

very sound one, becoming continually more and more enfeebled she in a few years sunk, under the burthen of physical and mental malady – Before I enter upon this melancholy part of the family history, (the death of my dear and lamented father) with the incidents connected with it, I purpose to take a general review of his position and circumstances

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from his return to Boston in 1784 to his death in January 1793. From what has been heretofore quoted from my fathers letters it will be perceived, that immediately on his return, many persons with whom he was connected in business in 1776, when the loyalists quitted their native place, applied for settlement of their accounts; at the same time owing to the uncertain position in which he stood, as a returned 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 – To sue the debtors was a right of Citizenship which my father or any returned loyalist could not venture to assume – hence in no business, with no income except his share of his fathers real estate, then from the state of the times, though a large one, either unoccupied, or let at such low rents, as hardly sufficient to pay the repairs, and unsettled debts, especially a heavy one in England, hanging over him, with a growing family, for whom he felt

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always, the greatest, I may say, an undue, anxiety – and with this anxious temperament which led him always to look on the dark, rather than the bright side, his situation was certainly an uncomfortable and embarrassing one – Then again his sisters, who had long and eagerly desired, the presence of their only surviving brother, as well from motives of affection, as that the fathers estate should be settled, naturally clung to this brother as their only support – His uncle Isaac's children, even the sons, who, were entirely ignorant of business themselves looked to my father, not only as Sole Executor of their fathers estate, but as their nearest male friend and adviser – Their Sisters Betsy and Sally being younger, felt as if their cousin had taken the place of their father – Sally had scarcely known any other – Three of his Uncle Isaac's children were in England, and consider'd my father as their friend and agent in this country – His brother Edwards large family in North Carolina and, Isaac's children in England, looked upon him in the same light – so that within a year or two after

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his return, he was involuntarily engaged in an extensive correspondence, and harrassing operations about Estate affairs, which without profit, continually occupied both his time and attention – The estate of his uncle Isaac consisted principally of bonds and mortgages, both in town and country – the debtors in the country, till after the adoption of the funding system, from the poverty and exhaustion of the country, incident to the war of the revolution, had no means of paying their debts – or if they did make any payments on account of the interest, it* they were in the most trifling sums, and settling with these, and listening to their complaints of hard times, occasionally renewing their old obligations, they took up my fathers time, which he could ill spare—Such was the case with the Colrain people,

* Isaac had written "it would be" and then struck through "~~would be,~~" but probably meant to strike through "it" as well.

where my grandfather Winslow owned half the township,* and many lots had been sold before the revolution – Sometimes the debtors would bring down five or Ten Dollars on account of their notes, and spend almost half as many hours in talk – Thus in regard to rents, there was no idea of punctuality at that time – If a tenant paid half

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his quarters rent when due, or postponed it time after time, nothing was thought of it – It was the same in business, not being then the practice, to take notes for goods sold, the buyers were to be sent to for their debts – Of those who paid punctually, it often used to take me a day, when at Mr Amorys store to collect a few hundred Dollars – others, and these some of our most, respectable merchants, would, put off their creditors for months – others again would make peice meal payments as, they had the means. – This system continued I should think, till 1792 or after, when the Banks received notes for collection, and thus brought about, the system of punctual payments since establish'd.

Even after the Estates of my grandfather and great uncle, Isaac, were divided, or in the process of division, half the heirs of each being absent, my father was obliged to act in the new capacity of agent for them in managing their respective shares, hence, a greater correspondence was required, and the same if not greater responsibility and expence of

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time and thought continued to exist, to the time of his death – My uncle Davis had 2 or 3 small vessells, running between Shelburne and Boston, which brought nothing up and loaded down with small notions, of which a cargo would be only 400 or 500\$ for which my father had to advance Cash, having then none to spare for such purposes, and which from the poverty of Shelburne, he could rarely get back when he wanted it – the Commission on such operation was a mere trifle – To this place – to his sister at Newport – Mr Waldo, of Portland &c – he was continually sending the small articles for family use which they required, all which being done personally, took time -- Besides all this being the head of the Sandemanian Society here, he had to correspond with the leading members in London, Connecticut, Portsmouth, Halifax, upon the affairs of the Society, and this besides much friendly correspondence with his relations at a distance, who consider'd him as the organ of communication between them and their American friends generally. Every thing, even to putting letters onboard vessells himself

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providing the supplies wished for by his friends, or the small articles wanted for the family, was attended to by himself in person – But various and dissonant as were these occupations they might have been accomplish'd, with more faciletly than they were, had it not been for the derangement of books and accounts which the frequent, removes of the family caused, and the want of an assistant, who could have attended to the minor affairs In the hurry of removal to Halifax – his Books and papers were left in Boston – In New York and Connecticut, where he kept, Shop, only shopbooks were kept applicable to the local business of these places –. At his sister Sukey's he was a mere temporary resident – In Dock Square, though he had a* little counting room in a chamber of that house, he was not, there long enough to collect his old Books and papers about him – (no doubt intending to sell that

* See above, II, lxxxvi.

house in order to get capital to take up the distillery business—) In the last two houses the same unsettled state of things existed, so that instead of a regular place of business, where all ones papers have accumulated around them, and become so regularly arranged as that transactions of many years back can be at once

[note appended on a pasted-on sheet at the bottom of the page] * This was a little entry chamber, which was kept as a sort of, writing room or Study, and where I used with his assistance in the evening, to con* over my Latin and Greek lessons for the next day – the room had no fireplace, in lieu of which my father had when the weather required it a pot of charcoal, in the room. One evening I had occasion to go out of the room, not sensible of any injury from the charcoal, and opening the door to go into the entry, fell down insensible– . How long this lasted I can't recollect. But I remember to have heard it said, that both of us would have been suffocated in a short time, without being sensible of the danger had we remained in the room a short time longer –

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refer'd to, my father had to keep loose minutes of his affairs by which he might personally have settled accounts of a year or two standing – but which became, entirely insufficient, when applied to a large account like that of his uncles estate of 16 years standing.– This comprehended in it the advances to the heirs, during that period; the acc^{ts} with them were to be settled before the general acc^{ts} could be – and as he could never see any in want, and the elder Sons Sam^l and Isaac were living on their capital, he kept advancing them, as well as the young ones, often according to the custom of the day in very small amounts till the former got nearly double their share of their fathers estate, and the latter and absent ones, not half – Besides which, to the younger ones who lived with him, many small sums taken out of his pocket as they wanted it from day to day were supposed to be never charged at all but more of this hereafter – Every man of business must feel how strong is the power of association in affairs of business, especially when it relates to accounts – For myself

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this association was so strong, that I could hardly write a common letter of friendship out of the counting room – but if a letter of business was to be written or an account prepared, it would have been quite impossible to have done either out of the usual place of writing, and this in regard to the business operations, instantaneous entries of these as they daily occur, being a matter of habit, require no effort – They become matters of record at once – but in my poor fathers case with no regular books from 1776 till his resumption of the distilling business in 1791.– driven about as the family was, for 17 years from place to place, and house to house, he never could collect round him his books and papers, nor resume his early habit of exactness in accounts, so as to know, (that important branch of knowledge to men of business) the exact state of his pecuniary affairs – It was to this unhappy coincidence of circumstances that much of the dreadful issue is to be imputed – His mind naturally an anxious one, and his disposition like mine impatient, he was too desirous to see the end of the business he was engaged in but the means to effect this were scattered about in various places

* The use of the preposition “over” suggests Isaac uses “con” in the sense of *peruse*, although he might mean *memorize*.

or lost, being often on small loose papers – added to this he had all the variety of business before described to do, and none but himself to do it – This made him subject to continual interruptions – when one of the most important affairs he had, was to be adjusted, nothing could be a greater derangement than these interruptions and yet they were quite unavoidable – I well recollect the rough account he drew, taking up several sheets of paper with erasures; alterations, interlineations, such as to prevent any thing like a satisfactory statement of the balance – his absorption of mind and anxiety as to the result – his quitting the matter one afternoon to ride with my mother merely to turn his mind, from a subject which had for some time, either 3 or 4 weeks or many days, so worried and distressed his mind, and from a painful and laborious examination into accounts, which it was not possible for him to settle.

By the partial investigation he had made, he could see that the elder heirs here had received more than their share, and the younger less, but, he could not see that the former collecting the debts of the estate, before he came to Boston, the[?] excess, received by them was if legally yet not equitably, a charge on him, and hence in equity should be borne by the other heirs, or at least partially by him and them.

The rough account he had drawn out was maybe* supposed, very imperfect, as well from the scatter'd materials from – which it was composed, having no regular books whereby to check or prove it as from the haste and hurry in which it was done. I think I found sometime afterwards an error to his own disadvantage in this rough, altered, and blotted account of several pages, to the amount of 1000£ in the mere addition of one column of figures. with the variety of occupations, which devolved upon him as has been mention'd, besides the attention required by the business he was then actively engaged in –(a growing and profitable one) liable to constant interruptions he ought never to have under taken the adjustment of this long and complicated account; the correct issue of which was so very important to his peace of mind – I well remember that at times, when by corrections in the account it appeared more favorable to him, he was elated, and then again, other corrections made him proportionably† depressed – The impatient desire to ascertain the result combined with his naturally anxious temperament and the fear that it would bring him so much in debt to his uncles estate that he could not pay it, no doubt had had for some time affected his nervous system, (for I think the rough account had been a month or two in his hands) beyond what was apparent to his friends. My father both from

temperament and principle cared little for money, only as the medium of doing good to others, his depression of spirits did not therefore arise from the common feeling of worldly men, a fear of the loss of property – but the same temperament and principle led him to dread as the greatest evil, the circumstance of being so situated as not to be able to pay his just debts or that others should lose even by his misfortunes – It was as much impossible for him either recklessly by an imprudent exposure to take undue hazards in business – or by design to do any thing by which to acquire what was not his own or cause loss to others as it would have been in his sound mind, to have cut the throats of his wife, and children.

* Probably an “it” omitted and “maybe” intended as two words (“may be”), but Isaac’s quill never left the page.

† Evidently Isaac’s coinage.

Had my grandfather Davis have come up as was talked, ~~of~~^{at} this season, the result might perhaps by the will of God, been different – A year or two after he did come, he took up, the accounts between my father and his uncles estate – This writing in his own room nearly every day, and quite uninterrupted took him nearly a whole winter if not more – He made a list of all the bonds, notes &c of the estate, as they were at the death of my great uncle Isaac – drew a number of parallel columns, shewing the accruing interest

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delivery of Bonds or notes to each heir, to the widow, &c In short the most elaborate and well arranged statement I had ever seen, and made the estate considerably in debt to my father – But it was too late, the heirs by agreement took all the remaining bonds and notes, did not call on the Estate for the balances due from the overpaid heirs, and no settlement was ever made of the general account with the estate or the particular heirs –

The time it took such an excellent accountant as my grandfather Davis with nothing else to attend do to arrange, and settle this account shows how utterly unfit my father was to undertake it – as well from temperament as, from, the unremitted[†] pressure of other engagements, and the daily cares, principally for others, which was his lot from early life. If I recollect right on the Saturday night before his death, he was in a little study where he generally wrote; looking over and correcting the rough and blotted pages refer'd to – His general habit on this day was to study the bible Sat^y Evg^s. This might however have been the friday night before –

It is probable to me, that he had felt for years, the pressures of the various and distracting avocations[‡] into which circumstances had led him. The

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calls upon his time were encreased also by his natural feeling, enforced by principle to “do good to all men,”[§] extending it to those little attentions and courtesies of life, which would soothe the feelings, or promote the innocent happiness of his friends – He often has mentiond in my hearing, or to me when merely a boy, after his return to Boston, how much he missed his brothers, and his want of the counsels of a judicious and experienced friend – often too did he say to me, after I was placed at Mr Amory’s, how much he wanted the assistance of some one in his business, and sometimes refer with pleasure to his years residence in Connecticut, where he scarcely felt care, (that of his own family being but as a feather, compared with the weight which the care for half a dozen families, imposed upon him when he, returned to Boston)– The absence of ambition Pride and vanity, from his own religious circle, and apparently at least in the village society – the unaffected kindness and hospitality of his friends there, the simplicity and naturalness, without rudeness, of manner, amongst the inhabitants, the comfortable way in which they lived, consuming the abundant produce of their own farms and dairies, having no market near at hand, the tranquillity of this inland farming town,

* I take the striking through of “of” to be an error.

† Although Webster does not, *OED* recognizes this as a near synonym of *unremitting*, meaning *constant*.

‡ An archaic sense meaning *distraction*, the use of which here is of course redundant given the word preceding.

§ Galatians 6:10: “As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith.”

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and above all, the uninterrupted enjoyment of his own family – These, combined made the residence in Newtown, if not the happiest, yet amongst the happiest periods of my fathers life – Of this mention has been before made.

It was ~~here~~ in a large place like Boston* that that conflict with himself, which a man of his principles could not but have was as it were in abeyance. The society to which he belonged would admit no religious intercommunication, with any other religious Sects, all of which indiscriminately they consider'd antichristian – in regard to others nonprofessors, they allowed the utmost freedom of intercourse but their own society were continually exhorted to keep themselves “unspotted of the world”† to consider themselves as pilgrims and strangers on earth &c – Now this conflict was nothing in a country town, where there was rather a numerous society of his views, whose tenets were well known, and no friends, whose opposite convictions, it was painful to oppose – Not only was such not the case in Boston, but the temptation to mingle more with the world, or to be carried away by its absorbing cares, was much greater than in Newtown – I recollect two cases soon after we returnd, In one my Aunt where we first lived had

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pigeons for dinner – These are always strangled, and the Sandemanians did not allow blood or things strangled to be eaten – my father forbad my eating them – another time the same Aunt asked me to go to church on a Christmas day, being a week day – I wanted to go, but he would not permit it – these are trifles, but they prove the conflict which a conscientious person feels in opposing, what his nearest friends consider inane[?] scruples. When at Newport, I constantly went to Church, with my Aunt Malbone – and at a still later period used very frequently in the afternoon to go to other places of worship than the meeting – In the morning I always went with my father to the Sandemanian Society, who owned a meeting house in Hanover Street – My mother seldom or ever went out, either to that meeting or elsewhere – I dare say that this disposition of the children to leave their fathers place of worship, which by the way with very few exceptions all the children of the society did when they grew up, was a painful matter to my father and other parents – It was apart‡ of the conflict he was called to suffer in Boston which would have been avoided in Newtown – Yet such external conflicts were light compared with those which probably agitated him internally.

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Being the head of the Society here, he was naturally expected to be an example of Christian self denial, and abstraction from the world, not entangling himself with the cares or riches or pleasures of this life – Of the latter 2 he certainly was not desirous, yet from his position in and connections in life Society,§ (from which the rules of the Society did not require that he

* “in a large place like Boston” added via caret after the struck through “here,” which would seem precisely to reverse Isaac’s intended meaning. That is, it appears that he intended to say it was here in a place like *Newtown* that Isaac’s conflicts were in abeyance.

† James 1:27: “Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world.”

‡ Error for “a part.”

§ Isaac seems to have misplaced a caret in inserting “and connections in life.” Most likely he meant to write, “Yet from his position in Society and connections in life”

should detach himself) he might appear to superficial observers to be as much of the world as others – Now the conflict with him, as with every conscientious man, must have been, to reconcile worldly cares and duties with his christian profession – He had no doubt that a christian might and ought, faithfully to fulfill; the duties of life to which his circumstances called him, and in his usual state of mind, considered so doing as comprehended in the precept – “Do good to all men,” . but from great tenderness of conscience, combined with much natural sensibility, he feared that he had engaged himself too deeply in concerns of the world – in its cares and anxieties, when in point of fact these were equally unsought for, and undesired by him, and really devolved on him in a great measure from the influence in his mind of the Divine precept, which with his natural position as head of the family, render’d the avoidance of his various and multiplied exertions for the benefit of others, almost impossible. The habit of close self examination, of looking at our characters as they appear in the eyes of Him to whom all hearts are open, undoubtedly leads to a sense of self blame, and with it self indifference, in many cases self hatred, of which those who consider immoralities only as Sin, have little or no idea of; -- This in a confiding and believing mind if sound, is effectively counteracted by a view of the forgiving mercy of God, or confession of Sin, whether of the refined kind, like those proceeding from, the imagination and heart (call’d in Scripture thoughts and intents of the heart) or the gross immoralities of Society – But, when in a disturbed and agitated State, still firmly believing that God is, and must be always merciful and gracious to the greatest Sinner, and

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the sufferer, admitting this truth as undeniable, still the sense of self blame, brings into view in vivid colours, all his past transgressions in awful array, before the awakend conscience, and, he doubts not, the mercy of God, as a general proposition, yet is this no consolation to the afflicted one, whose wounded conscience, disturbed mind, and agitated feelings, forbid his applying this; to his own particular case – The language of his heart is –“God can indeed shew mercy to the greatest of sinners, but not to me I am past his mercy – and hope, which comes to all, comes not to me.”

In no religion was the doctrine of entire and unqualified dependence in the Divine mercy and grace (especially manifested in the Gospel dispensation,) more strongly inculcated, than amongst the Sandemanians, and in none, was the inseparable connection between Faith and works, more firmly insisted on. This tenet certainly true in itself, equally the dictate of common sense, (actions speak louder than words) and Scripture, may, like most other truths be carried to too great an extreme, as I think it was with the Society,* -- They had no doubt, that Faith or trust in the Divine promises, especially of pardon and acceptance in and by Jesus Christ, was all sufficient for the guiltiest child of Adam, but, every one, was thus led to doubt, when he sinned (and who does not sin daily either in thought in word, or in deed?) whether, he was in the faith, or ever had been so – In the correspondence with each other, and those the most exemplary, the doubt of the respective writers, whether they were or ever had been in the truth, was often expressed.– and to fear lest self delusion and self deception, of which so much is constantly visible amongst mankind, had not misled them in assuming a faith which the daily recurring sinful emotions of one kind or another, led them to fear, was a nominal one. And this not from a sense of what the world calls immoralities, which no class of Christians more studiously

* At this point, the Roman numeral page numbers and the Arabic corrections in red ink cease.

avoided, and were exempt from, than this religious society. The self blame, in a tender and enlightened conscience (always the concomitant of a strict self examination,) was thus, under circumstances of mental depression

(* see note overleaf)

[verso of the preceding]*

Note Mr Sandeman affirms Vol. 2 Pa 85[†] that true christians [“]cannot warrantably be assured of their happy state by any exercise of mind, without the fruits of faith or the self denied works of obedience” – This is an answer to Mr Erskines warning to his hearers against a doubtsome[‡] faith – It is a delicate subject. On the one hand measuring ones faith, by its fruits or works of obedience seems carried to its full extent to come to the same thing as justification by works – On the other hand – once justified always justified., and its consequence that Believers Sins are no Sins at all is not a Scripture doctrine – Perhaps the just medium is, that ones brethren should by all possible means comfort & sustain the self condemned, and firmly exhort and reprove the careless or self deceived.

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in many cases known to me[§] the means of weakening, paralyzing, and eventually destroying, the peace and hope and joy of those whose especial faith was that Jesus came into the world to Save Sinners even the chief –.

Firmly persuaded as I am that man is justified by Faith (or as I prefer, the same word as translated in the old testament trust) without the deeds of the law – and also that works are the necessary and inseparable concomitants & fruits of Trust – yet I think it worthy of deep consideration, to what extent, this, in accordance with the scripture, should be carried. Murder and adultery, might well, even to a harden’d conscience, lead the offender justly to judge, that he could not be in the faith – and to a tender conscience the mere indulgence of sinful motions in the imagination, would lead to the same self judgement and self condemnation – It can’t indeed be true that a man professing to believe in the Gospel of Jesus, can continue in allowed & habitual sin – nor yet is it true, that by the same Gospel, forgiveness of Sins and the peace of God, is withheld from the repenting sinner even at the last gasp, as witness the thief on the Cross. Where then is the happy medium between these? Is it in human power to decide? Can anyone say where the line of distrust in God or expiring faith begins whether at Doubt – at Despondency, or at Despair? If we affirm that the existence and recurrence of Sins, which every experienced Christian knows and feels occur daily, is evidence that we are not in the faith, then are we not thrown back upon legal obedience, as a necessary test of faith, and mean of justification? If on the other hand we

* The first four lines of this page are evidently a first attempt at p. 155 and have been struck through. Isaac’s note follows these.

† Isaac appears to get the reference wrong. I have it as p. 285 of Robert Sandeman, *Letters On Theron And Aspasio, Addressed To The Author* (Boston: Weeks Jordan & Co., 1838).

‡ Isaac picks this up from Sandeman on the same page. *Webster’s* recognizes this as synonymous with *doubtful*, though British dialectical. *OED* concurs and identifies the region as Scotland and the north of England.

