer of 1778. – This began at a place called Crugers Wharf near the old slip and burnt nearly 300 buildings,* situated on that wharf, and in dock street, nearly all the buildings on little dock street, and several on or opposite the old slip, as far as Isaac Lowes house –

The incident I refer to is, that my father according to the old custom in Boston of every inhabitant exerting himself at a fire, either by helping to save and protect furniture, hand water attend the pump assist the engine men, or in any way to stop the progress of the flames, being thus

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actively engaged, was on a sudden struck by a British officer or soldier on the head with a sword and received a considerable wound – This assault I remember to have heard him speak of with great indignation, at the same time however he supposed, that his active exertion for the assistance of the sufferers, was supposed to be but a mask to cover incendiary designs, probably always feared by the garrison in consequence of the successfull attempt in 1776 – I never heard the results whether the offender was punished, or apologized or not.

At that time, to the west of the buildings in Broadway were open fields to the Bank of the North river where the boys raised their kites – The bank of that river appeared to me as a boy, very high and steep, I think as much as 50 to 60 feet above the level of the River – The Battery at that time had bastions of Turf, I remember occasionally going into it and seeing some large mortars and shells near them, but do not recollect seeing guns in the bastions or any soldiers in the battery –

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Perhaps, the period to which I refer, and when boys were sufferd to go into the battery freely, was after the preliminaries of peace were sign’d, when the troops were stationd elsewhere, and the evacuation of New York by the British, was at hand.

Near the battery at the South East part about Whitehall, there was a collection of low buildings, coverd with Canvas, and thence called Canvas town by some, Irish town – These I conjecture were hasty erections put up after the great fire of 1776, for the accommodation of the poorer people – X

* The fire, which occurred on August 3rd, destroyed on the order of sixty homes according to most sources.

In the middle of Wall Street at its intersection with William Street, stood a statue of William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham,* erected in honor of that statesman a few years before the revolution, in consequence of his advocacy of Colonial rights –

To return from this digression as to the localities of New York during the war to the family narrative – while resident in Smith Street, I was permitted to go on a visit to Long Island in company with a boy near my own age, Daniel Humphries, the son of my preceptor – We went to the

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house of a Mr Smith residing I think at Bushwick ~~or Flatbush~~ – As this was the first time we had ever been in the country, within our recollection, it was a very delightfull change – Amongst other enjoyments was that of laying out on the grass, till late in the evening – whether owing to this, or some other cause, both of us were taken with fever and ague, which continued that season with much severity, and visited us both the ensuing summer. We did not get free from it till after taking large quantities of Jesuits bark in powder† – a remedy of which the reminiscence is very strong, as is that of the occasional deliriums which in my case accompanied the disorder.

Another remedy for this was being dipped in Salt Water every morning, for which purpose a man used to take me over the numerous Dutch Pettiaugers‡ or market boats, which lay at the Ferry Stairs, to the outside of them and plunge over head and ears in the East River – once after being dressed, I fell into the river, and so was picked up by the boat of a man of war I think the Santa Margaritta frigate§ coming into the spot where I was struggling for life – the man who was

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employed to plunge me, having for some reason, left the boat lying outside of a great number of others – I was then probably six or seven years old and could not swim – At this time my father lived in a house on Dock Street, now Front Street, a few doors South of Maiden Lane The Slip I believe called Market Slip, run up as far as Water Street, to a small fish market, East of the Fly market,** which stood in the middle of Maiden Lane, leaving quite a narrow passage on each side – From dock Street there was a bridge for foot passengers across the Slip – The house above mentiond had been a Store, which my father hired and converted it into a dwelling house keeping the lower part for a shop or store, The Kitchen was in the garrett, and altogether it was but a sory habitation, but my father used to say, it was more comfortable to be in such a house, than where all the apartments but 2 or 3, might be taken by billets for the government officers, or occupied by Sub tenants, and the kitchen filled with officers servants –

* William Pitt (1708–1778).

† The active ingredient of which is quinine.

‡ Or possibly “pettiauger,” a more usual variant of “piragua” Dutch boats of this sort appear to have been manageable by a single person, sometimes by means of a pole. See also below, II, x.

§ A Wikipedia article (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_frigate_classes_of_the_Royal_Navy) lists an ex-Spanish frigate *Santa Margarita* as having been captured by the British in 1779.

