

FAMILY MEMORIAL
The Winslows of Boston

Isaac Winslow
Margaret Catherine Winslow

IN FIVE VOLUMES

VOLUME I

Boston, Massachusetts
1837?-1873?



TRANSCRIBED AND EDITED BY ROBERT NEWSOM
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2009-10



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A NOTE ON THE MANUSCRIPT AND TRANSCRIPTION

THIS MANUSCRIPT WAS BEGUN BY ISAAC WINSLOW of Boston (1774-1856) in 1837 or 1838 and continued by his daughter, Margaret Catherine* Winslow (1816-90), after her father's death.

It came down to me from my mother, Julia Valentine Winslow Newsom (1905-78), who had it from her father, Willard Winslow (1865-1934), who I presume had it from his father, William Henry Winslow (1834-1909), whose birth is recorded below (V, 165) and who was Isaac's grandson (via Benjamin Pollard Winslow [1810-79]).

Margaret appears to have worked at her portion until about 1873. Isaac's portion consists of unbound pages, but is presented as being in volumes and chapters. All but the final 44 pp. of the third volume are by Isaac. They number more than 620 pages, mostly measuring 6 x 8 in. (though many pages have been lengthened by the addition of pasted-on pieces of paper, including the backs of some envelopes). Rarely, Isaac has pasted an extract from a magazine or other publication on the reverse of his pages. The final two vols., by Margaret, are bound in cloth and leather, and the last of these is labeled "Album." It is evident that the pages of at least her first volume have been trimmed and some additional pages tipped in. Most probably the trimming occurred when an original binding was redone. Margaret does refer to her portion as constituting volumes, and she lapses in and out of the practice of referring to sections within her portion as constituting chapters. But she does not number her chapters. Her pages are unnumbered, but I have added page numbers to the original manuscript and have designated her volumes as volumes four and five of the work considered as a whole. Pages in her volumes measure 7 ½ x 9 ½ in. and total 371 pages. A few loose leaves have been inserted into the bound volumes, including newspaper clippings, poems by Margaret and two business letters by Isaac Winslow as copied by two of his sons. The total word count is more than 300,000 words, roughly equally divided between father and daughter (who gets in far more words per page than her father, owing to her smaller hand and larger pages).

There is a complicated twist in the composition history inasmuch as Margaret had begun her own journal a few years before her father's death. This was interrupted by four years of invalidism and very quickly by her father's death.[†] As a result, the opening five pages of her portion overlap and repeat material in Isaac's portion, and they might legitimately be considered incidental and not integral with the Memorial as a whole. But they have their own interest, and the last of these opening pages is an interesting account of her father's funeral. I

* In the U. S. Census of 1880 and the one published poem of hers I have been able to locate, the spelling of Catherine is thus. But Margaret herself spells it as well as all other instances of the name with an "a."

[†] More on this in a note at III, 72, which is the last page of Isaac's portion and the beginning of Margaret's continuation of it.

have transcribed these and also inserted in a footnote the one published obituary of Isaac that I have thus far found.

Isaac writes in quill, and his hand is generally very well-formed and fine, but his punctuation looks to a modern reader very idiosyncratic and careless. He is happy to place commas between subjects and their verbs. He uses apostrophes very rarely. His periods are usually dashes, his commas are more like periods, and he is fond of combinations of periods and dashes. If the end of a sentence coincides with end of a line, he often omits any punctuation whatsoever. He often places a quite light dot after words, and it is impossible to know if these were intended as punctuation marks, though it does appear to me in many or even most cases that they are intended as commas. He breaks words at the ends of lines often without employing hyphens and unmindful of syllabification. He sometimes fails to lift his quill between words and sometimes lifts it in the middle of words. His spelling is inconsistent and sometimes archaic. He is frequently inconsistent in or indifferent to capitalization. He writes the letter “s” in a medial position generally in the eighteenth-century fashion (as a long double loop), while he for the most part writes the modern form of the letter when it begins a word (and often of such a size as to suggest a capital). He often drops the ‘e’ in words ending “-ed” or replaces that vowel with a hint of an apostrophe. He is fond of double “l”s in words like “vessel” and “powerful.” And sometimes he appears weary, and his hand falters and he makes mistakes. (He began the work at age 65 and continued it for several years (at the very least seven), if not right up until his death at 82.) There is too the fact that he owned a rum distillery. So deciphering his words is sometimes difficult, especially when he uses words or spellings that never found their way into the *OED* or *Webster’s* (like “pettianger” or “Navarino bonnet”).

Margaret writes I believe chiefly with a steel nib, though sometimes a quill (with which she is less skilled than her father). Her usual hand can be quite tiny, but is generally highly legible except in a few places where the ink she has used has faded almost to invisibility. She writes occasionally in larger and more flowing hands, sometimes with the evident purpose of approximating the hand of a letter, poem, or other writing she is quoting.

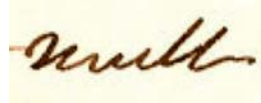
As we would expect of someone of her generation, she is rather more regular and modern in her punctuation and spelling than her father (although her periods and commas are like his difficult to distinguish, and she often uses dashes for periods and semi-colons where we would use commas). But, like the dutiful daughter she was, she shares or has inherited some of his peculiarities of style and usage, as well, indeed, as his manner of thinking. She evidently read his portion very thoroughly and thoughtfully and as a model to be emulated.

The condition of Isaac’s pages ranges from excellent to poor because he uses paper of varying quality and also owing to his pages having been handled and stored unbound. There is some chipping especially in pages towards the beginning and ends of the two sections in which the ms. was for a long time stored. But almost no pages are in danger of cracking and only in a small handful of places have words close to the edges of pages been lost to chipping.

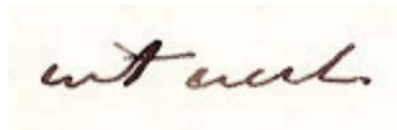
* See below, I, 215 and V, 76.

Margaret's pages are in excellent condition, and her bindings are tight, corners are rubbed and one is badly bumped; one leather spine is detached, though the binding itself remains very good.

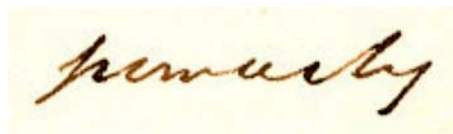
For the purposes of this transcription, which is intended to give as accurate a record of the text as written as I am capable of, I have retained all the idiosyncrasies and errors the writers have made, including repeated words (except, by and large, in the case of "catchwords," intentionally repeated words at the bottom of pages in anticipation of the page following—a common practice in books of the eighteenth century). Undoubtedly I have introduced errors of my own, and in many places my readings have been made possible only by the context of a given sentence. For example, I dare say the following sample—



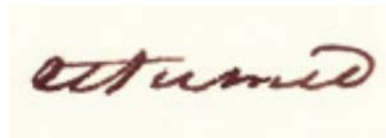
—would be illegible to many readers besides myself without the context of the surrounding sentence. (The word is "result," or at least so I take it to be.) Or this —



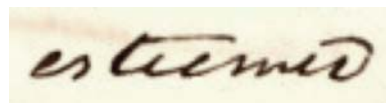
— a good example of Isaac's lifting his quill in the middle of a word, which turns out to be "interest." Or this —



— a good example of Isaac's *not* lifting his quill between words. The context easily prompts "from us by."* Or consider this example:



My first reading gave "esteemed," which is indeed a popular word with Isaac—as, for example, in this example:



* These examples are from I, 182, II, 189 and I, 183 respectively.

But here is the context with the doubtful word represented by an asterisk: "... at the same time owing to the uncertain position in which he stood, as a * loyalist, merely a resident at the will of the State Government. those indebted to him or the estate, could only be requested to pay their debts." The context makes it all but certain that the word is actually "returned."^{*}

Although Margaret's hand is far more regular than her father's, the fact that the ink on many of her pages is badly faded together with problems inherent in the style in which she writes gives the transcriber plenty of difficulty too. Consider these two words on adjacent lines:



Only the context gives me confidence that the first is "his" and the second "less."[†]

Where I remain in doubt as to a reading, I have indicated that with a question mark in brackets following my best guess: [?]. Where I am equally undecided between two options I will give both in brackets with question marks: [house? home?]. Where I am simply at a loss, I will just offer brackets and question marks: [???] or [??? ???] in the case of multiple illegible words.

I do not transcribe struck through text or indicate that inserted text has been inserted except when deletions and insertions appear textually interesting or ambiguous. I do however note corrections to the numbering of pages as such may provide evidence about the history of the text's composition. In spite of my overall intention to remain as faithful to the text as possible, I have supplied missing quotation marks and parens in brackets for the sake of clarity and occasionally tried to make sense of especially challenging textual moments in footnotes. Footnotes also explain or draw attention to unusual aspects of layout.

A singular problem is how to handle underlinings in transcribed documents. I suspect that in most cases these are editorial insertions for emphasis, and this seems especially the case in Margaret's portion, where such an intent seems often evident, and often points ironically to some marked contrast between the period of the document being quoted and the present. But there is simply no way to know if these belong to the document being transcribed or are the transcriber's addition, so I have recorded these without comment, for the most part.

^{*} These examples are from II, 139 and I, 5 respectively.

[†] This example from IV, 96.

In addition to a few speculative footnotes, I have also supplied many explanatory footnotes especially to help identify people both in and outside of the family and also archaic or arcane senses of words. I have been aided in this by two family trees: one “compiled” by Joshua Pollard Blanchard in 1810 and “roughly revised and continued” by his nephew William Henry Winslow throughout the rest of the century and another drawn up by Arthur Winslow in 1918 that incorporates much of the former and adds to it. These were evidently both indebted to various family records, including this “Family Memorial.” The first eight pages of the fourth volume of the Memorial (the beginning of Margaret’s portion in her bound volumes [IV, i-viii]) contain additional genealogical information and tables that I have relied on, though not here transcribed.

The internet has made the task of identifying people, places, events, quotations, and unusual words vastly easier than it would have been only a few years ago. It is now possible in minutes to follow leads and make identifications that only a decade ago would have required days, weeks, or even months of research. I am especially grateful for Wikipedia and Google Books, in spite of their frequent and manifest shortcomings.

Finally, I have provided abstracts at the beginning of each chapter of Isaac’s portion to help readers locate subjects of interest to them. Margaret has herself supplied marginal notes or headlines in her portion, and these I have transcribed and occasionally supplemented.

ROBERT NEWSOM
NEWPORT BEACH, CALIFORNIA

Family Memorial

begins Preface Sept 21 1842
pages I to VIII

Vol. 1 12 Chapters 238 Pages

Beginning from a period before
my birth in 1774 to the families
residence in Halifax and New York
1776 to 1783

PREFACE

How the book came to be written – Earlier versions – How much general History to put in or keep out – The present work digressive and overlong – The first Volume a “Family History”; the second an “Autobiography” – His motives in writing not “Family Pride”; rather love of Family, which is but Love of Country on a smaller scale – A family history interesting because it makes readers feel they are parties to past events – A real pleasure, and perhaps profit from the contemplation of ancestors known to have been worthy and estimable characters – Reflections on the original equality of all men and our common mortal destiny and hopes for the life which is in and by Jesus – Apologies for the Memorial’s imperfections as to matter, style, and phraseology.

[I]

Preface

My dear daughter

Sept 21 1842

The wish you have often expressed that I write an autography or sketches of my life, I began to comply with in 1836 & 1837 – You know I had many years kept a Book called “Family Record.” This however contained only the usual geneological record of births, marriages and deaths, except for some few events of a public character relating to the Revolution in which my father’s family and the generation preceding me were immediately connected and involved.

This book I made the basis of a book which I began to write about the period above referd to perhaps the extent of 100 pages. I found even the few public events referd to had become so much associated in my mind with those of a family character as to make my work a history of New England rather than an autobiography or even a family Biography. This therefore I threw aside as neither consonant to your wishes or my own design, and commenced the present, and this tho’ probably blending the public and private, may be interesting to my descendants who ignorant of the parties, may yet like to learn that the ancestral history is however slightly connected with historical events – The present work whether viewed as autography Biography or even Family history is certainly digressive, and were I to rewrite it much would be lop’d of, especially if I supposed it was intended for publication – Such not being the case I leave the work as it is, assured that you my dear daughter will not suspect me of Ancestral Pride so vain yet so common to man. No New Englander ought to have this, and yet none are without it.

The first volume of this may be considered as a

[II]

Preface

“family history” – and the second volume, as well as any further extension which may be made the “autobiography” which my daughter has requested.*

* The first unbound portion of the ms. in fact consists of three volumes and a total of slightly more than 600 pp. The final 43 pp. are in the hand of Winslow’s daughter, Mary Catherine, who continued the “Memorial” in another two volumes, writing up until about 1873, but covering the family history in detail only through 1840.

Let not my children suppose, that my motive in this writing is to excite or continue the feelings of family pride – Than this, except the pride of riches, there is nothing more absurd in itself or more justly offensive to others, and nothing in most cases, more opposed to our success in the present life, and opposed to the hope of the future life, which is in and by Jesus – The Jews who could trace their ancestry, to Kings, nobles, Priests & to a period of antiquity far beyond that of the most distinguished families of Europe, had but little merit in the ey[e] of Jesus for having Abraham as their father while they did not the works of Abraham – Perhaps, those who value themselves on their descent from Ancestors of renown or merit, are those who possess little or no merit of their own – If I do not deceive myself, I have none of this feeling, but I certainly do feel a great regard not only for those of my predecessors, whom I have personally known, but for those of them of whom I have by hearing them often spoken of, or otherwise obtaining a knowledge of their characters, got to be mentally acquainted

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Preface

in like manner, as we become acquainted by the active power of imagination, with scripture characters or even the imaginary ones of a skilful romance writer – The love of family is in fact but the love of country on a smaller scale. Both perhaps are a sort of instinctive feeling, but not the less agreeable for being natural – Both look with the eyes of affection and interest not only on the present, but on the past. The history of what has been, has always been interesting to man, especially of his own country – how much more so is the history of that part of his country, in which he is more immediately concerned, his own family. He feels as if he was a party in the events and circumstances in which his predecessors were actors, or sufferers. He exults in their success, sympathizes with their misfortunes, rejoices in their happiness, and feels grieved at their afflictions – I think, it is more the existence of this feeling, in an imagination of perhaps in most cases of too vivid a character, which has led me since the age of forty, to feel an interest in the affairs of “olden time.” Such an interest as I can easily conceive the Chinese to feel, in visiting Halls of their ancestors, and sorry should I be if this feeling was misinterpreted, from that of family

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Preface

pride, which I know I have been accused of – But why should it be felt? For the ancestors of all the New Englanders were either from the middling or lower classes of English Society – I am the seventh generation from our first known progenitor Edward Winslow of Droitwich – let us take a view of his descendants in this country only, probably by the male and female line, comprehending thousands – amongst these are to be seen all the various gradations of human society – rich and poor, a great majority in the latter class, a few exalted, the greater part humble – some vicious and actually the victims of Criminal law* – the greater part, such as compose the map of society; some who have retained the Christian character of their ancestors, others who appear totally to neglect the gospel hope, or have become infidels – yet all these can trace their descent from one progenitor. These are, and cannot be estimated by the character of their predecessor – They must stand or fall, by such characters as they form for themselves. But yet, all these may derive a real

* I.e., themselves criminals, having been subject to criminal law, and in that sense victimized by it.

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pleasure, and perhaps profit in the contemplation of ancestors, known in the family records, as worthy and estimable characters. (In China, when there happens a general meeting at the “Hall of Ancestors,” sometimes as travellers have said, of many thousands, the only precedence that is age. The oldest however poor, being considered the head man, and the richest amongst them having no other privilege, but to provide an entertainment for all the others.) In like manner the contemplation of common ancestry, far from inflating the pride of a proud descendant, has a manifest tendency to humble him by the view of hundreds around him, many perhaps in the lowest situation of life, who yet like him, are equally descendents of the common ancestor. On the other hand the latter feel exalted in the like consideration, that they as well as their richer or more powerful connections, are all of the same blood – This biography, or Family Memorial, may then be considered like the Tablets or Pictures in the “Ancestors Hall” of the Chinese, not as food for pride to feed itself upon, but as nourishment for that proper spirit of humility by which at least in some cases, we are led to look on our fellow man whatever his condition as an

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equal and a brother, and to reflect that as it can be said of these “They were” so it will soon be affirmed of us who are now amongst the living. Whatever our condition in life death brings all to the same level – It is salutary therefore to be placed in a position where we can sometimes realize, as well as reflect on, the original equality of man in the sight of God, to whom the only distinction is between the individual who trusts in him, and the one who trusts him not – In reference to this, the conditions of man in the present life is of little importance –

(^{*} It has been before observed that the love of country, is but an expanded family affection. The tribe of Benjamin was probably as fond of their country as others of the Hebrews, but their affection for the descendants of the beloved Rachel – The apostle Paul himself, though little valuing his fleshly privileges, shews how highly estimated was ancestry in his time, when he calls himself “of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews”[†] nor can we doubt that with the tender and affectionate feelings of the blessed Jesus and though [?] love to God was the predominant feeling in his heart, yet that, the strongest family

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affection adorned his beautiful character – Can anything be more interesting than the address to his mother John 19.26 [“]Woman behold thy Son,” and to the latter (his beloved disciple) [“]Behold thy mother” – Was pure and disinterested love of country more strikingly evidenced, than in the Saviors exclamation in view of the fate of the beloved city – [“]O Jerusalem Jerusalem, than that killest the prophets and stonest them that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen doth gather her

* This parenthesis is never closed, and the syntax of much of this paragraph appears badly garbled.

† Philippians 3:5

chickens under her wings – and we [?] would not* – and he died for his people, through them the world –

Let not my children or successors then on the one hand, nourish a false and foolish family pride in the contemplation of their ancestors, and few there are who have been distinguished from the common mass of mankind, nor be discouraged by the condition of others, whose lot has been cast in the humble Vale of life, accompanied with poverty, sorrow, and self-denial – All now are equally at rest in the sleep of the grave – but may we all my dear daughter in the contemplation of this certain destiny of families, nations, and individuals, rather look forward to the life which is and by Jesus, who has declared himself to be the way, the truth, and the life, and be made willing to come into the Father by him.

Having begun this, I think about the year 1837, from the materials I then had and adding to it occasionally as I obtained more materials, and in many cases, in the course of writing

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Preface

recollections having come into my mind, as such additions were made, I have found in several cases repetitions, and notices of the same circumstances. This defect can only be remedied by re-writing the whole in chronological order. This however, though I have now much more time than I could command when I first began the work, yet I have not enough to rearrange it as I could wish, finding it impossible to copy my own composition, without such a change of matter, style and phraseology, as would in fact make the work entirely new – But as it is not intended for publication, my daughter will I am sure draw a veil over her father's imperfections –

* Luke 13:34. "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee; how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings, and ye would not!"

CHAPTER ONE

His father's immediate family – As estimable a character as he ever knew – Reflections on the difficulty of separating the feelings of a youth of 19 (his age when his father so suddenly died) and those of an elderly man – he still dreams often that his father is alive – He remembers his father at about the age of forty: a kind but not overindulgent father, a tender husband, an affectionate and sincere friend, a good citizen, and a humble Christian – First records of his father during his attendance at Boston Latin School – Headmaster James Lovell – His father's Latin oration and ceremonies in honor of Gov. Pownall and the visiting committee of Schools – Little known of his career at Harvard – Love of Tacitus – Today's residential colleges dangerous places having departed from their monastic traditions – Alienated from most of his classmates in after life for political and religious reasons – Introducing his father's siblings and the families of those who have moved from their father's home – His father becomes *paterfamilias* upon the death of his father in 1769 and takes over the family Distillery and other business – His father temperamentally not well suited to trade – His father's Engagement in 1770 to Margaret Sparhawk; marriage and housekeeping in Cole Lane – Margaret's early death following childbirth, 1772 and his father's being plunged into despair – reflections on grief and his father's critical state of mind – Mrs. Abdy's "The Last Trial" – Reflections on the conjugal union – Further reflections on his father's mental state and possible insanity – His father's friends and family urge a second marriage; which was accomplished in April 1772 to Mary Davis, age 15.

Vol. I C. 1 Biography of my father & family

1

My father Isaac Winslow was the 11th child of Joshua^{*} and Elizabeth Winslow[†] – two younger sons having died at the ages of three or four years of age, my father was thus the youngest of the family – He was born in Boston Sept 16 1743. – and seems always to have been regarded with peculiar affection by his family my Aunt Pollard[‡] who was the second born of the family and 19 years older than my father was tenderly attached to him She survived him 21 years, having died in 1814, when I was 40 years of age hence I obtained from her the knowledge of many incidents and anecdotes relating to my father in his boyish and youthfull days, confirmed the opinion I had formed of him as a man of affectionate disposition and warm feelings – These combined with sound sense a discriminating judgement, strong religious principles, and the best education the country could afford, made him as estimable a character as I ever knew.

* 1694-1769.

† Born Elizabeth Savage (1704-78).

‡ Margaret Winslow (1724-1814) married Benjamin Pollard. Their daughter Margaret (Peggy) Savage Pollard (1754-1815) married Joshua Blanchard (1751-1826), and their daughter Margaret Blanchard (1777-1830) married Isaac Winslow (1774-1856), the author of the "Memorial" and her first cousin once removed.

It may be said that the judgement of a lad of 19 on the merits of an individual must necessarily

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be imperfect, and when that judgement too is biassed by the natural feeling of a son towards a much loved father, such opinions may be thought not to have much weight. yet when in mature age the knowledge of character derived from survivors and from its development, in friendly and undisguised correspondence confirms and establishes our previous impressions – I can hardly bring myself to believe, that my estimate of his character was derived entirely from a sentiment of filial regard – It appears to me that had my father been a stranger with whom I had accidentally become intimate in adult age, I must have loved him – Young as I was when he died, I could not but perceive a sincerity of mind, a warmth of friendship, an unpretendingness in manner and conduct, a moderation in wishes, a Christian humility (the latter according to the tenets of the Society,* bordering as I think, too much, on doubt and distrust of the Divine mercy.) and remember'd instances of paternal care, and regard, which in distant friends, caused esteem – in near ones, the warmest affection.

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The indelible impressions, and the strong associations of early youth, in which the memory of my dear father is connected, are at the age of sixty four,† yet fresh and vivid, nor has the lapse of years been sufficient to dissipate these recollections Often, very often, in dreams, have I hailed his presence with joy – often delighted at the idea of his taking his place at the head of the family again but accompanied usually with the disappointed feeling that no interest was taken by him in our concerns – “I was once, but am no longer of you” seemed to be the language of a mysterious abstraction and indifference to the affairs of what was once home – To return from this digression, – my object in committing to writing this biographical sketch, is only for the pleasure or advantage of my children and their successors – having not the smallest intention that it should be published to the world. Hence is it that I shall notice many incidents which to any but the family would be trivial and uninteresting

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but to friends, the most trifling incidents associated with the recollections of those we love, become sources of real pleasure – The state of infancy and youth is every where the same, universally the objects of tender regard to their parents – no just judgement of character can be formed from the partiality of parents or friends – my love for my father and respect for his memory, is not founded on the knowledge of his having been a docile child, an affectionate youth, or a tender and grateful son to a widowed mother – a complete change of character in adult age is quite compatible with the existence of these qualities in early life – when I knew him at about the age of forty, his character had become developed, as that of a kind but not overindulgent father, a tender husband – an affectionate and sincere friend – a good citizen – and a humble Christian – Requiescat in pace – Resurgat in gloria –

Passing over the first seven years of the life of my father, I find him at the Latin grammar School‡ on School Street in 1751 – The present school stands on the same spot

* The Sandemanian society, of which we will hear much.

†So he would be writing in 1838.

‡ Boston Latin School, founded in 1635, the oldest existing school in the United States.

occupied by the old one – The head master or principal was then James Lovell who held that situation for nearly 30 years till about the year 1775. I always

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heard my father as well as others, speak of him as a severe master not at all sparing of corporal punishments, as was the fashion of the times – but yet an able teacher and very much respected by the principal inhabitants of the town, and what is rather singular notwithstanding the severe discipline he kept up. – Mr. Lovell is said to have been not disliked by his Scholars as boys and esteemed by them when adults. The boys then, and when I went to Latin School, entered at seven years of age, and there being seven classes, or forms, (the first class being the lowest) it follows that at the age of fourteen, the boys, had attained to the seventh, or highest form, and were supposed to be fitted for colledge, when such was their destination. This grammar School has always been the seminary for the elements of a classical education from the first settlement of the town – Amongst some old papers I find the Latin oration of my father in the year 1758, composed as his part of the exercises, before governor Pownall* and the visiting committee of the Schools, then and since

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in the year 1758, his part of the exercises on the annual visitation of the Schools, called Selectmen day – the Governor and magnates of the land, with the town authorities, then and since visited the public Schools – but more particularly the Latin grammar School – In that year Governor Pownall was the chief magistrate. – This was a very interesting period to the boys, especially to the highest class who at the age of 14. – This class had the most conspicuous parts, and were invited to the public dinner given on the occasion, during which, they had the honor of waiting on the Governor and towards the end of the dinner were seated at table with the company – As usual with those who were designed for college, my father underwent his examinations, and was admitted at Cambridge[†] in that year (1758.) Little is known of his College life. I have always understood, that he was a very good Latin & Greek Scholar had considerable knowledge of Mathematics, which I well remember he was very desirous I should acquire when about 16 or 17 from a Mr. Crossswell, who was himself well skilled in that branch of science – I judge of my fathers scholarship from the interest he took in the Classics within my recollection. Of the historian Tacitus, he was especially very fond

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and whenever he was on a journey, or was absent from home a few days, it was always his practice to take with him a small pocket edition of the historian – at college I should think his conduct was always quiet and orderly, being probably from early youth of a religious turn of mind and hence preserved from the scenes of early dissipation, which but too often prevail in seminaries of education, where youth alienated at a dangerous period of life from the natural commixture in Society of youth and age & the virtues of both sexes, in whose society the hours of leisure may be safely profitably and innocently be passed. Colledges, and

* Thomas Pownall (1722-1805), Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, 1757-60.