§ These first words of the page are inserted via caret and in parens, though probably simply not to confuse them with the page running header identifying volume and chapter against which they run up and which are likewise in parens no doubt for the same reason. Note too that we are still in the middle of a sentence at the bottom of p. 155 preceding the note.

take the converse of this – “Once in grace always in grace” then do we not, contradict Divine truth by allowing that men may resist their own conscientious convictions (till they are almost effaced) by continuing in sin, that grace may abound – The truth seems to be that while the habitual and hardened sinner, realizes little or no sin as between himself and God – the sensitive conscience imagines danger of Sin in every, movement whether in thought, word or deed. the former can be led to a change only by the power of God acting on his fears – But fear is most injudiciously applied when the distressed conscience, overwhelm’d with a sense of exceeding sinfulness, is sinking in the gulf of despair with the most terrifying apprehensions. In the latter case, the unbounded mercy and grace of God only, should be presented to the afflicted, despairing soul – The still small voice of Gospel mercy may find admission to the wounded breast – The commanding tones of Justice cannot but add to the disorders in a state of mental depression –

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Well observes Luther “The law is a familiar and continual dweller within thee, but in time of temptation the Gospel is a stranger” – in such cases he adds “Let the law now depart and the Gospel come, for there is now no time to hear the law but the Gospel.”* Every man whose conscience is enlightend, continually finds himself a sinner in the sight of Him, to whom the secret thoughts and intents of the heart are open – and in some adverse circumstances in life, I think the Devil (or the spirit of evil born with us all) leads us to doubt (if as all of us deserve), whether under certain external afflictions God is not showing his anger to a rebellious and helpless child – against such imagined anger who can stand? In cases of great mental depression, and distress, it seems as if all human consolations, even those derived from the Gospel, are unavailing – These offerd and accompanied with all the sympathy of brotherly love, seem to fall on a witherd heart and, unhearing ears, affording little or no comfort to those who will not be comforted – But if the balm of mercy sometimes fails to relieve the prostrate spirits, the corrosive of law certainly cannot effect a cure – Mr Sandeman indeed affirms that “a believer can find ease to his guilty conscience only by that truth which relieves the openly profane – if he seek it in any other way he ceases to be a believer or never was one”† – He seems to have made no allowance for that common weakness of our common nature, in that often what we would, we do not, and what we hate, that we do (Rom 7.15)‡ – The influence of the passions or affections – of our own grief – sorrow – zeal, fear &c in suspending and for a time paralyzing, a religious trust and faith, as in the examples of Jacob, Samson, David – Job – Peter - &c all of whom, though eminent saints, yet under the action of excited feelings, seem to have been at times, without faith – I rather think that the sentiment of Mr Sandeman was too much acted upon by his followers in such cases as my fathers –

If distrust in the mercy of God, is as will be admitted, an evil, from the influence of the devil within, and permitted as a trial of our faith (“Blessed is he that endureth temptations,”) yet in cases (such as that under consideration, and others, I have

* See e.g., Martin Luther, *A Commentary on Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (London: B. Blake, 1833), 86. Isaac has done some rearranging of the text. The commentary here is upon verse 14.

† Sandeman wrote, “If he seek it any other way, he ceases to be a believer; or rather it appears he never was one, however just a title he had to the name from others.” *Letters On Theron And Aspasio*, 358.

‡ Romans 7:15: “For that which I do I allow not: for what I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I.”

known,) where feelings predominate over mind conscience and even will – if human sympathy

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can bring no relief, must it not be on the assumed ground, that a vital principle tho' weak and feeble, and fluttering yet exists? or can the desponding and despairing soul be, encouraged or reanimated, if assured that the vital principle is extinct?

In ordinary cases, nothing was more striking in the habits of this religious Society, than the mutual love and sympathy which existed between its members so long as they continued in what was esteemed the faith of the Gospel – or in the belief of the truth, but when this truth, was, departed from, or supposed to be, it seemed as if they thought human aid was useless, and that a distressed conscience, not relieved by the contemplation of Gospel mercy, and truth; could have no consolation from human sympathy, however strongly felt and earnestly exhibited –

“a wounded spirit who can bear”^{*} – To relieve the distressed conscience is in many cases certainly not within human power especially when the mind has lost its balance, and imagination the most powerful of its faculties, for good or evil – has obtain'd the ascendancy over both reason and will – Fruitless is it then to urge that if the Sin of man is great, the mercy of God is greater – and If his little children are exhorted “not to sin” – yet is it added that “if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous”[†] True as this is, yet it is also true, that the Gospel of grace, the only effectual medicine, must in such cases be administer'd – and nothing but the Gospel –

The members of this religious society had generally from conscientious scruples, taken the royal side, during the revolutionary contest. Most of them went to Halifax some to England, so that on my fathers return, and till his death, the numbers very few, and none of them of that order of minds,

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which in affairs of religion, as in those of worldly policy seem adapted to be leaders – for such there must be in every kind of Society – They were generally amiable men, humble Christians and sincere friends – but as I now think with minds too much shackled by the opinions of men – Mr Howe who was my fathers only adviser, was one of this cast, a man of good natural sense, but like the followers of superior minds in all religious sects, more tenacious of derived opinions than the leaders if living, would be themselves – Mr Howe certainly erred in judgement in acquiescing and thus confirming the sentence of self condemnation, which a weakend mind, and tender conscience, had assumed, but he did not deserve the severe censures which those of the same religious opinions in New York and Connecticut passed upon his conduct, as actually unfeeling and inhuman – He was not aware, nor was I, or the family till after the fatal event, that my fathers mind was not merely disturbed and distressd, but unbalanced and alienated,[‡] now no one around him knew, that a monomania, (induced probably by many months previous anxiety, in regard to the affairs of his uncles estate the accounts relating to which he had been long trying to arrange,) had

* Proverbs 18: 14: “The spirit of a man will sustain his infirmity; but a wounded spirit who can bear?”

† 1 John 2: 1: “My little children, these things write I unto you, that ye sin not. And if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.”

‡ Meaning *insane*.

actually begun – In such case no one can say, that, had he have had more judicious advisers, or had the gospel hope been held up to him in all its healing influence, the result would have been different, while yet it may be said, that the experiment should have been tried – The voice of stern indwelling Law should if possible have been silenced by the gentle tones of Gospel mercy. The instance of Job might have been adduced to show that occasional distrust, is but an evidence of human weakness, leading us off from self dependence, to look to God for strength. In mental or bodily distress, when this self dependence so natural to man, proves but a quicksand, it is no time to reprove a brother, for taking the fallacious road which led to it – he should rather, if his mind is sound should be, comforted, “lest he be swallowed up of overmuch sorrow”^{*} – 2 Cor 2. 7 – If the mind is so disturbed that neither the voice affection or reason is listen’d to, it is useless, and cruel to try the scourge –

My father was from conscience and feeling extremely opposed to suicide which I have overheard him say was equally unchristian and cowardly – I cannot but think suicide generally, but not in all cases, evidence an insane mind – “No man” says Paul “ever yet hated his own flesh but nourisheth it, and cherisheth it”[†] – Can the man who destroys that flesh, and that against his own conscience and sense of right, be in the possession of his right mind?

^{*} 2 Corinthians 2: 7: “So that contrariwise ye ought rather to forgive him, and comfort him, lest perhaps such a one should be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow.”

[†] Ephesians 5: 29: “For no man ever yet hated his own flesh; but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as the Lord the church.”

Chapter Seventeen (Volume Two, Chapter Five)

A narrative of the particular circumstances of his father's death; painful and still vivid recollections, but ones that are valuable to him to reflect upon and may be so to his children – His father's last day; depressed, he does not go to Meeting, which surprises and distresses the family; visit from Mr. Howe and the minutes he wrote of his meeting; Isaac's father tells him he found he had "done wrong"; his worries about the unsettled estates; "Oh my dear babies"; afraid that missing meeting "is the wickedest step of all"; Mr. Howe agrees "certainly it was very bad," but urges him go out among his friends; Isaac's father afraid to be seen, that his looks would betray him; "He appeared wild"; The visit not beneficial, but Mr. Howe did not deserve the severe censure soon applied to him by some of the Society; "My dear son, what can I do?"; the family's growing distress; Isaac's father goes out, the family assuming he had sufficiently regained his spirits to attend the customary Sunday gathering of the Society; the family's intensifying anxiety when Isaac's father fails to return at his usual hour; Isaac visits the Society and is surprised to discover his father hadn't attended; nothing to do but wait; sitting up all night with his mother and cousin Eliza; unspeakable distress; at daylight Isaac visits his Aunt Pollard; Mr. Blanchard searches with Isaac along the wharves but they find nothing; Mr. Amory being away, Isaac has sole charge of the counting house, so he goes to work; returning home at dinnertime, he finds that his father's body had been found at low tide at Lyman's Wharf and conveyed home, where it now lay in the front parlor – Why might his father have chosen Lyman's Wharf as the place of his death? – The evident insanity of his father's so doing – The disordered mind evident in his sending Aunt Pollard about a thousand dollars on the day of his death; neither Isaac nor his aunt ever understood why – how religious scruples and financial worries combined to unbalance his reason – a digression on Christianity and suicide – The effects of the suicide on the Sandemanians; Letter from Hopedill Capen to Mr. Tillinghast; Mr. Humphreys believes it was a judgement for the Society's evolving worldliness; beginnings of a controversy and schism away from the church in England and Connecticut; The church at Danbury's reply; letter from Mr. Dechezeau to Mr. King in New York, mistaken in its belief that Isaac's father had told Mr. Howe of his plan to kill himself; Isaac's further reflections on the suicide and the Society; more about Mr. Humphreys' extreme reaction, he sells his house and property, gives the proceeds to the poor, and burns his books in the street; disapproved by the old Society as self-righteous or even deranged; Isaac thinks it likely Mr. Humphreys too was mentally unbalanced; he convenes a public confession at which he connects the Revolution in France with signs of

the Second Coming; not alone in this view, common among the Millenarians.

~~CLIX~~*

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The observations in the last chapter will prepare the reader for a more particular narrative of the circumstances of my dear father's lamented death – an event which now (1842) after the lapse of nearly half a century, is as fresh in my recollection, as a thing of yesterday. Indeed, the remembrance of the melancholy termination of his mortal life, never fails to bring up the feelings, though alleviated by the lapse of years, which agitated me at the time. These indeed are painful, and yet believing that every event in life, whether of a prosperous or adverse nature, may, if view'd, in connection with the over ruling sovereignty of God, and rightly applied, be made subservient to the good of man. I stifle these feelings in consideration of the personal benefit I derive from the retrospection, as well, as from that which others, especially my dear children, may derive, from an event so deeply interesting to their father, of which they have known only the outline –

The first notice which the family had of the dreadful depression under which my father labor'd was

~~CLX~~

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on the very day of his death – Sunday 20 January, but my mother and others noticed it, many days before. He was depressed in spirits in the morning of that day, but not so much so as to attract the notice of any of the family, except perhaps my mother, who said nothing. But when the second bells were ringing for the morning service, and it was always his usual habit to go out early to meeting, to the surprize of us all he did not go. His depression of mind was then apparent to the family, and my mother and self endeavoured all we could to, cheer him up, urging him to go to meeting to open his mind to his friends, in hopes this might relieve the evidently over burthen'd mind – our efforts however were unavailing, he could not be prevailed on to go out, and continued in the same melancholy desponding, depressed state all the forenoon – Anxious that he, should get some relief, and having no doubt that his distress arose from a troubled conscience (to which his own tender conscience and susceptible temperament made him peculiarly liable) I took the liberty, I presume with the concurrence of my mother, then almost as distressed as he was, to

~~CLXI~~

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send one of the boys for Mr Howe to come and see him. He came, soon after meeting, and had considerable conversation with my father in the front room apart from the family and then left the home about 2 oClock – The purport of this conference between them will best be seen by a copy of Mr Howes minutes[†] of it taken at or near the time “Mr W was out at our Wednesday evening meeting as usual, spoke very little and appear'd very dull, however

* The fact that this and following pages again have Roman numeral page numbers that have been struck through and corrected Arabic numerals (in red ink), as was the case above on pp. II, 134-55, suggests that pp. II, 156-58 were written and inserted afterwards, as does the fact that we also have in that series pages 156 ½ and 156 ¾. Perhaps Isaac's original pp. 156-58 were discarded and new pages written to replace them and additions to these subsequently made yielding the fractional pages. In other words, we might infer that Isaac wrote, rewrote, and expanded his first attempts to work through the psychological and theological aspects of suicide.

† And see below, IV, 11, for an extract of a letter from Isaac to his brother Edward mentioning this document.

his conduct did not, much alarm any of the brethren, tho' I must confess I felt pained at it, but, attributed it to a different cause, to what it now appears to have arose from. None of the brethren saw him alive after – except myself. On Sabbath morning we waited longer for him than usual, but neither he nor any of his children came to meeting in the forenoon, in the afternoon three of the children came.

Immediately after meeting both Sister Davis and I sent our sons to enquire after his welfare,

CLXII

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Nathan came back, and said he was poorly or unwell, my Son William when he came back, said he saw Mr Winslow walking about the room, that Isaac would not let him go in, but said his father was unwell, and wish'd, (that is Isaac) that I would come up there after dinner – both messages appear'd to me rather strange, and led several of us to resolve in our minds, what could be the matter, & whether we had given any ground of offence, which had caused such conduct &c – I accordingly went and with somehow a strange prepossession* that something important would be the issue, grounded on my apprehensions before mention'd – I knock'd at the door as usual. Mr W came and in a sudden and unusual manner immediately open'd the front room door, and as soon as he open'd the door, in a strange and very indifferent way said – [“I could not come out to meeting – I found I had done wrong, and being called upon by my uncles children, I find I shall not have near enough to pay them[”] – and repeated [“I could not come[”] – Though he said [“if I could settle my own affairs I should have enough to pay every one, but now

CLXIII CLII⁴⁶³ CLXIII[†] Vol 2 Chap 5

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other people must settle them[”]; and likewise said if it was not for the profession he could get through with them[‡] – I asked him what he meant, Had he shut himself up?[”] (the old phrase for failing in business)[”] or had he divulged his situation in such a way as that his creditors had press'd him – He said no –. I asked him if he had brought his matters to such a close as to know with certainty his situation – He seem'd rather to give an evasive answer, but repeated, [“I found my affairs so deranged that I could not go to meeting,[”] and seem'd to me to wish there to end, and repeated two or three times [“I dare not salute you[”]”] (alluding to the kiss of charity practiced by the Society on meeting each other) – [“Such strange and unusual conduct as it were struck me dumb – We walked backwards and forwards the room for a quarter of an hour, in the course of which he said he was afraid this step of staying at home, was worst of all – While we were in the room one of the little boys

* Meaning here *an impression formed beforehand*, although *premonition* would be the more expected word.

† Isaac first transposed the “L” and the “X,” then he omitted the “X,” then turned to Arabic numerals, finally he gets the Roman numeral page number as he had originally intended (though ultimately still off by one. The strike throughs of the first two page numbers are in brown ink; the remainder in red.

‡ “Profession” here is ambiguous. Mr. Howe takes it in the (at the time recognized) sense of *employment* or *business*, though he fails to understand exactly what Isaac’s father would have meant by this. Isaac’s later regrets about having taken upon himself too much business support this interpretation. But it is possible that the word is used in the sense, also recognized at the time, of *a religious body*, in which case his point might be that but for his responsibilities as head of the Sandemanians in Boston he would have had the time to get his affairs settled. Or he might mean, what seems to me less likely, that his religious scruples have somehow interfered with his settling his and his late uncle’s affairs.

looked in and said [“Pa, did any body come in[?]”] – he said [“only Mr Howe my dear,[?]”] and turned from him saying – “Oh

~~CLXIV~~ ¹⁶⁴

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Oh* my dear babes” – Soon after he said “You have got cold, you had better go into the other room[?]” which I did accordingly – Two or three of the children were there when I went in, which he sent out – Mrs Winslow came at the same time out of his counting room (a small room adjoining the parlor) and looking exceedingly distressed, as did the children, passed without speaking into the kitchen – We then sat down – many things passed which very much distressed me, particularly he said, he had done wrong in involving himself in so much business, into not laying open his difficulties to the brethren – I asked him if he had never disclosed them to Brother Humphries, he said no, appeared much agitated sometimes sitting sometimes walking the room and frequently repeated “I am afraid this is the wickedest step of all” and I think almost every time added in not going to meeting, and asked me if I did not think so. I told him certainly it was very bad[†] -- He told me his family urged him to go, that they were much distressed, and Isaac said he knew if he

~~CLXV~~ ~~CLXV~~[‡]

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went out amongst his friends, something would turn up to ease his mind. I likewise urged him almost I fear beyond what was becoming in hopes of the same thing – but he said he could not hold up his head among the brethren – his head was deranged – his very looks, would betray him, and said that his neighbors and in short the multitude, must know he staid[§] at home, and therefore judge of the motives – When I remonstrated against such idle whims, he more earnestly insisted he would not come out, and likewise said, it would be said in a sneering way, where is your conscience? This I took pointed to his conduct towards his cousins – He appeared wild, said [“I sometimes think there is no hope for me[?]”] – I urged him to have such of the brethren as could come, to come and see him after meeting, to which he made no reply, and when I urged him to come to Sister Cottons in the evening, in a strange way he said he would not come, he had something to attend to. And when I reluctantly left him he said [“Day Day[?]”] – an old fashion phrase for Good bye)

~~CLXVI~~ ~~CLXVI~~

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By this report of Mr Howe of the particulars of the interview between him and my father, it seems I was mistaken in supposing I sent one of my brothers for Mr Howe – The message from me to him was probably sent by his own son – No doubt Mr Howes memorandum made at the time is more correct than my recollections –

It will no doubt be perceived that the result of this interview was any thing but beneficial to my father – The coincidence of Mr H. in the self blame which a

* Since the first “Oh” occurs at the end of the previous page, it is impossible to tell if Isaac mean to repeats the “Oh”s or if the first simply anticipates the first word of the page following (Isaac’s occasional practice, resorted to, e.g., at the bottom of the current page).

† Most probably the underlining is Isaac’s added emphasis.

‡ I do not understand the double numbering here or on the following page, but on subsequent pages Isaac initially omits the “X.” Perhaps Isaac had omitted the “X”s here as well, corrected them, but thought better of it and decided to rewrite the numbers more legibly. Strike throughs in red ink.

§ “Stayed” surely is meant, which Isaac usually spells “staid.”

bleeding conscience heaps upon itself, actuated by which, my father is* his then state of mind, thought his not going to meeting “was the wickedest step of all” – was adding fuel to the flame – the blood letting of a patient expiring from the loss of blood – Yet Mr H was a kind hearted and conscientious man – cold and reserved indeed and of a temperament not at all adapted to sympathize, with such a case as my fathers – but certainly not deserving of the severe censure which some of the society applied to him at the time –

It has been said that the interview with Mr Howe produced no good effect – In the afternoon

~~CLVII-CLXVII~~

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of Sunday the same or a greater depression of spirits existed – and the hoped for relief from an interview with his Christian brethren, could no longer be looked to as, a source of hope – I think it was in the morning that urging him to go out to meeting or do something to alleviate his distress he threw his arms around my neck saying “my dear son what can I do” – At one time in the course of the day, he said he would go and offer himself as a servant to Mr Gore (then a distinguished lawyer in Boston)], at another time, that if he went out to meeting everybody in the streets would be looking at him.

This dragged on the heavy hours of Sunday afternoon – a mournful silence pervaded the family – every face was distress’d – every heart corroded with grief – after tea, he put on his hat and coat to go out, and as it was the custom of the society always to pass the evenings of the Lords day together, in which my father never failed, my mother and the family, supposing certainly, that, though evidently averse to going out in the day time, yet, this impression that he

~~CLVII-CLXVIII~~

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would be the subject of general observation to all men would be got over in the evening, felt more at ease when he had gone out, in the anticipation of seeing him return from the evening meeting, which generally broke up at 9 oClock, in an improved state of mind and more cheerfully disposed – But when 10 oClock came, and our dear friend yet absent, then was the anxiety of us all, not only renew’d but most intensely increased – I went directly to Mr Howes house, where Mrs Cotton then lived, and where, the Lords day evening meetings, were generally held, and to my unutterable surprize, found, that he had not been there, nor had Mr Howe seen him since dinner time – I then retraced my steps homeward, hoping to have found him come in during my absence – But no father was there – I then went to my Aunt Pollards thinking it possible, but by no means probable, he might be there – They had heard nothing of him – where else to go, I knew not – and return’d home fondly hoping to see the lost one there – Alas he was not – There was nothing then to be

~~CLIX-CLXIX~~

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done, but to wait with patience – If I recollect right, my mother, my cousin Eliza Winslow then staying with us and myself sat up all night. the former then an invalid, sat in her chair with closed or half open eyes, the very personification of grief – while Eliza Winslow sat by her, silent – watchful for every noise, hoping yet hardly daring to hope – all overwhelmed with that unspeakable distress, which an anxious and worrying state of suspense, in such a case, cannot fail to produce – There was however a faint hope with us in the course of the

* “in” no doubt intended here.

night that our friend might have slept at a stage house, with a view of seeing his particular friend and Christian brother Mr Humphries at Portsmouth – what straw will not the drowning catch at? But this weary – weary, anxious distressed night passed finally over – As soon as it was day light, I went to my Aunt Pollards with whom Mr & Mrs Blanchard* resided, roused him from his sleep, and told him our situation at home, and that I wanted him to go out with me, to search for my father – no one

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could be more kind than he was upon this occasion. He got up, at once dressed himself and we set out on this melancholy search – taking our course to Charlestown bridge, and thence going down nearly every wharf, even the very one where his body was afterwards found, at low tide – For not finding him at Mr Howes the night before, nor afterwards at home, I had a sort of presentiment, and that rather a strong one, that his death would follow, but why I should think this would happen by drowning I cannot tell – but I well recollect in going down and near the wharves that I had an impression I should see his dead body lying on the bottom, and I probably should, had it been low tide. – The Monday morning was a dark foggy morning the 21st January, the weather very mild, and no snow nor ice, even in the docks – what a melancholy errand for a lad of 19 to be looking for the[†] corpse of one which[‡] but a few hours before had been the living body of a dearly beloved father – The Search was ineffectual – I presume, I went to the Store as usual

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of which, the head Mr Amory being then absent on a journey to Portland, was entirely under my charge – In the course of the forenoon, the body of my deceased father was brought home to the house (We then lived in, in Sudbury Street) having been found in the dock at Lymans Wharf in Ann Street, near the marine rail way, a spot, which till obliterated by the extension of Commercial Street, more than forty years afterwards; I never could pass, without a Shudder –

It was found at low water on the forenoon of Monday, and soon recognized to be the body of my poor father – and owing to the kindness of a Mr Alexander wharfinger[§] of the Long Wharf, who happen'd to be near the place, was kindly conveyd to the house – When I returned home at dinner time, full of the most anxious concern, I found the Corpse in our front Parlor**

* Joshua and Margaret (Peggy) Savage Pollard Blanchard, parents of Isaac's first cousin once removed and first wife, Margaret Blanchard Winslow. So Isaac here turns to his future father-in-law for help.