** It evolved and moved to become the Fulton Fish Market.

The winter of 1779, 1780 was one of uncommon Severity, but as a boy, out in the air every day I have no recollection of feeling any remarkable intensity of cold, only, that it used to be mentiond as a remarkable fact that the north river was frozen to Staten Island. I have lately seen a dispatch dated May 27, 1780, from General Kniphausen, commander in chief of the Hessian Army, then in the employ of the British, to the Government, in which he speaks of that winter as the longest and most severe one, ever remember'd – Its severity commenced, the 26 Dec 1779 – Says the letter writer “all the water was continent,* and horses with heavy carriages, could go over the ice into the Jerseys from one shore to another. It is only, since the 20th of february that the rivers and straits have been navigable.” – Gen^l Kniphausen also speaks of an attack by Genl Washington on Staten Island – The British general Pattison mentions this winter as follows, “The intense frost, accompanied with great falls of snow which began about the middle of December, shut up the navigation of this port from the Sea – The severity of the weather increased to that degree, that towards the middle of January all communications with this city by water were cut off, and as many new ones opend by the Ice – The passage of the North river to Paulus hook, was about the 19th practicable for the heaviest cannon, an event unknown in the

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the memory of man, and very soon after, provisions were transported upon sleighs, and detachments of cavalry marched from New York to Staten Island (11 miles) upon the ice. The East River to Brooklyn, Long Island was also for many days blocked up – Thus circumstanced the city was laid open on many sides to an enterprizing enemy, and notwithstanding the unsuccessful attempt they made on Staten Island the 14 Jan'y, it was nevertheless strongly reported that Gen Washington was meditating a great stroke on New York.” – Gen Pattison then speaks of an offer of the inhabitants to arm in defense of the city, and 2660 men had in consequence become embodied, and adds that “the frost having abated, and a thaw anticipated, all ideas of an attack are now at an end –” Amongst my early reminiscences is that of the grief and regret which prevailed in New York, at the capture and execution of Major André,[†] the 3rd of October at Tappan near West Point 1780. – I have an impression that he lodged in an old Dutch built house, corner of William and Beaver not far from my fathers – He was particularly lamented by the female part of the community – My fathers brother John of whom mention is made before as having been

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in New York in 1777, lived in Water Street a little South of Maiden Lane, so that the back windows of his house were nearly opposite the back windows of my fathers in Dock Street – This Uncle was commissary of prisoners, and died in New York, as has been mentiond in the summer of 1782.‡* ~~of what was then called a bilious fever, supposed to have been caused by exposure in visiting the American prisoners on long island~~ – His widow went to her uncle Simpsons in England, soon after as is ment^d in letters of Sir W^m Pepperrell and returnd to

* In the sense of being *connected* or *continuous* as a frozen body.

† Major John André (1750–1780). He conspired with Benedict Arnold to effect the surrender of West Point.

‡ Other family records indicate he died in 1781, though that would make less probable Isaac's remembering him as well as he says he does.

Boston about the year 1784 – This relation I well remember, as a frank openhearted man and very fond of myself and my brothers – His only son died a boy of 6 or 7 years old, about the time we arrived in New York.

My Uncle Edward the eldest brother of my father, resided also in New York, at a house the junction of Pearl and Cherry Streets He had been chaplain on board several of the Kings ships, but I believe at the time of his death officiated at an Episcopal church * Street. He had a large family (4 Sons and, six daughters) and died in New York in 1781, in consequence as I have always heard of a fall from the stone steps of this church

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~~Father think 1780~~

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of this relation and his family I may be able to add more hereafter.

A Black girl named Rose, two or three years older than myself had been given my mother, by her father before the family left Boston, for, at that time Slavery was allowed in New England – This girl was of a most intrepid, as well as mischievous disposition, and always getting, as well as leading others, into danger by her daring temperament – I recollect when at Halifax, her jumping from a chamber window over a narrow alley way onto a shed, probably not many feet lower than the window, and persuading myself and my cousin Eliza Sparhawk then only 4 years old, to follow her, which we did and all landed safely – but had we have fallen in the alley way we must in all probability have been killed – The father and sister of this girl remain'd in Boston and she used often to expect them or to visit her – Once when there was general salutes from the ships of war and batteries

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for the occasion of some British victory, I believe Rodney's action[†] with Count de Grasse April 12 1782, -- Rose came in delighted to my mother saying “Oh Missis, the guns are firing – father's a coming” – Innumerable were the wild pranks in which this fearless and mischievous creature continually embarked. My mother was glad enough to get rid of her, on the return of the family to Boston in 1784 – The freedom then allowed to the blacks who had been slaves, if welcome to Rose was, still more so to my mother –

My mother was, when we arrived in New York, about 21 years old, and 26 when we left – a fine healthy, and very handsome woman, and so young looking that when I was 8 or 10 years old strangers used often to mistake me for her brother – at that time she had the children under her personal care, washing combing and dressing them herself, till her family had become too numerous for personal

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* A blank here Isaac evidently hoped to be able to fill in later.