† I.e., Harvard College. Local practice was to call it “Cambridge” and even university documents refer to it as “The University in Cambridge.”

universities originally derived from the monastic institutions of early ages (as well as large boarding schools) without the strict discipline practised in monasteries and nunneries, are in modern days, dangerous places of education – The Leaven of the bad, is very apt to leaven the whole lump. The Day Schools for common or incipient education, and Lectures in the various branches of Science to Classes of Students, who live at home, is a far preferable mode of education.*

The contemporaries or classmates of my father at College, were

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most of them distinguished amongst the revolutionary leaders in after life – after his return to Boston in 1784 – his sentiments as a loyalist prevented much intercourse with his old classmates, who had taken the opposite side – party feelings were still strong though peace had existed for a year. Having however the love of country which has always marked the New England character, and being always esteemed by his acquaintance of early youth as well as others for his honesty of principle he might no doubt when the party feelings had subsided have entered into public life, had such been his inclination, but his religious views, which with him were of paramount importance, and which led him to consider a worldly religion as antichristian, necessarily led to a different course from that of those whose religion was subservient to political aggrandisement – or those whose religion went hand in hand with ambition, or a third class to whom religion being a matter of indifference, could hardly coalesce with those who thought it the one thing needful – The simplicity of primitive Christianity, as well in doctrine as in practice, which was the aim of the religious society with which he became connected

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at the age of about 26 or 27, could not but produce an alienation, or at least a coldness between the members of a society whose professed pursuit, was the life which is to be, and members of the world whose chief pursuit is the life which now is – as well of another class, who have in their eye both worlds the double minded, or two lived men of the apostle.[†]

Whether my father was designed for one of the learned professions I never heard – his talents were good, his learning at least respectable, his judgement sound, and having sprung from a family eminent as religious characters from the first settlement of the country, it is probable that his father intended him for a minister of the gospel – but had such been the case his subsequent religious views, would have prevented his success or even continuance in that line – as it was his belief that religious teaching was a gift of the holy spirit, and not the result of theological instruction –

In 1762 my father having taken his degree at Cambridge[‡] as Bachelor, became again an inmate of his father's family – This was then composed of his parents, three unmarried sisters

* Isaac's lengthy digression on the dangers of college life away from home is written close to twenty years after his own son Benjamin Pollard Winslow's (1810-79) suspension from Harvard in his junior year (1827-28) for a period of several weeks or months following "a riotous frolic" in his house as reported by Margaret in her continuation of the "Memorial" (IV, 137 and 161).

[†] Probably James 4:8 "Draw nigh to God, and he will draw nigh to you. Cleanse your hands, ye sinners; and purify your hearts, ye double minded."

[‡] Harvard.

Susanna,^{*} Mary[†] & Martha,[‡] and two brothers John[§] and Thomas,^{**} older than himself Edward^{††} his eldest brother and eldest of the family, was educated at Cambridge College,^{‡‡} perhaps designed for the clerical profession – but at leaving the university it appears, that he enter'd his fathers counting house – By some of the old family letters it appears that he was at Barbadoes in 1747, then 25 years old – I presume partly for mercantile purposes, and partly with the design of his taking his wife to visit her relations in that island – She was the daughter of a Mr. Allen a native of Barbadoes, but, afterwards, a resident at Braintree, where I believe the marriage took place – How long he continued in the mercantile line I do not know, probably not long, as he neither liked, or was fitted for mercantile life. Be this as it may, he quitted this profession, and studied divinity, and in 1754 went to England for the purpose of taking orders, as an Episcopal clergyman, as was then the practice in all the colonies, there being no Bishops of the established church, in any part of America 'till after the revolution – on his return in that or the following year we find him settled in an episcopal society at Stratford in Connecticut, where he remained for some years, afterwards he removed to Braintree, now Quincy, where he had the charge of a small episcopal Society, till after the revolutionary contest had commenced. In 1776 or 1777 he quitted it from apprehension of popular excitement, against the Episcopalians. The church service, as in England now, comprehended prayers for the King and royal family. This of course was so offensive to the whig party, that they could not tolerate it, and he felt himself obliged to follow his brother loyalists to New York, where he died.

Joshua^{§§} the tenth child was married to a Miss Loring,^{***} about the year 1762 or 1763, and had at the time of his death a large family of his own – Thomas whom I have often heard my father speak of, as a generous, open hearted young man, went abroad yon [?] on mercantile voyages to Surinam and the coast of Africa – In his last voyage to that place in 1765 he died at a place called Sherbro^{†††} in Africa at the age of 25 (see note)* The three other brothers were then married and settled in business – My father being then the only son unmarried, and remaining in his fathers family, naturally became his assistant in business and abandoned the idea of a profession, if such was his original design. He must therefore have entered his fathers counting room soon after he left College in 1762, and taken the principle

* 1731-86.

† Born 1732 and later married the Whig Nathaniel Barber (on December 19, 1776).

‡ 1735-1816.

§ 1742-81, married Mary Simpson.

** Thomas Alford (1740-65).

†† 1722-80, familiarly known in the family as "Parson Edward."

‡‡ Again, Harvard College.

§§ 1737-75.

*** Hannah Loring (1742-85). Died in England. And see below, I, 113.

††† Misspelling of Sherbro, an Island off the coast of Sierra Leone.

management of his business, (then principally the distillery* in Cole lane now Portland Street,) till 1769, the period of the old gentleman's death. By his will the charge of this business devolved entirely on my father, who was directed to carry it on for the benefit of the family, with a salary of 100 £ or \$333/33[†] per ann – Thus at the age of 26, he took his father's place, not only as manager of the business

*at this time my grandfather being 70 years of age had given up most of his mercantile business confining himself almost entirely to an extensive distillery.

continuation of note [on a new unnumbered page]

His son Joshua had been a partner with him for a few years from about 1762 to 1767, and was extensively engaged in foreign trade afterwards, which branch it is probable his father quitted to him –

The firm of the house was originally Joshua Winslow from about 1720 to 1736, -- then taking in his youngest brother Isaac it was Joshua and Isaac for some years – then Joshua till about the year 1762, – and then having taken in his son Joshua, the firm was Joshua & Son till 1767 – Joshua only at the time of his death March 1775 then Isaac till 1776 – when all trade was terminated by the revolution – after which in 1787 my father resumed the establishment till his death in 1793, a cessation took place till July 1797 when I commenced business in my own name till 1817, when Mr. Brimmer[‡] was a partner and the firm IW & Co till 1822 – The firm was IW till I introduced the name of my eldest son Isaac[§] under the firm of IW & Son [Th]is continued till when my sons Benj P & George^{**} became partners under the firm of Isaac Winslow & Sons.^{††}

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which by will was not to be divided amongst the heirs, till the death of his mother, but also became the head of his fathers^{§§} family, a husband to the widow, and the father of the fatherless, even when he began to have a family of his own, till the dispersion of all the members of the family caused by the revolution –

I do not think he had ever an inclination for trade, or was well fitted for it, having lost the four early years of mercantile education, when the habits of detail, and method are acquired, which to an immethodical person as he was, never fully attained – (I am so likewise naturally, but in business affairs, the early habits of business have compelled me to system in those) Besides he had not from principle as well as temperament, the desire of accumulation, generally the grand stimulus of mercantile discipline, and energetic action of a true business character – In all the affairs of life he acted rather from principle, than a love of money, or

* A pencilled annotation inserted here indicates the distillery produced “rum.”

† Close to \$10,000 in today's dollars using the Consumer Price Index (CPI).

‡ Martin Brimmer, the ninth Mayor of Boston (1843-44) and an early business associate of Isaac's.

§ 1802-74, married Abigail Elizabeth Barrell.

** 1812-65.

†† The text from “Benj P” on is written sideways across the left-hand side of the page from bottom to top.

‡‡ An error corrected here, but repeated uncorrected on the following two pages; we are still in Chapter 1.

§§ Isaac here began to write “moth” but then struck it through. A bit further down he will write of his father's becoming “head of his mothers family” (I, 12).

desire for the power and distinction, which wealth produces – It was this motive combined, with a tender regard for his mother and family, which led him cheerfully and willingly to undertake the duties which his fathers death devolved on him, as well as the numerous and complicated ones, which fell his lot in later life: The former seems to have been executed with accuracy, fidelity, and kindness – The latter were undertaken from the same principle of a desire to do good, and executed with fidelity and kindness: but to the extended and complicated affairs which in his later years, devolved on him, requiring exact method, and accuracy, from various causes some leading ones without his own control these indispensable requisites in a man of business, were not applied, and in some measure unavoidably –

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nor did his marriage to his first wife, which will be noticed in its proper place, and the additional charge of a family of his own, the year following his fathers death, render him less attentive to the claims of a widowed parent and sisters, nor indifferent to those of more distant connections – Though naturally of an anxious temperament and subject occasionally when I knew him, to turns of despondency and depression, yet was he by no means deficient in firmness, when called for never was there a more benevolent man both from religious principle and natural feelings – and seldom was benevolence more severely taxed, than was my fathers. He could do and bear much – but in the course of his life more devolved upon than he could either do or bear

I have before said that my uncles Thomas and John made a part of their fathers family in 1762 when my father returned from

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college – The former having died in 1765, four years before my grandfather, and my uncle John as I judge married about that period, my father was placed in the position of an only son and the head of his mothers family, and hence the natural ties of consanguinity, became strengthened and confirmed. As a general rule man loves those who are dependent on him, better than those on whom he depends –

In the year 1770, as I presume, my father became engaged to his first wife Miss Peggy or Margaret Sparhawk daughter of the congregationalist minister in Salem John Sparhawk, a young lady, whom from the accounts of my Aunt Pollard, mother Blanchard and other persons who knew her, intimately is said to have been very handsome, of very good manners, and of an amiable disposition. From the same sources I have understood that to her he was tenderly attached – His brother in law Mr. Peas,* in a letter to my father dated November 23 1770 says on this subject, “I advise you seriously to get that business at Salem over soon, for the weather will grow very disagreeable to be riding

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that way, once or twice a week, don’t forget our love to Madam on your next visit to her” It seems this brotherly advice had been anticipated for on the 22^d November 1770 by a record in the family bible my father was married to Margaret Sparhawk of Salem at Danvers[†] by Justice Prescott —a Justice of the Peace – I hence infer that he had prior to this become

* Simon Pease, who was Isaac’s father’s sister Catherine’s (b. 1735) first husband.

† About four or five miles north of Salem.

connected with the Sandemanian society. (of which he continued a member till his death in 1793.). The members of this Society were always married by magistrates, thinking it wrong to have the marriage ceremony, performed by clergymen of any denomination. The next letter from his brother in law Mr. Pease, dated in Dec 7, 1770, says, “I rejoice that you are so happy with your agreeable partner – That it may always continue without interruption is the sincere wish of one, who with love to you and her, takes pleasure in subscribing himself your affectionate brother” From Col Sparhawk of Kittery, I believe uncle of the bride, (but am not sure of the relationship) a letter exists, dated Dec 6 1770, in which after acknowledging a letter

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from my father, mentioning his marriage, Col. S. says, “I have communicated this to Mrs Sparhawk, and all our connections, who unite with me in congratulating you and dear Peggy on your close alliance, sincerely wishing that this event may prove an era of solid and lasting happiness to your dear selves, and to all that are concerned therein; we shall do ourselves the pleasure of drinking your healths today, being resolved after church[?]” (Thanksgiving day in New Hampshire) [“]to fill up the rest of the time in festivity and mirth – The evening is to be spent in dancing, and we have invited twelve couple, the politest within our reach, to celebrate your nuptials – It would still be a great increase of our happiness if we could enjoy your company – as the next to it I shall endeavour to have you & your bride personated by the most suitable gentleman

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and lady present, to do you both all the honor in my power at this distance – my girls will be glad of the promised letter from Peggy” –

The new married couple went to housekeeping in a small house in Cole Lane, now Portland Street, opposite the distillery, now Greenwoods estate, at least so I have always supposed, as this was the place of residence of my father after his second marriage to my mother, under this humble roof

Their riches just one hundred Pounds a year, with moderate wants, unambitious views, loving and beloved, their pleasure that of mutually pleasing, and probably in too great a degree, their heaven home, this happy couple, floated for a moment on the stream of time.

Oh mortal pleasure what art thou?

The torrents smoothness, ere it dash below – *

Mr Nath Sparhawk of Salem son of Col Sparhawk writes my father Dec 8 1770, “we are now in expectation of soon having the agreeable

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tidings of your dear little girl[?]s being safe abed, with a fine son or daughter. I sincerely wish her safe through such a fiery trial – I pity you being well acquainted with what must be the workings and emotions of your breast – I believe it with a tender and sympathetic husband, to be nearly equal to the thing itself” – The birth of a son, the only child they had, took place in January 1772 – and on the 18th of that month the mother died – From the accounts I have

* Lines from Thomas Campbell’s “Gertrude of Wyoming” (1809). The Wyoming of the poem is the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania, and the poem’s subject is a massacre that occurred there of several hundred Patriots and their Iroquois allies. Notably, and perhaps ironically, given Isaac’s father’s Loyalism, the poem is on the side of the Patriots.

received of this from my own mother – my mother Blanchard, my Aunt Pollard, and others who were acquainted with the circumstances at the time, the effects of her death on my father were overwhelming. They had lived together a little more than a year, when the premature death of a beloved wife plunged him in the abyss of sorrow – The blow not only struck but stunned him. He was not merely wounded, but paralysed. The emotions of a lacerated heart, and blighted affections, were soon communicated to the anxious and bewildered mind,

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from what I have obtained through the sources above mentioned, a prostration of the mental powers, if not partial insanity, followed this afflicting dispensation of God. The child John S. Winslow followed its mother in April 1772 having been as my mother used to tell me overlaid by its nurse, and found dead in the bed in the morning –

It seems surprising that a person of such strong religious feelings as my father connected to a society not only professedly, but practically more detached from the world and its attachments than any other sect, should have been so completely overpowered with grief as he is represented to have been, yet inheriting his anxious temperament, without the same degree of sensibility, I can easily imagine a case where the clearest light without, will not enlighten the darkness within, where the peaceful influence of the Gospel truth however firmly received by the mind,

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cannot always calm the agitation of the passions – where strongly excited feeling triumphs for a time over both reason and religion, and where unsupported human strength proves but the weakness of an insect –

Feebly can the nearest connection sympathize with the afflictions of even the living, much less can these identify themselves with the departed -- Their hopes their fears their joys or sorrows, even their life or death seem matters which do not concern the following generations “Soon dies in human hearts the thoughts of death

“E’en with the tender tear which nature sheds
“oer those we love – we drop it in their grave”*

Man cometh up like a flower and is cut down without any knowledge of the religious principles or hope of this young & beloved wife, we may venture to imagine that in the words of Mrs Abdy she might have thought

“The husband of my fervent love so cherishd and so dear
His heart awhile shall thrill, with grief his home seem drear
But soon his hopes shall be renew’d, his lingering tears be dried
And his deserted halls shall greet, a fair triumphant bride.

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My only son my treasured boy, there most my trial lies,
How will he miss my ceaseless care, my fond approving eyes,
And when he enters in a world where evil roams unchecked
Who with a mothers watchfull love his footsteps shall direct?

* Slightly misquoted from Edward Young, “Night Thoughts” (1780).

I feel 'tis sinful thus to dread, the awfull summons nigh
 But when I think upon these things, I grieve and fear to die.
 O Lord forgive me that I thus, should prize a world of strife,
 Vouchsafe to grant me at my prayer, a few short years of life.

These thoughts within the lady's breast a weary conflict kept,
 She on her pillow turned her head, and bitterly she wept;
 But the Lord that she had served, of her tears took timely heed,
 And sent a gracious messenger to help her in her need.

Unheard by all around save her, arose a heavenly voice,
 "Oh daughter of the earth" it cried, "be thankfull & rejoice
 Thou art bursting the dark prison house of sorrow & of sin
 And angels wait at Heav'ns bright gate to bid thee enter in"

Though fair may be thy earthly home, tho' blest thy earthly love,
 How valueless appear such gifts to those dispensed above,
 Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor mortal tongue can tell
 The joys thy father hath in store for those who love him well

Thy friends oh wish not selfishly, to cloud their days on earth
 Their minds shall often dwell on thee, in scenes of social mirth,
 And when they feel the pains and care, of lifes uncertain track
 If they be Christian friends, indeed, they will not wish thee back

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Thoughts of thy virtues and thy faith shall constantly arise
 In thy fond husbands tender heart whateer his future ties
 Who can he love like her who owned his early vows of youth,
 The mother of his first born child, the chosen of his youth.

Of all the good & bounteous gifts of which you are possest
 The dear Redeemers Sacrifice is held by thee the best
 Oh then resist this sinfull grief put off this mortal leaven
 He who was pierced for thee on earth, awaits thee now in heaven –

Around the gentle ladys lip, a placid smile now playd
 She knelt she clasped her wasted hands and fervently she said
 "Lord I have clung to human ties, but at thy gracious call
 Behold I come to thee with joy, content to leave them all.*

It cannot be considered an unwarrantable flight of the imagination to suppose that such or similar reflections were uppermost in the mind of the dying wife. I am ignorant however whether she was, what is called in the world a professor of religion, or not. Her brother John

* The final stanzas of "The Last Trial," by Mrs. Abdy (Maria Abdy, 1797-1867) in *The Metropolitan Magazine*, June 1837. Isaac gets the words right, but shows his characteristic disregard for capitalization and punctuation, as well as his fondness for spelling words that end in 'ful' with a double "l."

Sparhawk, a man of talents, well educated, and of great decision of character was firmly attached to and a member of the Sandemanian Society from its first establishment here, I judge about 1765. It is probable that the connection of her husband and brother with that Society, must have induced her to think favorably of it, and that her education as daughter of a clergyman, gave her a religious bias, or at least led her to view religion generally as an important

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affair to all living, still more so to all dying, but whether a professor of religion or not, she might have had the religion of the heart, which loves, trusts, adores, but is silent – When religion becomes fashionable, externals are not much to be relied on – “God is a spirit and they that worship must worship him in spirit and in truth.”* On the occasion of her death Mr Pease the first husband of my aunt Catherine, thus writes to my Uncle Joshua from Newport Jan^y 23^d 1772 – “I was greatly shocked at the news that yours per Post conveyed to me, of the death of our Sister Isaac.[†] – I really pity poor Isaac who seemed to be so cleverly settled. She was certainly an agreeable little woman – How uncertain are our prospects and how soon are our most sanguine expectations blasted, but tho an instructive lesson which we daily read, yet how few improve by its admonitions, tho convinced of its truth, and that we must realize it one day or other. I heartily wish with you, that it may have a suitable effect upon us, being very uncertain whose lot it may be next to fall by the cold hand of death.

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This union as I have reason to believe, was one of the few instances of happy marriage, where fervent affection before, was succeeded by a fonder, and perhaps more rational attachment after the conjugal union. Pride or vanity so often accompanies the best affections of our nature, nay in the female sex, is so predominant that it often demands love as a right, rather than accepts it as a boon when the former passion or characteristic of our nature, is in subjection to the latter, and to each the pleasure of pleasing, is the highest gratification, the conjugal union is undoubtedly the happiest state our nature is capable of – Too often alas in either sex, do we discover in this, as in other relations of life, that selfishness, founded on pride or vanity, or appetite, converts the pleasant sweet, to a nauseous bitter –

Sinful pleasures are generally destructive to a hope in this life – Innocent ones, immoderately valued often fatal to the life which is in Jesus. A man of my fathers susceptible temperament, I should think would be too easily disposed to make his love his idol. Perhaps God to save the husband and father, took the wife and child.[‡]

I have but scanty materials relating to this interesting event of my fathers early life – In this compilation at the age of 63,[§] myself now amongst the old, I often feel the want of the traditional information, which in my younger days, I often had from the old of that period, but then had no value for.

* John 4:24.

† Clearly an error for “Margaret,” possibly in anticipation of the mention of Isaac just five words further on.

‡ Thomas Parnell (1679-1718), *The Hermit*: “But God, to save the father, took the son.”

§ As we saw at I,3, Isaac had earlier said he was writing at age sixty-four.

which* but a few years ago I was able to glean from family friends, the chronicles of olden time, and for a moment unreflectingly I think, I will endeavour to get light of them – But alas they can tell me nothing[†] -- The dead know not anything They sleep with their fathers, and their knowledge has passed away with them –

Whether after the death of his wife, my father was actually insane, or whether his mind was so enfeebled by his loss, or that the conflict between his duty as a Christian, and his feelings as a man, led his friends to infer a partial insanity I know not. I should rather think that his constitutional tendency to depression of spirits, and gloomy anticipations of the future, had for a time obtained the ascendant. But a long continued depression not counteracted by constant prayer or, relieved by a providential dispensation, can hardly fail to produce insanity, that is destroy the mental equilibrium – Is it not insanity, when we can think upon only one distressing subject?[‡]

In this state of mind it could not but be, that both his natural and religious friends should take a deep interest – It was owing to the advise and even solicitations of the latter, as I have heard from several members of the family, that he was induced to think of a second marriage. – In this advice it is probable that the brother of his wife Mr John Sparhawk warmly concurred – There was always a strong attachment between him and my father and Mr S. being a man of great decision of character, as well as a man of good sense, and of kind as well as Christian feelings, his opinion always had a great influence with my father –

It is reasonable to infer that this and others of his religious friends convinced him of the sin of excessive sorrows, of the Christian duty of submission to the Divine will, and acquiescence in the divine dispensations.

Such appeals to the conscience of my father I am sure could not be without effect, after the first paroxysms of grief were over – So kindly has God attemperd the human constitution, that violent paroxysms of pain, whether mental or corporeal, are usually of short duration. In both cases, what is called the “vis medicatrix” or restorative power of nature, soon, in most cases, intervenes to raise and reinvigorate, the drooping and disordered system.

* There is an apparent discontinuity between this and either of the previous two pp. (22 and 22 ½) that I cannot resolve. And the rest of the sentence does not make a great deal of sense.

† Isaac had inserted “never” between “can” and “tell,” apparently an error.

‡ Isaac thinks a great deal about psychology and mental health, for reasons that will become obvious. It may or may not be coincidence, but his cousin Forbes Benignus Winslow (1810–1874) and Forbes’s son Lyttelton Stewart Forbes Winslow (1844–1913) were both extremely prominent, even notorious English “alienists.” The former was born in England, the grandson of Isaac’s great uncle Isaac and his second wife, Jemima Debuc, but returned with his mother to New York in 1815 and received his early education there. His mother will appear much later in this narrative, but it may be said here that she contacted all her New England relatives by marriage and made claims upon Isaac’s great uncle’s estate, of which Isaac was executor. Whether his knowledge of Isaac’s father’s unhappy end influenced his choice of career can only be guessed at. Perhaps it was just something that ran in the family. His important book on suicide was published in 1840. I do not know if Isaac was aware of it, but his daughter certainly knew of her cousin’s successful career.

Sorrow at the separation of beloved friends by death, the removal of these to their solitary, and final resting place, cannot but be felt, even where we have a strong hope of reunion hereafter. The indulgence of this feeling is so agreeable to the bereaved heart, the inclination to think of nothing else but the beloved dead, so strong, that this disposition has been appropriately termed “The luxury of grief” This however, is but a refined selfishness – we indeed for a time sympathize with the bereaved

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and mourn with those who mourn – This is the just tribute of human sympathy for human woe yet we soon and easily draw the line of distinction between a natural and allowed sorrow, and that grief which refuses to be comforted, and in its regret for the dead, forgets the claims of the living –

If such was the state of my fathers mind after the death of his first wife, it is to me evidence of at least incipient insanity – for in his usual state never was a man more disinterested – more ready to assist, those whom he could assist – and to deny himself for the good of others – hence the selfishness of sorrow or any other selfish feeling could not for a length of time have obtained the ascendancy in a man of his religious principles and feelings, unless reason was tott’ring from her throne.

The advice of friends was followed and three months after the death of his first wife he was on the 12 April 1772 married to my own mother Mary,^{*} daughter of Benjamin Davis,[†] she being only fifteen years of age the preceding February.

^{*} Mary Davis Winslow (1757-1800).

[†] 1729-1805. For valuable information on the Davis family and its connection with the Winslows, see *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts: Transactions, Volume VI 1899,1900* (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1904), 124-30. At least some of the information there appears to be derived from Isaac’s ms. via his grandson William Henry Winslow (1834-1909).

CHAPTER TWO

A sketch of the previous family history – Collateral Branches – The Davis Family; Isaac's father's 2nd wife also descended from Edward the Sheriff and Silversmith – Maj. William Davis – Mr. Sandeman's appearance in Boston (*circa* 1765)–Sandemanians, Congregationalists, and Episcopalians – A Sandemanian divorce – Accounts of several Davis relations.