† Several words—almost a whole line's worth—at this point very heavily struck through and over so as to be entirely illegible.

‡ “which” inserted via caret before a struck through “~~who~~.”

§ The operator or manager of a commercial wharf.

** Several papers carried a notice of Isaac's father's death, such as this from the *Massachusetts Mercury*, Jan. 22, 1793, p. 3:

DIED]—*Suddenly*, Mr. Isaac Winslow, *Sen.* His funeral will proceed from his late dwelling house, Sudbury-street, to morrow afternoon at half past 3 o'clock, precisely, when his friends and relations are requested to attend without particular invitation.

Isaac's father was referred to as “Senior” following his uncle Isaac's death in 1777 in New York. The only other notice I have found of his death occurs in the then 25 year-old John Quincy Adams' diary entry of January 21:

What were my feelings on this occasion and the intensity of those of my dear mother, may be imagined, they cannot be described—

Were the circumstances already mention'd insufficient to shew the disturbed state of my father's mind and that he seemed hardly to know what he did, that of his last action being, the going to Lyman's wharf, and either falling off the wharf or throwing himself in; (the latter as I believe,) would alone manifest his insanity. With this gentleman* he had large transactions in business., He was endorser on notes at the bank, and I think also surety on Excise bonds to the government – It is possible from the confused state of my fathers mind, this connection of business, might have pressed on his mind, associated with the notion of worldly mindedness, and some wild disorder'd fancy, have been uppermost, that as by Mr L. came extended worldly business, from that cause death, would ensue – or fearing he might fall in debt to him, it should be paid by his death, as it were under the eyes of his Creditor – But this is all conjecture – It is to be doubted, if his mental powers, were at that time, in a State, to form and follow out any train of reasoning whatever – more probably all the incidents of his past life especially the later ones, were working in wild confusion in his brain – and all with viper stings, aggravating the wounds which self blame causes to a tender, and awaken'd conscience – blame, which the worldly moralist, would think perfectly visionary and the Christian believer in Gospel mercy, insanity or near it.

Mr Lyman was in fact no sufferer by my fathers death – I paid the excise bonds after his death, and I think he owed the estate money –

Another incident shewing the disorder'd, or more properly deranged state of his mind, was his giving me for his sister Pollard, a State note, as well as I recollect for 800 or 1000 dollars,† on the Sunday of his death which when after his death I gave her according to his

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wishes, neither my Aunt Pollard, nor myself understood why it was given, nor did I ever know. Long afterwards when I came to have the management and settlement of my grandfather Winslows estate of which my father was Executor – I found about \$ 2000 due my Aunt from that source and paid her in full –

Indeed the more I think of the circumstances accompanying my dear father's last days, and melancholy end, the more I am persuaded, that religious feelings operating upon a very sensitive and anxious disposition a tender conscience, and high sense of justice and fidelity, in the exact performance of trusts, a most scrupulous principle in the payment of debts and the unfounded fear of being unable to pay them – constitutionally too of a desponding character of mind – all combined, did at first unsettle and disturb, and then paralyze his mental powers. In such cases though many of the mental faculties are unimpaired, such as memory, thought, reflection association, and contrivance, the substitute of sound judgement, yet a disorder'd imagination becomes triumphant over the habitually regulated will thousands of wild fancies flit through the disorder'd mind – like the worrying

“Dined at home. Tea at Mr. Tudor's. Nothing but civic feast. Heard of Mr. I. Winslow's being drowned. Evening at A. Franzick's remarkably agreeable. He beat me at chess.”
http://www.masshist.org/jqadiaries/doc.cfm?id=jqad19_8 . Adams had recently begun practicing law in Boston, and undoubtedly heard of the death as news of it spread by word of mouth throughout the downtown.

* Probably Theodore Lyman, father of Theodore Lyman II (1792-1849), mayor of Boston 1834-35.

† At this period, \$1,000 would be worth more like \$20,000 today using the CPI.

dreams of a sick man – all irritating by the severest stimulants, the predominant feeling whatever that be – presenting the most ordinary actions of life as Evils of the blackest dye – The best affections of our nature too are often seared, or paralysed, in many cases, converted into aversion or enmity – Sleep the kind restorer of wearied nature, (as necessary for the repose of mind as of body) is banish'd – night and day, gloomy, threatening, and appalling images or ideas, are unceasingly flitting in wild and frightful array, through the weak and disorder'd brain, all bearing on the one absorbing subject – “When I say my bed shall comfort me, my couch shall ease my complaint, then thou scarest me with dreams, and terrifiest me through visions – So that my soul chooseth strangling and death, rather than life” Job.7.13.15 “O that God would grant me the thing I long for” that he would let loose his hand, and cut me off” same 6. 8.9 In such cases Life becomes a real burden – The sect of the Stoics thought that under such circumstances, suicide was a great privilege – not so the spirit of Christianity, though, not marked with any particular reprobation in either the old or new testament – All that Jesus says of Judas is, that it is better he had never been born * -- This Job wishes, had been the case with himself in very passionate language – chap 3[†] – In Acts 1.25, where as our translation is understood, that Judas fell, that he might go to his own place or in other words as supposed to hell; it is better understood, that Mathias his successor in the apostleship, went to his own place i e the apostleship or,

see overleaf[‡]

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171 ½) as the passage may be very well (and I think more correctly) render'd – That he (the one to be elected) may take part of this allotment (Κληρον) and apostleship (from which Judas by transgression fell) that is, that he (Mathias) go to (or walk in) his own place – meaning that Mathias was to occupy the place which had been that of Judas[§] – It would however take too much time and space to remark on the Scripture view of Suicide – It was not a subject of consideration amongst Christians, till the 6th Century, when the Romish church, by their refusal of burial rites, to the self killer seemed to consider such an one as excluded from the Divine mercy – in short a castaway* – This opinion has descended down I believe, to every sect of Christians – But the opinions of these, and all the so called Christians, in the world, has not with me the weight of a feather, unsupported by the word of God. The affirmation of the Apostle before quoted “that no man ever yet hated his own flesh” &c, rather induces me to think that the hater of his own flesh, and such is the self murderer, is in fact, not himself – and this seems consonant to common sense, that when

* Matthew 26:24-5: “The Son of man goeth as it is written of him: but woe unto that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed! it had been good for that man if he had not been born. Then Judas, which betrayed him, answered and said, Master, is it I? He said unto him, Thou hast said.” This passage has generated much comment about free will and Providence, but not so far as I am aware touching upon suicide. While it is true that depressed and suicidal persons often express such a wish, there is of course a large difference between killing oneself and the impossible wish that one had never been born in the first place.

† Indeed, the theme of the whole of Job 3 is Job's cursing the day he was born and the night in which he was conceived.

‡ The verso in fact contains just four lines struck through that are evidently a first draft of the recto. But the page following (171 ½) does have indeed a note on the verso.

§ I can't find translations or commentators who see any ambiguity as to who the “he” in Acts 1:25 might be; all agree it is Judas.

the natural and universal principle of self love in all animated beings, is converted into self hatred – that being, whether man or beast, is not properly speaking himself—

But to return from this digression I will now consider the effect which the death of my dear father had on the members of the religious society, with which he was so long intimately connected – and the light in which they viewed the sad occurrence.

* See note on the other side

[verso of the preceding]

In regard to individual cases, it seems to be presumption for anyone to decide on their future state whether good or bad.* We may indeed hope in the one case, and fear in the other – who can say when the will of man usually subject to the understanding and conscience, uncontrol,† by these causes purposes, & accomplishes it own, or the destruction of others? Is it not rather to be supposed, that the all merciful God judges the insane, rather by their former opinions and beliefs when the will is subordinated to reason the mind healthy and the conscience quiet, than when their natural order is deranged – But whether man dies by his own hand or the Providence of God, he is equally the creature of God – In the Divine mind men existed before they were born – and continue after they are dead – Safely may they be left in his paternal care, assured that he will grant to all as much happiness as they, whether good or bad, are susceptible of – To him whose every joy and pleasure is on the present earth, the happiness of heaven or a resurrection state would be not happiness but misery To such nonexistence, or annihilation is comparative happiness – The Scripture word “perish” seems to imply the former – On the other hand the good or those who have habitually trusted in Him, and His consolatory promises, and the redemption from death which is in and by Jesus – we might hope; can not in cases where weak nature temporarily triumphs over reason and conscience, be included with the “perished” who perhaps, miss that greatest of blessings the favor & countenance of God – He is as good as he is wise, and in these attributes, all may safely rest. Oh that men would praise the Lord for all all his tender mercies and loving kindness

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Besides the preceeding narration by Mr Howe of the conversation with my father, and the impression which this and other collateral circumstances made on his mind, which has already been given, an event so interesting to a Christian brotherhood closely united as theirs was, could not but be noticed by others of the connection, wherever they were placed.

A letter from Mr Hopedill Capen‡ (one of the six or seven males, comprising with about an equal number of females the society in Boston) to Nicholas Tillinghast Esq^r a most respectable and leading Church member in Taunton dated Jany 26, 1793, referring to this event says “this has so overcome me and the Dear Brethren, as calls me to hear what the Lord says “Be still and know that I am God”§ No deed done by the children of men, but I am equally liable to” – In another letter of Mr Tillinghast to Mr White in March 1793, he

* Isaac had begun to reflect upon the moral accountability of the insane above, I, 65-66, in connection with his grandmother Winslow’s sad final days.

† Error for “uncontrolled”? The word occurs at the end of a line, and there is what may be a hyphen at the end, in which case Isaac simply forgot to add the “ed” at the beginning of the next line.

‡ See above, I, 134.

§ Psalm 46: 10.

speaks of my fathers death as “the loud and awful call of God in Boston” Mr Humphries in a letter dated April 19, 1793 speaking of the neglect, or great latitude of construction from the literal sense, given by the society to the words

~~CLXIII~~ ~~CLXXIII~~

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of our Savior “Lay not for yourselves treasures upon earth”^{*} says that the neglect of this precept, has leavened[†] the church from that time (when the literal construction was given up) I think the rich at Taunton, Mr Winslow, as well as I, took a latitude therefrom to mind earthly things” Here was the beginning of a controversy, by which in this small society, Mr Humphries and those in Portsmouth – Mr Howe and the few here, with Mr Howe’s brother in Halifax, became entirely detach’d from the parent society in London and Connecticut – Mr Humphries who was the leader in this, thought the church had become corrupt, and that my father’s death was a judgement upon it – His opponents on the other hand thought him animated by a righteous disposition to seek justification by the deeds of the law. In a reply of the society, at Danbury Conn[‡] to the letter of Mr Humphries, which I think however, has too little of the spirit of Christian meekness, and forbearance in it, the writer

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of that letter speaking of Mr Howe says “Mr Howe through pride and envy, led the way for Mr Humphries to go on in that Lordly overbearing way, to reverse the sentence against Mr Smith[”] (of excommunication). [“]This was the origin of the many evil ways in which you have since been walking, Mr Howe stands foremost herein in our view, losing sight of the boundless mercy of God, when he so confidently affirms that Mr W. was certainly damned-” A letter from Mr Dechezeau[‡] of Halifax dated Mar 27, 1793, to Mr Joseph King[§] of New York, mentions the receipt of his letter says, that he willfully and deliberately committed a deed, but does not say what that deed was, [“]your letter gives a distinct account of his throwing himself off of one of the wharves, and being found the next morning on the beach. Mr Howe in his letter speaks of his base conduct, in not dealing in love and faithfulness, with him” – This latter expression Mr Dechezeau did not understand, but adds “In your letter when speaking of Mr Howe, his leaving Mr W to himself after

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he had told him his determination, against his life, throws light upon what Mr Howe says of his own base conduct, in not dealing with him in love &c – Mr Howe acknowledges that he was the last of the brethren who conversed with Mr W, a few hours before he left his house, and committed this shocking act – It is very unaccountable and very cruel, that Mr H neglected to make it known to Mrs W or to any of the family, or brethren, his determination, upon his life *, or should not have staid by him himself. There was time enough to have made it known to any of his friends, at any part of the town, and thus prevented its taking place at that time – what sort of a Christian is he, who has not the common feelings of humanity, towards fellow creatures, and who forgets the care, that brother should have for

* Matthew 6: 19: “Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal.”

† A rare and obsolete sense of the word recognized by the *OED* meaning *to debase or corrupt by admixture*.

‡ The more probable spelling would be “Duchezeau,” though Isaac here is evidently at pains to be legible.

§ Husband of Isaac’s cousin Isabella, daughter of Edward the parson.

brother as the scriptures enjoin” again – “It appears by your letter, and Mr Howe’s does not contradict it, that he was void of the common feeling which men of the world, show each in those cases”

But this censure was undeserved, except, that part in which the writer of the letter blames

* see note next page

[new unnumbered page]

* The writer of the letter must certainly be in error when he says that my father had told Mr Howe of a determination to take his life – There is no evidence at all of this* – Words and deeds, after an act, can then be traced to previous mental determination – but before the act in an alienated and distracted mind especially, ambiguous words and deeds, do not necessarily imply a settled determination, though in such cases, they do lead to apprehensions and consequent unceasing vigilance on the part of friends, to prevent a possible, perhaps probable but not certain issue

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Mr Howe, for his omission to communicate to Mr W’s family and friends, not as Mr Dechezeau writes [“]his determination on his life”, (for that does not appear to have been threaten’d, though perhaps, to an anxious friend such might be a possible result of a very disturbed mind.) but Mr Howes own prepossessions at the last interview, that “something important, would be the issue” – were confirmed by his friends my father conduct and manners at the meeting on the preceeding Wednesday evening – Such prepossessions, and the causes of them, ought certainly to have been made known to the family, as well as Mr Howes suspicions that something important would be the issue – The scruples of my father as to going to meeting that evening viz^t “That he had something to attend to,” all these combined circumstances would have led most persons to have inferd the existence of such a state of mind and feeling as to render it proper, for his friends to be apprised thereof as it appeared to Mr Howe, so that timely precautions might be taken, against the important issue which Mr H apprehended – This was indeed a fatal omission – yet it is not to be imputed to an unfeeling or inhuman motive –

The cause probably was an erroneous view of Christian duty – that a voluntary withdrawing from the Christian brotherhood implied, in not attending the Public worship, and selfblame (the latter an every day occurrence in the society,) was only to be met by leaving the party to himself. – of the cause or causes of such blame, he was intirely ignorant –

A person of a more affectionate and sympathizing disposition, such as Mr Humphries, might indeed have soothed his afflicted, friend by brotherly sympathy or at least induced a free communication of internal struggles and feelings, which might have been relieved by friendly participation – but I doubt if any thing, but a complete change of scene, by a removal from all the

* There is a quotation mark over the dash, but whether opening or closing or why here at all I cannot tell.

accustomed associations, business – family – religious, a sequestration as in my own case,* from all objects of interest might with the Divine assistance have been a mean of restoring the harrassed and shattered mind to its natural tone –

What confirms me in the opinion that Mr Howe did not use the intemperate expression before referd to[†] is, that I never heard any one of the society ever express an opinion as to the future state of the dead, generally whether of their own society or not – on the contrary the belief they had that the voice of mercy might, unknown to man, comfort and support the dying sinner in his last moments, seems inconsistent with the condemnation of those, who make way with themselves, when the very act of self destruction, may truly be said to be in most, if not all cases, proof positive insanity – If self love and the desire of life, become converted into self hatred and self murder, can the unhappy person be said to be of sane or healthy mind? I think not – Insanity appears in various forms. –Its larger definition may be, The despotic sway of will over reason and Conscience – In the view of God perhaps most men are insane – In the view of man such only are so, whose will is uncontrolled by reason. This will may indeed be, and often is, a perverted will, but still it is directed by what its possessor considers reason or conscience – The insane on the other hand think and reason right, but the will especially when excited, becomes predominant – Even with those truly conscientious, the habitual respect to God & religion continues to exist in the mind – Distrust and fear take the place of confidence and love – Our passions are the tools of our will – The conscience of the religious man, harrassed by perpetual fear of future suffering, no longer sustains him just as the reason of the worldly man abandons him – The will with neither conscience or reason at the helm, in both cases drives wildly on to this very gulph of destruction, which had been so much dreaded –[‡] If Insanity leads to self destruction, to human reason at least it would appear, that this self hatred, so opposite to the strongest & most powerful instinct of animal nature, is of itself as has been said, a conclusive evidence of insanity – The terms sane and insane are derived from the Latin and are applied to health of body as well as mental health – The mind is as liable to disease

as the body – Contrary to the succession of thoughts and ideas of a healthy mind – in the diseased mind, one only and that of a terrific character exists and reigns. The man is insane, that is has a diseased mind – In his case when did moral accountability or the obligations of conscience cease? – Who can tell but God only? Kind treatment and sympathy accompanied with proper precautions against self injury are in the latter case indispensable. This and a separation from associations which recall painful and disturbing thoughts, may by the Divine will restore reason to her legitimate control over will – or in other words, enable the deliberate will to keep in subjection the impulsive will –

* I do not understand what Isaac's case is here supposed to refer to. A particular event?

† Presumably, that Mr. Winslow was “damned,” above, II, 173.

‡ About a line and a half here very heavily scribbled over so as to render it illegible.

It is now time to mention the effects of my fathers death on the minds of the religious society in which he was connected* – an† Amongst those who felt this most sensibly was his friend Mr Humphries, with whom he was intimately connected over 20 years – Their characters and circumstances were not dissimilar Both were strongly attached to the leading doctrine of the Society “Justification by faith” – both professing great natural sensibility and tenderness of conscience, and both disposed to sacrifice the love of riches pleasures and honors on the altar of what they consider’d Divine Truth – Both also were men of sense and education, Mr H. brought up at Yale – my father at Cambridge – and both related by marriage –

It has been said, that Mr Humphries spoke of my father’s death as “a loud and awful call on the Church in Boston” – considering it probably as a divine judgement on them, for the laxity of interpretation they had given to the precept of Christ “Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth” which had been of late years construed, but which Mr H. thought, according to the early doctrine of the society should be taken more literally than it is generally – He thought too that there had been a lukewarmness in the Christian profession leading to too much assimilation with the world – No doubt in this he was actuated by very conscientious motives – but others of the Society in Connecticut & England

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thought so differently, that an incurable schism took place between the old societies, and the adherents of Mr H – which has always continued – Mr H followed out his conscientious convictions – by selling his house and other property and giving to the poor withdrawing from all intercourse with society except in unavoidable cases, and from Acts 19.19 burnt in a public Street, all his library books.‡

These things were much disapproved by the old society, either as works of self righteousness – or, as evidence of actual mental derangement – after some years Mr Humphries is said to have blamed himself for these proceedings, and in the latter years of his life exhibited a mild and consistent Christian character, except that the deference to human opinion, ie the opinions of the founders of the sect, was still too predominant. He was the head of the society in Portsmouth as was my father here – neither were fit for this position – as the latter acknowledged 15 years before – Both were sensible, well educated, and conscientious – but both were diffident, fearful of themselves – and both disposed to consider that the society was the depository of all truth, not indeed professedly or in words – but in an implicit subscription to a system which to them appear’d as Divine truth, -- both, dreading the danger, all observing people notice in religious characters of leaning to their own understanding or in other words led by Pride of opinion and relying on human wisdom rather than the divine – They, as well as the society, strongly resisted the notion, that our religion should be fashion’d by human opinions – It was to be derived only from the source of truth, the bible – All their opinions and practises were supported on this great basis – and

* Isaac has used very similar language above, II, 171 ½. It isn’t clear how aware he is that he is returning to a subject he has just treated at some length or if he feels that in this place he is treating the subject from new angles.

† Probably meant to be struck through.

‡ “Many of them also which used curious arts brought their books together, and burned them before all men: and they counted the price of them, and found it fifty thousand pieces of silver.”

so much was individual liberty of conscience respected, that in all matters whether of doctrine or practise perfect unanimity was required – a single dissentient* would for a time, stop the whole proceedings – Their brotherly attachment was very great – and their moral conduct unexceptionable – Their doctrine was on the point of justification by faith near that of Luther – I say near,

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because Luther I think seemed to think, that our faith should be a confiding, instead of a constantly doubting one. In some cases known to me the views of the Society on the passage “Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall,”[†] were so explained as to lead to doubtful, fearful self condemning feeling, which I thought must essentially damp the feelings of a believer – The fear too [leaning? leaving?][‡] to their own understanding (undoubtedly the source of much evil in religion,)) led them into an undue reliance on the founder of their religion – and hence a fear of commenting on the received doctrines and practises of the Society lest they should be consider’d (and consider themselves too) as disaffected to the Truth – In the working of the system this came very near the Romish doctrine of Church infallibility – Yet such reliance was far from being avowed, nor were they even conscious of it themselves. For all as has been said, professed to be governed by the word of Truth and that only – but they were not aware of the danger of considering the opinions, of zealous and bold exemplary and learned Leaders as their own – thus shackling their consciences to a human System – It has been said that “Lay not up treasures on earth” was in the view of the Society, to be taken in its literal signification – There was however some modifications.