† The “Battle of the Saintes” in the West Indies.

attention – an early reminiscence was the difference between her washing, when she was confined and the servant performing that office – by the care of the former preventing the Soap Suds getting into our eyes, which often smarted under the lavations of the latter –

It was in Aug^t 1782 that communications were received at New York by Sir Guy Carleton* who was then British commander in chief that the British Government had offered to the negotiators for peace at Paris, the acknowledgement of the independence of the United States. This news overwhelmed the loyalists, who were then numerous in New York with dismay, they saw no prospect of obtaining asylum anywheres[†] A letter writer of the days says speaking of this event and of the British “what must the world think of a nation, that sacrifices so many of its friends, without any apparent necessity,” and adds, “the distress at Savannah is but a faint resemblance

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anon letter Gent Mag Aug & Sept 1782

of what must be exhibited by an evacuation of this place[”] (New York), [“if independency is granted. I am under the truth I verily believe, when I tell you, there are 20 000 refugees of all descriptions within these lines, besides the inhabitants to whom nine parts in ten of the property belongs, very few of these can stay but at the manifest hazard of their lives – Figure to yourself therefore their situation, when New York is evacuated” –

The writer speaks of having expected a different result from recent successes of the British arms in the East, and West Indies and in the channell, and the deranged state of the finances and trade in America, combin’d with the discontent of the people of this country tired of the contrivance of war, &c and thinks that all the people wished was to be plac’d in the same situation as in 1763

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The gloomy anticipations of the loyalists, of the unhappy position, which they were like to be placed in at the Peace, were in some measure realized, by the preliminary treaty of 30 November 1782. By the fifth article of this; Congress was only holden to recommend to the several States, that the latter should provide for the restitution of all the confiscated estates, rights, and properties, belonging to the British subjects, who had not borne arms against America – This being the best terms which could be obtained in behalf of the loyalists – other descriptions of persons, were restricted to the residence a year in the country, in order to settle their affairs.

The opposition in Parliament had asserted that the minister Lord Shelburne had abandoned “the unhappy loyalists to their implacable enemies” such assertions from high authority could not but make them feel, that their own sentiments on being thus abandoned, were well founded; and their view of their case was confirmed, by the attempts of partizan leaders, to continue amongst Americans, the feelings of enmity, which

* See above, I, 187.

† The final “s” may be an attempt at a period.

had so powerfully, and successfully been made use of, to produce and terminate the revolution.

An instance of this appears by a Boston town meeting March 17, 1783, in which it was resolved, that those “ingrates” who have been refugees, and declared traitors to their country, “ought never to be suffered to return.” How much of this patriotism was inspired by those who yet held by an uncertain tenure the former possessions of these “ingrates” may be imagined[?]*

In face of the unfavorable treaty provisions, and excited popular prejudice, the loyalists might anticipate receiving a cold if not hostile, reception on their return to their Fatherland, when the most influential men in the leading state of Massachusetts, thus endeavour’d to continue the popular excitement, which, encouraged and kept alive from 1765 by the terrible machinery of mobs, had operated so powerfully against them. In such a state of things, the wonder is that any should have returned to a home which was not to them, the home it had been. – But partly from necessity and partly from the love of country, the past was forgotten in the enjoyment to them, of what was still their natale solum.†

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After the death of my uncle Edward, two of the daughters left their mothers family and became inmates the one Catherine Isabella in the family of her and my Uncle John, and the Twin Sister Isabella Catherine in that of my father – This cousin was of a very amiable disposition, and taking a great interest in the family, (the children being under her charge, and thus becoming much attached to her) she became very dear to us all – There are few of the earlier Connections of my life whom I call to mind, with more satisfaction, than this cousin. Shortly after the peace of 1783, she was married to a Mr King, a young Englishman, who came to New York at the peace – He had just before his embarkation for America become connected with the Sandemanian Society in London, and set up the shoe business in New York Mr King was an honest open hearted man, but rough and unpolished,‡ and in the latter part of his life giving way to a love of company, became dissipated, & quitted the religious society, became partially insane and died in that state and in very reduced circumstances – His wife