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Though this work, is intended principally as a biography of an individual, yet it is within the scope of my design, to comprehend in it notices of persons and events, which are associated either directly or indirectly with the friend whom I commemorate – In pursuance of this design I purpose to give a sketch of the family history, and persons and events either directly, or remotely connected with it, as far as the scanty materials I have enable me to treat on collateral biography, and in pursuance of this I shall here give some notices of the Davis family —My mother as has been said, was daughter of Benjamin Davis a merchant of Boston, and a lineal descendant of Major William Davis, who was a conspicuous character in the early colony history, especially in King Phillip's war so called in 1675 – Hannah the mother of my grandfather Davis was daughter of Edward Winslow the Sheriff,* and was therefore first cousin of my father – His first wife a Philips of a north end family,† died young, leaving a son and two daughters – I have heard my mother say, they were some years under the care of a Dolly Baxter [Banter?] with whom they resided in Milk Street, till Mr Davis's second marriage to Miss Anstis [?] Greenleaf, daughter of a well-known citizen, then known as Sheriff Greenleaf. – (whose residence was in a large house and Garden formerly extending from St Pauls church in Tremont Street to West Street) I should think this marriage took place about 1762 and this brought Mr Davis into connection with the great folks of the town – He had previously purchased the estate in Leverett Street next north of mine, where he resided some years with his family after this second marriage. It was in this house that my mother, her sister Hannah and Brother Benjamin were born, being as has been said, the children of his first wife. This second wife lived only a year or

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two after her marriage and I think my mother used to say died in childbirth. I believe about 1765. My grandfather afterwards took a home in Atkinson Street then Greens Lane – where the family resided at the time of my mother's marriage I never heard, but presume it was at a home in Middle (now Hanover) Street, to which he moved, at or about the time of his connection with the Sandemanian Society –

It was about this period that Mr Sandeman‡ made his appearance, and began his preaching in Boston. He soon succeeded in forming a small Society. How soon either my father or grandfather became united with these, I am unable to say – Probably the latter, as well as the former, were members of this connection at the time of my mothers marriage in

* 1669-1753. For many years High Sheriff of Suffolk County, a Colonel in the Boston Militia, and one of the very finest colonial silversmiths.

† Elizabeth Phillips.

‡ Robert Sandeman (1718–71).

1772. Before this I have reason to believe that my grandfather was quite a man of the world, his marriage with Miss Greenleaf combined, with an agreeable person, and prepossessing manners, had introduced him into fashionable life, and he as well as many other of the family had left the orthodox congregationalists, amongst whom they had been brought up, for the more liberal communion with the Episcopalians – of the latter were generally the Crown Officers, both civil and military, and hence became in a degree the religion of the colonial aristocracy – The religious views of the Sandemanian Society, then, and always unpopular, especially their tenet, that the clergy were the main supporters of antichristian doctrines and practises, made them enemies of and to this influential class of society, and their adherents; and this combined perhaps with other causes, naturally changed the social relations of its members. The connections in life which my grandfather had before formed, were thus by his union with this newly formed society, either very much

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weakened or dissolved – The high company he had kept was given up and his style of living materially changed – It was at this period that he contracted a third marriage with a Miss Whipple* of Providence. The pride of this lady is said to have been wounded, by the self denial which was practiced by the members of that society, and especially so by the custom which prevailed at that time of the church members and none else, dining together at each others houses on Sundays, in which way they celebrated the Feasts of charity as they supposed practised amongst the first Christians – When this took place in the houses of those, where the wives were not of the Society it was naturally offensive, that the latter should be excluded from their own tables – This or some other cause, offended Mrs Davis and she left her husband, returning to her friends in Providence

In such case a legal divorce could not take place, and in point of fact, there never was one. The Society taking the matter into consideration thought it one of those cases of voluntary defection which in the sight of God, dissolved the marriage tie, and Mr Davis, supported by the opinion of his Christian friends, enter'd into another

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marriage connection; and for his fourth wife, he within a year or two after his wifes desertion, took a widow Ross, whose family name was Chadbourne of Berwick, New Hampshire – She united herself with the Sandemanian Society, either before, or after this marriage, which I do not know, and they as I believe I have said elsewhere, perfectly approved of this marriage as conformable with the Divine Law

I have before said that Hannah Davis my maternal grandmother, was daughter of Sheriff Winslow – I always heard her mentioned by my mother as quite a devout woman and attached to the old Calvinistic doctrine, of which her father was a zealous friend – She therefore adhered to this, while several of her family, especially of the next generation, comprehending all her own Sons, had wandered from the Orthodox pale. Mrs Davis's husband was a physician. Their place of residence was in Cornhill nere Washington Street on the East Side just at the angle which turns to Dock Square near Number - - . The Physicians then acted as apothecaries, and kept a shop and compounded their own medicines – Mrs Davis as I have heard kept on the business after her husbands death, which as I have always

* Alice Whipple, married 1768.

heard happened in the middle life – of the gout, to which disease his three Sons – William, Edward and my grandfather Benjamin, were all martyrs.

The religious intolerance which so strongly marked the puritan Settlers in New England had much declined after the old charter had been taken away, and with it the power of the clergy, which however continued very great, till about the year 1720 – The more extended religious liberty which this allowed, had its influence on those who came into life about that period, so that about the middle of the eighteenth century when my uncle Edward took episcopal ordination nearly all

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the grandchildren of Edward Winslow (himself strongly attached to the dominant religion) had become Episcopalians, namely, nearly all the children of his son Joshua and daughter Mrs Davis. My mother if not born in this society was for many years a lamb of Mr Hoopers flock, then the episcopal, minister of Trinity church –

My grandfather Davis had two brothers William & Edward, the first educated at Cambridge College* for a physician, which profession he early abandoned for that of a merchant – Edward was brought up a merchant – There were two sisters in the family, one Elizabeth married Mr Samuel Minot – another sister married Mr Jonathan Simpson, the former lived to an advanced age. The latter died I believe about the year 1770, rather a young woman. all died and were buried in Boston in the Davis tomb in the Chapel burying ground† -- I have no dates of the births and deaths of this family, if these are obtained, they will be noted on the back of this – The father of this family was William Davis a Physician of Boston, son of the William Davis an early and rather distinguished character amongst the early colonists, of whom I have before spoken. The Davis family according to traditional report was of Welch descent

My mother had one elder sister

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Hannah, who about the year 1772 or 1773, became the wife of Mr Samuel Sparhawk, brother of my fathers first wife. – This Aunt of mine died in Halifax, Nova Scotia, in the year 1776 or 1777, leaving two young children, Elizabeth and Samuel – after her death, these children were taken into my fathers family – The daughter was never married, and is now (1838) residing in Danvers near Salem. – The Son Samuel (I believe about 1804) abruptly left his fathers family, then resident in New York and as the family afterwards learned, went to Eastport in Maine, and there kept school – but after his departure he never wrote any of the family, nor has any correct information been received respecting his fate. It was reported that he had changed his name but whether living or not, or what has ever become of him, none of his friends know – My dear mother died in Boston Oct 3, 1800 – aged 43 – her brother my uncle Davis‡ also in Boston in December 1836 – unmarried at the age of 80, both buried in the Davis tomb – with him the family name became extinct in Boston – There is however a son of Edward (John) residing in Washington DC.) the only male descendant of the name (excepting his children) of this once numerous Boston family –

* Harvard.

† King's Chapel, Boston.

‡ Benjamin Davis (1756-1836).

Four of my first cousins, were thus separated, or separated themselves, from their family, and were never afterwards heard of – John Winniet [?] – Joshua Pollard – Abel Winslow son of the clergyman, and the above mentioned Samuel Sparhawk.

CHAPTER THREE

Isaac's parents' early housekeeping – Isaac's birth, 1774 – Causes of the neglect of his mother's early education; and reflections on education versus instruction – His mother's youthful disposition; elastic and cheerful temperament; her absentmindedness – Birth of Isaac's brother Thomas – Family's probable removal back to the Dock Square Mansion of Isaac's grandmother Winslow; his mother's recollection of observing the Battle of Bunker Hill from it – Gloomy pre-Revolutionary period – Reflections on partisanship – Why his father was a Loyalist – Difficulties of trust in God in a man of a naturally anxious temperament.

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I have in the first chapter noticed the marriage of my mother – I believe my father did not give up housekeeping after the death of his first wife, but probably continued to reside in a small brick house in Portland Street, nearly opposite the distillery. . This house was standing as late as 1815 or 1820 – and in that house I was born the 2^d of february 1774. – My mother then being 17 years old My father's income was as has been said one hundred pounds lawful money or about 340 Dollars, and perhaps his gains by other business, might have been as much – my mother as I have heard her say, was a very inexperienced housekeeper – Her own mother, a Phillips, died when she was just 4 years old – her step mother an Aphthorp when she was seven. The children were placed at board till he resumed housekeeping with a third wife a Whipple of Providence. How long time elapsed between this, and the death of the second wife in 1762 I do not know, I should suppose; 4 or 5 years. This probably was the cause of my mothers early education, being neglected, more than that of females of that day generally, the best of which was however, much less shewy, than that of modern times. Her education was a good deal neglected not only as regards the common branches of learning, but by far the most important part of education, derived from parental examples, advice and teaching, and from the examples of others with whom they are connected, by which habits of self control, and self restraint, are early acquired, and thus when parents themselves, their children become well educated, though possibly slightly instructed – My mother was of artless, undisguised disposition, one whose thoughts and feelings were always open to view. At fifteen, her age when

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married (Fifteen) she was not only in age a child, but still more so in experience, of household affairs, the knowledge of which, so important to the mistress of a family, was to be learnt at a time when it was required for action – But she did acquire this knowledge, though doubtless, with much more difficulty, and more imperfectly, than if acquired under the maternal eye.

Did this new connection of my father eradicate his affection for the former beloved one? Could the excited feelings caused by the death of the former be forgotten in the arms of a second? Who can solve these questions? Violent paroxysms of the passions cannot long continue – They must soon terminate themselves or destroy their possessor –

Their subsidence, in a truly religious mind, will be hasten'd by a habit of submission to the Divine will. This in some cases almost impossible for mere human strength, is given to those, who putting their trust in the most High are enabled with the aid of his holy spirit to unite, in the aspiration of the blessed Jesus "Father not my will but thine be done[']" – Where a strong feeling like that of love has been called into action, if the object is taken from us, the desire of loving remains – An aching void is left, which can only be satisfied with a new object of affection – This far from implying a disregard or forgetfulness of a former beloved object on the contrary may lead to the recollection of what was most interesting in the departed – especially of his love for us. – I have little doubt, that were the parents of an only child, taken from them by death, at an early age, to adopt another the parental feelings would soon become nearly as strong towards the adopted, as they were towards the natural child; and the sorrow caused by the death of the one, mitigated or assuaged by the emotions of parental love towards the other – nay, if the love of the parents was a genuine unselfish one, past happiness in the enjoyment of the society of the departed, would be agreeably associated with present happiness with the beloved one.

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My mothers natural temperament was cheerful and elastic. – In the plays and amusements of her children, she took an active part, with all the ardor and simplicity of childhood itself – She was not like my father constitutionally subject to depression of spirits she became so however after his death. In trying emergencies or on pressing occasions, where resolution was required she discovered* much firmness and presence of mind – Yet naturally as remarkable for abstraction of thought or what is called absence of mind as almost any person I have ever known – Even when busily employed as she always was with domestic occupations, this abstraction was predominant, and when engaged in the little amusements of her children she seemed herself a child – Love for ones mother never ceases in the heart of a child – The feeling continues till we die, yet in adult age, a sense of maternal love and indulgence, would be heightened by a recollection of parental firmness in checking the thoughtless and wayward desires of childhood, and in such entire control of the will, from infancy, as enables the children in mature life to practice the difficult habit of self control. Like most mothers, mine was, too indulgent, as I thought before the death of my father – afterwards her broken constitution, and depression of spirits were such, that the children were of necessity left very much to themselves. In this respect, the loss of my father was irreparable.

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In the house in Cole Lane, afterwards Portland Street, my father as near as I can judge, lived three or four years. And 1775 October my brother Thomas was born, I believe in that house but am not sure that the family had not previously removed to the old mansion in Dock Square, in which my Grandmother Winslow resided with three daughters. I have heard my mother say she was on the top of that house on the day of the battle of Bunker hill June 17 1775† and think she also said that her own as well as my Grandmother's family were residing there at that time – My father having had the care of his mother and family since my

* An archaic or rare sense meaning *revealed*.

† The laying of the cornerstone of the Bunker Hill Monument and attendant pomp and celebration fifty years after are described below, IV, 134.

Grandfather's death October 1769 and there being no male in the house. Such a move was natural. The period was a gloomy one – party spirit ran very high – and materials were daily collecting for the explosion which was soon to follow – the religious society with which he was connected had already taken the ground, that Christians far from taking up arms against the powers that be, were bound to aid them in every lawfull way – and hence became more decided loyalists, than their position as advocates of apostolic Christianity seemed to require –. The family too in all its branches, with very few exceptions, took the King's side. The Royal Troops –

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My father's family, as near as I can judge lived in the house in Cole Lane about four years from 1770 to 1774. as has been said I was born there feby 1774 and my next brother Thomas at the mansion home [or house?] in Dock Square October 1775, then occupied by my grandmother Winslow and three daughters – but being a very large old fashioned square house, was probably thought sufficient to accommodate my fathers small family also – added to which no doubt it was very desirable to the former that a man should be at the head of the family, especially in the troublesome times, then existing – I have heard my mother say, that from the roof of that house she saw, the battle of Bunker hill June 17, 1775 – The period was a gloomy one – party spirit ran very high – and all foresaw a civil war – for the explosion which was soon to follow, materials were every day preparing and embittered animosities amongst friends, relations, and fellow citizens, were the prelude to more fatal consequences –

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The British troops were then in possession of the town by which the loyalists were secure from any personal danger. But yet they all and my father amongst them could not but feel a deep interest for their families and friends, and entertain the most anxious anticipations of future evil to their beloved New England. My father not at all disposed to be a partizan, as a conscientious man, can hardly in any political disputes, be, yet could not avoid being drawn into the vortex of political agitation. In high party times, moderation is a crime – the independent man is crushed in the conflict between the contenders for power, and receives the support or sympathy of neither. The man of peace as well the turbulent man – the unobtrusive like the froward the retiring citizen, and the violent partizan, are hurried by the tempest of revolution to one common gulph. Conscientious views led him to take side with the loyalists – probably combined in some measure with the same feelings which influenced his family in the side they took – Be this as it may, the care of his mothers family and his own, united with a naturally anxious temperament, made the public affairs of the colony, deeply interesting to him – and though – his anxiety of mind ought to be checked or subdued by a full trust in the superintendence of God, yet when it is a strong constitutional feeling, it is apt in trying situations, like the period refer'd to, to distrust and weaken both the conscience and reason so that the cheering trust, which he [] the sovereignty of God “The Lord reigneth, let the [earth] rejoice” – was from [] too easily in him shaken or obscured.†

* This entire page is an alternate version of the preceding and may have been meant to be discarded.

† The bottom of this page has lost some words to chipping and an insertion via caret after “was” in a very small hand along a fold that has partially split. But the quotation is almost certainly the opening of Psalm 97.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Family's even earlier history from the first Settlements – English progenitors – The Five Brothers – Rehearsing the well-known facts about Edward the Governor, his brother John, and Mary Chilton – Anne Hutchinson – Edward the Sheriff's early life; marriage to Joshua Moody's daughter Hannah – Their 2nd son, Joshua, Isaac's grandfather – Marriage with Elizabeth Savage – Early voyages to London the basis for future business dealings – Edward and Hannah's other children – Their sons' businesses in foreign trade – Letters between Joshua and his father *circa* 1720 – Trade with Bristol, Spain, and Italy – The twelve children of Joshua who lived to adult age – Aunt Margaret, who married Benjamin Pollard – Her sisters Hannah, Elizabeth, Catherine, Martha (Aunt Patty), Susan (Aunt Sukey) – An anecdote regarding Aunt Sukey's funeral and her dog Chance and the slave Cato.

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This will be a digressive chapter which the reader may skip over if more interested in the general narrative to a subject with which the present is only incidentally connected; viz< a sketch of the family history from its first settlement in New England. And this I do because in another generation little will be known of what I now know, and from the few materials I have, I may almost say none, little do I know of what is most interesting to successors the leading characteristics of my ancestors and collateral relations, yet that little would be lost were it not committed to writing. This sketch is not to flatter the pride of the living for the ancestors of the family as has been mentioned in the preface, who came to Plymouth in 1620, were of the middling classes in England and Wales. These generally, with the exception of the Plymouth branch which for several generations from the first Edward were conspicuous actors in the civil and military affairs of the colony, seem so to have continued in the country of their adoption, till the revolution.

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The most remote progenitors of the family known to me was Edward Winslow son of Kenelm W. of England residing about the time his sons emigrated to this country, at Droitwich near Bristol in England, and probably born about the year 1570. – The whole of his five sons came to Plymouth – Edward the eldest, with a younger brother Gilbert in the Mayflower in 1620. – John the next oldest and my immediate ancestor in the Fortune in 1621. – The times of the arrival of Kenelm and Josias are not known – Gilbert returned to England, after a short stay at Plymouth and is understood to have remained there – The other four took Massachusetts for their country and from them are descended all of the name which now (1838,) are scattered about, not only in New England, but in the United States, & elsewhere

Of the first American Edward, ample amounts are extant in Morton, Hutchinson, Bellknap and in the collections of the historical society* – as well as his descendants Josiah,

* Massachusetts Historical Society, founded 1791. Isaac had already (in 1834) donated at least one item to its collections, a portrait of Anne Pollard, either a direct ancestor or a great Aunt, painted in 1721 when she was over a hundred years old. (See the note below, III, 107.)

Two Isaacs (Grandson and great grandson) all distinguished, in the civil or military employ of the colonies of both Plymouth as well as Massachusetts – of the private traits of character nothing new is known to me, as the branches of this family were distinct from ours from the first

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My ancestor John the 2^d Son of the English Edward, as has been said arrived at Plymouth in 1621, married Mary Chilton, said to be the first woman who landed at Cape Cod or Plymouth he moved to Boston in 1656 and died there in 1678 leaving a large family of children, most of whom were born in Plymouth – He became one of the principal merchants in Boston, and from him are descended most of those of the name in that place and in North Carolina – his eldest son was John who I suppose to have died in Boston in 1683 aged about 58 and his grandson John as far as I can find, died in Boston in 1690 at the age of 40 – From this branch is the family of the late General John Winslow* descended – the first American Edward† son of the first John is thought to have been married at Plymouth, before the family came to reside in Boston. By this marriage he had a son and two daughters – The second wife he married in Boston, Elizabeth granddaughter of the celebrated Anne Hutchinson.‡ – Their children were one son Edward, and four daughters. This Edward§ seems to have been a shipmaster, in his fathers employ. He died in Boston in 1682 aged 42 – of Edwards eldest son John and descendants I have no account. His second

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son Edward by the Hutchinson wife was my great grandfather – (He losing his father at 11 years of age and his grandfathers estate when divided amongst his numerous issue being but a modicum to each, he seems to have been thrown on his own resources very young, and was apprenticed to a Goldsmith and this trade he carried on I should think over 40 years)** – He married first Hannah daughter of Joshua Moody†† minister of the First Church by whom he had a numerous issue of which my grandfather Joshua was the eldest, his second wife a Miss Pemberton by whom he had one daughter married to Richard Clarke‡‡ merchant of Boston. He was appointed Colonel of the Boston Regiment of Militia, and was Sheriff of Suffolk from about 1725 to 1745, as near as can be ascertained– By an epitaph which was written at the time, and is copied in my book called the “family Memorial”, -- he appears to have been considered quite an eminent character in his native town. He died in Boston in

* Not to be confused with a cousin, Gen. John Winslow (1703-74), who was a British officer during the French and Indian War and a descendant of Edward the Governor.

† 1633-82, according to the Joshua Pollard Blanchard family tree of 1810, and 1633-85, according to the Arthur Winslow family tree of 1918.

‡ 1591-1643.

§ Isaac means the father, though he appears to refer to the son.

** Parens are in pencil and perhaps meant simply to mark text.

†† Joshua Moody—the more common spelling—(1633-97). See Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, eds., *The Puritans: A Sourcebook of Their Writings* (New York; Dover, 2001), 367. He is remembered for having declined the presidency of Harvard and for his resistance to the witchcraft hysteria in Salem in 1692, which included aiding two of the accused to escape.

‡‡ Clarke (1711-95) was the East India Company's agent in Boston and chief consignee of the tea that wound up in the Harbor at the Boston Tea Party.

1753, at the advanced age of 84 and was buried from his house in State Street, now the Tremont Bank, in the Winslow Tomb, (repaired and the arms affixed by him)* ... His four daughters were married settled and died Boston or the vicinity, as there are no incidents in which they or their descendants are connected in the biography of my father, I shall omit any notice of these here and proceed with the sketches of my immediate ancestry.

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My grandfather Joshua Winslow was the second Son (the eldest having died in infancy) of the Edward Winslow before mentioned. He was born in Boston in 1695 – educated in the counting house, or, as the phrase then was, “served his time”, with Col. Thomas Savage[†] a principal merchant of Boston – he married Elizabeth, the second daughter of this gentleman in Feby, 1730 & being probably in business for himself at that time. By old letters which I have, I see he was at St Johns Newfoundland 1n 1718 – again there in 1720 – and in England in 1722 – In this year, I find several letters of his father in Boston, to him in London – he was again in England in 1731. – The connections he then formed in London and Bristol, seem to have been the foundation of his after success in life – His youngest brother Isaac, went to England about the year 1736: at which time there appears to have been a copartnership between the brothers – Their business then consisted of consignments from Bristol, with the proceeds of which, vessells were built in Boston, and loaded with fish for Leghorn[‡] or other [por]ts abroad and cargoes from the Ports of discharge in Europe for Bristol []ally my grandfather, became a considerable [][§] owners having as I have heard my father say one ship constantly in the London trade and acquired a handsome tho’ not great Estate – He had a large family, 16 children, of whom 12 arrived at adult age – but only four of these left posterity who themselves reached adult age – Of these more will be said in the proper place –

John^{**} the son of Edward born 1700 was a merchant, lived in a house in Washington St – 2^d door from Winter Street – his first wife a Vrial (?)^{††} – He was as well as the rest of the family

* From C. Louise Avery, *American Silver of the XVII & XVIII Centuries* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art: 1950), 21: “1669-1753. Boston. One of the greatest of Colonial silversmiths; from the superior quality of his work, it seems probable that he served part of his apprenticeship abroad. He was grandson of John Winslow who came to Plymouth in the Fortune in 1621 and his wife, Mary Chilton, one of the Mayflower’s company; was greatgrandson, on his mother’s side, of Mistress Ann Hutchinson and thus a second cousin of Samuel Vernon, the Newport silversmith. He married (1) Hannah, daughter of Rev. Joshua Moody of the First Church, Boston; (2) Elizabeth Dixie, widow of Benjamin Pemberton; (3) Susanna Farnum, widow of Caleb Lyman. Lived in King Street. Served as constable of Boston, 1699; tithing-man, 1703; surveyor, 1705; overseer of the poor, 1711, 1712; selectman, 1714, declining reelection in 1715. Captain of militia; major of Boston regiment, 1729, and colonel, 1733. Second sergeant of Artillery Company, 1702; lieutenant, 1711; captain, 1714 and 1729. Sheriff of Suffolk County, 1728-1743; Judge of Inferior Court of Common Pleas from 1743 until his death. Member of the Old South Church. Two of his sons were lost at Louisbourg in 1745. His nephew, Moody Russell, was apprenticed to him. Left an estate valued at £ 1,083.18.5. His granddaughter married John Singleton Copley.”

[†] 1668-1720, a great grandson of Anne Hutchinson through her daughter Faith and therefore a cousin of Edward the Sheriff.

[‡] Livorno.

[§] Probably three words lost here to chipping, though the first is easy to infer.

^{**} 1700-86, according to the Joshua Pollard Blanchard family tree, and 1700-1783 according to the Arthur Winslow family tree.

^{††} Joshua Pollard Blanchard has “Vrilen”; Arthur Winslow family tree suggests “Vryland.”

a loyalist but did not quit the country – I rather think however that his obnoxious principles obliged him, or that the authority compelled him, to leave Boston his native place, about the year 1776 or 1777, to which afterwards he would never return, though he lived 5 years after the peace.

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He removed to Dunstable, near Lowell where he took for a wife Miss Tyng,* and died at that place in 1788,† without issue – (I saw his tomb there in the year 1827, on the Tyng place). one son of Edward the Sheriff died in infancy – another Son Edward‡ was a sea captain in the trade to Holland, Bristol and Newfoundland. – I have heard my father say that in his last voyage his ship was wrecked on the coast of England and that himself and all onboard perished, but a drunken Cook, who had crawled into the long boat, quite ignorant of the danger, and was asleep, when the vessell went ashore – The long Boat got detached from its fastenings, and floated ashore, and the life of the cook was thus preserved – This Edwards wife was Hannah Savage – William the next brother, was a merchant: I see a letter from him in Antigua dated 1744 – Both he and his brother Samuel, also in trade, failed in business, and both were appointed to civil situations in the expedition to Louisburg§ in 1745, the former recommended by Gov Shirley** to Col Pepperrell,†† commander in chief as store keeper. Samuel was I believe

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a profession,‡‡ but probably preferring a mercantile life and after leaving college, to acquire a knowledge of trade went into the counting house of Mr James Bowdoin,§§ a French Huguenot who with several of his countrymen, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis 14th in 1685, settled in Boston – (This Edict allowing freedom of worship to the Protestants, was given at Nantes by Henry the 4th 1598) Mr. Bowdoin though a poor man when he arrived by industry economy, and attention to business became one of the principle merchants of Boston. with him I rather think my great uncle Isaac remained from the year 1727 to about 1730 or 1731 – By some of the old letters in my possession I see he was at Bristol in England in the year 1735 and 1736 – at this time by the address of those letters there existed a copartnership between him and his eldest brother Joshua (my grandfather) under the firm Joshua and Isaac Winslow

* Sarah Tyng.

† Joshua Blanchard's tree has him dying in 1786, Arthur Winslow's in 1783.

‡ 1703-33. According to the Arthur Winslow family tree, he was "drowned off Land's End."

§ Isaac consistently spells Louisbourg thus.

** William Shirley (1694–1771), Governor of Massachusetts 1741-49 and 1753-56.

†† Sir William Pepperrell, (1696–1759), the "Hero of Louisbourg" and knighted in 1746 for his exploits in that battle.