It was upon this last point that Mr Humphries seemd to lay the greatest stress – As has been said, he viewed my fathers death as a judgement on the church here in consequence of their laxity in this respect and perhaps also (of which I am ignorant) a too great assimilation to the world, and Mr H determined to set an example of a return to the literal interpretation of the command “Lay not up to yourselves treasures upon earth” Besides this he became persuaded that the end of the world, or consummation of all things, was at hand, a consideration not only proper to a certain extent by Christians who consider themselves only as Pilgrims and strangers on the earth, but recommended & enforced by the Savior and his followers –

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It was in the year 1793 or 1794, I believe the former, that Mr Humphries being in town convened a meeting of the Society for the purpose of a public confession of sins, to which as many as chose to attend could come, a crowd[§] assembly of those not belonging to the society were present, and each member of the society was called on for a confession of sins – What these were I do not recollect. Nothing however that could be consider’d immoralities – probably pride worldly mindedness unbelief, and disregard to Christs precept of not laying up treasures on earth – I presume rather uncalled for in the view of those, who

* Dissenter.

† 1 Corinthians 10: 12.

‡ Either reading poses problems, but it seems most likely that Isaac means the fear of leaning too much on their own understanding led them to rely too much on Glas.

§ An alternate spelling for “crowded” sometimes encountered in the eighteenth century.

knew any thing about the society, and consider'd them as Patterns of humility, bountiful to the extent of their means, (for none were rich,) and as evinced by their practise, of strong and unwavering faith. (See Note on Back) —

He was rather a fluent speaker (being a lawyer), when not overcome by his great sensibility of feeling – On this occasion he spoke with great force zeal and animation, and seemed impressed with the firm belief that the end of all things was near at hand.

This belief, led as I have said, to the Sale of his property – distributing it to the poor, and many other acts of what his opponents of the same religious views, considered self righteousness or mental aberration, especially as it was said at the time, he withdrew his children and nephews, (4 or 5 young men growing up and near of age) from worldly business, greatly to their subsequent injury, as to both worldly, and spiritual good –

The truth in regard to both my father and Mr Humphries seems to be, that both were temporarily deranged or their minds in an unhealthy state – They were both men of great susceptibility of temperament – both humble Christians and both strictly conscientious – the consciences of both were for a time misguided, their feelings consequently greatly excited, and deranged, or at least strongly disturbed, minds was the consequence – The one fell a victim to the disorder – the other lived to advanc'd age, lamenting as I have always supposed he did, his former alienation, yet to the end of his life, a devoted, humble, and apparently sincere Christian – though in one instance at least as appears to me, too much influenced by the practical (not theoretical) adherence to what I should call Church infallibility.

[new unnumbered page]

note

On this occasion as, indicative of the end of the world or second advent of Christ, Mr Humphries referd to the circumstances then taking place in France and from Math 24 and Luke 21.25* he infer'd, that “the powers of heaven” were symbolical of Governments – the Stars of Kings or chief rulers, in church or State, &c – and thus deducing from the murders massacres and bloodshed in France – especially the King and the thousand Priests nobles and others slain in the prisons on the 2^d Sept 1792 – that the end of the world or the second coming of Christ was at hand, supporting his views by quotations from the revelations and other Scriptures –

I well remember how strongly excited were his feelings on this occasion – his utterance frequently obstructed by their intensity – which however was almost always the case with him, so as often to produce tears. The effect of his speech was, for the time very great on me as well as others.

Indeed properly enough, are great political events especially revolutions of Empires connected in minds religiously disposed, with scripture prophecies – Mr Humphries was not singular in the belief that the revolution in France, (at that time supposed a precursor to similar overturns in other nations) was to be consider'd as a fulfillment of prophecy – Bicheno – Faber[†] and an anonymous English writer which I believe is now in my library in their comments on prophecy, all connected this great political movement or overturn in France, with prophetic predictions.

* “And there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars; and upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring.”

† James Bicheno and George Stanley Faber, both English millenarians.

Chapter Eighteen (Volume Two, Chapter Six)

Letter from his cousin Isaac Winslow to Samuel Waldo informing him of Isaac's father's death; Waldo's reply; how to inform Sarah and what not to tell her – The grieving state of the family in Boston – The funeral and internment – Isaac too upset to sleep alone; his generally mentally disturbed state; morbid and hopeful fancies; a ridiculous incident breaks the spell of his depression – his siblings mostly too young to comprehend their loss – Religious reflections on Providence and free will – The business of settling various estates and his continuing responsibilities at Mr. Amory's – Continuing dreams of his father – Constant occupation an antidote to sorrow at this time and later in his life; also the consolation of writing – His mother's gradual recovery – Effects on other relations – Isaac's social life; friends of his own age in the Society – Sandemanian ideas on the membership of children of members; how compared with other religions – Chess – Parties; how his father's religion prevented his associating with circles previously open to him – Isaac's friendships with young men near his place of work – "High fellows" and their undesirable habits; Isaac's ambiguous association with these; Isaac grateful to have avoided dissipated tastes and worse; billiards – His cousin Eliza introduces him to a wider and more worldly acquaintance – the geography of Boston's class distinctions at this time, now happily extinct – Religious views on associating with the worldly and back to the question of children's church membership – Eliza's grandfather's house in Jamaica Plain – Eliza's sister Mrs. Paiba and her John Bull husband; his overbearing and selfish ways; the indignation of her female connections at his treatment of his wife – Grandfather Davis becomes an inmate of the house – News from France of Louis XVI's execution and then of the Queen; how France figured in U.S. politics at this time; Washington's wise policy of neutrality – Business looks up because of this policy – New friends in the Counting House – How religion affected the social life of his mother's circle – Isaac socializes with Minots, Blanchards, Amorys – More thoughts on the children's ambiguous position within the Society – England's war with France in 1794 and a naval victory by Lord Howe – Reflections on Robespierre; Carlyle on this singular man – Boston republicans and a case of misidentification by a French republican living near by – Move to a house in Lynde Street and the need to economize – His mother's broken spirits lead her to indulge her younger children more than was wise – Arrival of his cousin Capt. Thomas Winslow and his new bride from Bermuda – Mr. Amory arranges for Isaac to serve as supercargo on a voyage to Europe.

Having thus noticed the effects of my fathers death on the religious society in which he was – I now offer the, letters of my fathers cousin Isaac Winslow (and Mr Waldo to him in answer,) on this melancholy occasion. The former was brother of Mrs Waldo, who as I have

said, consider'd herself as a daughter of my father, under whose care she fell at a very early age —The letter from my cousin to her husband* at Portland is as follows — [“]Boston January[†] 1793 — My dear friend — The most unhappy and painful task of my life, I am now executing, in communicating to you and my Portland friends the melancholy death of our much beloved friend — Cousin I Winslow, (under a fit of insanity (of which I never knew he was subject, or ~~that~~ there (suppose that there were any shown) till since his death,[‡] he last Sunday Evg lost his way, and it pleased Almighty God the great director of the Universe that he should walk over a wharf, and was drown'd, and taken up Monday about noon, by the North Battery — pray my dear brother, prepare the mind of my sister[§] for this alarming and very melancholy shock, for I well know the extreme tenderness of her heart, and the great affection she bore him — Such three days of distress as I have passed with the family, I think a sufficient portion of misery for one mans life -- we know not what is before us. — He was this afternoon in the family Tomb** -- a numerous and respectable attendance — It is in every mouth what a good man he was[”] —

Mr Waldo's answer to the above [“]My dear friend, Portland, Jan'y 26 1793 — When the most amiable and best of men are removed from this miserable world, those who know their worth, cannot but repine at the loss the public sustain but the loss is irreparable — Sure I am by the untimely death of our beloved cousin, I have lost a friend for whom I had the greatest esteem, and have experienced by the event, distress unlike any I ever suffer'd. — How to communicate such melancholy information to your sister I know not — She is abroad and will be gradually prepared for the distressing news — She must know it, but the manner of his death I shall keep from her — She poor girl must suffer exceedingly at the loss of a friend so dear to her, &c. I hope Mrs Winslow will be supported under her great affliction, and that she will meet some alleviation to the misery she must suffer, by the kindness and attention of her friends & those of our worthy Cousin[.”] Samuel Waldo, the writer of the above was a very worthy and friendly man — He survived not many years, having died near Norfolk Virginia in the year I believe 1798 of yellow fever His habits of life were remarkably temperate & regular, and one would think render'd him little liable to this disorder.^{††}

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I now return to the scene which our afflicted family presented after my fathers death had

* He means his brother-in-law, as he has previously made clear. The original letter is at the MHS (Ms. N-486).

† We know he was writing on the day of the funeral, therefore January 23rd.

‡ Something has gone awry with Isaac's copying of the letter, the syntax of which is itself problematic. The original reads: “(or which I never knew he was subject, or shew any symptoms till since his death).” It appears that Isaac may have attempted his own correction. It often happens when copying text that one gets ahead of oneself in guessing what is to come, then has to go back and make deletions and other changes. Perhaps that happened here, but Isaac didn't make all the corrections he needed to. It must have been a difficult task to copy this particular letter even fifty years later.

§ Sister-in-law, Sarah Waldo.

** King's Chapel burying ground.

†† It was not until late in the nineteenth century that yellow fever was shown to be transmitted not by human contact, but by mosquitoes. Isaac assumes that contact with infected people pursuant to careless sanitary habits makes one liable to contract the disease. See also below, III, 46-7 and IV, 81.

become known and realized —though realized it could hardly be said to be for years afterwards.*

What a house of grief and despondency was then presented – How gloomy was the appearance of every thing within and without – How utterly prostrate was my poor sickly afflicted mother. She took to her bed, and though attended by many sympathizing[†] female friends, her aunt Minot – Mrs Saml Sparhawk my fathers neice Mrs Blanchard my Cousin Eliza Winslow, then an inmate in the family, &c – little could the sympathy of these do to calm the agitated feelings of the bereaved widow. –These as has been said, must be imagined, but cannot be described. Nor were my own less poignant — This sudden deprivation of a beloved father friend and mentor, whom I was never again to behold, was of itself almost insupportable and the manner of his death aggravated the loss – Combined with this was, the notion I had got, probably then & now, a generally received opinion, that a self destroyer by the very act, forfeits a future life, or worse becomes liable to a future miserable existence – (an opinion probably derived from Romanism as the Scripture is silent on the subject) – Besides this when my father was in this unhappy state, I had the sort of feeling which Mr Howe mentions, as if some great evil would issue from the mental distress my father was suffering under, I blamed myself exceedingly for suffering him to go out in the evening alone, on the night he disappear'd.

The preparations for the funeral however no doubt alleviated the force of my grief, and prevented its indulgence for a time – My cousin Isaac Winslow & M^r: Joshua Blanchard – with an old uncle Winniett principally attended to the necessary arrangements

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for the last duty which the living can pay to the dead – But still, the every day duty of providing for the great charge which had so awfully and suddenly devolved on me occupied much of my mind and time till the funeral –

My father was buried in the Winslow Tomb, in the Chapel burying place – There was no prayer or funeral service as it is called, such never having been the practice of the Society, who thought prayers for the dead, an antichristian practise.

With the mind as with the body a severe blow stuns, before it becomes painful. Sensation is for a time partially suspended. When the natural powers of either begin to assume their usual functions – it is then that the extent of corporeal or mental pain is experienced and realiz'd. – My own mind, owing no doubt to paternal vigilance and care, from early youth was quite free from superstition, yet so much was it weaken'd, that I feard to sleep alone, as I had heretofore done. appalling fancies kept flitting over my imagination, and glad was I to accept the kind offer of a young friend Daniel Humphreys, 2 years older than myself whom I had known from a boy – to be my bedfellow –

* Recall that at the very beginning of the Memorial (I, 3) Isaac had written of his father,

“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”

† Obvious error for “sympathizing.”

He was good enough to continue to do this for several days after the funeral – and his presence, especially at night, proved a material relief to my depressed and over burthen'd mind and spirits, which had sunk to the lowest possible ebb.—

But though this was an alleviation to my grief, it could not prevent, the many distracting thoughts which agitated me – What was my poor fathers state after death? For I then supposed

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that the commonly received opinion of the immediate transition of the Soul to a happy or miserable state was the true one – Why I did go out* and keep with him on the Sunday evening? Why had I not written to his esteemed friend Mr Humphries of his distressed state of mind? Might he not be still actually living and the body picked up, not actually his?† Might he not thus at a future day be restored to his family, from a distant land where he might have gone in some vessell near the place? In short the recollection of the past, and anticipation of the future so depressed me, that the heaven overhead was brass, the earth beneath iron,‡ and every thing animate and inanimate about me as if they were not –

I dreaded to go through the Streets, as if everyone was noticing me a Son of the man who killed himself – and if I had occasion to go to the Store, I carefully avoided the main streets, and threaded the little lanes alleys and back ways, to get there, as if I was a criminal trying to elude the notice of passers bye

I particularly recollect that day or two after the funeral, there was a great civic celebration in Boston on account of the successes of the French Republicans – (for at that time the people were half mad, in favor of this mad self call'd Republic, but real, bloody despotism) an ox was roasted whole on Copps Hill – and I believe a large civic dinner given in State Street – and the whole town a scene of tumultuary§ festivity** – But far different were my feelings. How a large population could be so engaged, when such distress existed at home, I could scarcely realize – I studiously kept myself out of the way of it and going out on some business, took all the back ways to keep myself from meeting them, whose feelings were so different from my own.

So great was this depression of spirits, that it appear'd to me, that nothing could ever again exhilarate, or cause me to smile. How long this lasted I do not recollect – probably not more than a fortnight, when one evening going to visit my young

* Surely “Why I did *not* go out” was intended.

† It is hard to believe that no one in the family circle looked upon the body's face closely enough to identify it, and hard to believe too that such a hope as Isaac here expresses was not immediately felt by others of the family when the body was transported to the house. It must at some point also have occurred to the family that its being recognized by the wharfinger (who, there seems no reason to believe, was aware that Isaac's father was missing) made its being misidentified extremely unlikely. So Isaac's hope here really does indicate the severity of the stress his mind was under.

‡ Deuteronomy 28: 23: “And thy heaven that is over thy head shall be brass, and the earth that is under thee shall be iron.” (One of several curses Moses is told that will befall those who do not keep the commandments he has just been given.)

§ According to *Webster's 3rd Unabridged*: “carried on or brought about (as by a tumultuous mob) in a confused, wildly irregular, or sporadic manner.”

** John Quincy Adams in his diary entry for the 23rd refers to “the ox roast.” This was actually the day of the funeral. See above, II, 170.

friend D Humphries, who had lodgings in a reputable family the master of which, who though a good natured well meaning man, but of no education

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was yet in the habit of using what is called “high flown language,” and singularly misusing and misapplying his words – Soon after I came in, he resumed what he supposed was a very humorous story which he had been telling, and in this he transferred and misused the words, in such a strange and ludicrous manner, himself laughing heartily as he proceeded, that before he got to the end, my friend could not refrain from a burst of laughter – The narrator supposing this was owing to the drollery of his story, joined in – and I, who from the great depression of spirits, as well as common politeness, kept my countenance, could not help uniting in the laugh – though almost immediately I blamed myself for this unfeeling indulgence, as I then considered it – The preceding deep gloom, and mortal depression, which for some weeks or days, had weigh’d me to the ground led me to think, that nothing could ever make me smile again – and the yielding to any emotions of a pleasurable character, seemed to me at the time to be, a sort of contempt of the memory of a beloved father. Yet within an hour or two from this trifling circumstance the severe mental depression was lessend, and the heavy weight which had so long oppressed me was lightened – as the fetter’d prisoner strains every nerve to unshackle himself – so nature herself is constantly at work to throw off her heavy mental burthen and restore the depress’d animal spirits and deranged nerves, to their usual healthy action. The effect was involuntary, nay in direct opposition to my will, but the relief was instantaneous, and I was the very next day able to make exertions for the benefit of the family, which before seem’d impossible.

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My father the period of his death, had completed 49 years and 4 months – My mothers age 36 – I was on the verge of 19. My brother Thomas then absent at Shelburne 17 – my brother John 14, my sister Mary 11, Benjamin 9 Joshua 7, my sister Eliza 7, and Edward 5 – all but my brothers Thomas (who was absent) and John were too young to realize the loss they had sustained – The feelings of childhood, are neither deep nor durable – It is wisely orderd, that memory should begin with the earliest infancy. This is evinced by the infant, so soon, knowing its mother or nurse, and thus as it becomes of an age to be corrected, remembers the punishment, but soon forgets the angry feelings, which in later life, rise up against the corrector –

As with fear in the breast of childhood so, is it with affection. The impression of the former is no doubt stronger than that of the latter – Both are faint, compared with their effects in the adult age – Even at my own age, the incident before mentiond, sufficiently shows the elasticity of the youthful mind and affections. What were therefore the feelings of my brothers and sisters, I cannot know – probably only such as belong to their age – Tinged no doubt for a time by the gloomy clouds of an afflicted home, but, when that is changed, to the brighter atmosphere of youthful companionship, the spirits take their usual elastic tone, and the child is himself again – When at the age of 67,* I look back at the position in which I was placed at this early age, and at once brought into contact, with numerous persons of the preceding generation – Heirs and agents of Estates – foreman

* Above, II, 158, as well as many other places, Isaac says he is writing in 1842. If he is now sixty-seven, he must be writing before his birthday, which was February 2nd. But it seems just as likely that he has got his age wrong.

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and workmen in the Distill house – persons such as Mr Lyman and others with whom my father had large transactions – lawyers – Judge of probate &c &c and when I look back upon most young lads of that age I have known, it is matter of surprize to me how I could ever as imperfectly as I did, fill my fathers place – But whatever the vanity and self conceit might have suggested, subsequent reflections have led me to view myself simply as an instrument in the hands of Divine Providence to sustain and uphold an afflicted and helpless family – In the midst of judgment, God shewed mercy, not to the deserving, but the wretched – not because the judge of all the earth is not always right – but because often, if not always, his gifts are dispersed to the wants of his creatures, not their merits – Perhaps what are call'd his judgements are far more generally intended as warnings to the living, than punishments to the sufferer [“]Stricken friends are angels sent on errands full of love. For us they languish, & for us they die.[”]* The inference Jesus draws from the sufferers by the fall of the tower of Siloam – or the Galileans whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices, is – “unless ye believe, ye shall all likewise perish”† – Let not my children (or others who may read, this) suppose their father’s character to have differd at all from that of others, of his own age, as to general characteristics – natural affection is like all our other feelings and propensities, [th??? ?i????]‡

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passions or feelings; It is often Gods instrument in the accomplishment of his holy will. Sometimes the passions left wild, lead to ruin – In other cases restrain’d by providential, though unseen circumstances, they are made instruments of good – The tendency of the passions to excess, is the same in all – why permitted in some, and restrained in others God only can tell – Both are free to act. Why are not both restrained? There is no answer but the Sovereignty of God – Is God then a powerful but unjust despot? Is the indulgence then of a mans own will, or in common phraseology “letting a man have his own way” despotism? What greater liberty can we imagine, than that of doing as we please or will to do–? Should we consider God as unjust in not restraining our wills – and yet as unmerciful in restraining, or preventing it by providential occurrences? I cannot but believe that the evil proceeding from the undue indulgence of self will is a man’s own – and that the good which proceeds from a restrained will, is from God – The tendency of a just or justified man “to have his own way” is as strong as the same tendency in an unjust or unjustified man – The difference is, that the one fearing the consequences of unlimited indulgence of the will, as leading to the opposition to the Divine will – The other having no such fear except in some cases, hates that, which restrains or opposes his will. Though I missed the paternal solicitude which in my father led him to take every possible care of my education both as regards learning or

* These lines inserted between lines and carefully printed rather than written in cursive. The misquotation is from Edward Young’s *The Complaint: or Night-Thoughts on Life, Death & Immortality* (1742), Night III.4. Young had written “Smitten” not “Stricken.” The same misquotation occurs, however, in a Canadian religious novel, Mary E. Herbert’s *Woman As She Should Be; or, Agnes Wiltshire*, but that work was not published until 1861, after Isaac’s death. It is therefore possible that these lines were inserted by Isaac’s daughter. But since the ink if not the hand matches the rest of the page, it seems more likely that Isaac has simply made the same mistake that Mary Herbert would twenty years later.

† Luke 13: 1-5.

‡ Two or more words lost to chipping here.

instruction, as well as the far more important branch of education that of leading his children in the way of virtue and self knowledge, yet I too little valued this invaluable ingredient of true friendship – What I wanted most at the time was a judicious, and influential friend, who could advise me how to proceed in managing the affairs of not indeed a large, but very complicated Estate – Mr Blanchard husband of my fathers favorite neice Peggy Pollard, proved a sincere & kind friend, but knew nothing of Estate business, nor did he occupy such a situation in Society, as aid* the family at all by his influence – A Brother in law of my father (John Winniett) then living was equally kind, but he was then advanced in age, with no influence, and in order to support himself, had for many years got his living by keeping a boarding house, and could be of no benefit to the family by weight of character or pecuniary aid, (which however was not, then needed) Finally however by advice of Mr Humphries my mother administerd on the estate – She of course knew nothing of business, and if she had, her state of mind was such, that nothing appear'd of interest to her. Under her I was to collect the debts and settle the estate as well as I could – Besides my father was Executor of the estate of his father, to whom there were monies due --- and Guardian to his sister Martha non compos,† whose rents were to be collected. – This, old uncle Winniett (as we called him) then about 60 years old, undertook on the condition that I would agree to do all the business, which was accordingly done – The heirs of my fathers uncle Isaac, prevailed on a lawyer to manage the unsettled affairs of that estate, and received a small Tin Box in which my father had always kept the notes and bonds belonging to the heirs. – I engaged a book keeper

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to help me settle the affairs of my fathers estate. – This as regards, the adjustment of the amounts relating to the Distillery was not difficult, as I had in Mr Amorys counting house attained a decent knowledge of accounts – The Clerk I had hired, and fitted up for him a Counting room in the house I found entirely incapable of adjusting the accounts of the Estate – especially, those of my grandfather and great uncle – the former unsettled from about 1774 – the latter from 1777 or 1778 – Both required the skill of an accomplished accountant, besides the difficulty of obtaining data, from the loose memorandums which 8 years of migrations from place to place had caused to be substituted for regular entries in a Set of Books –

A Sense of duty to Mr Amory made me go to the counting house as often as I could especially as I was the only assistant he had – but yet the more pressing calls at home, kept me away more than I wished. I felt more at liberty when he took a successor, Mr Samuel Walley, but still I regretted, that I could not keep to his business, as I had begun to be useful to him – There was no want

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of the means of living, as considerable estate funds were continually coming in, and the Executor being not liable for the payment of any debts the first year, and the furniture being taken by me for my mother, at a low appraisalment, the family were quite comfortable, but yet I had to be very careful (as Mr Amory at my request had become surety on my mothers bonds) that the family expenses did not trench on the estate funds – The estate was renderd

* Probably something like “as *might* aid” was intended.