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was, of a totally different character & being of a very mild and amiable disposition, polished manners and more than all a bustling[?]§ humble Christian. I recollect in a conversation with her on some religious practice in which we both agreed, but which I advocated as a matter of duty to God – “Ah cousin” said she, “Duty is a cold motive of action compared with love” – A few letters from the father of Mrs King my uncle Edward Winslow to his friend Mr Deblois in London having come into my possession I shall make some extracts from them as throwing light on the family history. The first of these is dated at New York November 11 1777 & explains the cause of his having been in Boston then in possession of the Americans in 1776 He says, “I have in former letters given you details of the occasion and

* This difficult to decipher sentence written in pencil in an upright hand.

† One’s native land.

‡ A small dot opens the possibility that “impolished” is intended.

§ Possibly “bustling” is intended, though that doesn’t consort very well with “mild.”

circumstances of my being obliged after having so long maintained my post[^w] (at Braintree) [“]and almost alone, to quit the field and to leave my church, country, family, and friends, you will therefore gladly excuse a recapitulation” My uncle speaks of the encouraging prospect of public affairs in consequence

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of General Howes success in Pennsylvania and hopes notwithstanding the surrender of Burgoyne, that “another year may bring us possession of our wishes not withstanding all adverse incidents” Jan 1, 1778 he repeats the same “hopes that the now opening year will terminate ‘ere it finishes its course, our unhappy and destructive contest on this continent and be crowned with the divine goodness in the restoration of peace and established government. To this event it is thought the majority of numbers on both sides are now more seriously directed than ever. God grant the desired effect” – In another letter of the same date to Mr Deblois he speaks, of being desirous to get some employment in the navy or army so as to “enable him* to sustain his exile with decency and comfort.” That as his brother refugees had partaken of the favors of government he hoped not to be neglected, adding “God enable me to a proper submission and deportment under the allotments of his Providence, and graciously vouchsafe these succours my pitiable

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situation stands in need of from his fatherly goodness, and the benevolent offices of my fellow creatures”. He speaks of his grateful feelings to his friend, and his wishes to repay, the many obligations he is under to him – (Mr Deblois) His wife and family he says, “have by the advice and assistance of our friends, been enabled to endure the pain of our separation, with more, composure and under less pinching extremities of want than I could have expected” – He expresses his wishes for the restoration of an established government “which alone can render both countries happy in being inseparably united. God so bring them together that they may never more be put asunder”

My uncle in his letter to Mr Deblois, speaks of his situation in New York as being truly melancholy, asks Mr D’s assistance to

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endeavor to obtain the arrears of salary due him as Chaplain in the service for two years amounting to over 100£ Sterling, and says he is promised the intervention of Capt Montagu whose ship the Mercury had been sunk by accident in the Hudson as well as that of his father, Admiral Montagu,† in England, and hopes Mr Deblois may get into his possession “such a portion of the money “as may” says my uncle “lessen my obligations to your friendship in the pecuniary way, tho impossible to satisfy the debt of gratitude” His necessities, being without provision or appointment of any kind from Government he says be very pressing – He speaks of his friend “Billy Coffin having lately removed his bed to my very mean apartment, so that we now encamp and spend most of our time together,

* It appears the opening quotation mark is misplaced and should appear here.

† Admiral John Montagu (1719–1795) naval officer and also colonial governor of Newfoundland, 1776-1782.

supporting each other as we are able under our similar mortifications and difficulties, in our separation from our families and friends, and endeavouring to sustain all the hope which circumstances will admit, of a restoration of those blessings, we so impatiently

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languish for – You could not but smile to look into our cabin of an evening and hear the reciprocal moans, and lamentations of two old fellows retir'd into an obscure corner”

He says quiet and plenty are enjoyed at New York, and hopes the preparations making for the next campaign may be final and decisive –

The next letter is a very long one, to Mr Deblois expressive of his gratefull sense of his friends continued kindness, his gratification at learning that the bills he had remitted had been paid, and his pecuniary obligations in a measure discharged, “tho” he says “the debt of gratitude no acknowledgements or offices of mine can satisfy” -- . He mentions in this letter having written for his wife and family, who would have been in New York before that but Newport was in possession of the French and Americans – He informs his friend of his appointment to a regiment of Jersey volunteers commanded by Gen^l Skinner, which his salary allowance from his pay as Chaplain of the Lark, and allowance from

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the Society* in England is now his whole dependence –