‡‡ Perhaps Isaac has omitted "intended for" or the equivalent.

§§ Isaac frequently though inconsistently misspells "Bowdoin." The James here referred to was father of the more famous James Bowdoin (1726-90) who became Massachusetts' second governor after the war and after whom the college in Maine is named.

The mercantile connections of the house, first formed at Bristol became important to them as well as to the community, for it led to the increased employment (activity?^{*} of the various occupations connected with ship building, then a considerable branch of trade, as the vessels could be owned in England, where for the most part they were sold. How long the brothers continued connected in business is unknown, probably not over 8 or 10 years. — Both however continued in trade, and the younger one as I have heard my father say, determining to make a fortune before he was married, remained a bachelor till the age of 38 — In the year 1747, he married Lucy the daughter of Brigadier Samuel Waldo,[†] at which time he had become an eminent and successful merchant, and retired from business about 1753 — In the latter part of his life, he resided at the Dudley Seat in Roxbury near the Norfolk hotel, but moved with his family into Boston during the siege, being particularly obnoxious to the whig party, on account of his political tenets [?], especially at his appointment by the crown as one of the Mandamus Council in 1774 — with the other loyalists he left Boston at its evacuation by Gen Gage in March 1776 for Halifax, from which place he soon after proceeded to New York, where he died.

died in March 1777
^

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Josh W — back
of this[‡]

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As has been before said, my grandfather Joshua Winslow was the eldest adult child of Edward Winslow, born in Boston 1694. He was educated in the counting house of Thomas Savage, then a principal merchant in Boston, whose daughter Elizabeth he married in 1720. — I see by letters from him that he was at Newfoundland in 1718 and 1720, and in England in 1722.. In this year I find several of his fathers letters to him, and suppose he returned to Boston in 1723 but was again in England as I think in 1731[§] — The connections then formed by him and his brother Isaac in London and Bristol appear to have been the foundation of his success in business afterwards as has been before noticed This in the year 1736, consisted in a direct trade with Bristol, then after London, the first trading city in the Kingdom, and the building of vessels on account of himself and his correspondents in England, and loading them with fish oil &c for ports in Spain and Italy. — About that period, as his Brother Isaac was in England, there seems to have been a real or quasi copartnership existing between the brothers.

(850)^{**}

(40.)

Twelve of the children of Joshua Winslow my grandfather lived to adult age. — Eight of these are noticed in page 10, -- The eldest daughter Margaret in 1745 married her second cousin Benjamin Pollard an old bachelor, 20 years or more older than herself — He founded,

* “(activity?” is written in magenta pencil or ink above “employment,” as was the “to” in “as well as to the community,” via caret.

† Brigadier-General Samuel Waldo (1696–1759). Like Peppperrell, he was a hero in the attack on Louisbourg.

‡ In very light pencil. The verso of this page is an earlier draft entirely struck through.

§ Isaac is here repeating information he had given at I, 35.

** In very light pencil.

and was first Colonel of the Cadets – afterwards High Sheriff of Suffolk till his death (in 1756) in which office he succeeded his uncle Edward Winslow my great grandfather. –

From this Benjamin and my Aunt Margaret Pollard, are descended the Pollards and Blanchards of our connection but. . the Pollards descended from him are now extinct, though he left four sons

Hannah^{*} the third child of Joshua Winslow, was adopted by her grandfather, and brought up by him – She imbibed his religious opinions, (strictly orthodox Calvinistic) and united herself to the old South Society – of which her grandfather was a leading man – having been one of the committee to erect the building now standing. – Hannah in 1768 became the second wife of David Jeffries one of the deacons of that church – and died in 1783 without issue.)[†] I have heard that there was a mutual attachment of these parties when young, but being opposed by the family, a union was prevented till after the death of Mr Jeffries first wife.

Elizabeth[‡] married a Mr John Winniet [?], of an Annapolis (Nova Scotia) family, who had been educated in her fathers country house; They were married in 1757 – had only two children – one of whom John lived to adult age, and is the one who about the year 1775, went Supercargo of a vessell belonging to my father, to the West Indies, where he disposed of, and appropriated the Cargo, and never returned, or was heard of, after 1780 – or 1781 – Elizabeth Winniett [?] died before the revolutionary war, in 1770. Mr. Winniett [?] about 1830 (a widower)

Catherine,[§] married first Simon Pease, a merchant of Newport, also an élève^{**} of her fathers, and for a second husband Francis Malbone^{††} of Newport – of this aunt, more will be related in its proper place.

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Martha^{‡‡} lost her mind owing to a fit of sickness when very young, and never recovered this defect – She was a sort of grown child, retaining very affectionate feelings towards her friends but quite unable to take care of herself, and was therefore under the guardianship of my father till his death in 1793. – and then under mine till her own death at my house in Leverett Street in 1816 aged 82. – The only member of this line of relations recollected by me was the latter – My Uncle Edward an episcopalian minister leaving a very large family – My Uncle John a commissary of Prisoners in New York. Both of these died in New York one October 1780, the other September 1781. My Aunt Pollard who died of a cancer in Boston in 1814 aged 90, and my Aunt Malbone the last survivor of the family who died in Newport in 1817 aged 84 – My Aunt Susan^{§§} generally called Sukey also died of a

* 1725-1783. Joshua Pollard Blanchard and Arthur Winslow family trees have her married to “Jeffers.”

† Closing paren (for which there is no corresponding opening) in light pencil.

‡ 1729-1770. Joshua Pollard Blanchard and Arthur Winslow family tree both have her married to “John Winnit.”

§ 1735-1817.

** Probably a misspelling of *élève*, French for pupil.

†† (1759-1809). He represented Rhode Island in the House of Representatives 1793-1797 and was the state’s U.S. Senator in 1809, but died suddenly on the Capitol steps.

‡‡ 1735-1816.

§§ The before-mentioned Susanna.

cancer unmarried in Boston in 1786, aged 55 – She was a very amiable interesting woman had lost the object of her attachment (a young officer of the Navy who died at sea,) and hence she refused all offers of marriage – at the time of her death

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I was twelve years of age. Her death I recollect very well from two remarkable incidents – one was that at her funeral, I think the 6 or 7th of April 1786 (she died the 3^d of that month,) the streets were full of snow the remains of a very severe storm the 1st of April of that year – The other was the great attachment shown by her favorite dog Chance – This animal, when the procession began to move, accompanied the Pall holders and kept jumping up towards the coffin, as if unwilling to part with the remains of his beloved mistress. When near Trinity Church, under which this Aunt was buried, Chance became quite troublesome to those at the head of the procession, but was finally silenced –

This dog afterwards became an intimate of my fathers family, and was a real favorite with the children, and being much attached to a negro of my great Aunt Alford, who after her death lived with my Aunt Sukey, and was after the latter event taken into my fathers family, old Cato and Chance continued their friendly relations with each other – While these lived the memory of a beloved Aunt was always strong in the minds of the children – *

* See also below, II, lxxxii ff.

Chapter Five

More letters from his great grandfather Edward the Sheriff – To his son Joshua in Barbados *circa* 1720 on several topics; and to the same in London *circa* 1722; their religious concerns about episcopacy – Reflections on religious toleration; speculations about Edward's views – Letters concerning smallpox inoculation – A letter from Dr. William Davis on war with the Eastern Indians; the unjust treatment of Indians in the Colonies – Character of his grandfather Joshua; his religious views; hospitality to "strangers" – Joshua's widow; her love of family and children; her firm parental authority; a letter to her son Edward on her religious hopes for him – The melancholy end of her life, she having taken refuge in Nantucket with her daughters in 1775 – Letters concerning this; Nantucket blockaded – His grandmother's dementia – A miserable winter – Reflections on insanity, its causes, and moral accountability.

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This chapter like the preceding might be considered digressive, if this work is considered either as a biography of my father, or an autobiography as it was my intention when I began to write to introduce a brief sketch of my more remote ancestors from their first settlement in New England. I shall take a greater latitude in that part which may be more properly considered a Family Memorial, than would be proper in a biography. – I have but few old letters which throw much light on this subject – These valuable memorials of bygone persons and events, are of course more ample at a later period than can be expected prior to 1770, when my father was in active life – The few letters I have from my great grandfather Edward are dated about half a century before that date – The extracts to be now presented are pictures or rather sketches of the state of the public feelings on the subject of religion, exhibiting as well the attachment of the third generation, to the religious opinions of their forefathers under the old charter, from 1630 to 1692* – as their dislike and apprehensions of the dangerous tendency, which they feared would follow

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the religious toleration, permitted and encouraged under the new –

The beginning of the eighteenth century may be considered, a transition state both in politics and religion. The effects of these, as they existed under the old charter, continued to influence the minds of the people, for many years after the adoption of the new – The latter could not change the feelings and opinions of those then on the Stage (the third generation from the first settlement) when the fourth generation began to take their stations in political

* Boston was founded in 1630. In 1692 was chartered, by William and Mary, The Province of Massachusetts Bay, uniting the former Massachusetts Bay Colony (including Boston), Plymouth Colony, as well as the Provinces of Maine, Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and what is now Nova Scotia. The effect of this "new charter" was to reduce the independence of the colonies and also the power of the clergy, neither of which changes were welcome to the original or early settlers. Isaac returns to the significance of the changes that the new charter brought when considering the causes of the Revolution (below, I, 80 ff.).

and religious affairs especially in Boston, a more liberal and tolerant spirit was diffused; In the country, the old influence, or old charter principles still continued in force.

A sketch of the character of Edward Winslow, who was a grandson of John one of the first settlers at Plymouth, but who moved to Boston in 1656 has already been given. At the dates of these letters he was about 56 years of age – at that period his

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numerous family were settled round him in Boston which with his relationship to the Hutchinson, Savage, Davis, and Moody* families, combined with his religious habits (then a powerful cause of social distinction) caused him to occupy a prominent place in the little Society of the Town, at that period containing only about 12000 Inhabitants. The earliest family letters which have come into my possession, are some from this ancestor to his son Joshua[†] then at Barbadoes, in the year 1719. By the earliest of these, dated at Boston Dec 22^d of that year where he speaks of its “being the last day of Service”, I infer he was at that time in the office of High Sheriff of Suffolk, which he retained, as near as I can ascertain to the year 1742. at the date of that letter his age was 60[‡] – and his son Joshua 24. – In a letter dated 23^d “He says in this – your friend Col Savage is much out of order I fear you will never see him again”. (This was the father of Joshua’s wife, Elizabeth Savage who were married the next year July 5 1720)

The next letter to his son, is dated Jan 19, 1719. 20 – that is Jan 1720 – He says – “Through Gods goodness we are all in competent health which is a great favor” – “I have not lately seen Col Savage but don’t hear, that he is not as usual &c” speaks of his endeavors to get a place for his son Ned, and should send John to meet his son Joshua at Newfoundland, and closes his letter “I pray God to bless and prosper

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you all, and fill you with his grace, and directs me in what belongs to my part, in order to your future comfort and settlement in this world” –

He speaks in these letters of having experienced very cold weather, but a change at the date of his letter Jan 19. “Both the cold and the recent thaw, have been so sudden, that hardly any ever knew the like”

In a succeeding letter feby 11, 1720 He tells his Son, that he writes briefly because he apprehends that “privateers” at Sea may prevent letters getting to hand

In July 1720, he addresses his son Joshua then at St Johns Newfoundland and informs him that his “friend Col Savage is still in his former condition or rather worse” I have by a tradition in the family understood – That this Col. Savage my great grandfather, was, so affected by the death of an only Son, in boyhood that his father fell into a melancholy, and afterwards confined himself entirely to the house – This tradition is confirmed by the information in regard to Col Savages “condition” conveyed in the above letters, – This letter mentions his Son Ned as having gone to Barbadoes and his John to Newfoundland and expresses much concern & anxiety lest the latter should fall into bad company. “and drinking to excess you know my opinion of that worst of all evils” The general court he says “[“]is in

* Again a misspelling of “Moody.”

† 1694-1769.

‡ In fact he was fifty.

session and things seem hopeful for accommodations. Mr Newton made attorney general in the room of Mr Valentine.

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Gershom Woodwell the scandalous tool of a stand alone party is expelled the house for his bitterness against the ministers, and the ways of religion, since which there seems to be peace amongst the members more than before existed – If this fellow had his deserts and been expelled 3 years ago, I believe there would have been more quiet in the assembly, for he was wholly made use of to bring forward the (erased) perhaps mischief, which has happen'd[?] – he begs his Son Joshua not to injure himself by his assistance to his brother John (who I presume was a wild youth) “my regards” says the writer “are towards all my children, but virtue must bear the bell”*

In another letter to his son Joshua[†] at the same place but dated July 1 1722, he says [“I have nothing more desirous (probably) that I desire more, than to hear well of, and see my dear children prosper and thrive, and if my assistance can contribute to it, I think my labor well bestowed, but their

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growing in grace and religion in a peculiar manner I long to see, that the end of our forefathers in coming into this wilderness may not be lost, which was to serve God by a pure worship, free from human invention, and superstition. I hope if God give you another opportunity, you may improve it, by coming up to all the orders and ordinances of the Gospel”;[‡] our time in this world is very short, and the main concern of it should be, to provide for the future – O that we may live here so that when we die we may meet in a happy and glorious eternity” –

In a letter to the same date Aug 15, 1722 he speaks of having heard nothing of his son Edward, who had gone on a long and dangerous voyage, fears some disaster may have happened

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to him, but adds [“that is past[?], and I know was done for the best.”[§] Divine Providence is to be adored always, and on all occasions. I desire to look up, and with patience to wait, and under this and every dark providence, to trust in God who is the governor of all things, and the disposer of us and ours, and what he does, is and must be acknowledged to be the best for us. I trust in Him who has graciously caused me and mine through many great and dark ones (trials) that he will still be my Keeper.[?]”

In October 1722 he writes to the same son at London, that he is glad to hear of his success in Newfoundland and sends “these by Mr John Boydle[?]” “I presume you will be

* I.e., carry off the prize.

† “son” is inserted via caret but before “his.”

‡ Not clear why there is a quotation mark here. Possibly it marks an ellipsis and Isaac has jumped to another section of the letter.

§ This would be the Edward (“Ned”) who was drowned or shipwrecked in 1733, so the imagined disaster would occur, but not for another ten years. If the difficult-to-read word here is indeed “past,” then Isaac may have omitted something suggesting a conditional. The writer may have said or intended something like “but if that is past and done, then I know it was for the best.”

glad to see the bearer who will readily introduce you to my Lord Barrington* &c, if need be, and you can find it worth while to be in the company of such a noble person – ” In this letter he speaks of Mr Cutler going over in order to receive episcopal ordination – This gentleman was of Stratford Connecticut and had been chosen resident rector of Yale College in 1719 – At the Commencement in 1722 he declared himself to be an Episcopalian, and as Douglas says obtained orders in England with a Diploma of D.D. and was there about 1750, a missionary in Boston – I had before supposed he was rector of Christ Church Salem Street.

Edward Winslow writes his Son “You will perhaps see Mr. Cutler who has renounced presbyterian ordination, and going over with two others, in order to be installed in the Episcopal. I can’t see the gentlemans design but believe and

[Note written sideways at left side of the page bottom to top]

Lord Barrington was brother to Gov Shute,[†] who came over in 1716 and returned 1723 – The family were at the head of the dissenting interest in England –

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know that there is one who sits in heaven who has the overruling of all affairs, of that and every other nature, who will have his own ends answered, let men do what they will. I trust he won’t leave this people either to a blind mind or a hard heart, nor to believe lying vanity’s – It will be strange if the episcopal order should be established by a high churchman or nonjurors – In such a day as this I believe the Roman religion will go down with some men, and that a convenient time will discover it – By what his conversation has been, and that as I am informed from good hands plainly lands so – But God is just and holy in all his ways and has his own work to do whether for instruction or correction – I pray that you and I may get good from all and every of his dispensations.[’]

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This letter exhibits the strong prejudice which existed against episcopacy, as well all other religions, but the dominant one; by the Puritans of the old charter – twenty five years afterwards. in a letter to his son Isaac[‡] in 1747, (just before his marriage to Miss Waldo,[§] of

* John Shute Barrington (1678-1734), M.P. for Berwick-upon-weed in 1722.

† Samuel Shute (1662-1742).

‡ (1709-1777). Uncle to Isaac’s father, also Isaac. There was a certain amount of confusion during their lifetimes, to say nothing of now, concerning these three prominent Isaacs. Isaac son of the Sheriff was frequently called “Isaac Sr.” to distinguish him from his nephew Isaac, often styled “Isaac Jr.,” until his uncle’s death in 1777, when he became “Isaac Sr.,” until his own death in 1793, at which time his son, the first author of this “Family Memorial,” who had of course assumed the designation “Isaac Jr.,” as the last remaining Isaac in this circle of Boston merchants, could become plain “Isaac Winslow” – at least until his own son Isaac (1802-74) achieved manhood – could, but didn’t, at least not always. See below, III, 76, for a letter of 1800 in which Isaac still styles himself “Jr.” (Isaac Sr.’s own son Isaac [1763-1806], whom we shall meet later, never became prominent enough in business to require differentiation from all the other Isaacs.) And see below IV, 9 for a letter of 1836 in which he styles himself “Senior.” The last Isaac in the line from Isaac the author had the good sense to remove to New York and spare Bostonians further confusion. There is a “Note on Isaac Winslow, Senior and Junior in *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts: Transactions, 1899 1900* (Boston: Published by the Society, 1904), 127-30. (This follows a useful note on the various Davises related to this branch of the Winslow family, pp. 124-27).

§ Lucy Waldo.

an episcopalian family) he strongly recommends his son to begin housekeeping with family duties “Dear Son” says the patriarch then 78 years of age [“]This thing of religion as regards my children has laid heavy on my mind a long time, to see they don’t make confession of it before men, and I have not been without fears lest you may be drawn from that way of worship which you have been taught from a child.” &c Yet, though fearing that Mr Hooper may draw his son away to his church, there being as he says a looseness in those who have lately

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gone from us, and a tendency to the casting off, holy duties, & days, yet observes the old gentleman, “I would not by any means hinder any of my children from their own serious conscientious persuasions about the way to worship God in; I would not have you govern yourself to please me, but if upon humbly seeking direction from God, you are satisfied in your conscience, I think it your duty to comply, but remember that God will not be mocked – The heart is to be begun with, in the first place.[”] – He concludes a very long epistle on this subject “I could not but think that this way of writing was much better than by speaking my mind, therefore I hope you will receive it, and observe according as an serious search of heart, God shall enable you, and I pray that God of his infinite mercy would guide – – so that it may be for your everlasting comfort Amen” –

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Only with reference to a better knowledge of this ancestors character, than can now be furnishd are these extracts made – They are certainly of no intrinsic importance in themselves, and I now notice them, because the very object of biographical memoirs, is to narrate something more of the person treated of, than that he was born, lived, and died.

Mrs Ann Taylor sister of my great grandfather lived to a very advanced age. She died in Milton in 1775 aged 95 – Her second husband was a Winslow (Kenelm) of the Plymouth branch – Her biographer speaking of her character says “The deceased was a well wisher to the civil and religious principles of her ancestors ; and desirous that their posterity might continue to enjoy the same – and for those who would evade[?]” * them, her prayer to God was, not that they might become objects of the divine judgement, but that he would change their hearts for the good of his people”

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These letters were written at a period, which may be consider’d a transition state in the colony; from a Cleric-oligarchy existing under the first charter, to the mixed government of the charter of 1692 (received in Boston in May of that year-)† My great grandfather had been brought up under the full influence of the former, but it cannot hence be inferd, that he would have espoused, though he might not have approved the persecuting spirit of the age – Individuals cannot be judged by the characters of their leaders, whether religious or political. The unbiassed voice of the people would often condemn opinions and manners[?], which they seem to acquiesce in – A lineal descendant of Ann Hutchinson (great grandson) the martyr of religious liberty – and the Son in law of a liberal clergyman, (Joshua Moody, who lost his pulpit as well as his popularity by his opposition to the Cotton Mathers witch mania of 1692) – Edward Winslow I think must have been an advocate for toleration – His

* “Evade” makes sense here, but the word reads more like (the nonexistent) “insade.”

† Closing paren (for which there is no corresponding opening one) in light pencil.

letters exhibit a strong attachment, to the congregational religion in which he and his ancestors, were brought up, and a disapprobation of Episcopacy – but are far from shewing that had it been in his power, he would forcibly have expelled that or any other sect from the Colony. No doubt he thought, as most do, that his own church was the only right one, a natural and perhaps not unreasonable opinion, if with this is combined the opinion that more of truth is known, than we know and have, a conviction of man's liability to error – No doubt, when action is required, we must act by the sight we have, not by that we have not, but this may be done, when fully convinced

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that the decision which circumstances compel us to make with a limited degree of light, may be found erroneous, when favor'd with more light. Opinion is truth to the individual as well as to Societies, so long as the eyes are not shut to the light, which alas is too often the case with us, owing to the constant conflict of pride of opinion, or worldly mindedness, with Truth – too many indeed “love darkness rather than light their deeds being evil,”* but those who not being favor'd with light, continue in involuntary darkness can hardly be judged, as are those, who because in darkness when the sun shines. A claim of infallibility, and a disposition to persecute, almost always are found together.

Extracts from a few letters from a few members of the family will now be given, only as referring to events of a public character in 1722 –

The first is from John Alford who married Margaret Savage sister of my grandmother dated in Boston July 18 1722, in which reference is made, to the then newly introduced System of inoculation for the small pox – The inoculated patients were confined to Rainsfords[†] Island – The one of whom Mr Alford speaks had been permitted by the Council, then with the Governor, the aristocratic branch of the government, to return home to their friends in town, but which was objected to by the town government (the Selectmen) Mr Alford says, “The Selectmen threatened to take them and set a guard over them (to prevent their coming up to town as soon as the general court should break up till when on account of the apprehensions of the Country

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Members their return was not allowed) but on the rising of the Court, I went down and brought them up and the honorable Selectmen of their abundant goodness have not seen fit to give them any further disturbance. They are all well and healthy after the inoculation and great advocates for the practice – ”

This inoculation for the small pox, first introduced by Dr Boylston in 1721, in cooperation with Cotton Mather, was an important event in the Colonial history – the practice being thought a tempting of Divine Providence, by people voluntarily taking it by inoculation was at first exceedingly unpopular – This disorder had always been much dreaded, by the country people, as well as those in town, who had never passed through it, and when[‡] prevalent all fled from it – Hence when it made its appearance the town was in a sort of blockade, as the country people only came as far as certain limits. Such was the case

* John 3:19.

† Misspelling of “Rainford.”

‡ “When” is struck through, though evidently in error. The final word of the preceding line (“had”) is also struck through, correctly given Isaac's emendation of the language of that line.

in 1792 when I was a lad. This was the last time I knew its epidemic in Boston, being happily succeeded by the Kine Pock inoculation, introduced by Dr Waterhouse about the year 1801 – A particular account of the events relating to the introduction of the inoculated small pox

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may be seen in Douglas and Hutchinson, the former a Scotch Physician, and great enemy of inoculation – John Alford who introduces the subject of inoculation in his letter before quoted from, was as has been said husband of Margaret Savage, Sister of my grandmother Winslow – He was eminent in his day, but in the latter part of his life, on account of some dispute with the town authorities (moved to Charlestown where he died (long before the revolution) a martyr to the gout – He left a large estate, having no children, principally, if not entirely, to Harvard and Princeton Colleges

A letter from Doctor William Davis* to his brother in law Joshua Winslow, dated August 14 1723, says “The Government has declared war with the Eastern Indians and the assembly has voted 100 Pounds per scalp, to volunteers fitted out their own expense and 60 Pounds to those who are supplied by government, with arms powder and provisions – 15 £ to Soldiers impressed in the Service – The Governor, Council and assembly are resolved to prosecute the war vigorously.” Had the Indians here had historians, an affecting picture might have been exhibited of wrongs and oppression on the part of the Whites from the first Settlement of the country, especially by those who were borderers on their territory – Penn’s treatment to his

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Pennsylvania Indians seems to have been the only exception, to the ill treatment and final extinction of the aborigines of the country, who in 1600 and before, had a fatherland. – From this, a white population in all the generations from 1620, like wave after wave, had either swallowed up the original proprietors of the soil, or driven them to a new country – once the far west. From this too, will probably the constant flow of white inhabitants, compel the natives to retire to the Pacific. – One cannot help feeling for these children of nature, thus forced from the land of their nativity, the tombs of their ancestors, the home which the Providence of God had given them – The Divine Government of the world is and must be a mystery to man, though’ assured as he must be, that it is directed by infinite wisdom, as well as goodness. – The William Davis who was the writer of the letter which has been extracted from, was my mothers grandfather, son of William Davis mentioned in Page 27 – he was a Physician, whose moderate charge was, as I have heard my father say sixpence lawful, or nine Cents, a visit.

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Of my grandfather Joshua Winslow mention has been made in page 39 – From my fathers frequent mention of him I have formed an idea of his character, as that of an attached husband and father, a good friend to his distant relations, a judicious and upright merchant a fair magistrate, and good citizen – His object in life seems to have been rather to promote the happiness of his family and friends, by the influence and example of personal indifference to public distinction, to which, from his position in Society, and influential connections, he might have aspired, had he chosen so to do –

* 1687-1746.