† Short for *non compos mentis*, not of sound mind.

insolvent, and the money as collected being lodged in Mr Amorys hands, who at my request became one of the sureties on the probate on condition of keeping the Funds till distributed, my mother derived some benefit from the interest – The children continued to go to school, as usual, and as far as worldly affairs were to be consider'd, the kind providence of God, permitted them to be much better than any of us deserved –

But yet the distressing circumstances of my fathers death were always present to the family, especially to my poor mother, who being constantly in the house, where he had lived and died, naturally associated his memory with every object around her – Giving way to a vivid imagination, I would as has been said, sometimes fancy, that it was a mistake that he was dead, that the body I saw was not his, that he got into some vessell and had gone to a distant land, from which in due season he would revisit his family – then came up the sad reality, and hope was extinct – not so however in dreams, in which as I believe I have before stated

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he would frequently appear to me, overjoy'd myself I wondered he was not so – and why he appeared as a stranger at home – no longer one of us, but, a, mere visitor, whose place was not, where it had been –The sad reflection on awaking was – “Alas he is not, nor does he wish to be with us –.

But time and constant occupation soon often too soon, soften and gradually, soften and even obliterate the excitement of the passions or feelings – Whatever as has been observed, causes, bodily or mental pain, mere animal nature is constantly striving to get rid of – Other feelings for sometime in abeyance, claim consideration – Daily wants must, be supplied. Duties call to action and action requires thought – and thus the predominant thought hitherto having the empire of the whole mind, gradually yields a portion of its power, till thought balances thought, and the mental equilibrium is in most cases, finally restored – not in all, and in the latter case a predominant feeling becomes monomania.

In the business of Mr Amory's store where I yet continued, (after I had somewhat arranged the business of the estate.) and at the same attending to the affairs of the family & estate, my time was fully occupied – Constant occupation I then found, and have since experienced to be an antidote, to deep sorrow – I was thus relieved at the death of my dear Henry in 1821.* (a grievous bereavement) and the painful one of my equally dear wife 9 years afterwards in 1830.

In both these cases

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The first relief was in the committing to writing such incidents as I could recollect of each – This produced many sad, yet at the same time pleasurable recollections, and alleviating the grief, enabled me very soon to attend to the duties of life and my station – My mother from, the attention necessary to her large family, gradually, though slowly, recover'd from her excessive grief, and took an interest in the affairs of her children and the household to a certain extent, as far as ill health and depress'd spirits would allow.

I have said nothing of the effect of my fathers death on his natural relations other than his own family – His oldest, and most beloved sister Pollard, felt this

* His son, born 1805. Margaret will have much to say about this loss and the loss of her mother, also mentioned here, in her portion of the Memorial.

deprivation very keenly – her daughter Mrs Blanchard, a neice to whom he was very partial, not less so – His sister Mrs Malbone having always lived away from the family perhaps did not so strongly realize the loss,

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but no doubt, deeply felt the loss of an only surviving brother. His cousin Mrs Waldo former Sally Tyng Winslow as has been said, considered him in the light of a father – There was no one who partly perhaps from natural temperament but principally, from conscientious feelings, was more in the habit of regulating himself by the Scripture exhortation of doing good to all men – Too much so indeed considering his other characteristics of great sensitiveness, an anxious disposition, with perhaps its natural concomitant, occasional depression of spirits, or the occurrence or apprehension of strongly exciting or threatening consequences.

You have often my dear darling daughter ask'd me to write an account of my own life – Hitherto this has been as I have before said, a family history & therefore any thing but an autobiography – I have indeed occasionally introduced myself on the scene in the characters of Child – Boy and lad – at the period of which I am now writing these three stages had nearly passed. As regards intercourse with the world, I was by the Sad event before related obliged to assume many of the important duties and responsibilities of manhood long before I was qualified to execute them, as well from the inexperience as immature judgement, of what I now consider as mere boyhood.

My early acquaintance was of course principally with the children, of my own age, belonging to the Society, Joshua & Charles Davies – children of a very amiable and conscientious woman (a daughter of Parson Gee of the north Church, her husband also a clergyman from the Country, but at that time master of the North Grammar School) – The grandchildren of an elderly lady, Mrs Cotton, John and Solomon, were also associates of my childhood – The families of Mr John Sparhawk, brother of my fathers first wife, and Mr Humphries were in Portsmouth, and only occasionally in town – an intimacy always existed with them – but seldom seeing each other the early connection of childhood, could not be cemented by constant intercourse. Had these latter lived in Boston, no doubt the relationship between the respective parents would have led to a greater intercourse, between the families, but in the former case there being no, natural relationship, and in nearly all the cases, only the husband or the wife being members of the Society, the families of those not so did not associate at all together – a husband or wife not in the church had no more acquaintance with another similarly circumstanced, than with others of the world, of whom they knew nothing – There was great delicacy of feeling in this respect – If the husband or wife of a church member was known to dislike the religion (not an uncommon case) the other members from regard to their brother, or Sister, very carefully avoided visiting the house, so that one occasion of family discord should be removed. – Besides this when boys, at the age of 14 are placed by their parents in positions which are to fit them for the future pursuits and business of life, few instances occur, where such changes do not also change, the acquaintances of boyhood, by introducing them to new connections in life – The Religious Society after the revolution was a very small one, and had it been larger – yet the children as in nearly all the congregational churches of New England, were not consider'd as, having any connection with the society, or subject to its discipline, except through the instrumentality of the parents, whose duty it was to bring up their children “in the nurture

and admonition of the Lord.”* They certainly did endeavor to do this, and as part of the Religious education always insisted on the attendance of

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the children at public worship, but when the children became adults – few, very few of them united themselves to the Society – Like the Baptists, every nonprofessing person, of adult age, was consider’d an unbeliever, however in early youth connected with a society of believers,[†] and was always after so consider’d till he or she made a public confession of faith satisfactory to the society – Placed in this position the children had no place however inferior assigned them as parts of the society, and though generally when they came in to life, very strongly attached to the creed in which they were educated, yet not in one case in fifty within my knowledge, did the children become what is called church members – The society thought unscriptural the doctrine & practise of those religionists who consider the children of the society, as lambs of the flock, and by their very birth, component though inferior parts of it, such as the Romanists – Lutherans Episcopalians – Quakers &c – and coincided with the Puritans & others[‡] who hold, that a profession of individual belief is impossible to be made but by an adult – and that such professed faith or belief is the proper ground of admission to a Christian brotherhood – These different views as to the kind of connection which according to the Scriptures, should exist between a religious society, and the children of its members, will not be discussed here – There being no express directions on the subject, it seems to be one on which there might be an honest difference of opinion among Christians equally disposed to take the bible as their rule – My present impression is in favor of the view taken by the Jews, Romanists, Episcopalians &c – Viz[§] – That the children of all Christian

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societies are, de facto members thereof: But this is not a fixed opinion. In this as in most other cases, I endeavour to keep my mind open to new light –

The first 3 or 4 years of my being an apprentice as it was then called, I was fully employed at the store – my evenings were either passed at home or at School[§] – As I grew up, occasionally visiting the families of relations most intimate in the family, my mothers Aunt Minot, and my cousin Mrs Blanchard both of whom had young children growing up – principally girls, nearly of my own age. The Game of Chess had been introduced into my fathers & Mr Humphries family in New York, as has been said, when I was a mere child and the children of both families learnt it very young. I used to play this, with my father, or any one who knew the game, whenever I could – Being also fond of reading from my earliest days, this was always a source of occupation in unemployed moments –

* Ephesians 6: 4.

† I.e., However connected in youth with the church, in adulthood a person was considered an unbeliever until a profession of faith was made.

‡ “and coincided with the Puritans & others” inserted between lines but without a caret, so I am placing the insertion in what seem to me the most sensible place. I have also deleted an “or” that Isaac appears to me to have intended to delete in the phrase “or ~~of those~~” before “who.” (The “or” comes at the very end of a line.)

§ Isaac has not mentioned being at any school since graduating from Boston Latin in 1787.

The religious views of the society more especially their decided opposition to the clergy of all denominations, as a kind of religious traders, of course placed its members and their children in a restrained position, as regarded their natural relations, as well as the world at large – Hence though as has been said, their tenets made them conscientiously respect the established order of society, giving “tribute to whom tribute is due, fear to whom fear, honor to whom honor”* &c (and this

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more especially towards any member of the Society, distinguished in civil life) yet all felt themselves out of their regular orbit, in what are called fashionable parties. The family before the revolution, having always been of the aristocracy of the Colony, whether Clerical for first Century, after 1620 – or fashionable in the second, to 1775, my father certainly might have taken his position amongst, the new aristocracy which succeeded – and thus his children would have been early introduced into the fashionable circles of the day, such as they were. – His religion, which was one of humility and self denial forbad this – and besides this, though not unconscious of his standing as the oldest male representative and descendant of three or four of the oldest families in the country, (his manner, education, good sense, and good character fitting him to appear to advantage in any society) yet from principle as well as temperament, he always avoided as much as possible such company – My mother too never seemed desirous to extend her acquaintance – which indeed her large family, and my fathers limited means would have prevented, her indulging had she been so inclined.

Therefore though at, 20 years of age I knew and was known, to many of the leading characters in town in business connections, yet I was but a moderate sharer in their social assemblies, great or small till some years afterward.

Before this period my acquain-

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-tances, were generally with lads in the same occupation in the neighboring stores, on the Long Wharf – most of whom were, from the middling class of Society and generally well behaved, and of good moral character – Some others were of a different Cast, and in Evenings, were fond of, rambling about the Streets playing Cards at low taverns, not as it appeared to me, so much from temperament as from the desire of being consider’d manly, and having the character of “High fellows” Some of these however, shewed, in early life, more vicious propensities, which indulged in, brought them afterwards to the grave in early manhood. These, too were of some of the first families in town – I was a few times induced, perhaps I may say seduced, by some of these dashing fellows to make one of their nocturnal parties – breaking lamps pulling down signs, – knocking up tavern keepers after midnight – shouting in the streets – . As. I had not from a boy, any inclination for such, absurd and childish pursuit after pleasure – I was, rather disgusted with such midnight orgies – and was little inclined to be found more than once or twice in such silly, degrading, and sometimes dangerous adventures. There were other scenes more dangerous to young men just entering onto manhood, in which like a silly sheep, they follow the leader – Houses of ill fame

* Romans 13: 7: “Render therefore to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour.”

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which exist in all large towns, however moral and even religious, is the general climate of the place – Haunts of vice, unknown to the greater part of the inhabitants; but well known to such characters as I have described – well does Rochefoucauld observe that unchastity is the least offensive part of the character of an unchaste woman – At two or three of these places where I had occasion to go, with a constable in search of stolen goods, the indecency, vulgarity, vile language, and impudence, of the females I saw there, was so positively disgusting, that I have had occasion to thank God, that this early exhibition of the characters of the depraved part of the female sex, had through life a most repulsive effect – so much so that in cities of Europe, where unlimited indulgence is allow'd in the gratification of the passions, this early impression had the most beneficial effect. in preventing sinful indulgences, which might have proved fatal. . I do not think religious or moral considerations had much effect – These, with young people, especially when strong temptations are presented to them are, but weak opponents, to violent passions and improper self indulgence, compared with the association, by which seducing pursuits become revolting, or disagreeable ones – None of us are aware, how much we are indebted to our heavenly father, for the preservation from vice, even of the grossest character, by trifling events, which the world calls accidental circumstances, These by the freedom of the human will, may be either beneficially or ruinously used – Is it not probable, that like air the symbol of Gods holy Spirit John 3.8* which is diffused to all, many of the most trifling circumstances in life are calculated to operate on the conscience of man, so as turn us from darkness to light and from the power of the Satan (within us) to Good?

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when we are preserved from gross vices, the moralist is disposed to impute it to his own resolution – The Christian also, is equally resolved to be guided by his faith – both in the spirit of self dependance But how often with both, does this resolution fail, in time of trial. How weak in such case, is unassisted human nature – How often do we recognize the aspiration in the Lords prayer “Lead us not into temptation” – (better renderd, “In temptation abandon us not”)[†] Our sense of independence, leads us to choose or refuse according to our own free will – Alas little are men aware in more weighty matters than youthful Sins, how unhappy or deplorable, does the indulgence of this will too often make its subjects. If sensual pleasures, have, their many victims – Pride avarice ambition have not a few

The game of billiards was one of those prohibited by law and I am not sure, that such prohibition does not yet continue – There were several of these in town, and two near the Long Wharf, which were much resorted to, by the young men in the vicinity This was a great temptation to me as well as others and being a game of skill and not of chance, and thus not leading to any gambling, I see not why they should have been prohibited by law – This very prohibition brought round the table some few sharpers, of low character, ready perhaps to act as gamblers, but with little encouragement to gamble, from the unskilfulness of young beginners, as well as their limited means – One advantage of the game is, that the interest (especially of young beginners is not

* “The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit.”

† I can't find a translation that agrees with Isaac on this point.

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materially increased by trifling pecuniary considerations – The evil was the strong excitement produced by the game, and the loss of time, and though the young men belonging to the counting houses seldom could play in the day time, yet every evening found a certain set at the table, from 6 or 7 o’clock often till midnight, and besides the characters above referred to, [which?]* it would hurt the reputation of a young man to have associated with and the illegality of the game, and consequent secrecy, necessary, to prevent its being known that a Table was kept made a billiard room be consider’d as a place of dissipation. The only liquor used there was Ale or Porter – and hence no exposure to intemperance, as the usual beverage was a mixture of malt Liquor, water Sugar & nutmeg – generally called “Nectar” – The Game itself being one of skill, and not of chance, is an innocent one, and publicly played in most of our Southern, as well as all foreign cities, without being injurious to the public morals, but in many cases, where betting is frequent, artful or equivocal characters make the billiard table a resort, to take advantage of the ignorant or unwary it may thus lead to gambling, and much consequent evil – A Private table owned by one of a few friends or acquaintances. is only objectionable, as becoming too exciting, and taking up too much time –

It was only very rarely,[†] that I made one of the riotous parties before described, and

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then merely as a looker on – I can take no credit for abstinence from such midnight orgies, gross dissipation, and drinking, having no taste for either, besides a sort of disgust at such boyish modes of finding pleasure

My Cousin Eliza Winslow afterwards wife of her and my cousin John of Fayette Ville,[‡] came from London in 1791 and was inmate in my fathers family to the time of his death, and occasionally afterwards – She was 2 or 3 years older than myself not very handsome but tho’ short & fat, good looking, of very agreeable manners, and generally an acceptable visitor in several of the principal families of the town – Greenes – Amory’s, Freemans Curtis’s &c – To the latter two family’s she was related, on her mothers[§] side – She came over passenger with a London Captain Barnard and his wife, who being very kind to her both on the passage and out, she became intimate with them and their connections, Mackays – a respectable family at the North part of the town, but such was then the distinction, between the north middle and centre of Boston – that the inhabitants of the North & South as regards social intercourse, were not at all known to the elite of the Centre – Still she kept up her acquaintance with these as regularly as with those who thought themselves of the upper class – She was a very frequent visitor, at her cousin Mrs Freeman who was a Curtis and in the Curtis family, and, I was always her

* The word is smeared and appears to have begun as an “and” which Isaac has then written over. The context isn’t helpful as Isaac’s syntax may have gotten away from him. The final three letters look more like “ish” than “ich,” but I’m betting on “which.”

† Originally Isaac wrote, “It was only a very few times.” Then he struck through “few times,” but forgot to delete the “a” as well.

‡ Fayetteville, NC.

§ Hannah Loring Winslow.

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escort home –

This sort of attendance on my cousin introduced me at the age of 18, to large number of acquaintance – more than I could possibly have acquired in any other way, for our own family had no visitors but those of our connections, who were my mothers usual associates. The North end of the town was separated from the Centre by the Mill bridge (where Blackstone Street crosses Hanover Street,) and was before and after the revolution inhabited by Mechanics – Seafaring men – Sailors boarding houses &c and hence a north ender was then rather a term of reproach – The inhabitants South of West Street were, called Southenders – The Centre was between these, and the West of the town was principally waste land –

A few years after the revolution these local designations fell into disuse, as well as the classifications of society connected with them – after which the line of distinction between the different parts of the town originally strongly marked, were gradually forgotten, or little thought of, and now (1842) happily annihilated.

The introduction to company in a great measure, owing to my cousin, had its advantages and disadvantages – Though certainly not inclined as I have said to the disorderly, riotous, and absurd frolics before mention'd, and repugnant to my feelings & temperament

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yet the example of our associates may easily lead us to to excesses, which which injure or ruin our temporal prospects – on the other hand, in a mixed and a more polished society, where a conventional morality demands at least decorum of manners, we are not in danger of gross vices, but are easily led to throw off the restraints of a religious education, to consider as, scruples what our parents thought Divine commands, to be governd by the rules of conventional morality, rather than by those of a small society little known, and if thought well of, as good members of the community, yet deemed uncharitable & exclusive – The natural desire of the young to do as others around them do, especially in regard to the allowed usages of society, soon leads to the departure from youthful, and therefore easily effaced religious impressions and thus the religiously educated youth, may come to have no religion at all –

Yet was the Sandemanian Society (so called for to be designated by the name of a leader they did not admit as proper) far from rigid, in the education of their children – on the contrary they were allowed to partake of all the amusements of children & young people (not sinful in themselves) and freely to associate with others not of the Society, in such amusements, Cards as being a game of chance was not allowed, but all games of skill were – Such intermixture with the world is no doubt lawfull – but is it expedient –? Can a religious society be kept up, after a few generations, if the children do not come into life, and grow up as component parts of it? So did the Jews, so do many other religious Sects – But it is objected, that faith is the very foundation of the Christian religion, and children are incapable of believing – Be it so, but, Christians are directed to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord* – It may be asked – does birth make believers? Not so,

* Ephesians 6: 4: “And, ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath: but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.”

indeed – but may they not be consider'd as such till their own unbelief at adult age – leads to their exclusion or secession from the society? Is it not inferrible from the above Scripture, that in the first churches, they were so consider'd? If the children of Christian parents are Christians till they at adult age renounce Christianity – are they merely nothings till at adult age

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Her mother was daughter of Commodore Loring who owned the home on Jamaica Plain now Greenoughs* – Her brother Joshua was in the British army, and her Sister Mary married a Capt Paiba in the East India service. all were educated in England, the family being Loyalists – Mr & Mrs Paiba came to Boston in the year 1793 from Africa, and remained here and in New York several years, Mrs Paiba a very amiable sweet temper'd woman, and a great favorite with all her relations Her husband was a rough John Bull, free spoken overbearing man, exercising the same authority in the home as he had been accustomed to on board ship – and carried this so far towards his mild gentle and acquiescent wife, as to excite the indignation of her female friends – her own sister – my mother – mother Blanchard &c, all of whom accustomed to the liberty enjoyed by the American women, could hardly brook his overbearing conduct – When they arrived, I invited them to my mothers house where they remained I think 3 or 4 months free of expense. He was as easy and unconcerned as if he had been in his own home, though he knew the family could ill bear the expence – After they left us, he took lodgings in the country in Brookline, where he had a daughter born, after which they went to New York, where I believe they resided a year or two, and finally returned to England with his family – I think she had in all three daughters and a son one of whom I heard was living in Bristol in 1837 or 1838 – Mr & Mrs Paiba – and her brother Joshua, all died in England, the dates I know not.

In December 1793 my mothers family was increased by the arrival of my grandfather Davis and wife from Shelburne, and with them I believe my brother Tom (tho' I had before supposed he did not come till after 1795) my grandfathers company was no doubt a source of great comfort to my dear mother, and tho' poor man he could give her no pecuniary aid, yet a sympathy with the afflicted, is of itself a consolation to a wounded spirit – I rather think he was in the family till I went abroad in 1795 and afterwards

In March or April 1793, accounts were received of the execution in Paris of their mild and well meaning but feeble and irresolute monarch Louis 16th – This sad event took place the 21st January 1793, one day after

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the death of my father – Prior to this the national sympathy with the revolutionists in France, had been very much excited, and this combined with the national antipathy to Great Britain, made our people quite ready and desirous of war with the latter – The cruel and atrocious treatment of the royal family in France, had before, very much neutralized the sympathy felt for the republican cause in France, especially amongst our leading people, who

* Above, I, 113.