He comments with warmth on the disappointment of the loyalists in consequence of the unfavorable reception by Congress, of the conciliatory bills passed by Parliament which he says “at once dashed all our hopes, obscured our prospects, and drove us almost to despair of ever returning. The commissioners arrived safe, but have met with only disappointment insults and contempt from the haughty congress, and their infatuated adherents, who instead of being softend by the humiliating and disagreeable terms, submitted to be tenderd by Parliament, have only grown more averse to accommodation, especially since the unnatural alliance with France – whether our commanders in chief have been too much restricted by their instructions, or whether they deserve the censures so liberally bestowd for their inattention, I am not to decide but we know and feel that we are reduced to a deplorable state.” He states his own apprehensions that the final issue of the contest would be the “colonies would be sent from the parent State, the Church[?]” (Episcopal)

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[“]exterminated root and branch in the New England provinces, and the friends of the national constitution, who have suffer'd so much for their conscientious zeal and affection, recompens'd by desertion, and exposed to persecution indignity and contempt.” – Yet however in the hope that Great Britain will preserve her dominion, and the church her establishment in this, or some other part of the Continent, he solicits his friend to make application, for one of the vacant missions in the country still preferring if possible, in the hopes of a reconciliation with Great Britain and America taking place, and with the love of country so strong a feeling with New Englanders, to obtain the chaplaincy of the King's Chapel in Boston, his preponderating wish being as he says “to pass the few remaining days

* Probably the Anglican Church. Isaac does use the term “society” for churches of all denominations.

of my pilgrimage, among my own connections, and in my native country. I suppose Mr Troutbeck* will scarcely think of resuming that station, and I have no reason to suppose, that either he, or good Doctor Caner† will be averse to my enjoying it – To God’s will and Providence will I submit myself.” My uncle adds “our last accounts from Boston

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were not very late – The Town swarmed with French vermin, and the harbor with French Streamers‡ – much confusion and discussion between these new allies and the inhabitants – These have given the former some specimens of North end mob discipline. My aged mother died in August – our small family property of course at the mercy of the malignants, my two brothers and their families are here – we have none of the family connections left in Boston, who would be otherwise carefull of the estate than to obtain the possession themselves and exclude us., But it does not become us to repine, when so many more respectable friends and neighbours have in a much larger degree, shared in the same kind of injustice and injuries from the rage of the times–” Concluding with his regards to their mutual friends in England he adds “I cannot but hope as well as wish that we may yet be preserved to meet and rejoice together in the goodly land of our heritage” This letter he says goes by his brother Joshuas widow, who will be happy to be noticed by you or any of her New England friends.

In a letter of October 9

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1778 he informs his friend Mr Deblois, that the commissioners who had been sent from England in order to bring about a reconciliation between the two countries, having failed in this attempt, had notified the respective provinces, as well as Congress, of their determination to return to England, and finish their endeavors to adjust the controversy. He sends to his friend the manifesto of the commissioners and seems bitterly to deplore the unhappy result – It appears to have been the general feeling and hopes of all the loyalists from the beginning of the contest, and in every year succeeding, that a reconciliation between the mother and daughter, was continually to be expected – a consumation by them devoutly wished for – In this period, 1778, my uncle Edward was 56 years old.§

The death of my uncle in New York has been mentiond elsewhere – Soon after which, his widow and family returnd to Braintree, and soon after the Peace they joined their son and brother Edward in North Carolina. He had gone to that state before the breaking out of the war, and had become established in business, at or near Fayetteville, and I have always supposed in circumstances which enabled him to assist his widowed mother, and family – They all settled in that place, except Mary (Mrs Wyatt) the eldest, she

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* Rev. John Troutbeck, minister of the chapel 1755-75.

† Dr. Henry Caner, rector of the chapel for many years.

‡ I. e., pennants.

§ Twenty years older than his brother Isaac, it may be noted.

was the mother of Mr W^m E^{d*} Wyatt at present (1842) the Episcopal Clergyman in Baltimore, Peggy Mrs Handfield, wife of Col Handfield, who after the peace went to England, These with a large family of children were settled in Dublin The Colonel having there employ in some stationary military department – - Mrs King (Isabella), resided principally in New York, where or in Connecticut she died many years ago – Their brother Edward, who was I believe a Colonel in the North Carolina militia after the peace, was accidentally shot on a review day by the carelessness of one of the soldiers – some 3 or 5 years after the Peace of 1783.