As a member of the old South Church he continued in the religion of his forefathers, but my father thought that in the latter years of his life his views on the subject of religion were much changed, and that the formalities of devotion, and rigid observances which prevailed under the old church and State Government, were but too often the decent covering of pride, worldly mindedness and intolerance – The external power of the clergy had indeed ceased about the time that my grandfather came upon the stage, and they could no longer use the strong arm of law *

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to compel uniformity to the established religion of the Colony but their influence was yet too great in the minds of the people to render it an easy matter for those who differed in their views of doctrines, or practices, to separate themselves from what was considered the true church of Christ – My father thought that in the latter part of his life, his fathers religious opinions were in some measure coincident with his own – When Doctor Sewall[†] paid his usual parochial visits, the old gentleman is said, always to have been under a feeling of constraint – as if he was obliged to venerate, what yet he could not entirely approve. The dominant religion in the colony, though it had lost its coercive power, retained as well its antitoleration principles, as great influence on the minds of the people, even under the new charter government. The Episcopalians from about 1720 to 1760 had drawn off from the congregational party, some leading and influential individuals – and the Baptists, as well as the minor Sects, had likewise attracted converts from the poorer classes, so that the fourth generation begun to profit by this liberty which under the new government was accorded to religious opinions; a liberty which though the dominant party could not prevent, still a privilege to sectarians they never heartily acquiesced in – influential leaders there always were, ready to embrace any opportunity, which might restore the ancient clerical supremacy.

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From the situation in life of my grandfather, as a merchant in foreign trade, he was frequently brought into contact with strangers[‡] – I have heard my father say that the mode of entertaining such, was always to be prepared according to the plain fashion, with such a dinner as strangers might be asked to partake of, and always a plate or two more than the number required by his large family – a guest was seldom asked, only perhaps the day before: more often taken home from change, a friend or stranger to whom he wished to show the hospitality proper on such occasions – Long invitations to formal parties were not then the fashion of New England –

My grandfather as I believe I have elsewhere mentioned died in Boston Oct 10 1769, and was buried from his house in Dock Square, in the family Tomb in the Chapel burying

* Pasted on the verso of this page and the following is a double-column clipping from a paper or journal headed "BOSTON IN THE 'OLDEN TIME' " that contains "extracts from the private journal of a New York Merchant in the year 1750" detailing business visits to Boston that entail a great deal of drinking, dancing, card playing and such amusements. Perhaps the Abraham Wendell mentioned several times in it was a near relation of the Mr. Wendell to whom Elizabeth Savage Winslow asks remembrances be given by her son Edward in her letter to him below, II, 62. But the point seems to be that in the old days the world was a very worldly place.

† Joseph Sewall 1713-1769.

‡ Isaac and his daughter both use the word to refer to people outside the very extended family or its social circle, such as recently made business acquaintances, especially non-Bostonians, given more or less impromptu invitations.

ground -- My grandmother Winslow as has been said was the mother of the children. She was married at the age of 16, and died during the war when my fathers family was in New York: I have heard him speak of her as an unaffected, unpretending woman, much absorbed in the concerns of her numerous family, and have neither time nor inclination for company out of the range of

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her own immediate family, and connections, her chief pleasure being to be surrounded with her large family of children and grandchildren, which of itself made at the latter period of her life an extensive circle. None of her letters* or correspondence with her have come down to me except one or two from her Son Edward's wife, the former afterwards a clergyman -- She writes her from Barbados in 1747, that her husband has not been well of late -- "I wish" says she, "he could have a little of your care, it would cure him" -- her husband in a letter to his mother at the same time tells her, how heartily he has longed for a good North wester, his anxiety to return to Boston and be able to rejoin her and his family -- Though an indulgent mother I have heard she was by no means, sparing in the exercise of parental authority and correction. I remember a saying of Aunt Patty,* in regard to this "Mama[?] has a little hand" (she was remarked for the beauty of her hand and arm) "but she used to give Magery[?] hard slaps" -- Her plan was perhaps to enforce a few rules rather than to be regulated by a systematical plan of [??????] --ation?][†] -- to let the no be seldom, but yet that

[new unnumbered page]

it should be final. Be this as it may, her family were

*

note a letter from my grandmother Winslow, has lately come to light which discovers[‡] more religious feelings than I had before supposed, made part of her character -- It is in her husbands handwriting and endorsed "Copy to our son Ned at Piscatq"[§] -- The date is December 21, 1761 when her son Edward was 19 years old -- By this it appears, that it was at that time decided upon that his profession in life, was to be that of a Clergyman --(I had before supposed he was at first intended for a merchant). The celebrated Whitfield and Tennant,** were about that time preaching at various places in New England, and a great religious excitement was thereby produced throughout the land -- Probably this Edward (son of Joshua). afterwards an Episcopal clergyman, participated in the feelings of the times -- The letter is as follows. "My dear child "I received your letter by Mrs Phillips and desire heartily to bless the Lord, who has made you an eyewitness to the wonderful displays of his love to fallen man, and humbly hope he graciously designs it for your own good and to fit you to be eminently serviceable to him in the work of the ministry -- O that Almighty God would send down his holy Spirit upon you, and enable you, beholding his glory, rightly to

* Aunt Martha.

[†] One or two words are lost to chipping here. "Regulation" possibly, though that would be almost redundant.

[‡] Again, an archaic use meaning here *reveals*.

[§] Possibly an abbreviation for Piscataquog.

** George Whitfield and William Tennent, itinerant preachers and leading players in the so-called "New Great Awakening."

divide the word of truth. – I rejoice to hear of such wonderful instances of the power of God, as you give in the case of that young lady Mrs Husk. He is good to those that fear him” She rejoices to hear, that a Mr Brown and Mr Osborne are much affected, and prays “God to carry on this work, till all the obstinate haters of him, and his truth shall be brought to bow before him, and acknowledge him their Lord” She sends remembrance to Mr Cooper, Mr Wendell, Mr Wibert and lady – love to your uncle Davis &c – “I pray God to keep you and bring you safe homes, but above all else to make you his, which is the constant prayer of Your affectionate mother” –

no signature

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were very well brought up – Children were then better educated, but not so well instructed as they have since been Knowledge and virtue are by no means necessarily connected – To control children in early life, by making the parents will theirs, in childhood, enables them in adult life, to exercise self-control, the most important element in self-government.

My grandmother survived her husband nine years having died in Boston in 1778 aged 74.

Melancholy was the closing scene of her life . Her friends fearing that Boston, when the American army should come into possession of it, would be an unsafe residence for the loyalists or their families (indeed it was feared from the ascendancy of mobs before the revolution that the houses of the loyalists would be torn down, and themselves seriously injured) hence the old lady, her daughters Polly^{*} Sukey and Patty with her were sent to Nantucket. To this place her son in law Simon Peas,[†] himself of a Quaker family, (of which Sect, the whole island nearly, was then composed) – Nantucket probably advised a retreat from this cause, and its isolated situation, was thought a more secure asylum for persons so situated than Boston. My father in June 1775 thus writes to Mr Starbuck an eminent Quaker merchant in Nantucket, “My mother and sisters

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to avoid the distresses we are in, and others that may come, have taken passage to Nantucket – The confusion and perplexity we are in, prevents my furnishing her as I could wish, and makes me hope for your kind assistance. I shall be thankful, for any kindness you will show an aged person who is obliged to leave a long enjoyed home, under her disadvantages of age and infirmity.

Banished to this isolated spot, my grandmother, who had lived 49 years with the husband of her youth, was obliged to quit her quiet and happy home, replete with happiness and comfort – to become separated from her three surviving sons, Edward, John and Isaac, (having previously buried her son Joshua – and her two married daughters remaining in Boston) to lose the support of these props of her declining age – and to feel herself at the age of 71 – desolate – bereaved – forsaken, from a numerous circle of children, and near family connections, she found herself on a sudden reduced to comparative solitude – From competency, if not opulence, she found herself in want and penury.* -- Her affections became seared, her mind failed – She would speak to the absent as if they were

* Mary (b. 1732).

† Misspelling of “Pease.”

present – The images of her beloved children especially her sons, whom she was never again to see, were continually before her eyes – a diseased imagination made

* probably this move was made, because my grandmothers son in law Mr Pease had numerous Quaker friends in Nantucket, and because also the intercourse between his place of residence at Newport, was then kept open – My grandmother and her three daughters did at first get supplies through that channel from Mr Pease – The following extract of a letter from her daughter Sukey to my father dated Nantucket Nov 16, 1775, shows the situation of the family at that time. The intercourse was stopped between that island and the main both because there were complaints that the enemy thus got supplies of provision and with Newport because Commodore Wallace, who commanded Newport Harbor, and had been opposed in his attempts to get off Cattle from the latter place, had threatened to fire on the town, this so alarmed the town, that says Mr Peas in his letter to my father Oct 11, 1775 “The town was a scene of misery and trouble – Men women & children with what effects they could take with them, quitting it as fast as they could – the whole island filled with the poor and distressed driven from their habitations[?]” – He mentions his having taken a house at Narragansett and that Mrs Pollard* and her daughter had left them during “the fright” and he believed had gone to Braintree. [“]I heartily pity her to be drove about in this manner, and I could not at that time let her have any money, but will endeavor to get her some

[new unnumbered page]

note continued

The family at Nantucket will be sufferers for the wants of necessities we need[†] to send them from time to time, especially for want of winter supplies, as they depended on me – but what to do I cannot tell, as all intercourse with this town by water is stopped – shall send them some money soon – ” [“]To what distress does this unnatural and cruel war deprive us” – “what is to become of us all, God only knows. May our trust and confidence be in Him” – It was necessary to extract from Mr Pease’s letter fully to comprehend my Aunt Sukey’s letter Nov 16 1775 above referred to – She laments the exiled state of the family, from which they had hoped long before to have been released. “The dismal news from Newport was almost insupportable, and the thoughts of all communication with you and our other friends being closed is more than I can bear, having no friend here to advise with – Mama is quite dissatisfied with her residence here – wishes she had never come, is sure her affairs are suffering by her absence – I will do all I can to make her easy.

We are in a bitter cold house, and as the cold weather comes on, find ourselves, in want of want of many necessities for which our dependence was on

Note continued

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Mr Pease – He left us about 70 dollars the 21 August, and have only Ten left – all gone for eating & drinking and no dainties either, which are not to be had. – There is plenty of Beef & mutton – also wood of the latter we are now lying in 12 Cords – Cellar & Stove room empty and low – money going out for everything.[?] mentions common rum ten shillings per

* The widow’s daughter Margaret. Her daughter would be Peggy Savage Pollard, mother of Isaac the writer’s first and second wives, Margaret Blanchard (1777-1830) and Henrietta Blanchard (1787-1858).

† or possibly “used.”

quart – She mentions that the house had been assaulted, windows broken &c which so much alarmed her mother, that she sent off her trunks and engaged a man (* who had known the family in Boston, and stayed at home from a whaling voyage paying 50 shillings per week board to eat and sleep in the house, free of board.[†] His bed is near Mama's chamber door since which she is more composed and sleeps easier – She has not been out of the house since we first came here, indeed is so infirm, I am glad she don't attempt it – She looks very well but I think fails from day to day – Has a good appetite and eats hearty, but her diet is chiefly milk – Sister Polly[‡] yet keeps about, though the approaching cold weather is like bring back her complaints.["] (Probably my grandmothers reason was beginning to fail) ["]We seldom sit down at table, but we think of you all, and often wish for your

(over)

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Note continued

evening call about dusk. would not even mind Brother Jack's dog however dirty Tiger, if he could call and spend an evening with us.["] – Sends a message to her nephew Isaac then a year and a half old – (myself) and her many relations, concluding "Do not expect to hear more than once this writer God only Knows how we shall get through it" with affect^c regards in which all join &c Yours Sincerely

Sukey Winslow

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past impressions present realities, – She sank into idiocy. and had herself and her children been again united, no pleasure could have resulted to her, and only pain to them. The stricken deer never recovered, and her life happily for herself closed under the chilling, but perhaps friendly cloud of total invisibility. Her daughter Mrs Peas writing to her brother John in New York in Jan^{uary} 1779 says "Our mother has lived beyond what could be expected, but such a life is not to be envied, but rather pitied.["]

Of this interesting event in the family I have no written memoranda but the above – It would be some satisfaction, though a melancholy one, to endeavor to ascertain the effect of mental anxiety and distress, on the mind and its affections, and to realize how strongly excited feelings, eventually paralyze themselves – In the present case we can only imagine as a reality the applicability to my grandmother, of the language used by the prophet Jeremiah in lamenting over the daughter of Zion – "The Lord hath called an assembly against me to crush my young men – For these things I weep, mine eye runneth down with waters, because the comforter that should relieve me my soul is far from me – My children are desolate because the enemy prevailed – Lam 1.6[§] -- My grandmother was brought up in the religion of her of her ancestors – Whether the consolations of Divine truth, were in the beginning of her troubles, present to her mind, none can say – In cases of insanity or idiocy, if caused chiefly, or entirely, by mental excitements, moral accountability is to be judged, by previous habits and opinions, and the grounds of hope before God, must be judged, rather by the habitual belief and conduct, than

* This parenthesis is never closed.

† Presumably he would have been charged for his board on the whaler.

‡ Mary Winslow, later Mrs. Nathaniel Barber.

§ Actually Lamentations 1:15-16.

by what depends on a debilitated and unreasonable will. Perhaps, aberration of mind and consequent suicide itself, are in the Divine Mind, intended rather as awful warnings to the living, than evidences of Divine anger against the sufferer and victim –

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In her case as others, we see, that, when the mental equilibrium, by the strong excitement of our passions or affections, is suspended or destroyed, (*and one effect of this is to refuse not only the consolations of friendship but of religion also – the healthy association and succession of ideas ceases; one distressing object only fills the mind, and excites the imagination: and the latter with her gloomiest colors, paints the horrors of the apprehended future, to the afflicted and perishing subject. Much of this depends upon temperament, but none can say, that God may not, and does not please, in some Cases to leave the mind to its own weakness, (How great this is, none know so well as those who habitually depend on the divine assistance) and the often fatal consequences – This is to be sought in prayer, to our heavenly father at the very beginning of the disorder (often however not known to the party himself –)

As to the moral accountability, the common sense of mankind is at one in the opinion that in decided cases of insanity, it does not exist. – In regard to the Divine judgement where and in what cases moral accountability begins and where it ends, must be left not only with the just but merciful Judge of all the earth – Safely may we commit ourselves to Him through the great intercessor who can have a feeling for our infirmities.[†]

* Another opening paren without a close, though perhaps the dash serves that purpose.

† Isaac anticipates here further reflections on the moral accountability of the mentally ill below, II, 171½ verso and following.

CHAPTER SIX

Further family letters – Between his father and Uncle John *circa* 1765 – One concerning the poor accommodations for travelers in Philadelphia 1767 – Between Aunt Sukey and her father concerning fears of smallpox in Newport; her account of her flight from Boston – From Simon Pease on family reunions – The extensive family connections and circle in Boston *circa* 1730 until the Revolution – The gathering storm of Revolution – How our opinions are formed and constitute the *I* – Reflections on popular versus public opinion.

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Chap 6.

Agreeable to the latitude I have allowed myself in this work, I shall continue to make extracts from the few older letters, which have come down to me, and which if not as interesting as those from persons, known to us, or at least to our immediate parents, will yet serve to make the characters of their ancestors, better known to them. It has so happened that there are many more letters existing of my great grandfather, Edward (4th generation) than of those of his children of the 5th gen^r none relating to family occurrences are in existence from my grandfather Joshua, and a few only of his younger brother Isaac, and 2 or 3 only from the other brothers William and John, which being business letters only, shed no light on the family history.

In a letter* dated Dec 21, 1741 my grandmother wife of Joshua writes to her son Edward then a youth of 19 – and on a visit to Portsmouth in reply to a letter from him, which is lost In this year, the celebrated Whitfield, with his companions Messrs. Davenport and Tennant, by their itinerant preaching, throughout New England, were producing an unexampled excitement as well amongst the religious community, as all other classes. She says, “My dear child I received your letter and desire heartily to bless God, who has made you an eyewitness to the wonderful displays of his love to fallen man, and humbly hope he graciously designs it for your good, and to fit you to be eminently serviceable to him in the work of his ministry – O that almighty God beholding you would send down his holy Spirit upon you, and enable your beholding his glory, to be prepared rightly to divide the word of truth” &c – and adds “I pray God to keep you, and bring you safe home, but above all, to make you his, which is to constant prayer of Your affectionate mother.” – Except many mercantile letters at and after the above period, till the year 1765 – I find none of a family character, and must necessarily skip over the long interval of 25 years, for want of materials during that

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period – Those letters I am now about to introduce, originated in the voyage of my uncle John Winslow to the island of Barbados in November 1765 – Two from my father in November and December of that year are largely quoted from in Page 88. A letter of Dec 10, 1765 from the father of John Winslow (Joshua) speaks the language of complaint against the Stamp act, though’ mildly – A letter of my father 5 March 1767 speaks of a great fire which had lately happened I presume near Ann Street – Two letters from Mrs Peas to her

* Isaac here repeats a letter he has already given a fuller account and extract of above in a note on the unnumbered page following I, 62.

brother in December 1765 and 1766 – are filled with affectionate regards and feelings of sisterly attachment – but contain nothing worth extracting only she speaks in the latter of December, 1766, of the contrast between the climate he is then in, and the disagreeable cold winter which we are beginning to feel already. His brother Edward Winslow the clergyman writes him in a very affectionate style wishing him every possible happiness, continued health, and success in his business, adding [“]I am persuaded you will study to deserve all the regard and friendship you meet with – ” [“]a suitable reverence for the author of our being, and a becoming acknowledgement of and dependence on his Providence and grace will I hope ever adorn your conduct, increase the comfort of your own mind, and the esteem of your friends --Heavens multiply upon you the blessings both of Providence and grace” –

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A letter from my father dated at Philadelphia in October 1767 is only curious as showing the total want of accommodations for Travelers which existed at that time. he says “The horses of myself & fellow travelers are all taken sick, with a disorder now generally prevalent in Pennsylvania, -- If they die, we have a prospect of some other mode of getting home.”

A letter from my Aunt Sukey at Newport dated in 1769 to her father, shows how strong were the apprehensions of the New Englanders, in regard to the danger of infection from the small pox, (notwithstanding the introduction of inoculation in 1721.) of those who had not been inoculated, all such, when cases multiplied, so that it was difficult to avoid the infection, fled at once into the country. – The infected who remained, were removed either to Hospital island, or to a hospital called the Pesthouse, near Cambridge bridge, then a solitary building half a mile from any other. (standing within 30 years). when the infection was general, inoculation was permitted – The last instance of this was in 1792, when I was 18 years old – The country people brought their provisions to the Barriers at Charlestown and the neck, where they were taken to market by towns people – Business was almost

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entirely at a stand.

The Aunt referred to then in this year fled in haste from the town – She says in that letter which was a few months before her fathers death, “after I parted with you I felt more composed, as there seemed to be a prospect of your getting better though I had many different sensations, the thoughts of going so far without any of my own friends, or even an acquaintance which I had ever been used to, the fear I might have taken the infection, or might take it and fancying I perceived a thousand different smells, as I rode through the town, so that I was most afraid to breathe – We had however a very agreeable companion – The person and I were soon acquainted, and conversed upon various subjects sometimes on politics, and sometimes on religion – particularly about Sandeman in regard to whom we both agreed” – giving an account of the journey she says – “The stage party got to the Elm Tree (probably in Providence) at 7 o’clock then took my little bowl of punch, some minced veal & cucumbers, would not allow myself any wine, and went to bed – I wakened early, longing to hear from home, drank my chocolate paid my two pistareens (40 cts) went on board the packet at ½ past 10 – and arrived at 2 o’clock at Newport – I flatter myself with a very distant hope that I shall be able to return again before winter and find you my dear papa in better health and

spirits, which is my daily, and very earnest request to heaven” – A letter from this Aunt to my father Sept 1769, is as follows – “Did you but know the anxiety and pain it gives me when the Post comes in, and no letter, I am sure you would write if but a line” – “I was a little alarmed at seeing by the papers that the small pox had broken out again, I was in hopes, it was all over. I can’t express how much my desire and inclination is to see home just now, believe me, it is one of the greatest trials I have ever yet met with but desire to submit.

I am much distressed that our dear papa continues so ill, and sincerely pray that he and we may be prepared for that all important hour of parting, the thought of which gives me many a gloomy moment – Believe me my dear Brother, I love and esteem you, and it will be an increased obligation if you will let me hear, by every opportunity, how papa is, either by letter, or word of mouth.

Her father Joshua Winslow, as has been said died in October of this year, whether my Aunt returned before his death to take the parting blessing of a father, I know not—

What is the history of all families of all human associations, but Joy and Sorrow anxious care, and unreflecting enjoyment – sickness and health – life and death, Lights and Shadows, chasing each other over the hills & vallies of life – The black cloud impends and all is gloom and darkness, we are chilled torpid, inanimate, It passes over, and the Sunshine of joy exhileates* into warmth, animation and hope – Oh that Hope founded on Scriptures of the restored life in and by Jesus was more prevalent – more trusted in! What a contrast is there between the anxious solicitude for an aged and declining parent last mentioned and the picture presented in the following letter, of the pleasure and exhilaration which attends the reassembling of family friends after a separation – It is from Mr Peas the

husband of my Aunt Catherine to my father dated November 1770 –

“We have been so long used to frolicking and being with a number of brothers and sisters, that we scarcely yet can be reconciled to being alone, everything seems to wear quite such a new face, no breakfasting three or four times in a morning, upon Salubrick[?], partridge berry[†] &c – No Hannah Orrick[‡] making a confounded noise all day long, but all peace and quietness, affording time for serious thought, and reflection, which if rightly improved, will give us more satisfaction than all the scenes of frolic and gaiety, that we may ever pass through – I can’t but smile, while I am writing, at what I think will be the observation[?] of the little Quaker[?] on the above

reflections – “Yes” says she, after after dining and frolicking about here, for three, or four weeks and powdering up every day, then when they get home, they pretend to moralize, but would do the same thing, were they to come again tomorrow: An observation just and true, for I must own that we have had a very few sociable evenings in the family, while at Boston,

* Isaac seems to be coining an English verb out of the Latin verb *exhilarare*, to make cheerful.

[†] There is in fact an herb called partridgeberry used in mostly medicinal teas by Native Americans and colonials.

[‡] See below I, 194, where this person is referred to as Hannah Orrok. Probably a servant.

but I assure you I was glad that your prudential principles led you to keep the last bottle till we came away, for it was no bad thing on the road.”

The Hannah Orrok referred to was [a shrewd? as I heard?] sensible quakeress from Nantucket, who was an assistant in my grandmothers family and a companion to her, when her children had principally got settled off – I remember her very well as a woman of the most lively cheerful temperament I ever saw. She was much liked and esteemed in the family and perhaps was one cause of my grandmothers going to Nantucket.

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The Mr Peas here spoken of, is the one who is mentioned in Page 40 as having married in 1757, my fathers Sister Catherine – He resided with his wife in Newport Rhode Island till his death during the revolutionary war – He was a merchant in extensive business in that place, and left a considerable property – They never had children – other extracts from his letters will probably appear in the course of this narrative and many from his wife – as more of her letters are extant than those of any other member of the family –

The family meetings and convivialities to which Mr Peas in his letter refers, were probably however deviations from the general habit of living of the family – They were rather marks of attention to the Strangers,* who made their annual visits to the home of their fathers – for I have often heard a saying quoted of my grandmothers, that she was very glad when her daughter came, and when the visit was over could not regret her going – meaning no doubt that the change from the quiet orderly habits of the family were deranged by the perpetual

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succession of company, which was thus brought to the house. – The family connections were very extensive, herself and Six or Seven children were heads of families in town – and added to these many near relations as well as connections with the Hutchinsons, Savages, Davises &c making up probably from the year 1730 to 1776 the largest circle of family connections in town – and from about 1750 the family may be considered to have been in its most flourishing state. – Its members could trace their ancestry, in the male or female line generally in both, to the first colonists in Plymouth, or Massachusetts – nor do I know of an intermarriage with any but New Englanders, of anyone of the family ‘till about the period of the revolution. Near or more remote connections were met in every Street – I have heard my mother speak of an great Aunt (*Alden) who lived to a very advanced age – being often accosted by young people as “Aunt” not half of whom could she tell the names of though in full possession of her mental faculties –

But the scene was soon to be changed, the dark cloud of revolution was fast overspreading the horizon – all eyes were watching its progress, and all hearts especially of those who had many dependents

[note written sideways at left margin bottom to top]

*Sister of the Sheriff† 3^d generation or granddaughter of the first John

* Another odd sense of the word seems to be deployed here. Perhaps a child who visits but once a year is being considered a stranger by virtue of not being a member of the household. Similar to the sense in the saying, “Don’t be a stranger.”

† Susanna.

anxiously looking forward to the issue of the gathering storm – National as well as individual conflicts take their rise far less from reason, than from passion – Man feels first, then reasons in support or vindication of his feelings – . The feeling prompts to action, and the action must at least, have the appearance of being supported by reason. – Our opinions are formed we know not how, for no man can tell how, or when his two most important opinions – religious and political, have been formed. All he knows is, that he actually holds for truth, certain opinions, which being his own, are therefore an important part of himself. These must be supported by argument – men and women too, will before they think – Human reasoning, is generally the effect and not the cause of our opinions – these are derived probably from numerous trifling but unnoticed circumstances, insensibly but strongly combined with feelings, growing with our growth, and strengthening with our strength, till they become like our corporeal organs, parts of ourselves, a constituent part of the I.* – All think their own opinions right, and as a necessary consequence, that the holders of opposite opinions are wrong. Few, very few, have any doubt of the truth of an opinion, which they have long held, and if the opinion is a second hand one they are but the so much more inclined to be tenacious of it.

Those only who have detected in themselves the weakness of reason, in her conflict with passion, who have witnessed the ingenuity with which men defend their own unreasonable conduct by elaborate reasoning, know how frequently a bias imperceptible to themselves, is given to the mind of even those who like jurors appear to be disinterested judges, and will feel little confidence in the arguments of party men – especially the leaders.