† A number, possibly “198,” written under this in red ink and the tail of the 9, if it is that, struck through. “203” written again just under this.

considering Louis 16th as the great friend of the United States,* and his assistance during the revolutionary war as a chief cause of its successful termination, could not but feel, how incompatible such cruelties (unknown in our own revolution) were with the pretences which the revolutionary leaders had set up – These, as well as the humane and reflecting of all countries, could not but feel a deep sympathy for a mild and well disposed monarch, who after sufferings, privations and indignities, to which a common criminal only is subject, was dethroned and executed in Paris on the 21st of January 1793, to make room, for the Sanguinary leaders of the national convention Robespierre and Marat, in the former of whom finally centered for a time the whole power of France – “When the wicked bear rule the people mourn” – The execution of the Queen

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followed in May 1794[†] – the detestation of the so called Republican atrocities in France, and sympathy for the sufferings of their great & good ally, (as Louis the 16th was generally called) and his family, was a pretty general feeling in the United States, and had, much effect in changing the feelings & opinions of leading people towards France. The opposition however to the federal government was: beginning to be powerful, and their policy is as is usual[‡] with politicians, easily neutralised the feelings of humanity. They foresaw that a war between France and Great Britain must ensue, and the popular antipathy to the latter, the opposition leaders well knew was a chord to which the popular feelings would vibrate – Few politicians are moralists except on Paper. But Washington was then President, and sustained by men of the first character, and greatest influence in the country, whose true interests he studied, rather than his own popularity, he issued in April 1793 his proclamation of neutrality; no man but one of his great personal influence could have ventured on. This measure, in face of popular feeling, and a growing opposition to his administration ready to avail itself of the popular sympathy for republican France, and hatred to proud & imperious Britain: this noble and patriotic ground taken by Washington; with all his influence, could not quench the ardor of the opposition in endeavouring to excite the feelings of the people in favor of France, and in opposition to Great Britain, during his and his successors administration, but the peace of the country was preserved, and that principally if not entirely, owing to the good sense patriotism and firmness of Washington –

[verso of the preceding]§ 199**

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being of a sanguinary disposition, these feelings of sympathy for the king and family did not extend, or more probably the old antipathy to Great Britain, neutralized, their sympathetic feelings for the sufferings of their good and great ally

[following struck through text on a slip pasted over the preceding]

* Enormous portraits of Louis and Marie Antoinette, gifts of the French government just after the Revolution, still hang in the committee rooms adjacent to the 2nd floor U.S. Senate Chamber at Independence Hall in Philadelphia.

† Actually October, 1793, as Isaac correctly writes below, II, 204.

‡ No doubt the first “is” should have been deleted.

§ Almost certainly meant to be struck through.

** Page number in red ink.

~~youthful connections are not displaced by new associations — The Society too strongly upheld the respect due to the established order of civil society —~~

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It was either in 1793 or the following year 1794, that the family moved from the house in Sudbury Street, to a much smaller tenement, corner of Lynde and Green Street* and at lower rent, where we resided till 1800 — Mr Joseph King had previously taken my brother John into his family, in order to bring him up to his own business, at 200[†] New York. Mr King had, as has been said, married to[‡] my Cousin Isabella Winslow — He was in pretty good business in the shoe line and took my brother John to live with him, and within a year or two from that time Mrs Atkinson of Portsmouth Sister to my fathers first wife took my sister Eliza as an adopted daughter[§] — reducing the number of children at home to five, my brother Tom being absent — but still too large a family for my mother to manage broken down in constitution and spirits as she was —

For the first year after my fathers [death]** my attention to the family and business of the Estate obliged me to be much absent from the Counting house of Mr Amory but, I still considered it as my regular place of business. — His business increased with the increase, of the commerce of the country which from our neutral position in the war, (commencing April 1793 — between England and France)], became prodigiously augmented and expanded, and Mr Amory, derived more than his share of the general prosperity. The Counting house establishment began to be added to, almost immediately after the death of my father, by his then taking

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another apprentice into the Counting house — (Mr Samuel Walley)^{††} and soon after Mr Joseph Tilden both very amiable and excellent young men, and very free from the general vices or errors of those I have before spoken of — This was the origin of my acquaintance with these gentlemen, both of whom are now living — (1844)

The other early connections I formed have been mentiond, also that of my mother, as well from her large family, as the limited means of my father, added to want of inclination for large fashionable parties, had few acquaintances out of the circle of the family connections — I do not think she had any religious scruples in regard to a general intercourse, for she was brought up, as I believe I have already said an Episcopalian — In her early growth the connections of her mother in law,^{‡‡} being amongst the first families of Boston, the mode of living of her father was in conformity with the fashionable style then existing. My grandfather Davis in after life, united himself to the Sandemanian Society —

* No more than a quarter mile from the Sudbury St. house and a stone's throw from the eventual house in Leverett St.

† page number in red ink, struck through in brown, at the top left of a sheet over which has been pasted a slip with the page's preceding text.

‡ Inserted via caret, evidently in error.

§ She would have been about six or seven, having been born in 1787.

** Isaac no doubt thought, but did not write, the word.

†† Mentioned already above, II, 186.

‡‡ Elizabeth Savage Winslow, wife of Isaac's grandfather Joshua.

This, like all other religious societies which first appear, as rivals of the dominant or long existing religions, and its leading tenet too being that the preeminence and power of the clergy, of all denominations were principal causes of the corruptness of Religion – could, not but be looked upon, with aversion or contempt – My grandfather of course left the society of the gay and polite world, the aristocracy of the day, for that of some 20 or 30 followers of Mr Sandeman 3 or 4 of some equal rank with himself, but the majority mechanics, between whom and the magnates of the time the distinction was vastly greater than it is now— - my mother Uncle Ben & aunt Sparhawk accustomed to the Episcopal or most fashionable form of worship, and its first class worshippers no doubt felt the change not perhaps at once, for they were then children but in 3 or 4 years after when grown up – I rather think that in early life she felt as if her husband as well as father had by joining the society descended from

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their natural and proper level, in general society – I do not think therefore that my mothers connection with the Sandemanians through such near relations precluded her desiring the acquaintance of the great or fashionable – The frequent removes to Halifax – New York Connecticut and back again to Boston for 8 years, during which the family was increased to 5 children and 4 or 5 years afterwards, unavoidably led, to the constant occupation which accompanies maternal solicitude – This combined with an artless and childlike artlessness, would have led her to consider ceremonial visits as a burthen; rather than a pleasure. Yet she enjoyed the unrestrained intercourse of family relations and friends of long standing and was always glad to see them at the house, in a sociable way – Had it not been for my cousin Eliza Winslow and connection with the Amory family my own acquaintance would have been probably confined to the same circle – as it was, I was naturally upon a more intimate footing with these, than with those to whom I became known through them –

My mothers Aunt Minot had a family of six daughters and a son – and though of the preceeding generation to mine, the younger ones were about

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208.) my own age – With this family I used occasionally to pass my evenings, also with my paternal cousin Mrs Blanchard, who also had daughters, rather younger than myself and besides this, some evenings in the week were devoted to Eliza Winslow – Amongst her acquaintance was the sister of Mr Amory in whose counting house I was Seeing a good deal of her, I gradually got to have a pretty strong predilection for this young lady, but after my fathers death, the burthen that had devolved on me, made me feel that no connection of a serious nature could possibly take place – This early introduction to general and especially female society no doubt was beneficial in keeping me from gross dissipation yet it had in some measure the effect to excite ambitious views, and a desire to rise in the world, and hence to be ashamed of being connected in a religious society so inconsiderable, as that its very existence was unknown to many of those with whom I associated –

Such a position is unfavorable, for the development and strengthening of the early religious impressions, which children of course receive at first from their parents. The children were neither of the church nor of the world, as has been before remarked, and not being known as being connected with a Sect, who were conscientiously opposed to many allowed worldly customs, they were liable even when quite young to be asked to do things, which they would not have been solicited to do by those who were ignorant that many allowed things were disallowed to them – a false shame would prevent the children of the society from refusing to join with others in cases where the

practises of the Society were opposed to such participation, particularly attending any other places of worship than their own, which like the Romanists and Quakers they held to be absolutely wrong.

It is a great advantage, to be known to belong or to be connected, with dissenters from an established or dominant religion – Those even who disapprove such dissent (unless when it crosses their own path) are generally disposed to respect adults who appear to act according to conscience – and equally so to avoid influencing their children to leave the path which parental instruction has indicated to be the true

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one – which whether so or not, no humane or discreet person, would lead children to desert – The Baptism of children appears to me to be analogous to the naturalization of an alien – The latter determines to become a denizen of another country, and his minor children of course are included with him – suppose a law (which would be a reasonable) should direct that in such cases the parent should in a public manner propose his young children to be enrolled as citizens, of his adopted country, and promise to bring them up subject to the laws and usages thereof – Is it not, evident 1st That this an engagement* on the part of the parent the minor having no will of his own? and 2^d that at maturity if the minor acquiesces in the paternal engagement, he is de facto a member of such society? – but more of this hereafter –

The year 1794, was memorable for a severe check given to the Revolutionary cause in France by the defeat of a powerful French fleet in the Channel by Lord Howe June 1 1794, in which six large ships of the former were taken, and one or two destroyed, and also for the revolutionary enormities, which then prevailed, – . These brought to the guillotine the ill fated Queen of France, and Duke of Orleans, father to the present King of France, in October and November 1793, an account of which reached the country early in 1794, and in July of the latter year, was hurled to the earth Robespierre, a baleful, and threatening comet which had long swept, France, in its bloody and disastrous train: and by the same sanguinary tribunal, which he and his fellow bloodhounds of the Jacobin club, had originally instituted, under the tyrannical “law of the suspect,” contrived for, and effecting the sweeping off, of thousands of his fellow citizens from existence. With him ended that period of sanguinary rule or misrule, emphatically and truly called, “the reign of terror” – to the joy of all France. I may say of all the world

This was a singular man — a Lawyer of Arras[†] – chosen Judge, faithfully fulfilling his duties, till called upon to condemn a criminal whose crime was punishable with death – Robespierre resigned his office, rather than pronounce a sentence of death against a fellow man – Elected by his district a deputy to the first national assembly, soon after

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attaching himself to the ultra republicans of the day while the monarchy was yet in being –

* Probably “this *is* an engagement” intended.

† Robespierre’s birthplace, and the town in which he first practiced law. Thomas Carlyle, in *The French Revolution* (1837), introduces Robespierre as “an Advocate of Arras,” and inasmuch as Isaac will presently quote from Carlyle, it seems likely that he is using that text as his source here.

‡ Originally written in red ink (probably as “208”), then the last two digits corrected brown

denominated the incorruptible, from his indifference to luxury[?] and pleasure, and thought by others, and really thinking himself to be, a true friend of the People neither atheistical nor immoral, Robespierre was a striking instance, of what wickedness human nature is capable of, when left to itself, even when it supposes, and probably intends its actions will result to the especial benefit of mankind in general – The ultra republicans form'd into a society called the Jacobin club – of which Robespierre was foremost, at one time, indeed monarch, ruled France with a rod of iron. The dictator looking for a political millenium, in which, according to the predictions of an enthusiastic old woman (near 80) who, had always resided in his family, he was destined to be the great leader, (as promised in ancient prophecy.) To bring about this scene of happiness to the human race – Kings, nobles, Priests, the rich and aspiring, whether of the republican party or not were to be got rid of, in short all whose heads were, or were like to be, above the level of the crowd, ought to be levelled by the guillotine –

211* Vol . 2 C 6— Atheism was then the fashion of the day in France the Christian religion having been entirely abolish'd – Robespierre tried to bring about the worship of a Supreme Being. Whether he believed in revealed religion I never heard – Carlisle[†] in noticing his death says of him “O unhappiest Advocate of Arras, wert thou worse than other Advocates.? Stricter man, according to his formula, to his credo and his cant; of probities, benevolences, pleasures of virtue, and such like, lived not in that age. a man fitted, in some luckier age, to have become one of those incorruptible barren pattern figures, and have had marble tablets and funeral sermons! His poor landlord, a Cabinetmaker, loved him – His brother died for him. May God be merciful to him, & to us” ![‡] Robespierre and his coadjutors amongst the Jacobins, cannot but be consider'd scourges of God, instruments by whom national Sins are visited with a national punishment. The former full of his belief, that a perfect social millenium, was through his instrumentality to be realized in France – The cooperation of his richer and aspiring republican associates who had tasted the sweets of wealth & power he could hardly expect – nor descend from their high places, to join the dictator in his (perhaps) honest, but sanguinary measures, thought necessary to pave the way, for the triumphant reign of

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-ly[§] millenium, but these little satisfied with the republicanism which must descend from power for the sake of principle, and quit the smooth road to wealth and honor to become humble republicans for the sake of a theory, which had carried thousands to the guillotine, and might soon carry them to this undesirable elevation, combined to save their own heads by the sacrifice of that of their Tyrant – Robespierre soon ceased to exist.

A merchant of Boston and flaming friend of the Revolutionists, caused several of his vessells to be named for persons or events, then prominent in France. Amongst others he named a ship for Robespierre, which arrived at a Port in that country, soon after his downfall – According to the rumor then current in Boston she was with the

* Written in brown over “209” in red ink. Such corrections continue until II, 247.

† Misspelling of “Carlyle.”

‡ Isaac has omitted some words and phrases and taken his usual liberties with capitalization and punctuation. The quotation is from the end of “Go Down To,” Chapter Seven, Book 3 of *The French Revolution*.

§ At least one word missing from this long and confusing sentence.

greatest difficulty saved from an enraged populace, who threaten'd destruction to the vessel and cargo.

The popular feeling in the United States ran very high in favor of France at that period. The French consul, undertook to order the nonperformance of a farce, advertised to be performed at the Theatre, (then newly establish'd in Federal Street, I think 1794.) "the poor Soldier" because there was a Frenchman caricatur'd in that piece – A large French frigate the Concorde, at that time in the harbor, had the names of most of the principal citizens, of the federal or Washington party, stuck up as aristocrats on one of her masts – (of which however the Captain was ignorant)– He was a Dutchman (Capt Van Duger) a very fine man, and orderd the paper taken down the moment he knew of it – In this year a number of French fishing vessells, came up from St. Peters, and the crews and passengers had an old building at the bottom of Leverett Street assignd them for barracks. One of these, a furious republican, attacked me one day as being a French aristocrat, whom he knew in France – I told him he was entirely mistaken as I was a native of Boston, but he still persisted I was French, and rather intimated, an intention of visiting some old dispute on me, nodding his head in rather a threat'ning manner, when I passed him in the Street, for 2 or 3 months sometimes stopping to talk with me, as, the enemy whom he mistook me for – and telling me he could not be deceived by my imperfect French – Being rather fearful of some night attack when alone, I was quite pleased when he one day met me in the market with the remark "Je suis disabusè"* – I am undeceived.

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It has before been mention'd that the family had moved to a house in Lynde Street, or rather a tenement of small dimensions, compared with the house we had left, but at a much lower rent. We were obliged to live with the utmost economy as my mothers income from a small pension continued to her, – the Interest on the estate money in Mr Amory's hands – and Aunt Patty's board was all the family had to depend on – I got nothing from Mr Amory, and had scarcely enough to pay my own expenses. My mother managed the interior of the family concerns, as well as her health permitted, and I attended to the supplies of food, fuel &c – The children were of course under her entire management – In her younger days, when possessed of health and spirits, being not deficient in natural resolution, she would perhaps have controlled the usually indulgent feelings of a mother, but her infirm health, and broken spirits made the task of properly bringing up her numerous family, beyond her power – Few mothers are there who do not err on the side of indulgence – To maternal care and solicitude, she was quite unable to add paternal oversight and firmness. – As eldest of the family, and its head, I had a certain influence, but a boy myself, I had neither experience or judgement, or right to exercise any authority. The residence of my grandfather Davis with my mother was no doubt a comfort and support to her, and though an invalid from frequent attacks of Gout, his age and influence, did probably in some measure, help to relieve my

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mother from the burthens of her charge, and strengthened her, in the arduous duties of family government. He having always been connected with the old Sandemanian Society before the Separation in 1793, continued to adhere to them, or rather to the 2 or 3 who remained, and as I understood on my return, kept up with these the Lords day meetings in

**désabusé.*

his room at my mothers – I believe she always attended with the children, and thus a religious feeling was kept up in the family which might otherwise become extinct. My grandfather (Davis) afterwards connected himself with the adherents of Mr Humphries and so continued till his death.

I think it was about this time, that my mothers aunt Minot lost a third daughter – Six were living when our family came to town, and the old lady who lived to an advanced age, survived all but one – In this family, when young I was quite at home, as has been before mention'd, and naturally so in the family of my Aunt Pollard, or her daughter Mrs Blanchard. These two families were those in which the greatest intimacy with our own family existed, and hence, the young people, of both became intimate with each other from early life.

A month or two before I embarked for Europe, Capt Thomas Winslow youngest child of my fathers uncle Isaac, with his new married wife, arrived from Bermuda.* He was in the British army – a tall fine looking young man, good natured, and full of life, and spirits – He was half brother to Betsy and Mrs Waldo and Samuel and Isaac, (who had not before seen him since a child)

Towards the end of the year 1794, Mr Amory very kindly projected a voyage for me to Europe, as supercargo of a Danish Ship, to be laden by himself and others of his friends. – This first offset[†] into life, coincident as it was, with another equally important, my coming of age or nearly so, will make the commencement of a new chapter.

* This is the branch of the family who eventually play the central role in the already-cited *Mayflower Heritage* (above, I, 34). And see below, IV, 94 ff.

† An archaic sense meaning *start*.

Chapter Nineteen (Volume Two, Chapter Seven)

Ambivalence about going on a long voyage – His brother Thomas to take his place as head of the household during his trip – The *St. Marcus* of Copenhagen – The situation on the Barbary Coast – Capt. Hans Heysell – Departure January 1795 – The ship's accommodations – An anxious first night out; a gale, and Isaac locked below decks; escape and the calm of the crew in spite of the heavy seas; a more perilous situation than they supposed – Bad weather the whole crossing – The captain's shortcomings – Lisbon; Isaac's letters to his mother from thence – To Alicante; hospitality of the foreign merchants there; Isaac's inexperience at dealing with businessmen – To Genoa; a letter to his mother from there; the crowded situation onboard and the varied passengers; partisanship among the Genoese – Isaac attempts to cook a pudding – Generosity of the Turk – Customs and dress of the Genoese – To Leghorn; fellow American-born passengers; Mr. Hall of Virginia, who becomes a lifelong friend; Capt. Cuyler a former schoolfellow in New York and now a British officer – A side trip to Pisa; its hanging tower – Through the vale of the Arno to Florence; the Pitti Palace; anatomical preparations in colored waxwork – Engaging a Danish vessel, *The Five Friends* – Hotel accommodations – Isaac's inexperienced generosity at a *table d'hote* and with a couple of adventurers fond of oysters – From Leghorn to Barcelona; Reus and Tarragona; Salou – Delays caused by late arrivals of cargo and a serious leak – Leaving Malaga for the Atlantic; fair winds; the captain's gout leads Isaac to learn navigation; extracts from last letters to his mother before beginning the voyage home – His joyous and overpowering reunion with his family in Boston.

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The opportunity of going abroad, independent of the prospect of pecuniary benefit, would I am sure have been very agreeable to my natural inclination – The desire to extend our knowledge beyond the local limits of home and its vicinity, and to gratify the innate curiosity common to man, is a feeling all have – The gratification of it is therefore a source of pleasure; but this was counteracted by other feelings, not the least, that of leaving my mother, alone in the charge of her large family, little able as she was to attend to its internal concerns, much less the external ones; in which, after two years experience I had become in some measure conversant. Added to this I wanted much to adjust the affairs of my fathers estate, and was waiting to become of age in order to effect this – if I went abroad, they must continue in the same, unsettled state another year – When the voyage to Europe was proposed to me, I was nearly Twenty one, and had planned then to act in my own name as attorney of my mother, and become legally qualified to manage my fathers – grandfathers and Aunt Patty's estate affairs. But if I went abroad, this plan was at once protracted. With these conflicting reasons for going to Europe or staying at home, I was a good deal puzzled

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how to decide – but, it being thought that my brother Thomas then aged 19, might come up

from Shelburne to take my place in the family, and no, essential injury arising from the delay of the estates affairs, for a few months, which it was then supposed would suffice for the voyage, to Europe and back – I finally concluded to accept Mr Amory’s kind offer.

The value of this, I did not then estimate, as I would do, afterwards, when I undertook the same plan for the benefit of my brothers – That merchants should be found willing to confide a large property to a lad of only twenty one, with no experience in foreign trade at all, can only be imputed to the influence of Mr Amory, with those who were interested in the voyage –

The ship in which I was about to embark was, a Danish vessell, the St Marcus of Copenhagen a vessell considerd quite a large one for those times, being near 300 Tons . – She came round to Boston from Philadelphia, under a conditional engagement, after discharging her cargo in Portugal or Spain, to go on to Algiers for the purpose of bringing home the American Captives in that place,

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many of whom had been in slavery several years: The Americans, after the revolutionary war, losing the protection of the English flag, (and having no treaties with the Barbary powers – Tunis – Tripoli &c Algiers.) were liable to capture. Several vessells which attempted to go up the Mediterranean, above Malaga,* were captur’d, and the crews, made slaves of. The American government had then no naval force at all, therefore the only way was to follow the course of other nations, to buy off, their prisoners and a peace at the same time by a tribute to the Barbary powers as other nations did †– The St. Marcus was, to go to Lisbon, there take on board Col. Humphreys‡ (brother of my fathers friend Mr Humphries) then ambassador to Portugal, who was to proceed in the ship to Alicante in Spain, almost opposite to Algiers, on the Barbary side, and then take measures to liberate, the prisoners, and embark them in the St Marcus for the United States.§

The commander of the ship was Captⁿ. Hans Heysell,** a compound of vanity, ignorance, profanity, and intemperance of, both appetite and passion, but these I found out only when at sea of which more hereafter –

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We left Boston Long Wharf on the 28th of January 1795 after waiting several days for a wind – The preceeding part of the winter, had been a very mild one, accompanied with light and

* Málaga.