Amongst other letters from the relations of the family, I see two from my cousin Joshua Pollard[†] to my father dated in September 1780, from on board the Kings ship Yarmouth, in which he was a petty officer – In one of these he speaks of having heard of the death of his brother Benjamin, a Captain or Lieutenant in the British Army, whose death at the siege of Savannah has been before mention'd[‡] – In this letter he also speaks of disagreeable news in regard to his brother Peter (what is here refer'd to, is not known) This cousin was in the American Naval Service during the war – perhaps the disagreeable news was that of his death – Joshua after the peace went into the merchant service, and was one of the four cousins, elsewhere mentiond, whose ultimate fate has never been ascertain'd. I shall now notice some of the other branches of the family.

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Isaac the son of my fathers uncle Isaac arrived in New York in the year 1782. – He is the one who as has been before mentiond, his father desired to get placed in a counting house in England, through the medium of his brother in law Mr Waldo – Failing in this[§] he was sent by his father from Halifax, to Montreal, and being quite a boy placed under the care of his cousins Jonathan and Isaac Clarke both commissaries in the army, with these relations he continued some time, I believe near three years, but in 1780, either with or without their consent,^{**} he took passage in mid winter in a vessell from Quebec to New York. This vessell was wrecked on the island of Cape Breton. A narrative of the shipwreck, was published some time after by a Captain Perntiss^{††} (I think this was the name,) bearer of dispatches from Gov Haldiman of Canada, to Sir Henry Clinton New York – this shipwreck took place in Dec~ 1780, on a desolate part of the Coast, five out of 19 were so frozen, that they died within a few days. – They erected a hut with the Boards of which the cargo was composed, and getting a small supply of provisions from the wreck remained there 14 days, after which fitting up their boat which had saved six went into it, to coast along the shore, in order to find a settlement, after the most incredible sufferings from, Cold, Ice, tempest and hunger, they landed at a place

* “E^d” inserted in pencil via caret.

† See above, I, 129.

‡ Above, I, 129.

§ Above, I, 145.

** Above, I, 196.

†† Isaac meant “Prentiss,” as he spells it below, but the actual name was Prenties. See S. W. Prenties, *Narrative of a Shipwreck on the Island of Cape Breton, in a Voyage from Quebec, 1780* (London: Richardson, 1782). There are at least two modern editions.

where were 2 or 3 Indian wigwams – Isaac Winslow was one of the eight left in the hut. Capt Prentiss, engaged the Indians to go by land, about 100 miles, to look after these and bring them to the place where they were, giving them 50 guineas – Only, 3,, however survived – of which Winslow was one – He finally as I have heard, got to Halifax, with no covering but a blanket, here he obtained relief from persons who knew his father or the family. – mention has been made

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of the other children brothers and sisters of this relation and more will be added in its proper place – The eldest son of Mr Winslow (Samuel) brother of Isaac having been placed by his father at Harvard college, was at Cambridge when the family left Boston. Both of these brothers coming forward, during the stormy period of the revolution, and having no director or guardian, were not brought up to any occupation. It was one of the sad effects of the revolution, that the missing generation, could not be placed in positions, by which when of an age to act for themselves, they would be fitted to make their way in life – . Thus these two young men coming into active life, during and after the revolutionary war, when almost all business, even to the most expert, was unsafe or unprofitable, and with no profession which would enable them to earn a living, were as it were compelled to live on their inheritance, receive depreciated paper for the bonds due the estate, and thus soon run through their paternal property. Both were died* in very embarrassed circumstances – Samuel married Martha Scott daughter of Joseph Scott merchant, a loyalist, and had a large family of children, his widow yet living – Isaac married Mary daughter of Joseph Russell by whom he had one daughter Mary who married Mr Charles Bradford – a very amiable and praise worthy woman† --- Mrs Samuel Winslow is yet living (1842) at a very advanced age.

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238. This narrative has hitherto been derived either from written or traditional materials being at periods, when these only, were the available materials – Some of my own early recollections at New York have indeed been stated, but these are few, compared to the reminiscences of youth and adult age, which aided by more copious materials, especially family letters, in my hands, will make the further part of this work a biography of my father as well as an autobiography – at the peace of 1783, my fathers family left New York for Connecticut, and having got through with the extracts I had purposed to make from the family letters before and during the revolutionary war, I shall here terminate this volume, beginning a second one from that epoch.

* After “were,” “in” was written and struck through, and “died” is written over a few illegible letters. Probably Isaac meant to strike through “were” as well.

† According to the Joshua Pollard Blanchard and Arthur Winslow family trees, she died in 1899 at the age of 106.