But if the bulk of a people are led by a long existing popular opinion,[†] though originally imbibed from others, yet it is certainly becomes as much their own as if spontaneously acquired, and is understandably, deserving of respect and consideration, even if an erroneous one – Such opinion may be safely tolerated, because, the sound common sense, which is alone or principally, to be found, amongst the middling classes of Society, if left to itself unbiassed by the arts and excitements of artfull and ambitious men, will prevent any injury to those of a different opinion – Unhappily such instead of giving the tone of real popular opinion to those who lead, are but too apt to abandon the safe pilotage of common sense, and suffering this to follow, instead of directing the course, which the leaders of a party dignify with the name of public opinion, which however is generally founded on the policy

or the political views, of zealous partizans in religion and politics, and most generally

* For another example of Isaac's thinking about how our opinions are formed see below, IV, 10 (an extract of a letter written a year or so before this).

† Isaac will use "popular opinion" to mean the "concentrated common sense" of a community, opinions that have been developed and tested over time, as opposed to "public opinion," by which he means the transitory opinions of individuals or groups or mobs susceptible to immediate excitements. Robert Nisbet in "Public Opinion versus Popular Opinion, *The Public Interest* 41(1975), 166-92, develops a similar distinction, except that Nisbet uses the two terms in ways precisely opposite to Isaac's usage.

designed to promote the interest of their party, of the few, rather than the many.* In order to this[†] it requires and seeks display, and to appear what it is not, the vox populi. Popular opinion or concentrated common sense, unbiassed by external excitements, and deliberately formed is always respectable, and generally right – Public opinion, mutable as the everchanging interests of man, is seldom either right or respectable – The scenes of action of the one is in the quiet and unobtrusive scenes of every day life, in which it has the most beneficial influence and if left to itself would think and act right in a larger field – The other in the most public place and public manner, exhibits herself as a deity dispensing glory & power to her friends, and contempt and shame to her opponents – Popular opinion takes truth for her guide, the sometimes losing fight of her leader. Public opinion is directed by expediency, which she seldom departs – If for a time the two seem to coalesce, public opinion soon dismisses her ally, when her object is obtained – In extraordinary periods the domestic tapers of popular sentiment, are as nothing to the brilliant gas lights of public opinion – Regulated by an enlightened conscience the vox populi is the vox Dei – Directed as it is by interested and selfish leaders public opinion will sometimes ostracise, or condemn or crucify the greatest benefactor of society, the truest friend to his country.

* The syntax gets out of hand here. I think Isaac means to say this: “Unhappily such people (those who differ from the popular opinion) instead of giving the tone of real popular opinion to those who lead, are but too apt to abandon the safe pilotage of common sense, and suffer this group (i.e., themselves, those who differ from the popular commonsensical opinion) to follow, instead of to direct the course, which the leaders of a party dignify with the name of public opinion, or they follow the political views of zealous partisans in religion and politics, and which are most generally designed to promote the interest of their party, of the few, rather than the many.” In short: those who hold to the shortsighted public instead of the popular (or commonsensical opinion) are more apt to be swayed by the demagoguery of partisans and to follow them rather than to responsibly direct their elected representatives.

† Probably “In order to *do* this” was intended.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Abbé Raynal on the causes of the American Revolution; why wrong – commercial as well as religious causes – The Abbé overlooks considerable religious changes in the Colonial history; threats to the dominant Congregational party from Episcopalians – The rising power of the popular branch (House of Representatives) – A letter from his father concerning “Pope Day” (5th of November) 1765 – The role of the Clergy going over to the anti-prerogative party – The principle “No Taxation without Representation” already voiced by Edward the Governor in 1646 – Love of Distinction as a Political motivation – Popular uprisings.

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Speaking of the American revolution the once celebrated Abbe Raynal says “None of those energetic causes which have produced so many revolutions upon the globe, existed in North America. Neither religion, nor laws had there been outraged. No blood of martyrs or patriots had there streamed from the scaffold, morals had not there been insulted. Manners, customs habits, no object dear to nations, had there been the sport of ridicule. Arbitrary power had not there torn any inhabitant from the arms of his family, and his friends to drag him to a dreary dungeon. Public order had not there been inverted – The principles of administration had not been changed there, and the maxims of government had there always remained the same – The whole question at issue was reduced to the knowing whether another country had, or had not, a right to lay, directly, or indirectly, a tax upon the colonies”^{*} –

To animadvert upon the causes or circumstances which led to the American revolution is beyond the scope of my present design

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A few remarks on this subject must suffice. – The ostensible question was indeed as the Abbè states it “whether taxes could justly be imposed on a country not represented in the taxing one.[?]” Had this been the real question, the American revolution would probably never happen’d – Some writer has observed, that the people act not from apprehension of theoretical evils, but the actual pressure of practical ones – the hearty cooperation of the people, in revolutionary movements, is never caused by abstract principles

Had the Abbè been well acquainted with the early colonial history, and what were the principles of administration, under the first charter from 1630 to 1692, he would not have affirmed, that these had not been changed in the colonies. – One principle of the colonial administration for nearly a century was, the supremacy of the Dominant religion of the Colony – This, being esteemed, as all suppose their own to be, the only true religion, and established by the colonists, at great risque and expense they thought ought to be, the only one allow’d – Perfect freedom of trade, with countries, and few or no charges,

^{*} Thomas Paine begins his *A Letter Addressed to the Abbe Raynal on the Affairs of North America* (London: J. Ridgway, 1795), 8, by quoting this very same passage complete (and in the same translation). I do not know if Isaac has been reading Paine or not, but it seems very likely, even though Isaac’s differs from Paine’s interpretation. But both point out that the Abbé overlooks the whole sweep of colonial history.

existed in its greatest latitude untrammell'd by British, or domestic restrictions, or custom house vexations, till the reign of Charles 2^d, when Parliament attempted, but unsuccessfully, to control and regulate the foreign commerce of the country, and when in the reign of James 2^d, further attempts, and with more success, were made, still the commercial restrictions, and import duty little onerous and light as they were, were considered as grievances, being deviations from the maxims or practise of the colonial government, from the first settlement of the colony –

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80 ½

If a strong desire for religious liberty a consequence of the reformation, was a powerful principle with the early settlers of New England, freedom of trade was hardly less so. Civil, and religious liberty were combined in their minds If the religious liberty which the colonists had always possessed was in their opinion endangered by the introduction of a religion subject to the ecclesiastical law of Great Britain – civil liberty as they thought was threaten'd by trade being in subjection to her fiscal regulations – If the attempts of Charles 2^d and James 1st to regulate commerce were unpopular, the pressures of the ensuing reigns still increased the popular discontent – During the reign of William the 3^d the uneasiness of the people under commercial restraints, was neutralised by the joy which prevailed at the overthrow of a papistical dynasty – but in the reign of Anne and the Georges, the constantly increasing regulations of trade and restraints, on the pre-existing freedom of industry in all its branches, were felt as intolerable, less from their onerous character, for they were as nothing, to what Commerce has since sufferd, than because they were consider'd as evidences of dependence on a foreign country.

That commercial as well as religious considerations, were motives which led to the colonization of New England, will not be doubted by any who reflect, on the spirit of enterprize, which after the discovery of America and the Cape of Good Hope, was generally developed in Europe – This was about a century before the first expeditions, to that part of America now the United States.

Smith* one of the earliest adventurers to New England, and from whom it derived that name had been at Cape Cod six years before the settlement at Plymouth, and had explored, much of the Coasts of Massachusetts and Maine. – On his return to England in 1616, he caused to be printed and distributed,

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(principally as is supposed, at the expense of himself or friends, who, he had interested in his project), amongst the great great trading companies, merchants as well as gentry of Exeter Bristol and other places in England, two or three thousand copies of his book called “New Englands Trials.” This work besides containing a highly favorable account of the climate productions,[†] fisheries and other advantages of New England, gave what is of the most importance to a merchant, the actual result of several shipments both to Spain and England, of fish, oil furs sassafrass &c before the year 1617 – In particular Smith mentions one ship of 200 Tons selling her “fraught for the first penny for 2100[”] (supposed Pounds Sterling) [“]besides the Furies, so that every poor sailor that had but a single share had his charges and Sixteen Pounds ten shillings for 7 months work” – The favorable reports of the country

* Capt. John Smith (1580-1631).

† Probably an obsolete sense of the word meaning *produce* (as in “the produce section of the supermarket”).

previously spread by Gosnold* on his return from Massachusetts in 1602 combined with the publicity given to Smith's book in England, the success of those who had been engaged in voyages of discovery as well to North as to South America, undoubtedly had

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their effects on the Pilgrim emigrants to New England. – These tired of their residence in Holland, allured by the success which had attended the enterprises to the new world, naturally desirous to participate in the advantages which promised to flow from the newly discovered sources of trade in “Virginia,” as the North American States was then called – The successful results of the fisheries at Newfoundland which had been carried on for nearly the whole of the preceding century, no doubt induced the first colonists to Plymouth, to project similar establishments at or near Cape Cod the seas round which were at that time swarming with fish. – Requiring capital, the agents of the puritans in Holland, soon and easily made arrangements with merchants and capitalists of London for the necessary outfit of two vessels, the Mayflower & Speedwell, which having taken on board those in Holland proceeded to England, as the land of final departure, and the former vessel (the Speedwell having put back dismasted,) safely landed on the 9 November 1620 – the first colonists in New England – amongst the settlers at Plymouth were many merchants, who as well the emigrants to Boston in 1630 were doubtless induced to undertake the settlement in New England as much by the prospects of commercial benefits as from religious consideration
over

[verso p. 82; the following appears after about ½ page of struck-through text] 82 ½

– That the latter had very great weight in their determination, cannot be doubted, but it is an error to suppose, that it was the sole cause of the colonization of New England – a very few years after the settlement of Boston the effects of a free and unrestricted trade began to be perceived by the rapid growth of the colonies. Its insignificance at first, and the strong reign of the first Charles, prevented the interference of the mother country in the affairs of the colony to any perceptible extent – Cromwell did not interfere with the

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Colonial freedom of trade, which had always existed, but on the other hand granted peculiar favors to the Commerce of New England – The powerful protector could not stifle the still small voice of independence both in religion and Commerce which even at that early day characterised New England, nor could all the exertions of the ministry of Charles 2^d and James 2^d, introduce into the colonies more than a partial acquiescence in the restrictions on trade, which according to the fashion of the day, European policy in its wisdom judged fit to impose on colonial intercourse – . The first royal governor under the new charter following the track of his predecessors under the old, did little more than secure nominal acquiescence in the novel regulations of trade – when the new charter government about 1710 or 1720 had got fairly established, and the revenue officers were no longer harassed by opposition and even law suits, then it became a fashion to evade the duties. light as they were – As restrictions from the mother country increased, so did illicit trade at home – Probably not a half of the import duties moderate as they were, were realized by the Government – The

* Bartholomew Gosnold (1572-1607).

Revenue officers soon found that it was an invidious tack, by seizures and penalties, to carry the laws into execution, and were in some measure obliged to wink at their violation.

I have heard my father say, that before the revolution, nothing was more common for even the Collector of the customs, to let it be known publicly, when a Cargo of dutiable articles had arrived, that on such a day, he should be obliged to be absent from town, so that the cargo might be landed unmolested in his absence

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And the duty paid only on such small part as the importer chose to declare as the entire cargo – The ill judged colonial restrictions imposed by the mother country never were or could be carried into effect in New England – The right to impose these, was not indeed forcibly resisted at an earlier period owing to several causes, one of the most prominent being the necessity of the aid of Great Britain against the French and Indians on our northern frontiers – The danger from this quarter having ceased after the conquest of Canada and its cession to Great Britain in 1763. New England became prepared by her previous opposition to the colonial policy of the mother country, more vigorously to oppose the stamp act and tea duty and openly to resist the execution of laws which soon were no longer to control an independent country – Thus, contrary to what is affirmed by Raynal a great and leading principle of the administrators of the Colonial government from 1620 viz Freedom of trade, had been changed.* – This maxim of Government had not remained the Same – The attempt to alter a principle of colonial administration which had always encouraged perfect liberty of occupation to the citizen was a leading cause of the American revolution

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Another principle cause of the revolution was, religion The abbe Raynal has overlooked the great change, which had taken place in regard to this all absorbing subject, from what were called Old charter times – The manners customs and habits of the country closely interwoven as they were with the religious opinions of the early colonists were not openly ridiculed, but were considered by the Government party, as vestiges of the bigotry and intolerance which they thought issued in the death of Charles 1st – The clergy though they continued to possess great influence with the people especially in the country, had little or none with the new Government, of which formerly they had been an integral part – The Episcopalians, had before the year 1720 firmly established themselves in Boston, and though few in comparison with the old religionists of the country, yet aided by the support of the crown and crown officers, who visited the Colony, they soon and easily attained a distinction over other sects – Episcopacy was not indeed the established religion of the colony, but it was the fashionable one, as well as in the opinion of many, the true one – It at least participated in the consideration which had formerly belonged only to the congregationalists. The

* Pencilled parens surround “contrary to what is affirmed by Raynal a great and leading principle of the administrators of the Colonial government from 1620 viz^l Freedom of trade, had been changed,” and “Although” has been inserted (also in pencil) above “contrary.”

Anglican church, which under Whitgift and Laud,^{*} had persecuted and banished the ancestors of the puritans from their fatherland – that sect whose prelacy was in their eyes as wascriptural[†] as the papacy of the Romanists, had now not only invaded their sanctuary, claiming equality with those who not long since had no superiors, but were also in the road to a preeminence, which of right had always heretofore belonged to the congregationalists – Nor could the clergy be ignorant, that their tenets and practices, accompanied as they were, by stiffness and formality of manners, were in secret, both disliked and ridiculed by their competitors – contempt says the Hindu proverb, will penetrate even the back of the Tortoise – The Clergy could not forget the power and rank they had under the old charter government as magnates of the land, and could not but be dissatisfied with their changed position under the new – combining with the love of distinction so natural to man even religious leaders. The belief that theirs was the only true church, they could not but desire the restoration of that principle of Government which recognized their supremacy and hence, readily to cooperate with political partizans, who valued their assistance but cared nothing for their religious tenets. Their part was to act on the minds of New Englanders, always in favor of civil and religious liberty – A practical political independence had formerly existed in company with real ecclesiastical preeminence.[‡] The establishment of the first unshackled by any obligations to a foreign power might naturally be expected to restore and establish the supremacy of the latter, and the interest of the politician and the religionist became thus identified.

The seeds of “civil and religious liberty” (the current phrase in Sermons and other writings) were early and deeply sown in New England, and vigorous plants continued to grow up in each succeeding generation. The abbè Raynal was not aware, that tho effects of a changed government were felt, by descendants of the third generation from the first settlers, These, were in active life when the charter of 1692 was received in Boston. The principles of administration were not as that author supposes the same, as they had been under the old charter. The latter allowed exclusive privileges to the dominant religion, which considered toleration as a sin against God – not that by law the dominant religion was also the established one, but under the old charter, the magistracy and clergy had become so closely intertwined, the power and influence of both became identified. Indeed so strong was this united influence, that for many years, after the accession of Charles 2^d the power of the government was ineffectual to enforce the religious toleration, which the government at home endeavour’d to establish in the colonies. The clerical influence continued for many years after 1692 – The popular branch[§] was not authorized by the old charter, but was gradually introduced under a provision, that Courts of the original patentees, should assemble from time to time – These in progress of time, took the position of a legislature or rather a house of deputies, with the name of “General Court” – But, as representatives, they

^{*} John Whitgift (c. 1530–1604), Archbishop of Canterbury from 1583 to his death, and William Laud (1573–1645), Archbishop of Canterbury from 1633 to 1645.

[†] No doubt “scriptural” simply was intended.

[‡] Before “preeminence,” “liberty and” has apparently been struck through in pencil. That whole phrase had been inserted via caret.

[§] That is, a body of elected representatives.

had no legal, and not much real power compared with the aristocratic branch – The Governor and assistants The former were of little assistance to the clergy, who were as has been said identified with the latter, from whom the great power, they enjoyed for the first 50 years after the settlement of Boston (1630) was derived – But the influence with the people which had been thus acquired, continued, especially in the country, as great as ever. By degrees, the house of repr-

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the house of representatives, who under the new charter became a legal and constitutional branch of the Government, participated in the power of the higher branch – (the council, which under the new charter took the place of the assistants) – The newly instituted house of representatives, did not however realize its great weight in the government till many years after the change, neither the other branches, or the clergy or the people, were at first sensible of the power, which under the new charter had devolved upon the popular branch – The power and influence possessed, by the aristocratic branch of the old government, which had been the main support of the clergy, and enabled them to secure and maintain the popular favor, became gradually transferd to the house of representatives, so that the popular branch, as well in New England as in the other colonies, was constantly on the increase till the stamp act of 1765,* about which time it became predominant – The Council, successors of the board of assistants, with greater constitutional power than the latter, presented but a partial check to the aristocratic branch “Governor and Council” of the new charter. The proposal of the Massachusetts house of representatives in 1765, for a convention of delegates from the various provinces north of North Carolina, ostensibly to petition the crown for a redress of grievances, but really leading to a united and formidable resistance, was as well an evidence of the increased power of the popular branches, as the incipient step to the American revolution.

The Cession of Canada to Great Britain in 1763, and the vast benefit to the colonies in being relieved from unceasing hostilities with the Indian tribes and their French allies, on their western borders, must no doubt have led the colonists, or more properly the leaders in the house of representatives, to perceive, as well their existing security from this long existing scourge, as their greater practical independence on the mother country – The encreased ascendancy of all the Colonial assemblies, was a mean by which their perceptions could be realized, when from perceptions only; they should grow into purposes – In Virginia, the great cooperator[?] with Massachusetts, the ascendancy of the popular branch may be consider’d as almost the sole, at least chief, cause of the opposition to the mother country in that old and large State – Its house of burgesses had been established for nearly a century before the existence

[note written sideways at left margin bottom to top]

See note on back

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before the existence of a constitutional house of representatives in Massachusetts, and had silently, but surely, become the organ of the effective power of the State. – In fact its popular branch, composing of planters, the possessors of large hereditary estates, cultivated

* But there is no note on the back. Probably what is meant is the note that follows p. 88 below.

by slaves was an aristocracy, and resembled rather a Polish diet, than an assembly of deputies chosen from the body of the people, but at the same time it was a better School of Statesmen, than the assembly of any other of the American colonies –

In Massachusetts on the other hand the General Court as it was then called, was not as has been said a constitutional branch, of the Government, under the old charter, it became grafted into that form, under the name of a Court of the Patentees generally, like the meeting of the Stockholders of a corporation, of which the President and directors had in fact the entire control – Further the Governor and council under the new charter succeeded to the great power of the Governor and board of assistants since the old, whose power supported by the clergy, was almost supreme – Many if not most of the assistants were chosen councillors under the charter of 1692 – For many years afterwards, the council retained the power which their predecessors had attained under the charter of James. The influence of the clergy was transferred to the new branch Governor Phipps, * a New England Man, and the first Royal Governor, was as much devoted to the dominant religion, as any of the elected governors had been, and he with the council following in the footsteps of their predecessors, public affairs went on in their accustomed course for many years

Till the power of this branch was reduced or taken away, the popular branch could not, and did not, participate much in the power of the state, at least not to the extent, of the Virginia house of burgesses, but the power of the aristocratic branch (Governor and Council) began to decline, as the old members died off, and the body became composed of different materials – In Massachusetts the popular aspirants for power, had first to weaken and nullify this branch of the Government – In Virginia a similar branch, had never had supreme power, nor could it be attained in that province, in opposition to the real aristocracy of the State

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which in fact, was the house of Burgesses, not so in Massachusetts, where the power and influence had always been with the Governor and assistants, when this branch was dispossessed of its power then the house of representatives ruled supreme.

It was not till Governor Dudley's[†] administration in 1702, that a conflict between the popular, and prerogative party as it was then called began or was apparent – The Kings Governor the clergy of the Anglican church, then getting a firm foothold in the Colony, and the crown officers, were naturally friends of prerogative, and the congregational clergy, gradually losing their influence with the council, as naturally ranged themselves with the antiprerogative party,[‡] as well because they felt the want of governmental

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* a letter from my father dated November 15 1765 (he being then 22 years old) shows, the

* Sir William Phips or Phipps (1651-95).

† Joseph Dudley (1647-1720).

‡ From the beginning of the paragraph to this point the text has been set off with large parens in pencil, and at the beginning there is a faint note, possibly reminding Isaac to "Re write" or "Re work." At the very end of the page there is a large "X" in pencil

beginning of the pacification between the two town parties – He says “The 5th of November* happily disappointed ones fears, a union was formed between the South and North, by the mediation of the principal gentlemen of the town” – The Popes (meaning probably, the South end and north end processions) [“]paraded the Streets together, all day, and after burning them at the close of it, all was quiet in the evening. There were no disguises of visages, but the two leaders, M’cIntosh of the South, and Swift of the North, (the same who was so badly wounded last year, were dress’d out in a very gay manner, The authorities[”] he says [“]did not interfere at all in the matter[”] (MacKintosh was one of the most active of the mob which destroyed Governor Hutchinsons[†] house in North Square 26 August 1765, and was arrested by the Sheriff, but could not be committed on account of the popular interference) Speaking of the stamp act he says that clearances for foreign voyages, are refused without “these pernicious papers” and adds that [“]the spirit of opposition begun here, has reached to New York, where the Governor was burnt in effigy, and his Coach destroy’d even under the Cannon of Fort George,[”] and adds that [“]the house of a Major James in New York was left a mere shell in consequence of threats which he had utterd against the populace,[”] and that the stamped papers which for security were placed in the Fort had been demanded and given up to the people – The union brought about by those my father calls the principal gentlemen of the town was doubtless caused by the revolutionary leaders in Boston, and shows the influence, which they had over the people – On the anniversary of “Pope day” on the 5th of November, there had always existed a bitter rivalry between the South and North parts of the town, which party should capture and destroy each others Pope – the effigies of whom accompanied by others of the Devil and his Imps were carried about in procession on that day & he added by a distinguished fighting character from each Section – the Northern procession going to the South, and vice versa accompanied each other with a vast concourse of people – They usually met each other in or about Dock Square where the contest took place – These conflicts were very severe, but this year (1765) the popular leaders had excited in the minds of the people such a determined opposition to the Stamp act, that they succeeded in making peace, between the two parties, who had before

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always been at swords points with each other. Such materials were wanted for more serious conflicts, than those between contending bodies of citizens; and were in fact powerful allies of the opponents to the established government –

I had got thus far when I looked into Hutchinsons 3^d Vol, who speaks of this 5th of November generally a day of frolic and disorder as being “this year remarkable for the peaceable orderly behavior of such as carried pageants about the streets–” adding that “the Government party inferred that this was an evidence of the influence the mob was under, and that they might be let loose, or kept up, just as their keepers thought fit”

* The Boston equivalent of Guy Fawkes day in England was Pope Day in Boston. As explained below, groups of working-class people from the North and South Ends held separate parades, carrying effigies of the pope with them, and converged at the center of town, where a battle to secure the other group’s Pope began and a bonfire finally consumed the effigies and much else.

† Governor Thomas Hutchinson (1711-1780), Governor from 1771-74, although he remained nominally the Governor during his exile in England. He was a great grandson of Anne Hutchinson and therefore cousin to Isaac’s branch of the family. His and Isaac’s branches of the Winslows remained close, especially in business.

Perhaps, the insults to the Governor of New York which my father mentions as a report, were what Hutchinson mentions as the effigy of a Mr Ogden of New Jersey (one of the delegates to the New York convention)* “being cut down and burnt” -- In 1765 public affairs, were in such an unsettled state, that frequent opportunities offer’d themselves of conflict between the two parties in the Province. – The convention of delegates in New York of most of the provinces, and the antigovernment resolutions adopted by that body – the destruction of Gov^r Hutchinsons house – the compelling Mr Oliver the stamp distributor to resign his office – The suspension of the proceedings in all the courts and clearances at the Custom house where stamped papers were required, amounting to a suspension of law and business. – The rising of the General Court on this very 5th of November doing much to fan, and nothing to quench, the flame of contention, and the general opposition to the crown officers, evidenced in many popular conflicts – These circumstances, at once presented openings, and in the opinion of the antigovernment party made it necessary for them to secure the assistance of resolute and determined partizans from the working classes – no better materials could[†] than the active and daring characters, who were foremost in the “pope day” conflicts – In a letter of my father (which as well as the preceding was written to his brother John then at Barbadoes) dated 10th December 1765 he tells his brother that no vessells were cleared for foreign ports, as none would take the stamped papers, and that there is no sign of submission to the act, adding “on the contrary, the merchants & traders have subscribed an agreement not to import or vend any English goods for some months unless the act is repealed” – and hopes the example of the west India ports will induce the government to change the system, and that no advises have been received from England, how the tumultuary proceedings in Boston are viewed in the mother country. By this letter I should judge, that himself and friends were all opposed to the act –

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Support to which they had been always accustomed, as well as from the fear of the growing greatness of the rival church, which supported as it was by the prerogative party, might as they feared gradually undermine New England congregationalism. – The decline of clerical influence in the council was very manifest when in 1707, Leverett a layman was made President of Harvard College instead of Cotton Mather a noted minister, and son of a still more distinguished one, who had himself been at the head of the School of the prophets.[‡] Mather tho deficient in good judgement was qualified by his learning for the place; His failing to obtain it was a proof that contrary to what Raynal affirms, the maxims of government had not remained the same, but had become materially changed, in relation to the dominant religious party in the State.

The gradual, approximation of the clergy to the popular branch was not a precedented scheme – It grew out of circumstances Union of interests produces unity of action – They naturally decried the continuance of manners, customs and habits which as Raynal observes are so dear to nations, and to avoid

* Isaac has the paren after the quotation mark, clearly a mistake.

† The word is not quite legible. Isaac may have left out a couple of words: e.g., “no better materials could *there be* than...”