† “by a tribute to the Barbary powers as other nations did” interlineated, but without a caret, so here inserted in the most likely place.

‡ Col. David Humphreys (1752–1818) had been aide de camp to General George Washington after 1780 and was appointed by him (as President Washington) ambassador after the Peace.

§ The Barbary Corsairs or pirates had operated since the middle ages. As Isaac indicates, he was sailing at a very dangerous period, and it was out of a need to protect American vessels that the U.S. Navy was founded in 1794. It was while Isaac was embarked upon his voyage that the first American warships, including the *USS Constitution*, were being constructed.

** The “Historical Index of the [Thomas] Pickering Papers,” in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Sixth Series, Vol. VIII* (Boston: Published by the Society, 1896), 191, mentions the Captain’s appointment as U.S. Consul on the coast of Barbary (though I don’t know the date). So while the ship may have been Danish, its captain was an American, though not, evidently, a native.

variable winds. – There was only one American on board besides myself – a Mr Brown of Philadelphia who seemed to be entirely dependent on Capt Heysell, even for his clothing. I never knew his object, in going the voyage, but always supposed that he was a young man whom Heysell picked up in Philadelphia, and wished to patronize, hoping perhaps, to obtain for him, a subordinate situation in Government employ, had the ship proceeded to Algiers. – Besides us two, all onboard were foreign – flag, People, language as well as foreign modes of living and acting. I do not think that this circumstance, or the apprehension of sea risque, was much on my mind, but I felt heavy hearted at leaving home, principally from the reflection that having become necessary to my mother, she and the family would in my absence, suffer inconveniences or privations, which I might have prevented – Perhaps also, the idea of leaving one, (who though I could never expect to marry, yet, I certainly was at that time

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very much attached to, was intermingled with my feelings.)^{*} When the pilot left us at the light house about 2.o.Clock, I then felt like a stranger in a strange world –

The St Marcus had, besides a large cabin and state rooms below, a round house or cabin on deck – In the latter Capt Heysell, Mr Brown and the two mates slept – The great, Cabin below, was merely a receptacle, for, spare sails, rigging, Ships provisions and materials – The Cabin windows – or dead lights were caulked in, and secured. I had one of the State rooms below, (the seamen living in the forecastle.) I was entirely alone in my State room, not a person within hail unless when on deck or in the roundhouse – The first evening I turned in as the sailors say, pretty soon after dark, having then a light breeze, and all sails set – How long this lasted I do not know, but, in the course of the night or next morning (for the state room was so dark when the companion doors were shut, I could not tell the night from day) I felt an increased motion of the ship, and a great noise on deck, – of men running to and fro, as if she was in a dangerous predicament – The working of the ship, creaking of the timbers, and rushing of the waves against her sides, which I could plainly hear, as I lay in my birth[†]

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alarmed, me a good deal, and led me to get up and go on deck to ascertain what had happened, but when I got up the Cabin Stairs, and attempted to open one of the companion doors, I found, that I could not get it open, and that all my knocking and hollowing,[‡] brought no one, to my assistance – I believe I did so a second time, and then got the notion into my head, that the ship being in great danger, the Captain had directed that the doors leading on deck should be fastened, and that I as passenger should be kept confined, lest if I knew the danger, my alarm might intimidate the crew; Thinking therefore that all was lost, I returned to my State room in no very enviable state of mind, pondering on all I had left

* Given what has been said above (II, 208) about Isaac's attachment to Mr. Amory's sister, it seems most likely that this is the young woman in question. His next love would appear to have been Catherine Pease Blanchard (sister of his future wife Margaret), with whom he says (below, III, 71) he became attached two years before his mother's death in 1800 (therefore around 1798).

† Misspelling of "berth."

‡ The early form of *hollering*.

behind me on shore, and, with the publicans prayers – “God be merciful to me a sinner”,* resigned my self to my supposed fate – Not long after I heard the companion door opened, and closed again by one of the seamen, who came into the great cabin, for, something wanting on deck – I immediately got up and followed him on deck – when a new scene burst upon me at once – The Ship stripped of the cloud of canvas I had left her with, the night before, with only one or two reefed Sails – plunging and foaming amongst white topped angry waves, such as I had never before seen, her decks every few moments overwhelmed by them, and she herself laboring and straining, as

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if in mortal conflict with a host of enemies threatening her ins[t]ant destruction – But all this was because I was a novice in the business, the sailors were as easy, and unconcerned, when the ship was fairly laid to, as if at anchor in smooth water –

Yet finding as I soon did, that we had made little way to the Easter† and in the course of the night, probably not more than 20 or 30 miles, and hence had little drift room, and noting the anxiety of the Captain and mates, I became convinced, we were in a more perilous situation than the mere action of winds and waves, on a strong, well appointed ship, could cause – in fact, had the gale instead of being South east (and a very short, tho’ very spirited one, as such usually are,) been at East or north East we must have gone ashore [at? on?] one side of Boston Bay, or the other – But the gale after continuing a few hours, veered to the South, and west, and, then as usual to the North west, blowing if possible with increased violence, but happily for us as fair as it could blow – The Ship was badly loaded, having all the weight in the

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bottom and scarcely any thing between decks – so that she rolled very badly before the wind, having her main deck under water continually, we had only reefed main topsail & foresail nearly all the passage – and only 2 or 3 days, decent weather, (when off the western islands) the whole passage – old Heysell used to say, that a severer punishment to a criminal could not be devised, than to make him take a winter voyage to or from America, interlarding every sentence with an oath. He had been Captain of a Danish East Indiaman, and though, the tempestuous, weather prevented it at sea, yet when he could, the etiquette of a high naval officer was kept up on board, the table laid out with silver plate, cut glass, wines and liqueurs – Coffee after dinner – servants in attendance; himself when the weather allow’d, dressd up in the most fashionable style, and on board his ship a perfect tyrant; his mates coming obsequiously every day, to shew the ship’s reckoning, to which personally he never attended – yet would at times so demean himself, as to strike the seamen most severe blows with his own stick, or fist – He was at least 55 years old, a bitter enemy of the English, very dressy and very vain – he often used to boast in Boston and at Sea, how much the Americans were in debt to him, for the grand work of freeing their countrymen from slavery in Algiers, and all, as he said in broken English, “for de sake of de who – man it tee” (humanity) with me he

* Luke 18: 13: “And the publican, standing afar off, would not lift up so much as his eyes unto heaven, but smote upon his breast, saying, God be merciful to me a sinner.” *Publican* here means tax-collector and therefore not someone ordinarily admired. He is contrasted with a proud Pharisee, and the lesson comes in the following verse: “I tell you, this man went down to his house justified rather than the other: for every one that exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.”

† Little headway on account of the strong east wind.

was always finding fault for my youth. “ a baye[?] (boy) [“]who ought to be in his mudders[?] (mother’s) [“]chimney corner.[?]”

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It may be supposed that our arrival in Lisbon in 28 days from Boston, was a source of great pleasure to me, not only, as a relief from our tempestuous passage, nearly the whole of which I was seasick, but as enabling me to separate from my Grand Turk Shipmaster – The transition from the night hue of an American winter, and the stormy Atlantic sea, to the calm, bosom of the Tagus, * with its surrounding hills in their verdant Spring dress, studded with white cottages and villa’s – Lisbon with its shining roofs and turrets sloping down to the Tagus – that River full of the vessells of all nations, exhibiting on festival days, the flags of all the countries but French; was such a transition as was truly delightful – added to this, was the change from ships provisions and hard bread, to excellent vegetables, fine oranges – a vast variety of fresh fish – meat, milk, poultry &c all cheap and in abundance – a few extracts from a letter to my mother which I have in my possession, written from Lisbon, will give, a better view of my, early impressions, than the renewed recollections of half a Century can possibly do. – This letter is dated at Lisbon March 2^d 1795 and refers to a former one mentioning my arrival at that place/ “When I bid you the last farewell, I rather expected we should not sail and consequently that I

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should see you again, but from Aunt Pollards I went down to the ship, which finding ready to sail, I went on board, and notwithstanding parting with you all, and last of all with honest Jack on the wharf, I kept up my spirits till we came abreast of the light, then writing you a farewell letter, and seeing the pilot putting off for land I felt my resolution flag, and could not but help being womanish enough to shed a few tears. – a thousand sensations which I had not before experienced, rushed into my mind, not a few of which were connected with the idea of leaving you in your lonely situation, and with your large family to experience difficulties to which you had not been used, and which I had been instrumental in some degree keeping off.– But I soon got the better by reflecting that we are all under the care of a kind Providence, whose all seeing eye is over all his works – next, that I am naturally of an anxious disposition, and in the habit of looking at the dark side of things – and thirdly, that if I should succeed, I might be able to do something handsome for myself, and consequently have the pleasure of more effectually assisting yourself, and my brothers and sisters

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than I could do, with my limited prospect at home. With these reflections I consoled myself on my passage, and on my arrival here, such an entire new scene presented itself, combined with the prospect of seeing a little of the world, and that too in the way of business that I can’t say I regret having undertaken the voyage
March 12. we were kept in quarantine a week, and finally landed in the Tagus near where the ships lay, 3 miles from Lisbon, and went up in one of the Lisbon carriages resembling a Post Chaise, only that they open before”

[“]

* The river that runs through Spain and Portugal and empties into the Atlantic at Lisbon.

Lisbon is a very dirty place, the common practice being to throw out of the windows at night all kinds of filth and dirt, the smell of which early in the morning is quite offensive, but by before noon the pure air causes, it all to evaporate[?] – This letter mentions the structure of the houses, the interior partly tiled, partly cieled* with very smooth plaistering† and many walls painted in fresco.— the hospitality of the merchants – Mr Bulkely – Mr Dohrman, Mr Goodair – Mr Church the American consul to whom I had a letter from Miss Jarvis, and concludes with [“]particular remembrance to Grandfather Grandmother and all the family, and accept

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for yourself more duty love and esteem than can be expressed by Your truly
affect Son – IW[?]

Capt Heysell, was much disappointed in finding on the arrival of our ship at Lisbon, that Col^l Humphries had sailed for, America a month or two before, so that his inflated anticipations of the glory which was to accrue to him, for his who man a tay (humanity) were all dissipated, and he had only to deliver his cargo, at Alicante in the Mediterranean, for which place the St Marcus sailed from Lisbon after about a fortnights detention –

The supply of fresh fish at Lisbon is, I should judge, of the greatest variety of any place in the world – I remember at a dinner party given on board Capt Perry's‡ ship (father of the present Perry's in the navy,) where were principally Portugese,–and being in Lent time – fish only was on table – that article was presented with the greatest variety of cookery – boiled stewed baked fricasseed, pies,– pickled, in vinegar – oil –&c –

We had quite an agreeable passage from Lisbon to Alicante, I think of only 10 or 12 days and old Heysell was less overbearing, than he had been

[written sideways bottom to top at left-hand margin]

sailed from Lisbon 20 March 1795 – 24th at night went through the Streights§ 29th arr^d at Alic^l

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on the voyage from Boston but still a companion I was well pleased to get rid of at Alicante, where we parted, not to meet again. Amongst other things he told me he was acquainted with Professor Winslow of Copenhagen** – whose name as well as mine he always pronounced “Vinsloff”. At Alicante, the house I consigned the cargo to, was that of Reed Parkinson & Bell – the latter the active partner in Alicante, the former two in London, the whole, comprising an eminent English house– There were, several, English & Irish houses establish'd there as well as those of other nations, and though amongst several of them, great jealousy existed, they all depending on the Newfoundland trade, and the export of Barilla,††

* Misspelling of “ceiled,” meaning *having a ceiling*.

† A common eighteenth-century spelling of *plastering*.

‡ Christopher Raymond Perry (1761–1818).

§ Strait (of Gibraltar).

** Jacob Benignus Winslow, also known as Jacques-Bénigne Winslow (1669–1760), a distinguished anatomist.

†† Several species of plants that, until the 19th Century, were the primary source of soda ash or sodium carbonate, which is important in the production of glass.

almonds, brandy, and wine to England and Ireland – yet, there were, eight or ten families, on the most, intimate footing with each other; rarely an evening that they were not together at their respective houses – Such social meetings in Spain are called *Tertullias** – They assemble together without the least ceremony give their guests nothing but iced water, and if the master or mistress is engaged, they leave the party to amuse themselves, and may be absent the whole evening, without its being thought neglectful

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to their company – But the foreigners rarely mix with the Spaniards, though they adopt many of their customs – There were more Irish than English there, and they kept up, to its fullest extent the old fashion of dining together, and drinking to an excess, which I believe in the result did me good – for being absolutely compelled to drink, and hence in a few cases completely intoxicated, its subsequent effects in that climate were such, that I really got a disgust, to wine, and though more at home at Alicante, than in any other place I was at abroad – I could not, regret, the getting away from bumper toasts, and six hour sessions at table –

When I was at first at Alicante, I was invited to the house of Mr Montgomery American consul, where I staid during the time I was there. Both he and his wife, were Irish.– She looked a good deal like Betsy Le Cain† only taller and thinner, quite a smart intelligent woman – He a little monkey faced man, and as it struck me, rather a cunning one – I ought not to have accepted their invitation, as I put my business into the hands of Mr Bell, whereas Montgomery no doubt expected it – But I was so young and inexperienced, and in Mr Amory’s counting

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house, I had no opportunity of acquiring any knowledge of foreign trade, nor of its usages, in foreign ports or, I should have known, that the civility of the Montgomeries, was probably founded on the expectation of my giving them the business of the ship, or rather her cargo – If I had possessed such knowledge (to be acquired only in a house which carries on foreign trade on its own account) I might have managed the concern better for myself and the parties interested.

After selling the cargo of fish in Alicante I was near 2 months waiting for an opportunity to go to Italy with some sugar and nankines[?],‡ prohibited in Spain, and which finally succeeded in finding, and left, Alicante for Genoa the 17 May An old letter to my mother, dated at the latter place which is in my possession, will better show my feelings at that time, than can now be done from recollection

“My dear and honored mother – You see by the date, that I am getting further from you, but I hope this will only verify the truth of the old proverb “The furthest way round is the nearest way home”§ nor shall I at all regret finding myself on the way to America, for “home

* *Tertulia*, roughly equivalent to a “salon.”

† Below, IV, 101.

‡ Possibly a misspelling of *nankeen(s)*. *OED*: “A kind of pale yellowish cloth, originally made at Nanking from a yellow variety of cotton, but subsequently manufactured from ordinary cotton which is then dyed; more fully nankeen cloth.”

§ Meaning that while taking the most care and time with a task may seem to delay its completion, a quick fix may in the end prove untimely and more costly.

is home”* – The truth of this plain saying I have felt abundantly verified, since I have been abroad. If travellers feel like me, there is one benefit in seeing the world, which is that one likes his own country the better – I am afraid that you will

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not think this is the case with me from the general run of my letters, full of my observations and adventures, and that I am so eager in the pursuit of novelty, I quite forget the domestic circle, I love so well, and have been so happy in, but notwithstanding, I assure you many of my most pleasant hours are passed in imaginary visits at home, and anticipations of again having the pleasure of seeing you well and happy. As I feel how eagerly, I should receive accounts of every particular which concerns you all, so on the other hand I think my little affairs and observations will not be uninteresting. I shall therefore proceed to give you a kind of journal since leaving Alicante – We left that place the 19 of May, and I had the pleasure of finding myself a passenger amongst Ten others, consisting of 4 French – two Maltese, a Turk and his negro servant, and Irish gentleman, which including the Captain and crew, we could count 13 or 14 different nations on board.– The passengers were crowded in a small cabin of 12 or 14 feet square, & to crown all we had a tedious passage of 21 days, having principally calms on the passage” Here follows

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a description of the fine appearance which Genoa makes from the sea, with its numerous, villas on the slope of the mountain on which it stands, its clean but narrow streets – except 3 or 4 streets of palaces the dresses of the females, white veils or mezzaro, (but black veils worn by the nobility) fondness of the Genoese, for being in the Streets, and at the numerous, Coffee houses, &c – all, which would take too much space to recapitulate

[“I find as much party spirit here; as with us. – There are numbers of French emigrants as well as republicans in the city – The Genoese, are, generally inclined to the latter – we yesterday heard of the death of the Dauphin of France, some say by poison, but more believe it a natural death[”]† –

The letter expresses hopes that something may be made by the voyager, tho’ the fish did not sell well.– and, that “I may have it in my power to be more of service to you than if I remain’d at home, for be assured my dear mama, that this idea had great weight with me in accepting the voyage, for though it is a pleasant circumstance to be abroad at this time of life, and to see something of the world before fixing down for life, yet for these reasons only I

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could not have consented, to have left you in your peculiar situation, when I might have been of service in helping to keep off those difficulties which the loss of so dear and excellent a friend, as we have all been deprived of, subjects you and the family to. – but a

* Often rendered, “Home is home, though it be never so homely,” and probably the basis for the 1823 song “Home Sweet Home.”

† Louis XVII (1785–1795). He died on June 8.

great alleviation to ones anxiety on this head is the excellent friend and companion you possess in my grandfather, who I sincerely hope is continued to you in health and spirits.”*

The letter speaks of going to Leghorn† and Spain, and that I hoped to be at home in October.

“You do not know how much I should relish some information from home just now, tomorrow being 5 months since I left, Boston, or have heard a word from thence, this I know is owing to the circuitous voyage, I have made, and not to any neglect in writing, but still I feel it irksome to be left in such an anxious state of solicitude about my dear friends.”

Some reminiscences occur connected with the voyage to Genoa, of a trifling character to be sure, but such as may amuse my daughter

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One was that being short of provisions, in a passage of 21 days normally performed in 5 or 6, and having a small bag of ground rice,‡ left of the stores which my mother had kindly provided at Boston, and there being a few eggs left onboard, I told the passengers I would make them an American pudding, so I mixed the raw rice – eggs, and sugar all together and had them boiled by the cook in a bag – We were all very hungry, and expected with anxiety “the American pudding” – It turned out as may be supposed a complete failure – Our fellow passenger the Turk (Saadi Muley-Osman) was a merchant of Constantinople then on his way to Marseilles – a fine liberal, well behaved man as I ever saw – He freely gave his own live stock, a sheep – some fowls &c. for the use of the passengers onboard – He treated his black servant – a good looking lad of 18 or 19, more like a child than a slave – To, employ, the heavy hours, which a calm always causes onboard ship, I undertook to run the heels§ of the only pair of silk stockings I had, for which my thoughtful mother had furnish’d materials before I left home – This job I thought I did with uncommon

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neatness and success, but, lo! when I sent them to be washed at Genoa, the heels came out, I having run the stitches too tight – The Genoese women, who sat with their work, about the streets, had a way of grafting silk stockings very neatly – The juncture was quite imperceptible, so a few shillings made all right again – I used to play chequers a good deal with the Turk and could converse with him in broken Spanish Italian (lingua franca) as I had scarcely any beard at, 21, he used to ask me if Melaguins[?]** (americans) had no beards – He had mustachios on the upper lip only, which would reach nearly to the ear, of these he was very proud, and constantly kept pulling them, towards his ear – He and the Maltese could converse readily together in Arabic – He said the common language of Malta was, a corrupted arabic. I had letters to a Mr Heath of Genoa, a

* This odd turn of phrase was in fact conventional at least in New England and means Isaac hopes not just that his grandfather’s health and spirits are good, but that the benefits therefrom continue in the household.

† Livorno.

‡ Rice flour.

§ *OED*: “To darn (the heel of a stocking) before wearing in order to strengthen it,” typically with a heavier fabric such as felt or cotton.

** Probably Isaac’s attempt to reproduce the Turk’s pronunciation.

very taciturn, and rather cold man – I think a Bachelor or widower – his brother Charles, had married a Swiss lady, and was civil enough, but also of a reserved disposition – I formed an acquaintance with a young Swiss, a relation of Mrs Heaths who was in their counting house, and these were all I knew

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in the populous city of Genoa – The visiting of its marble palaces – old paintings – churches, its arsenal, with an old Galley, I suppose over 100 years old, kept as a prison ship for, Turkish or Barbary Slaves, its Porto Franco,* or Bonding Warehouse, a very large and commodious structure, where, all the merchandise imported, was deposited, took up some of my time, of which I had enough to spare. Then the novelty of the scene – The antique gala costume of the Doge and Senators with their families, all nobles, the ladies with black veils – long trains with a page, constantly, bearing up the train, 5 or 6 servants and, a Sedan chair always following (There were no wheel carriages of any kind in Genoa) Then the costume of the common people, the women universally with white veils (Black being the privilege of the nobility), generally even the poorest, neatly and well dressed, all these new sights were objects of interest to such a novice as I then was – But after a week or two and having seen all I, could see, I began to grow tired – I was longing to hear from home, yet, there was no prospect of so doing, for no American vessels would venture

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above Malaga, (60 miles from Gibraltar) for fear of the Algerines. No American papers were to be seen and in short, I felt an isolated being in the world. – It was in this state that a Swiss gentleman who had heard me lament the want of news from home, invited me to his house to meet a party, one of whom was an American lady – I readily accepted the invitation full of eager expectation, but who should I find the American lady to be but a mulatto from the island of Haiti – a well dressed, well behaved woman, but alas not such an American as I had longed for –

I was in Genoa about a month, when I embarked in a felucca –(a long boat of 30 to 50 Tons with a large lateen[†] sail, one cabin below – but the passengers sleep on deck, and under the shade of a large awning, covering the whole deck of the vessel – the sides of which lift up by day but can be closed at night, when the passengers spread their mattresses and sleep – At that time the Felucca's generally, stopped at a port half way between Genoa and Leghorn, during the night – but seldom as I was told slept at home; after anchoring here one night, we made sail and arrived at Leghorn the next day. – There were, besides a few Italians, who

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might be called, steerage passengers, Two gentlemen besides myself who speaking English, soon after we got onboard, all the three took each other for English men, but all proved to be Americans. One was Mr Hall a native of Virginia the chaplain of the British factory at Leghorn – the other a Captⁿ Cuyler, an officer in the British army,[‡] who with many British and Spanish officers, passed through Genoa, on their way to Leghorn to embark from

* Free port.