‡ An epithet applied to Yale College, which the Mathers were instrumental in founding or rather renaming. But Isaac here probably means to apply it to Harvard.

apprehended innovations, instinctively sought for support from that power in the State which was most able to afford it – The popular branch of the Colonial Government, began to establish its power during the administration of Governor Dudley from 1702 to 1722 attained a strength and preponderance, which it never afterwards lost, till its power was suspended to the Federal Government in 1789 – The clergy of the day necessarily sided with the popular, or antiprerogative party, and threw their weight into that scale. The great influence these had on the minds of the people, exerted as it was from hundreds of pulpits, whence the alarm of danger to religious liberty, was sounded to deeply attentive ears, was no doubt one of the chief causes of the American revolution – It is true as the abbè Raynal remarked, that neither religion nor laws, had been outraged, but it is equally true that the apprehensions of the clergy, (always, fond of power, fearing its loss, and dreading the establishment of a rival religion, of that hated prelacy from which their ancestors had suffered so much) were of a character to make them dread the anticipated predominance of a religion, by British law established, instead of a dominant one, which by custom without law, had become in fact, the established religion of the colony. The power of the latter they, justly thought would sink, as the other

rose. It is probable, that this consideration backed by the influence of a powerful and popular class, had more effect on the minds of the people, than the abstraction that parliamentary laws, would in the end annihilate Colonial legislation – The evils, as they consider'd them, of a papistical, religion were actual and visible, those of parliamentary tyranny, possible indeed, but future. That taxation without representation, was in opposition to the principles of the British constitution, was nothing new. The doctrine had been long before held, both in England and the colonies – Edward Winslow the agent to London in 1646, in his endeavours to dissuade Cromwell from his plan of regulating the Colonial trade, denied, “that we can be taxed, when we have no burgesses in the house of commons.”* This fundamental point was however judiciously taken by the political leaders of the revolution, as the ostensible cause of revolt – the real one, though perhaps, not in all cases, suspected by themselves, was the strong desire for that political and religious independence on the mother country, which had been enjoyed, under the old charter. Especially was this latter coveted by all classes – The clergy who had hitherto participated so largely in political, as well as ecclesiastical privileges, naturally took the lead in support of the latter, and the most prominent amongst clergy & laity pressed forward to grasp the prize -- those less distinguished, followed the example – the people, who had always highly prized what was called civil and religious liberty, were easily taught to believe that parliamentary regulations of trade would destroy the one, and the supremacy of the Anglican church over its offshoots[†] in

* The closest Edward came to this that I have found was to write, “that if the Parliaments of England should impose laws upon us having no burgesses in their House of Commons, nor capable of a summons by reason of the vast distance of the ocean being three thousand miles from London, then we should lose the liberty and freedom I conceived of English indeed, where every shire and corporation by their knights and burgesses make and consent to their laws, and so oppose whatsoever they conceive may be hurtful to them: but this liberty we are not capable of by reason of distance, and therefore etc.” This is to be found in his *New England's Salamander Discovered* (London: John Bellamy, 1647). I follow the text as transcribed at <http://www.mayflowerhistory.com/PrimarySources/NewEnglandsSalamander.pdf>.

[†] Here meaning *offshoots*.

the colonies, would eventually undermine the other – Ecclesiastical (ie episcopal) control did not indeed exist in regard to the dominant religion of the colony, but its growing preeminence was dreaded by the clergy and their adherents – The exercise of civil & military power mingled as it was, not with injustice, but with the proud consciousness of superiority rank & power, was offensive to New England feelings, always extremely jealous of control – They felt their pride wounded by what appear'd to them the overbearing conduct of official agents – It was this feeling, far more than any abstract theory, which engaged the mass of the people, in the cause of the American revolution Their powerful cooperation with the leaders produced the successful result.

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There exist always in the minds of the people one or more leading principles on the subject of religion as well as politics. – These are seldom called into permanent action, otherwise than by the exertions of influential individuals of the community – In some countries the nobles have influenced the people to dethrone a King – In others aspiring ecclesiastics have invited the people to require the demission of an ambitious Pope or bishop – It is not my purpose to consider the motives of the leaders of either party in the American revolution --

So generally is the love of distinction interwoven in our nature, that it is not uncandid to suppose that this, doubtless blended with other motives, is the leading cause, which equally animates the aspirants, as well as the defenders of the fortress of power – To ascertain the purity of motive of such, is much more difficult and much less interesting to the observer of human nature, than to seek the causes why the people should become devoted partizans in a cause, where the glory and gain is not to them but their leaders – The people in the mass are never hypocrites, can this be affirmed of the political or religious leaders in revolutions –? not perhaps, that such in all cases intentionally deceive others, but often deceive themselves as to the motives of action – Such leading partizans are often more lukewarm, than their followers

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Wilkes* the celebrated leader of a popular party in England (from him denominate Wilkites) is said in an interview with Majesty, to have declared, that he was never much of a Wilkite himself – Perhaps Luther and Calvin if now living, might be equally indifferent to being considered Lutheran or Calvinistic –

It has been observed that the principles which exist in the mass are dormant, till excited by a master Spirit when these are put into a state of formulation, many motives beside the principal one, are brought into operation. Such is the case too with both parties – If envy, cupidity discontent, private pique and a daring spirit of enterprize influence many of the aspirants – The love of ease, distinction already attained, early prejudices, settled habits, and the dislike of change, hatred to the despotic power which leading partizans always possess and exercise, are powerful motives of action with the defenders of the citadel – Individuals of both parties, have equally the desire for distinction so common to our nature – The one seeks to be distinguished as the boldest in attaining, the other as the most loyal in retaining – neither can conscientious motives be denied to individuals on both sides – The one class makes it a matter of conscience to have no other ruler but God or those chosen by his people – The other makes it a matter of conscience to support at all hazards, that

* John Wilkes (1725-97).

Government which they believe the Providence of God has set over them under the character of “the Powers that be.”

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The Abbè Raynal is right in supposing that some strong and energetic causes are usually the precursors of a revolution, but he errs in supposing that if those which he recapitulates as the usual ones, were not obvious on the external surface of society, that therefore such did not exist – It has been shewn that they did, and hence the hearty cooperation of the mass of the people, in the cause of the revolution is not so much imputable to the force or justice of the unconstitutionality of “Taxation without representation,” as, to their feelings that old customs habits manners, principles of administration and maxims of government, were at least in danger of being overthrown, especially in regard to the religious concerns of the colony. The Clergy as the natural leaders, of the people, were quicksighted to the Coming events – The establishment of an American episcopate was odious to them, and disagreeable to all the congregational Party – The alliance of the clergy with the popular branch, added to the power which that branch must from general causes, always attain, when unchecked by any rival power in the State – could scarcely fail to give to the popular branches in all the states such commanding influence and practical strength as enabled them to over come a feeble adversary, armed indeed with ostensible, but deprived of all real power.

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The power of the popular branch in Massachusetts became fully established, in 1768 & 1769. – The Council which before that period, had been an advisory, and cooperating part of the executive government, had notwithstanding the governors rights of negating such councillors as he did not approve, become identified, with the house of representatives – This branch thus became possessed of almost the sole authority of government, and its power was principally exercised by the Boston members – These from about the year 1770 composed a standing committee with almost absolute power, especially during the recess of the legislative body, who approved them – and this committee again was, as is the case with all bodies of men, whether large or small, under the control of one or more individuals of Boston, whose energy of character and determined resolution fitted them for power – The measures proposed by this committee, had all the force of laws, and were executed by the tremendous power of popular movements, appearing to be spontaneous but organized, moved, and directed by their leaders as effective engines to accomplish the desired objects.

These popular risings, or mobs had occasionally but rarely occurred, since the deposition of Governor Andros* in 1689. -- They became very frequent after the stamp act in 1765, when the office of the distributor of Stamps, was pulled down by a mob, and himself compelled soon after, by another popular tumult, to resign his office. – In the same year, Governor Hutchinsons house in Boston, with its valuable contents, was destroyed by a mob, regularly organized, and directed. In 1768 the newly appointed commissioners of the customs, were threatnd with the popular indignation, and in 1769 those individuals who refused to concur, or failed to persevere, in the nonimportation agreement, which commenced in 1765; were under constant alarm of these formidable assemblages. In 1769 riots and tumults were frequent, in consequence of the British forces being stationd in Boston; and in March 1770

* Sir Edmund Andros (1637-1714).

a conflict took place between a vast assemblage of the people, and the British centinels before the custom house in State Street; terminating in the death of five citizens.[†] Smaller mobs were about the same time collected in Gloucester and the neighboring towns – in 1773, the house of one of the consigners[‡] of the tea ships was attacked by a mob, and in December of that year when the Tea ships arrived a tumultuous and irregular collection of the people supported by influential men took the law into their own hands. This issued in the well-known destruction of the Tea by a systematical movement of subordinate agents, disguised as Indians – It has been before said that these engines of terror were under the direction of influential leaders – In proof of this I now state a fact mentioned to me by Dr Webster about 25 or 30 years ago (1809 or 1814).[§] This gentleman a very reputable resident at the North part of the town, told me that being then a lad he was present at the destruction of Gov Hutchinsons house in 1765, and that amongst the mob were several influential citizens, whose duty it was to direct the movements of the people; and to prevent theft or such excesses, as were not within the scope of the preconcerted plan – This confirms what Hutchinson says in his history that amongst the mob, who destroyed his house were two men disguised, who with long staves in their hands, acted as directors of the popular movements so that what had previously been resolved on should be done – The Power of the executive, not only consupported by

the council, its natural ally, but in conflict with this branch of the government had from 1773 when the tea was destroyed become an absolute nullity. That the mercantile class felt, and was opposed to the absurd and unjust restrictions of the home government, or the foreign commerce of the colonies, and and the encreased vigilance of the revenue officers, which being unused to, they thought oppressive and overbearing, was no doubt the case, and hence many if not most of the merchants entered voluntarily, into associations, which in their opinion might have a tendency, to remove the shackles on trade – though for the most part they were friends to government – the associations to disuse foreign articles imported from England, began in 1765, but this ceased at the repeal of the Stamp act. In 1767 a similar encrease was adopted, through the influence of a Boston town meeting, confirmed by a resolution of the general court – The feeling of the merchants enabled the revolutionary leaders who were not commercial men to mingle in their assemblies, and to obtain such an ascendancy as to finally give their own tone to the mercantile proceedings – In 1769 the nonimportation agreement was renewed and carried into effect with great vigour. Some few refusing to sign the subscription were threaten'd with popular vengeance but did not suffer

* Written over this in light pencil: "The [son?] of the [????] used to tell his descendants. The second illegible word is obscured by being written under or over "Chap." It might be "writer."

† The Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770.

‡ Today we would say "consignees" (a word the *OED* first records in 1789) and the consignee in this instance was Richard Clarke, who had married Edward the Sheriff's daughter Elizabeth. All but one the seven consignees were related by blood or marriage. Benjamin Faneuil, Jr., was the only non-relative among them, but he was Isaac's father's brother Joshua Winslow's partner.

§ Portions of the foregoing are lightly struck through in pencil, thus: "~~25 or 30 years ago (1809 or 1814)~~." We can infer from this that Isaac is now writing in 1839.

only as objects of popular dislike – In 1770 and 1771 and 1774, Town meetings were held which determined that every thing possible should be done to enforce compliance with the nonimportation agreements and disuse of articles imported from Great Britain, and to solicit [?the?] Lon[??] them towards [??]ties to [????] [????] – *

* Several words lost to chipping at the bottom edge of this page.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Family's mixed motives for siding with the Government – Position of the Sandemanians – Why his father felt evacuation from Boston only prudent – Letters on the Port Bill and Non-importation Agreement; evasions of these by Sons of Liberty and others – Letters from Mr. Pease on this topic – Few existing letters 1770-74 – Letters *circa* 1774 about the consequences of the Port Bill – Governor Hutchinson succeeded by General Gage – Letter from his father anticipating the entire stoppage of the importation of tea from any source – Hopes for accommodations with Great Britain – Interruption of all communication by letter.

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A short sketch of the affairs of New England from the year 1765, seemed usefull to enable the reader to understand the position of the family, as the revolution advanced to its natural issue, the commencement of hostilities in 1775 – The principal members of the family took the side of the established government, others less distinguished, followed the popular current – The motives of neither can now be known, nor perhaps were they even discoverable by themselves – Few important actions of man whether individual or associated, but may by a carefull mental analysis, be traced to mixed motives – Individual and social movements may sometimes arise from a principal cause – more generally they are deducible to a combination of imperceptible causes one or more of which turn the scale – Thus amongst the loyalists, the desire of retaining the distinction they had attained in the royal government, might be combined with habitual feelings of loyalty and obedience – on the other hand the revolutionists of the family, being less elevated in rank, than their connections might feel, that their position was not so distinguished as they merited, and this too might be combined with a real belief, that the rights of the country

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were in danger – If my uncle Edward (an Episcopalian clergyman) and his brothers Joshua & John both of that persuasion, were influenced chiefly by conscientious feelings, no one can say, that numerous minor motives might not have cooperated to influence them in adhering to the established government – The religious tenets of the Anglican church of the Quakers and of the Sandemanian Society, of which my father was a member, led these sects to adhere to the Kings party, but yet it is reasonable to infer the operation of mixed motives in the determinations even of those whose leading motives appear to be religion – That the sole motive of my father in adhering to the Kings side was from considerations of religion cannot be affirmed, but that this was the principal cause, I have no doubt.[†] One tenet of the religious society of which he was a member, being unqualified submission to the Powers that be, Subjection to the establishd civil power they deemed a peculiar characteristic of the

* Between the chapter number header and the first line of text is pencilled in “And here it should be said in justice to their authors standpoint that” Not at all clear what this means or refers to.

[†] This sentence has been emended in pencil thus: “While his sole motive ~~of my father—ancestor~~ in adhering to the Kings side may not have been a consideration of religion, but that this was the principal cause, I have no doubt.” But as this is in every way weak, I give the text as originally penned.

religion of Jesus, and in pursuance of this, they would have excluded from their communion any of their members, who should have taken an active part in the opposition, to the existing government of the Province – The professors of this unpopular sect for such it was, could never have anticipated any considerable distinction in life, thinking it quite enough if the governments of the world tolerated and protected dissenters, from

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the power of the established religion in England, or the dominant one in New England, of whose political privileges they neither expected, or desired to participate. The connection between Church and State, they thought antichristian, and therefore to be carefully shunned by the followers of him whose Kingdom was not of this world. My father both from natural temperament and his religious views, was unambitious and un aspiring, and hence could not have expected any personal distinction had his own side prevailed – The natural love for his own and mothers families, Of which he was the head and protector combined with the hearty love of country common to New Englanders, would have induced him to remain in Boston after the evacuation of the town – but, from not unreasonable apprehensions of the effects of popular violence, he thought it dangerous so to do. If the effects of this had been severely felt either in one form or other by very many friends of the old government, when at least there was a semblance of its ability to protect them, might not the body of loyalists who should remain when their adversaries became possessors of the town well fear the effects of uncontrolled popular feeling? Had General Washington himself power to restrain the excesses of partizan leaders and their followers, towards the unprotected loyalists? I think they could not in the exercise of tolerable prudence have so exposed themselves and their families

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to the excesses of mob rule, the effects of which, they had witnessed, even when under the protection of the royal government – many as I have heard my father say, were induced to leave the town, from the fear of personal danger to themselves and families – This perhaps, was an exaggerated apprehension, but the alternative between such a possibility, and that of quitting a place of danger, could not, be long a matter of deliberation in the mind of the father of a family, whose anxious and disinterested temperament, led him to think more of others than himself.

At this period my father was engaged in the distilling business, which his father had long before established, and which by his will, the former was to carry on for the benefit of the family at a salary of a hundred Pounds lawful money per year – His brother Joshua, who had been copartner in business with his father, from about the year 1760, to near the time of his fathers death in 1769 – was naturally the successor of the old house, and bid fair from his mercantile abilities to have attained, the wealth and consideration of his deceased partner, being actively engaged in foreign commerce, in the management which by his letters and accounts which have come into my possession he seems to have been equally judicious and successful, till materially checked by the Boston Port Bill* which took effect in June 1774 – His promising prospects, were all closed by his death in March 1775 at the premature age of 39 of which more hereafter. My father's brother John, and himself may be considered as successors of the old house of Joshua Winslow till 1776, when nearly all the mercantile establishments were broken up, by the emigration of those, who were in those days considered merchants

*The following extracts from a letter written by this uncle Joshua Winslow to his friend in London shows that the Port bill was more injurious to the friends of Government, than the whigs. Oct 25 1774 – He speaks of the opposition which this former class meets with, from the conduct of the people, excited by their leaders, of the hazards, they experience of having their property destroyed and how constantly the merchants and importers are thwarted, insulted, and impeded in their dealings with their customers – thinks that those who openly avowed themselves friends of government, should be allowed the privileges of British subjects, meaning in regard to a free ingress and egress of their vessels, and if such indulgence is not given, it would be better for us to “have been silent and at the least have fallen in with the many.[”]

In another letter to the same friend feby 7 1775 he says “The Port bill so called, has had every evil consequence that was anticipated. The persons chiefly punished are the very ones who should have been excluded from the operation of the act” In this last letter he speaks of the people in New York forcing to sea a vessel which had arrived (probably from England) fears the vessel, thinks there is little security for property and adds “Those whose principles lead them to discharge their just debts are unable to do it, from having their property in the hands of those who take advantage of the times and will not pay.[”]

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I shall now proceed according to my original plan, to give such extracts from the old letters, (immediately preceding the revolution) which are in my possession, as have either reference to the affairs of the family, or to matters of more general interest at that eventful period. – As has been said my grandfather Winslow died in 1769 – Whether his daughter Sukey who went to Newport to avoid the small pox, returned to Boston before her fathers death I know not. In a letter from Mrs Peas* to my father in December 1770, she says “I am glad to hear that the sick are getting better, and that Mama is well enough to go out among her children, which I dare say will make them all very happy.[”]

In November of this year, my father was married to his first wife Margaret Sparhawk, as has been mention’d in the early part of this work, as well as the particulars accompanying it, her premature death, and my fathers state of mind in consequence of it –

The compulsory measure of nonimportation agreements forced on the merchants, through the influence of the popular leaders began in 1768 – Any one refusing to sign was in danger of the popular resentment, which the leaders knew well how to direct and manage – The purpose of these agreements was; that the signers would not import any goods from England, the new duties on Teas, Glass &c having taken effect 20 Nov^r 1767 – and in 1768, this agreement was made still more comprehensive, so that the signers could neither import nor buy of others who did, besides being subjected to very arbitrary and rigid examinations into their business – The agreements were however evaded, tho’

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though, probably from fear of “mob law” but to a very limited extent. Simon Pease of Newport in a letter to my father Nov 16 1769, after stating that the want of articles usually imported would open the eyes of the people he adds “though the opponents to the act might have been justified in decent representations of their grievances, the present excesses

* Catherine Winslow (Mrs. Simon) Pease, Isaac’s father’s sister.

give but little room to expect any thing on the score of favor – ‘The measure of not importing till all the acts of trade are repealed, is really most extravagant -- what do you say to some of your high Sons of liberty purchasing 5 or 6 Chests tea hense[?], and sending them by the way of Providence to Boston’--? observing how common such evasions are in similar cases – In reference to this subject dated July 1770 – Mr Pease requests his brother to send [“]some shuttlecocks to Newport for the use of the ladies if these are not included in the nonimportation agreements as superfluous articles, on the supposition that the time spent in diversion, might be better employ’d in spinning or knitting neither of which your sister Sukey is acquainted with” In a letter of my father to Mr Peas without date which I suppose to be in the winter of 1770, he says “The committee came to me about your London goods, but on my acquainting them, they were for Newport, they said nothing more about them” “one of the Captains of the London ships has said, that he would have desired no better business, than to have made a show of Governor Bernard* to the people at six pence a head, to both enemies and friends, the one to see a monster, the other a wonder. I can’t but hope that the spirit of faction subsides a little – The Doctors letter and Mr Vaughans patriotism seem a little to give the victory to the right side” – The death of my fathers wife in January 1772 and her son the April following,

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as well as my fathers state of mind, at that trying period of his life, and his marriage to my mother in 1772, have been already narrated. From 1770 to 1774, I have found but few letters amongst the old family papers, consequently no materials of family occurrences in that period

Under date May 29, 1774, when the Boston port bill was about to go into operation, Mr Peas writes my father, that he, apprehends “terrible consequences from the stoppage of trade, and that all business will be at a stand,[”] hopes the disputes with the mother country may be settled on a firm footing, and that such settlements made at once, is far preferable to being every few years in a state of confusion as the country has been. He little suspected, that independence on the mother country was what the leaders of the revolution had long before that determined upon, and that the disputes with great Britain, could not be settled on any “firm footing short of an acknowledgement of the united states being free, sovereign and independent.[”]

Though the shutting of the port, was cause of great hardship and sufferings to merchants, shopkeepers, mechanics, laborers, and indeed all connected directly or indirectly in trade, yet, still there was considerable business doing, as the commerce of Boston was carried on through Salem, Marblehead and other near ports, to and from which & other neighboring ports vessells were continually arriving, and sailing with cargoes on Boston account – The Boston port bill intended by the ministry, as a punishment to the town for the destruction of the tea in 1773, proved but an inefficient, and

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half and half measure, harrassing the merchants, even those really friendly to the Kings government and gratifying to the revolutionists, who saw in this a further cause of alienation from the parent country. Its only effect could be, to turn the trade for a season to Salem, and other near towns, and to add a trifle to the cost of the goods to the consumers

* Sir Francis Bernard, (1712-1779). He was governor of the colony 1760-69.

In this year, (1774) the 2nd of february, I first saw the light, in the house in Cole Lane now Portland Street, opposite the distillery, where is now a brick house built by Mr Garaux[?] the baker on the site of the former house –

In May 1774, Governor Hutchinson who had naturally become extremely unpopular with the revolutionary leaders, from the support his position, and perhaps his inclination, led him to give to ministerial measures, embarked for England – He was succeeded by Gen^l. Gage* as civil as well as military commander. There could be no reasonable doubt, that the revolutionary party had long before contemplated the probability of a final resort to arms, and, had taken their preparatory measures

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and it is equally true, that General Gage, who was the British commander in chief of the colonial forces, and who having been in Boston some years before, then thought that a military force would be necessary to sustain the civil power did all in his power to prepare for the contest, believing that a final appeal to arms, was unavoidable – Thus under the guise of peace, both parties were really preparing for war – The one supported by a powerful British army, which however was cooped up in Boston, the other sustained by the hearty cooperation of a determined, unanimous, and numerous people. It is true, that the loyalists in Boston were numerous and respectable, but yet a small minority, compared with the Whig party – Neither the Loyalists nor the army, could do any thing against a large, united population, in the country.

In Boston the revolutionary party inforced the observance of the non-importation agreement with great vigilance and zeal. In January 1774, my father[†] writes his correspondent in Newport,[‡] that he fears there will be an entire stoppage of the importation of Tea (I presume he means even from places in America,) and that it may become fashionable to burn the article, as has been done in some of our country towns. He proposes returning a consignment of tea from the friend to whom he is writing at Newport, and in May 1774 he writes the same friend declining to receive any more consignments of tea for sale in Boston, on account of the resentment

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of the people against the known dealers in this article, as well as the injury it might be to his connections – adding that the supplies of tea has been, either of the foreign article or smuggled into the place – In Jan'y 1775 a letter to his London correspondents states his hopes of accommodation between G Britain & her colonies – “The time we have had for reflection since this quarrell grew serious, seems, to have moderated many high spirits – The inconvenience that would arise to government from a general revolt of the Colonies, and the ruin it would involve them in, make it obvious, each side will be glad of an accommodation – In the meantime we in this town seem in a manner out of the dispute, the force here, rendering vain all opposition. If our port were open we should be silent spectators of the conflict” To another correspondent in Annapolis[§] under date May 4, 1775 he writes,

* General Thomas Gage (1719/20?-1787).

† A word pencilled in above this that I cannot make out. Perhaps a notation rather than an emendation.

‡ Presumably Mr. Pease.

§ Probably Nova Scotia.

“Between the operation of the acts of Parliament restricting our trade on the one hand, and our being shut up from all communication with the outports on the other by the Country (meaning that the revolutionary party had stopd the intercourse with all ports of the Country) our business is altogether at a stand – Communications by letter are now interrupted – ”

CHAPTER NINE

General Gage's administration – Mandamus Councillors (of which his father's uncle Isaac was one) – Battle of Lexington – Letter from his father to Mr. Colburn Barrell in London concerning this – Anxiety about the possibility of being called to bear arms – His father's brother Joshua's premature death – Battle of Bunker Hill – A fire at the Town Dock begun in his grandfather Davis's store – Further letters to Mr. Barrell about conditions during the Siege of Boston – The state of Business – the state of Worship – Vessels captured by Privateers – Skirmishes and random shellings – A play at Fanueil Hall interrupted – The Sandemanians at New Haven scattered – His father's worries about paying his debts and looking after the affairs of his friends – High costs of commodities – Pulling down old buildings and churches to provide fuel – Religious reflections – Several letters from Mr. Barrell in England to his father and others – A generous donation from the London church to their friends in Boston – Letter from his father to his brother-in-law Mr. Pease in Nantucket – Scarcity of vegetables in Boston – End of the Siege and removal to Halifax – His uncle Edward the clergyman and his family in Braintree and conditions there and in Boston; their mother's pitiable state – Relatives who could remain because connected to people of the Revolutionary Party – Fates of some relatives who chose the Revolutionary side – His father writes to Mr. Barrell (now back in New York) of his wish to return to Boston – His father an executor of his father's uncle's Isaac's estate, which will necessitate his going to New York – His uncle John already in that place – One of his father's ships to the West Indies under the direction of a nephew disappears; financial anxieties consequent to this – His grandfather Davis captured by a privateer and taken prisoner of war to Boston – Isaac's own earliest recollections begin at this time, on the passage to Halifax, and in New York his memories become connected.

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In 1774, General Gage entered into his duties as Governor and was at first received with the marks of respect due to his official station, but at the meeting of the legislative body in May of that year, the feelings of the country, were at once developed, and in the opinion of the Governor, it became necessary to dissolve the legislature, which was not done however until the important measure of choosing 5 delegates to a continental congress was carried 116 to 12. In July 1774, the flame of opposition was increased by the reception of acts of parliament, and by a regulation of the home government, that the council of the province hitherto chosen by the legislature, with the concurrence of the Governor, should be appointed by the King in Council (Mandamus Councillors), and giving to the Governor the appointment of civil officers. – On the other side, the greatest attention was given to the organization and discipline of the militia, and, with continued expressions of loyalty to the crown; every thing indicated the near approach of an appeal to arms. – Governor Gage on

his part was not idle, and knowing that deposits of military stores were collecting in several country towns, he caused them to be transported from thence into Boston County conventions of the revolutionary party, had recommended or instructed the representatives not to act with the newly appointed mandamus councillors – of which my fathers uncle Isaac was one.* – Some of these who lived at Cambridge, were compelled to resign, from fear of popular violence, and the one just referd to, thought it prudent to leave his home in Roxbury, and take up his abode in Boston, which being in occupation of the Kings troops, was a safe residence to the friends of Government – These conventions also advised the choice of delegates to a Provincial Congress. – This new body which in October 1774 met in Salem, became the successor of the regular Provincial legislature – The latter General Gage as Governor had at first notified to meet at Salem, but afterwards, fearing the consequence of their meeting at such an excited moment

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excused from this service. – The Provincial Congress of which John Hancock was chosen President, at once became the supreme authority in Massachusetts. This body adopted, the most energetic and decided measures, as well, to arm and train the militia of the province, & to provide means of paying them and other public expenses – as to animate and encourage the people to a vigorous resistance in the contest which they saw approaching, against those whom they consider as the instruments of a tyrannical King and government in violating not only Colonial rights, but the principles of British liberty. – In November 1776[†] this congress therefore exhorted the people of the Province, to prepare, by arming exercising, and the[?] [‡] militia in order to perfect them in their discipline and organization, which would enable the county efficiently to resist the power of their opponents. – On his part, General Gage was not idle, and knowing that Powder and military Stores were collecting in various neighboring towns, he in february 1775 order'd a small detachment of the regular troops to take possession of some military stores collected in Salem.[§] Before the detachment reached Salem the stores, had been moved to the adjoining town of Danvers, where they were secreted, so that they could not be found – No action took place at this time, though a large number both of the militia and people had assembled on the occasion –

* See note above I, 51 on the confusing multiplicity of Isaacs. Jean F. Hankins, “A Different Kind of Loyalist: The Sandemanians of New England during the Revolutionary War,” *The New England Quarterly*, 60 (1987), 223-49, confuses Isaac Sr. and Jr. when she writes that it was Isaac Jr. who became a Mandamus Councillor (235). Isaac’s father’s Sandemanianism would almost certainly have precluded his even contemplating an active role in government. The same confusion occurs in John Howard Smith, *The Perfect Rule of the Christian Religion: A History of Sandemanianism in the Eighteenth Century* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2008), 131-33. Both Hankins and Smith believe the Isaac who became an Mandamus Councillor was a Sandemanian, as do the notes on the Davis and Winslow families already cited (above, I, 26). But there appears to be no basis for this. Isaac Sr., would have been about 55 when Robert Sandeman came to America, an unlikely age at which to make such a serious change of course, and in any case his style of life argues against such a shift and Isaac never speaks of him as united with the Society, even though he is careful to point out which of his connections were Sandemanians.

[†] No doubt 1774 was intended.

[‡] “and” was struck through; but then written in again above; “the” was either written over another illegible word or had itself been illegibly corrected.

[§] Isaac appears to be repeating material from the previous page, but the repetition is actually only of phraseology.

It was impossible that such a state of things should continue long – The committee of Safety, appointed by the Provincial Congress, in the recess of the latter body, were vested with the power which the former possessed de facto, a despotic and absolute power. In short the

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Committee wielded the supreme power of the Province, except in the town of Boston only – While on the one hand, this powerfull body, was actively engaged in arming, training, and disciplining the militia, providing money and stores, &c – Gen Gage was equally so, in measures to defeat the schemes of his opponents, by seizing and destroying, the means of annoyance – Both sides evidently anticipating the open hostility which had not yet taken place. – The conflict first commenced on the on the 19th of April 1775. Before noting the extracts from old letters on this “first blow”, it is not amiss to introduce here a letter from Col Robinson* then in New York afterwards Governor and Commander in chief to my fathers brother Joshua, dated Jany 2 1775 – who speaking of the assembly of Providential delegates then in Session at Philadelphia says, “They[’]” (the New York delegates) “[’]left this with the intention to approve a general non importation agreement, but when they came to Philadelphia they found a spirit of independence which they had not expected, to prevail amongst the delegates, and which they had not force or resolution to stem. – The proposal to pay for the tea was defeated by Adams. – He said it was proper the other colonies should pay for it, but, that Boston doing this, would confess a crime, where they should glory in a merit – One of the delegates has let out in conversation that when he was desired by the President to set his name to the resolves, that he would not break through the previous agreement to be bound by a majority, but that he would rather lose his hand, than use it in signing” – Col Robinson speaks of the strength of the revolutionary party in New York, and hints at the utility of loyal associations in Boston where people are free to

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speak their sentiments &c –

This Col. Robinson had been in Boston and on very intimate terms, with my Uncle Joshua to whom the above was written – Three months after its date my uncle was in the prime of life number’d with the silent dead. with the most flattering prospects in life, in his case most strikingly was verified the Scripture truth of the uncertainty of the life of man “as a flower of the field, so he flourisheth – The wind passeth over it, and it is not.”† – To return from this digression, to the subject of the conflict before spoken of (the Battle of Lexington,) This, as has been said, took place 19th of April 1775. The Provincialists, had, collected at Concord about 20 miles from Boston, a Stock of Powder, and other military stores, of which General Gage having had notice, order’d a pretty large detachment of his army to proceed to Concord, and to seize or destroy them. The British, suffered severely on their return to Boston, which perhaps they would hardly have reached, had they not been reinforced. Bradford estimates their loss at 300 men. My father in a letter dated May 17, 1775 to his friend Mr Colburn Barrell then in London, gives the following account of this affair.‡ “A detachment of troops about 800 men, in marching to seize a magazine at Concord, were

* Beverley Robinson (1723–1792).

† Psalm 103: 15-16, slightly misquoted.

‡ Inserted above in light pencil “Concord fight.”

opposed by some armed men at Lexington, and were on their return repeatedly attacked, and lost about 60 killed, 150 wounded, and some prisoners. A Brigade sent to their support, met them at Lexington, which prevented their being destroyed – Since this, which was the 18th, we have been without intercourse with the country, and deprived of all fresh provisions, the town being

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commanded by the Enemy, the centries of the Country coming within hail of those of the King – By all we can learn, the flame spreads far and wide through the Colonies – New York is in the utmost confusion, the liberty folks carrying all before them there, the Governor here, gave liberty on the townsmen giving up their arms, to go out, and a scene of distress has ensued, which is pitiable, but nothing to what we fear, from the havoc of war and its evil train – The shops and stores are mostly shut, numbers of houses empty, and people flying they know not where. At first we were frightened expecting an immediate attack on the town, but either the danger lessen'd, or habit reduced the apprehension, so that we are now composed enough to stay – The country you know would be no shelter for such obnoxious folks, and to go by water where we could not carry our effects, was not likely to be done by persons of no greater ability – Besides, we know not what use Providence will make of us here if by any means our countrymen get sobered out of the frantic ideas put into their heads by the clergy, most of whom have gone off from town.

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A large stack of provisions has been laid in by the army, and as soon as this affair took place all the grain vessells which were met with were brought in, so that as yet there has been no want, though we have been brought down from the luxurious living our Country afforded – The Governor has called on the friends of government to know if they will support the government – we[?] (meaning the religious Society) [“signed to take up arms if ordered by him – nothing in our profession dissolves the obligation of our being servants and faithfull ones too, to those kingdoms which are of this world, and therefore must be defended by the sword – we have no prospect happily of a call to this – Part of the new forces, the Marines, having already arrived, and more hourly expected, we hope we shall not be called to the work of killing folks – The worst difficulty to business at present is the want of business, we have some from the Kings troops, but being shut out from the country on the one hand and the Port bill on the other affords a small view – There are talks that the governor and admiral will open the port for admission of Kings supplies in any vessells, but I fear it will not extend to matters of private commerce – However the earth, and the fulness thereof

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are His, who has promised, that he will never forsake his people,”* – I know not how to manage about your concerns, probably I do not all I might, but it is difficult when one is agitated, even about the safety of life, to attend to property. I find I cannot attend to it in my own affairs” “I thank you for the newspapers, but cannot return you any, as there are none printed here” -- [“Some think that Government will withdraw all the troops, interdict all trade, and leave us to ourselves” “My letter is sealed with black for my brother Joshua’s death, which was sudden, about two months ago.[”]

* Not clear where the quotation is meant to begin, nor whence it derives. Psalm 24 begins “The earth is the Lord’s, and the fulness thereof”; a heavenly promise not to forsake God’s people may be found in many places.

This was the tenth child of his father Joshua Winslow who died in March 1775 at the age of 39, leaving a widow, one Son, and four daughters. He was a merchant, for some years in partnership with his father, and the successor of his house, under the same firm, by which it was known 50 years, before – He was one of the consigners* of the tea which was destroy'd by a mob in Boston harbor, December 1773. Even† had not his premature death, prevented, the troubles and war of the revolution, would have blighted the fair success he had, of attaining the mercantile reputation, which his father's house had enjoyed for more than half a century: and which, the mercantile ability, estimation in Society, and encouraging prospects of the son, partner of the old house for many years, and successor to its business and correspondence, seemed to have descended as an heirloom, from a most respectable parent

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His wifes maiden name was Harriet‡ Loring, she was the daughter of§ a person then call'd Commodore Loring** I believe from having commanded in the war 1756 to 1763 a small squadron on Lake Champlain – He owned the house now standing (1839,) corner of Devonshire and Milk Streets, where he died after a short illness, as I have heard my father say most unwilling to be thus sever'd from life, perhaps with the natural but too anxious concern of a husband and parent, for those whom he had to leave, to the care and protection of others, at such a critical period of public affairs – This was also a severe dispensation to his mother and Sisters by whom he was especially beloved, being the second son born after a succession of Eight daughters – – On the 10 July 1775 my fathers writes to Mr Barrell in London, "I gave you the particulars of the affair of the 19 April since which all communication with the country for provisions has been shut up, and all letters intercepted. This happend to us at a time when most families have some store of salt provisions, which have subsisted us hitherto. I must suppose you had heard of the last action. I missed writing you by a man of war, (the only opportunity since) as she lay below – We were alarmed by the firing of guns, the morning of the 17th of last month††

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and found the country people had erected a work on Charlestown hill – This was within cannon shot of the town, and of consequence must have been taken or we in danger, about 2000 troops went over and carried it by assault, but with a terrible loss of, men about 800 killed and wounded, 300 it is thought are and will be of the former – The other side lost about 100 killed 32 prisoners, and 350 wounded, some people will have it more – The Kings troops are now possessed of Charlestown but no opening into the country, as since the battle they are raising formidable lines all round the environs of the town, and at such an

* Should be "consignees."

† Originally, this sentence began, "Had it not have been for his premature death, the troubles and war of the revolution, would have blighted the fair success he had ..." which makes far more sense than the emendation.

‡ Actually she was named Hannah Loring.

§ These first words of the page pencilled in lightly, evidently later. So perhaps this takes up from a page of an earlier discarded draft. Verso is blank.

** Commodore Joshua Loring (1716–81).

†† The Battle of Bunker Hill.

expense it will not do to force them – This is a most shocking situation, scarce a day without the firing of cannon of some sort round the town, the heat of the weather has made many wounded to die, add to all this we find our business decaying. – I know not if I wrote you, of the fire at the town dock, which swept all but Ellis Grays store – It began in Mr. Davis's,* and he was a great loser, as also Mr Bej^m Andrews and your brother Joseph –

Vast numbers of the inhabitants have removed so as to leave but about 6000 in town Mr Davis has got to live at Lucas's and having some regiments to supply, is doing pretty well –

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amidst all this confusion, the profession is drowned in the noise, and we find ourselves too much led away with the things of this life, to have that joy it is calculated to raise in the breasts of mortals, “when the labor of the olive fails, and there is no herd in the Stall, and the fields yield not their increase for us”[†] – To all appearance this country seems doomed to yet greater calamities – Sure we are, the world in general is, and the period cannot be far distant.”

The wife of the writer went on the top of the house, to look at the distant firing she used to say, that the 17th of June being a very hot day – nothing could be more distressing than the scene of the wounded soldiers passing by, fainting with heat pain and thirst, and continually calling on the inhabitants for water – In a letter of Aug^t 1775 to Mr Barrell my father says “We are yet in the same uncomfortable situation and so like to be” – he mentions that about 2000 Sheep and 100 Cattle had been obtained by an expedition to the islands in the sound, but as, they were wanted for the sick and wounded of the army, it was doubtfull if the inhabitants would get any share, and adds “Since the bloody affair at Charlestown

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we have been pretty quiet. Now and then a little firing from the Kings lines on the neck here, and on Charlestown neck. – The town is completely invested by strong works from Dorchester to Winter Hill, having encampments on every eminence –

Speaking of one of the members of the society who, was resident in the country and who seemed disposed, to acknowledge the new government my father says. – [“]The liberty we get, to obey all that Christ commands his people, for aught of any restriction from Government here or at home, heightens our obligation of gratitude to the old one. – If it please heaven to change it we must acquiesce, but our wish ought to be for the latter.[‡] There is something wrong in thinking of the change of relations while subsisting.” in a letter to the same person dated Oct 9, 1775, which he says goes by the vessell in which the Governor Suppose[?] Gage, takes passage,[§] he speaks of public affairs remaining the

* The elder Isaac's father-in-law, Benjamin Davis (1729-1805).

† Habakkuk 3:17. “Although the fig tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls.”

‡ It is not quite clear what “the latter” refers to, but the sentiment is clear enough: while we must acquiesce if a new government comes into being, it is not something we should allow ourselves actively to wish (much less work) for.

§ Gage departed for England October 11.

same, as when he before wrote – and that the Americans* have a chain of Ports from Winter Hill at Charlestown to Dorchester He mentions an 18 Pound Shot from the American works on the Roxbury line near the George tavern going through the roof of Mr Lucas’s home improved by my grandfather Davis, as a house and bakery for

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the supply of the Army, but, which did not cause him to quit – [“]† The Ships of the fleet bring in many vessells here, whose cargoes are sold, and from them we get our supplies, but every thing bears an excessive price – Fuel is much wanted, and little in the town we have so many supplies falling in that we have hopes of having this need supplied also, -- Indeed the hand of heaven about our little company has appeared conspicuous to us, and at present we think we have taken the best course as we have got business sufficient – Indeed we can draw no conclusion therefrom, other than to hope in the same mercy which has hitherto protected and supported us.” – on the question of whether Boston will as is reported be relinquished by the British troops, he thinks that a respectable force will be kept, here, but that no attempts will be made at conquest of other places – “This is more humane and in my humble opinion more sure, than carrying desolation through the colonies. – In case the alternative of giving up the town is adopted, we shall not fail to improve the generous offer of assistance from our British brethren – To have this resource is as you observe, a great relief to us.

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The readiness apparent in this offer is as you say an imitation of the “grand exhibition of mercy” and we trust can only be produced (by Strangers to one another at 1000 leagues distance,) from the knowledge of that capital fact which brings to view, blessedness concerning the infinite distance of heavenly mercy to human misery – The riches of the Divine nature to human poverty –

It is some consolation to me that if I should survive the apprehended consequences of all going to confusion here, I might see Great Britain, which I want much to do, but have no prospect of accomplishing it in any other way, owing to my numerous ties here – You will say this is travelling at a great expense – It is So. The prospect of this lessens, and I hope we may yet be supported by Him, whose is the earth, and the fulness thereof – If it please Him of sovereign mercy to give us to hold fast that grace, whereby we may get hope of the heavenly inheritance, it matters not much where our lot is cast here – in hope of this may you and I be united with the Israel of God” –

[“]We are without news from our country churches, of late date – They are obliged to much circumspection, surrounded as they are with people now doubly inimical to the profession on the score of

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the present quarrell. We keep up our public meeting and have but few auditors – Yet in this we are as well off as our neighbors – Only three of the meetings are now open. Eliots, Hanover Street – Mr Mathers and Mr Byles Hollis Street. Doctor Cooper – (Brattle Street) has indeed been lately occupied, by one Morrison, a renegade Scotchman from the American

* This is the first instance of Isaac’s father’s referring to the revolutionaries as “the Americans.”

† Not clear exactly where Isaac moves from indirect discourse to quotation.

army, soon after the battle at Charlestown – His congregation was chiefly composed of his loyal countrymen here, and some refugees. I am told his congregation after only ten or eight weeks preaching, dwindles very much. The army folks being no great hands in the ministerial way, and the preacher when firmly settled, having had some reflections cast on his morals – this has a little spoiled his usefulness.”

Under date of Dec 1, 1775 my father writes Mr Barrell – in London, “We are all well though just in the height of inoculation and expecting it (the small pox) to break out soon, we are much encouraged by your account of going through it – The same way is in practice here, and hope it is well enough understood, to have

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the same easy effects” – The 13 Dec he writes on the same letter, that it was intended for, but missed the Boyne man of war, and that with Mr Mitchelson he had open’d a shop in his mothers house Dock Square, where he then resided.”* – “You must know that vessells are now taken in the very mouth of our harbor. A Privateer has lately been brought in of 10 Carriage guns 10 Swivels and 75 men — had taken nothing. – A brig loaded with ordnance stores, and a ship of Mr Anderson, full of woolens for the army here – were captured by the enemy Both these vessells must be of eminent service to them, and are almost as much distressing to us. Some vessells coming in, have been taken by boats from the shore. – This is more serious as we grow in want of fuel &c – The Americans have subjected almost all Canada, and should they complete their conquest by taking Quebec (the only place in the hands of the government) the military stores they have there, and what they have in the ordnance brig, may make them formidable to the town this winter – There is here a strong garrison consisting as I should suppose, of about 7000 men, and with their military skill and supplies of stores, we cannot be in great hazard, but I would wish myself and friends safely away. – So natural is the opposition to government founded in the pride of human nature

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and such a similarity between Englishmen in all places, I fear but a little success (of the popular party here) will animate the same sort of folks at home, to embroil matters there – This reflection makes me not very sanguine in thinking of Great Britain as an asylum – I yet hope this is an over gloomy reflection, and that a prince of such character as we have now on the throne, will see peace again restored to his dominions – Yet our history tells us that there is no conclusion to be formed by any such consideration by what it relates to have happen’d” (in bygone times)

On the 13, Jany 1776 my father writes Mr Barrell of the Americans having erected some new works on Phipps farm now Cambridgeport, from whence they fired one Cannon Shot which struck the hill back of Dr Lloyds house on Pemberton’s hill, now Phillips Place, and adds that shells might be thrown into almost any part of the town, and thence infers that they do not intend to attack the town – He mentions an attack from a small detachment of the enemy in which they set fire to some of the few remaining houses in Charlestown and surprized and took prisoners a sergeant and four men –The British troops in garrison at Charlestown

* This closing quotation mark likely an error.

supposing it might be an attack on their lines began firing which alarmed the town in which at that time a play called the Blockade of Boston was acting at Faneuil* Hall – fitted up as a theatre and the officers performers. The play was at once broken up as these had at once to join their respective corps

[“]Fuel is the scarcest article and to supply the troops they take down the oldest houses and buildings in this town. In short tis all a scene of desolation You may think by my calling this a quiet state, though two alarms intervened, that we are something used to this business – All Canada is in possession of the Americans save Quebec – Lord Dunmore† Gov^r of Virginia has assembled a party of loyalists and runaway negroes. Gov^r Clinton‡ is said to be going there in expectation of troops from England – We hear great accounts of preparations at home to reduce the colonists, how fas§ a suppression force will overcome them to submission is a doubt, if it does not, the next Spring will open a dreadfull scene – The idea of hostile measures to a great extent makes a man of the least

humanity shudder at the consequences – I feel the strongest attachment to my country at the idea of such a scene of distress – Yet amidst all the evils introduced into the world, there shines one grand source of hope and joy, and true philanthropy would lead us so to conduct in the profession we have made as to commend to the attention of mankind, these glad tidings – The church at New Haven is scatter’d, their principles of subjection to government, would not be tolerated there, and they have principally moved off – Their trial was on an order to furnish themselves, with arms, which they refused, provided their arms were to be employed against the Kings troops – These brethren must be reduced to great straits by thus being driven from their homes and means of living. we are all well but Doctor McKinstry whose change of air and diet with fatigue of his business as a mate** in the hospital has been almost too much for him -- You know his habit is such that we have seen him live through almost every thing. I fear the issue of your debts in this country. I expect little from my own. Those who are happy enough to have large concerns, may now get as much money as they like, but this state of affairs has thrown all property into so precarious a situation, that for my own I have lost all heart to look into them – If by any means I may find enought to pay demands against me, I should think myself happy. we have hitherto seen much of the hand of heaven about us in supplying our wants for present subsistence in an ample manner”

“Our friends who were under inoculation are mostly over it in a promising way – – we have yet no news from our country brethren – Their principles of subjection to the powers that be are so far understood in some places, as that they are suffered to remain quiet, we might if

* Isaac and Margaret both regularly misspell “Faneuil” thus.

† John Murray, Earl of Dunmore (1732-1809).

‡ Perhaps is meant *General* Sir Henry Clinton (1730–1795), who would eventually become commander in chief of the British army in North America (May, 1778).

§ “fast” undoubtedly meant here.

** In the sense of *inmate*?

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 Febry 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 McKinsty 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 necessities 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[†] obtained 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 Hopes till 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 Jan^y 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 immediately, 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 Jan^y, 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.

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“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

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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 woollen 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[?][‡]

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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

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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 desired 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^r 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^r. 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 preceeding 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).

heard that the above named (as supposed Mr Goldthwait) had before his death forbid the merchant who held funds of her husbands, paying any more, to the family, probably on account of debts due him from the deceased adding “one could not suppose that a human being could wish to deceive, cheat and wrong a poor helpless, almost friendless, widow and six orphans, but some time ago he wrote him (the agent) not to pay another bill or farthing for my darling boy at the same time desir’d him to get the money which belong’d to the estate” &c

150 ½ The extracts from these letters are intended to exhibit the situation of the loyalists who had emigrated to England, or other countries under her authority, during the war of the revolution; particularly such as were connected with the family. The correspondence with my great uncle of course ceasing at his death,* those quoted from are all that now exist – we see from these, as well as from others to my father, how great were the privations and distress to which the American loyalists were exposed abroad, these exhibit their strong attachment to the land of their nativity and anxious desire of returning to it – The little asperity discover’d in speaking of their opponents, by whose measures, they had become such severe sufferers is worthy of notice –

Some further mention is made of the situation and circumstances of others of my father’s nearer connections in letters of a subsequent date to him, and which with the design before mention’d I now purpose to quote some extracts from.

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In a letter of my Aunt Hannah Winslow to my father she states, that she had been obliged to take letters of administration on her husband’s estate in England, that the practice in England was totally different from that of New England, “so full of quirks and quibbles that it is impossible even to know them, and if you have any thing to do with law you must have money enough to purchase judges instead of attorneys” &c “I still remain with my father and mother (the former of whom is in the same situation or at times worse than your poor mama lay some time before her death – I yesterday was blessed with a letter from our dear sister Sukey repeating the pleasing account I had received a little time before from our dear Sister Pease of her having taken our dear little girl from that witch of a woman” “Pray give my love to your good little wife and remember me affectionately to all the family that ask after me. Tell Polly† she would be surprized to see how gay Aunt Isaac‡ dresses – Pale pink or yellow are her favorite colors, and she laughs at me for being such an old woman as to wear black still–” – Under date of Dec 1, 1779, Mr Samuel Sparhawk, whose first wife was Hannah Davis

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Sister of my mother writes my father, that by the November packet he had written “Mr Davis for my children to be sent out to me by the first safe opportunity – By the same conveyance I also wrote to you requesting your assistance in this matter in procuring some

* Isaac here comes close to repeating what he has written towards the top of I, 149.

† Isaac’s mother.

‡ If somebody is not making a mistake here, then probably Isaac, Sr.’s widow, Jemima, is meant.

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 encreased* “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 Peppperell. 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 “[j]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 “[j]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 powerfull aid of time and friendship – If I sensibly miss, the high degree in 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 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 determined 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 Jan'y 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 remaind 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 Feby, “^{*}speaking of the want of intelligence from her brothers in New York, and of the distressd state of those of the family who were in Boston she says, “I remember my brother Jack used to say that he never lov^d any of his poor relations, and though I must now be reckond amongst them, yet it pains me to[†]

* note I find a letter from my father to his sister Sukey, dated New York Jany 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, nee 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.

[§] Nee 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.

‡ “of” 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 quartered 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 preceeding 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 Gen^l 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 opened 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 attack from 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

[written sideways bottom to top at left margin, evidently the note referenced by the * on this page]

~~I rather 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 Rodneys 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 confind 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 offerd 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

[written sideways bottom to top at left margin, evidently a note explaining the source of the letter being quoted at the bottom of the page]

anon letter Gent Mag Aug & Sept 1782

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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['] (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'y 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 establishd 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 retired 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, recompensed 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 Joshua’s 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.