† “latine” was written, but “lateen,” the correct spelling has been lightly penciled in above.

‡ By “American,” Isaac means born in America.

thence to their respective destinations – Bonaparte had just then began his career as an officer of the artillery, and by his aid, enabled the French commander, at Toulon, to compel, the British and Spanish, to whom it had been deliver'd by the Royalists to evacuate the place – I found Capt Cuyler had been a schoolfellow with me at Mr Humphries School in New York, but I presume at the peace had been carried to England by his family – Mr Hall had been an episcopal, clergyman in Virginia but had also left there during the revolutionary war, and though there could be no community of feelings or conversation on, the recent circumstances

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of our common country, yet the very fact of our being fellow countrymen, gave me a sort of home feeling which I had not had for a long time – I did not see anything of Capt Cuyler after we arrived at Leghorn – but Mr Hall was very kind to me, and I was frequently at his house, and after my return to Boston I kept up a correspondence with him for many years, The Sulphur,* medals of antiquities, and the old bronze, lamps, Roman hatchet, and similar articles so long in the houses, but since lost or destroyed in our removals, were from Mr Hall.

My object in going to Leghorn was to obtain a vessell, for Boston, taking a small part of the Cargo at that place, and completing her lading in Spain. Tuscany, of which Leghorn is the principal Seaport, being then a neutral power, the port, like Lisbon, was filled with all the flags of Europe – The Danes and Swedes were neutral powers, and both having treaties with the Barbary powers, Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco, could safely navigate the Mediterranean – These powers however were always at war with the Italian States, their corsairs some-

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-times landing on the Coast, and making captures of such of the inhabitants, as they could lay hands on.

While looking round for a suitable vessell, I had an opportunity of visiting, Florence and Pisa, and becoming well acquainted, with the localities of Leghorn, but these are not interesting being comparatively a new city, and presenting none of the old associations which are connected with most of the Italian cities – It was built by Cosmo I – I think about the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th Century – It is a very regular well laid out place, with wide Streets, all at right angles – built on a sort of marsh, or level ground near the Arno – There is a great number of Jews in the place, who live in one particular quarter of the town, and have a very handsome Synagogue, built for them if I recollect right, by one of the Grand Dukes of Tuscany, but all religions are tolerated, though I think no protestant or other sect,† had public places of worship – The Episcopalians under Mr Hall used to assemble in a large hall.

Near the landing place from the inner harbor call'd Darsena, in a sort of Square, is a fine bronze group representing the Grand Duke, Ferdinand, with the figures of four African slaves, chained to the pedestal of the Statue, beautifully executed, and all

* Sulfur was commonly used to make moulds of objects with delicate relief.

† I.e., sects as opposed to the Roman Catholic Church.

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of colossal size: thought to be one of the best pieces of bronze statuary in Italy* – Pisa on the Arno 14 miles from Leghorn, with which it is connected by a canal, is an ancient city, the birthplace of Galileo. It was the head of the Pisan republic before 1400, and, then quite a commercial mart, with 150,000 thousand in habitants, and many vessels – Pisa, being only 5 miles, from the Sea, was probably a place of deposit and transit, for the flourishing commerce of Florence, as well as of the many little republics.(- often single cities only) in the neighborhood. But the commerce of Tuscany has been transfer'd to Leghorn, which has risen as Pisa has declined – In the former place, the inhabitants were estimated 60,000 to 70,000. – in the latter, when I was there, it was supposed the population was only 15 to 16,000. It is built on both sides the Arno, from which rise spacious quays, planted with trees, making a fine promenade – The houses though mostly deserted, were many of them almost palaces – It is remarkable for its antique & curious burying ground or Campo Santo (surrounded on its four sides by – a sort of spacious cover'd arcade, the ground being said to have been brought from the holy land and for its hanging tower – a circular building, over 100 feet high, with galleries round every story – It was built in the year 1174[†] – and inclines 15 feet from a perpendicular – When I was on the top gallery, I felt as if my weight, would tottle[‡] it down, and really got upon the other side as soon as I could – It is not known, whether it was designedly built so, or whether the foundations settled after it was built.

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Florence is about 60 miles from Leghorn, I joined a company going thither in a Coach, under the direction of a Vetturino, who, in Italy, for a given sum, contracts to take travellers from city to city – We set out, near Sunset – passing through Pisa, and the road leading through the vale of the Arno – of which however 7 or 8 hours of night prevented my seeing much, except for 2 or 3 hours, before we got to Florence – It would be too great, a digression from an autobiography, to give a detailed account, even from the few reminiscences which remain near, 50, years since, of the interesting objects which were then, and I presume are now, to be seen in Florence and the few other cities I have visited abroad – I shall therefore merely mention my visit to those places, without stating the particulars. These details are to be found much better than I could relate them in books of travels. Some of these, are even now, after such a lapse of time, so strongly impressed on my memory, that a description of them would take up more time and space, than I think expedient to allow in a work of this character. These recollections comprehend the Gallery of Florence, with its numerous statues and paintings – Venus of Medicis – group of Niobe and her children – Venus of Titian, Rubens, and paintings by all the great masters – The marble bridge over the Arno, with statues of the four seasons – The elegance of the public buildings and private palaces, the cleanliness of the Streets. – The style of the painting, statuary, and Architecture, which is displayed in all the best parts of the city – The view of Florence from a height in the gardens of the Palazzo, Pitti (built by a merchant of that name about the year 1450 or 1500, which ruined him, and the palace bought by the Grand Duke) and the vale of the Arno, in

* The monument is by Pietro Tacca (1577–1640) and is in the Piazza della Darsena.

† Construction began in 1173, but the tower was not completed until 1372. It is closer to 200 than 100 feet tall.

‡ *OED* recognizes *tottle* as a dialectical version of *topple*, but oddly only as an intransitive verb (perhaps because it was only as an intransitive that the editors ever encountered it?).

which the city is built, with the four bridges over the river – These, I can only recapitulate, but not describe – The gallery of the Grand Duke, palace Pitti, and indeed all the other objects of curiosity, are here as elsewhere, always easily accessible to strangers – with the aid of a Cicerone or guide, and the strangers guide book, always to be found in every Italian city of note, a stranger is at home in a moment

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and thereby enabled not only to see the more prominent curiosities of the place, known to every one, but also many things, which but for the guide books, or, cicerone, he would never have heard of – My time only allowed me to pass three or four days in Florence, but I improved every moment of it having nothing else to do – I cannot help mentioning an object of great curiosity in the Cabinet of natural history, I mean the anatomical preparations in wax work colored like nature – These are deposited in one of the Grand dukes palaces bought by Leopold from the family of Torregiani* – There are 16 Chambers and two galleries in which the preparations are all scientifically arranged – In the lying in chamber are two full length figures of which the front part can be removed, shewing the natural position of the Lungs, heart & stomach and the, other upper and lower viscera – These are not opened for visitors in general – Besides these are sections of the body and members, as well diseased as sound, the smallest as well as the greatest, in every conceivable form, divided lengthwise, crosswise, oblique In short the most perfect exhibition of the anatomy of the human body which has ever existed – With Winslows anatomy† in my hand, I could have passed weeks there. As to the other objects of natural history in this gallery – Beasts, birds, insects reptiles, Seeds, flowers, woods, Gems – minerals, marbles – earths &c, it would take a volume to describe In viewing the anatomical preparations, nothing more forcibly brings to mind the truth of Scripture, that

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[“]fearfully and wonderfully we are made”‡ – It was with much regret, that I was obliged to leave Florence after such a flying visit, but, as it was absolutely necessary that I should embark with all possible speed on my voyage to Spain, any longer stay would have been impracticable.

I had before this, engaged a Danish Brig Die Fem. Venner§ – (Anglice ** the Five friends) for a voyage to Spain & Boston, and snatch’d the time, while she was taking onboard a small part of the cargo at Leghorn and preparing for sea to make the excursion to Florence, as has been mention’d.

It is curious to think, how exactly the hotel keepers, regulate themselves by the external appearance of their guests, those like myself who had no servant, and made no show, they consider quite common folks, and stow them any where, they can –

* Misspelling of “Torrighani.” The collection is housed in the former Palazzo Torrighani, which is near the Pitti Palace.

† No doubt Jacob Benignus Winslow’s *Exposition Anatomique de La Structure du Corps Humain* (1732). See above, II, 227.

‡ Psalm 139: 14.

§ Should be *De Fem Venner*.

** Latin for *in English*.

In Genoa, and Florence, I was put into an upper chamber 4 or 5 stories high, and being then unused to high buildings, the looking out of the window almost made me dizzy, and fearful I might get up in my sleep, and jump out. In Florence, I was put into a kind of garrett, which the, heat of the sun on the roof in the day, made like an oven; and being in July* the atmosphere of these garrett rooms is

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almost intolerable – In Leghorn where they are used to commercial men, and not much to travellers of rank – I fared, better, at the hotel, where I staid, in regard to accommodations – I remember an incident at this hotel, which it may be amusing to my children to notice here – One day dining at the hotel, with a very full table, directly before me, was a piece of roast beef quite an uncommon dish in Italy, and of which as I so seldom saw it abroad, I had determined if only to remind me of home, to partake, but when I began to carve it plates came from one, and another for a piece, till it was gone (being only a small piece) and I had none for myself – a gentleman sitting by, told me in French or Italian – “I see young man, you have not travell’d much – in future when you, attempt at a table d’hote,[†] to help others, always help yourself first” – There was at the hotel where I lodged an Italian gentleman and his wife – both well dressed, well behaved people as it appeared to me – He called himself a count – the lady was a Venetian, and quite a handsome young woman – They were both very attentive to me, and in return, (as the lady expressed herself very fond of Oysters) – I invited

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this couple, and some other person, whom I do not now recollect, to go to the Casino, (on the edge of a canal or inlet of the sea, just outside the walls of the city, where only they are to be had) to an oyster Supper. The oysters were quite to the taste of the party, particularly the Venetian lady, and of course a supply was kept up as long as there was any demand. I had not taken the precaution to enquire the price, before I gave the invitation, I supposing the cost of them, could not be a great deal more than at home, but to my surprize when I came to settle for them, I found that every oyster costs 8 or 9 cents, and I was lugged in[‡] for a bill of Twelve or fourteen dollars – an expense I could very ill afford.[§] – It seems, the oysters come over from Corsica, and are kept with much expense at the Casino, near the Sea, and that hence, they are always a very dear article of food in Leghorn – Besides I presume, they were much dearer in June or July, when we had them, than in winter or Spring, the proper season for them.

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I afterwards heard, that this Italian Count and Countess, were supposed to be mere

* “July” inserted via caret over six ellipsis points. Probably Isaac had to look back over his journal or correspondence to recall the exact month.

† Isaac uses this phrase in its original sense: *OED*: “A shared table for diners at a hotel, restaurant, tavern, etc., at which a set menu is served at a stated time.” Only in the nineteenth century did it come to mean “A meal consisting of a set menu at a fixed price.”

‡ *Webster’s 3rd Unabridged* records an obsolete meaning of *lug*, “to take out one’s money or purse,” so possibly the sense here is something like “I was forced to pay out.” Or perhaps Isaac just means to say he’d been *dragged* in to having to pay more than he’d expected.

§ Current value using Consumer Price Index and/or the GDP Deflator would be about \$220.

adventurers, that the latter had been on the Stage in Venice, and it was thought was not the wife of the so called Count – Whether this surmise was true or not I never ascertain'd, but such adventurers are very common in the great cities of Europe.

On Monday 25 Aug^t 1795, I left Leghorn in the before mention'd Danish Brig five friends, with a ballast of wine, oil Brimstone* &c, bound to Barcelona in Spain, there to take in Brandy Wine which had been previously orderd there – we arrived safely after a passage of 9 days, but had the mortification of being kept onboard in quarantine 9 days longer not because there was the smallest cause for it Leghorn being perfectly healthy and none sick on board but as was said, on account of a jealousy existing between the health officers of the two places – Both were equally particular in their observation of the quarantine laws, but in this case – the delay was equally absurd

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and oppressive – – Barcelona is a handsome and well built town – and a very old one, said to have been built 230 years before Christ – It has manufactures of Cloth and Silk – very superior firearms and Cannon are also made here – It is not however within my plan to give a description of the places I visited – This is to be found more at length in a rough journal I kept while abroad – The Brig sailed the 13th from Reus,[‡] (the shipping port of brandy and wine) near Tarragona, and I followed by land on the 19th, four or five of us together Spaniards – English Irish &c all on mules – each mule having a moso[§] or a driver, so that we made quite a party – our mules caparisond with saddles &c, all in the most ancient Spanish style – There are some fine views on this rout, and several grand lofty briges connecting one mountain with another, half way up, so as to avoid the steep ascents and descents to the valley – Tarragona is a very old town, and it is said that the part of the wall yet standing, though much decayd was built by the Romans. It is distant as near as I recollect 60 to 70 miles from Barcelona and 9 or 10

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from Reus the great mart for Catalonia brandy and wine. This is an inland town of 8 or 10 000 inhabitants, and 5 miles north of Salou the place of shipment The latter place has no inhabitants or at least only a few stragglng huts for the accomodation of the waggoners who bring the brandy from Reus, and a few laborers engaged in shipping that and wine – we were detained 11 days at Salou where I expected we should be only 3 or 4, and thus did not arrive at Alicante where the cargo was to be completed for Boston till the 9th of October At Alicante I was received with much kindness by my old friends, and took up my quarters with Mr Bell. – Here again I was delay'd by the non arrival of a parcel of raisins from Denia, which I expected to find actually in Alicante, but which owing to various circumstances were not received till the 20th of October – We were thus enabled to sail on the 24th of that month – but the various delays had

* Sulfur, which in this period was used, as we have seen, in the making of moulds, in some furniture manufacture, in the manufacture of gunpowder, and has in addition medicinal uses.

† The page numbers in red ink that began at II, 210, here end. This page number has been corrected (originally it was 244, but was in brown ink), but beginning with the page following, the original page numbers evidently were correct.

‡ Not quite 60 miles south west of Barcelona along the coast.

§ Probably *mozgo*, meaning a boy, is meant. The term is applied to various menial servants.

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much discouraged me, as I had anticipated being at home in all October – whereas, it was hardly possible we could pass Gibraltar till after Nov 1 – and thus come on our coast at midwinter – I did not therefore from my anxiety to get home enjoy this second visit at all. – But how greatly was this anxiety increased, when, only a few days out I think after a, smart, westerly gale, with a heavy sea, it was found that the Five friends had sprung a leak, which rather increasing before we got as far down as Malaga, we were compelled to put into that port for examination – Capt Jacobsen was afraid to undertake a winter passage to Boston, when the vessell was in such a state as to render constant pumping necessary – nothing to be sure could be objected to this, nor was it in my province to raise objections, because a Shipmaster only is the judge of the necessity of making a Port, but so disappointed and annoyed was I at this further delay, that I am sure, had the decision been left to me, I should have prefer'd assuming the risk of continuing the voyage – But the alternative of putting into Malaga was finally adopted. After an examination by ship masters and other proper persons, their opinion was that the Cargo must be taken out in order to a further examination, and thus to me, the previous labor & care in loading the vessell

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at three different ports appeared to me to be all lost, and what I had anticipated seeing done at home, I was obliged to oversee done at another place – The whole was obliged to be discharged in order to try the sheathing and caulking. We left Malaga the 6th of December after a most unfortunate detention of 32 days from the 4 of Nov^r – but did not get through the Straits of Gibraltar till the 12th of December, thus having before us, what from the time of leaving Leghorn I had been most solicitous to avoid, a winter voyage, at the very worst season of the year, in an old vessell, whose leak, though in a less degree than when in the mediterranean continued during the whole voyage. – We run down the trades as far south as 22°, * and though we had very tempestuous weather for several days, after leaving Gibraltar, yet from Christmas day, when we made Madeira, we had fair winds and pleasant weather, till we got off Bermuda. – On this voyage Capt Jacobsen being several days confined below, by the gout, so that he could not come on deck, and the mate, a

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247) a relation of the owner, being quite ignorant navigation, I thought it necessary to learn how to take an observation, and to work the ships reckoning, and this I continued afterwards till our arrival. – The Captain finally got, to consider it necessary to consult me how he should lay his course, as well as on some branches of practical navigation of which I was entirely ignorant – This probably arose from a sort of feeling that he being an entire a stranger, and I as it were, at home when we got off the coast, I ought to know, a good deal more of the localities of the Coast – whereas in fact on this point both were equally ignorant – when, we were off Bermuda after a fine run from Madeira, we found variable winds, and the longest swell of the sea from N W to S E, that I had ever seen, I should judge a mile from the top of one wave to another, so that the wind being at the same time light, when in the two seas, the vessell was quite becalmed, and the sails flapping, till she mounted another wave.

* Therefore almost 400 miles south of the Canaries and roughly at the same latitude as Cuba.

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248 – I now trace back my narrative in order to extract from 2 letters of mine to my mother, dated in Malaga Nov 17 and December 6.

“Our detention at this place is peculiarly unfortunate, as by this time Nov 17, I had hoped to have been half ways across the Atlantic. I send an order on Mr Amory for 100 or 200 dollars,* and hope this little matter may serve you till I get home, which I still hope may be at the latter end of January or beginning of December, if we are fortunate in our passage. I do not think I ever said sung or said so often the words of our old Song Katy Cruel.†

O that I was where I would be

Then would I be where I am not

But where I am there I must be

Because where I would be I cannot.

I judge you, will not find it difficult to divine where I would be, I am sure I am tired enough of where I have been, and am – Dec. 6 . I wrote you by a vessell which saild lately for New York with an order to Mr Amory to advance you \$200. – I hope this vessell may may arrive early in the winter that you may get the money

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~~249~~) in Season – I hate to think it may be necessary, yet I fear it may. – I hope you will apply to your necessities any money, which may go through your hands, rather than suffer yourself to want any thing which be assured, I will cheerfully repay. – It seems to me almost impossible that I should have been already so long from home – When – I think of it as I left it and dwell upon the many happy little occurrences which memory so fondly brings to view, and which hope flatters me are again to be renewd, I anticipate the joy all of us would feel at meeting after so long an absence, and feel, an indescribable pleasure, though embitterd a little by the anxious apprehensions of a heart which I hope, will never cease to love a now only parent, with the sympathetic warmth it ought” [“]with affectionate love to all at home believe me my dear mother with unabated love and esteem, your affectionate son.[”]

I return now to the voyage from, Malaga to Boston, and find in an old journal, the following extract

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dated [“]Dec 31, 1795 – Lat 26.26. Long 352.8 from the Canaries.‡ – Thus finishes the year in which period I have seen more of the world, than in any within the short compass of my life[”] (I was then near 22) [“]having to this place saild over 7000 miles of water, and in

* \$200 would be worth about \$3,500 today.

† “Katie Cruel.” The chorus is usually given thus: “Oh that I was where I would be, /Then I would be where I am not, /Here I am where I must be, /Go where I would, I can not.” The song is of Scottish origin. A performance by Karen Dalton can be heard at <http://www.npr.org/templates/player/mediaPlayer.html?action=1&t=1&islist=false&id=6488736&m=6488773> .

‡ Isaac is instead of measuring longitude as East or West (of Greenwich) measuring in degrees East not of the Meridian, but here of the Canaries, so 352 would be about our 24° W. This would put him about 370 miles WSW of the westernmost Canary Island.

which my various excursions by land and water it has pleased God to keep me in health and bring me so far towards home in safety”

I do not find any journal of the sea voyage to Boston after Jan 6 1796 – according to recollection we were off Bermuda about Jan 20 – where the trade winds ceased and we found variable winds principally westerly, but one or two days got southerly winds which helped us well to the westward – but the wind soon chopped round NW, and were obliged to lie to, once we made the east end of Long island with a southerly wind, when a thick snow storm came on, that we could not reach the Vineyard, and that night the wind got to NW with a heavy gale, and we were a 2^d time blown off – We finally got into the Viney and about the 24 Feby, 80 days from Malaga and on our arrival found, that after all, we had not had

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a longer passage from Europe, than many other merchant vessells, the winter on the coast having been a severe one and westerly winds constantly prevailing – There was no fire aboard except for cooking – the crew though Northern seamen sufferd extremely from the cold – we got short of provisions and water, and on the whole, the pumps being constantly agoing, had a very uncomfortable time, after we got on the American coast – I left the brig at the Viney and crossed the sound in a boat took a horse to Plymouth, and there got a conveyance to Boston – The meeting with my mother and family can better be imagin’d than described – I was more overcome with the joy of meeting, than I ever was before or since – I recollect the man, who brought me from Plymouth, and who was in the room waiting to be paid, seemed to be as much overcome by the mere power of sympathy, as were the parties more immediately interested – The anxious state of suspense I had been in for several months, both on account of the doubtful ability and seaworthiness of the vessell, and the disappointments in the course of the voyage,

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had caused a state of feeling to grow up, as if I should never see home again, which though only occasional was at times very strong – The contrast between this and the complete realization of my expectations and hopes was for the moment overpowering. –

* The final “5” probably written over a “1.”