

# FAMILY MEMORIAL

## The Winslows of Boston

Isaac Winslow  
Margaret Catherine Winslow

IN FIVE VOLUMES

VOLUME III

Boston, Massachusetts  
1837?-1873?



TRANSCRIBED AND EDITED BY ROBERT NEWSOM  
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Family Memorial 72 Pages  
Vol 3<sup>d</sup>\* Chap 1 to 3  
1796 Feby to – 1800 –  
I was abroad in Lisbon Alicante Genoa  
Leghorn Pisa Florence Barcelona in 1795  
return'd home Feby 1796  
May 1796 went to Europe again to Alicante and Naples – (winter of 1796  
1797 at Naples) arriv'd home July 1797 —

Besides above 72 pages written  
24 lv[?] . or 24 blank leaves†

[Written sideways bottom to top at left margin, possibly in a different hand]

complete

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\* There is no title page for the second volume, which may simply have been lost. The title pages for volumes I and II are written on the same rather poor quality paper, much browner than other ms. pages, though whether they were originally browner is unclear. It seems likely therefore that they were written at the same time and at the very end of the period of composition, possibly when Isaac had fallen ill at the end of his life.

† These last two lines appear also to be in Isaac's hand. His portion of the ms. ends in the middle of III, 72, where the continuation by his daughter begins, after his death in 1856, as she duly notes. If he made the notation about the blank leaves, then possibly he wrote this title page when he knew his work would be interrupted and at a moment when he had already gathered 24 blank pages ready to be written upon. If so, then his daughter may have decided to use those additional pages for her continuation, and her chapter 5 indeed ends at that point. But she then adds another chapter of twenty pages written on leaves of the same dimensions, though a much thinner stock. She subsequently continues her portion in bound lined volumes.

## Chapter Twenty (Volume Three, Chapter One)

His family's situation at his return; expensive to support them; his grandfather Davis and cousin ruined by the capture by the French of an uninsured vessel they owned – Political unrest in 1795 – Visits by relations – Letters from grandfather Davis to his son while Isaac is away and much wanted at home; about the sharp increase in rents; after Isaac's return anticipating his second Mediterranean voyage – Reasons for undertaking a second voyage – Isaac's rising position in society occasioned by success in business and his now being more conversant with trade in Italy than any other Boston merchant – Embarking with brother Tom – *The Five Friends* leaking again – Putting into Portland for repairs; the garboard strake – A distressed letter from his mother urging him not to undertake the voyage – A pleasant passage – Falling in with the *Betsy* of Boston, prize to a Tunisian Corsair (said to be a Scottish *renegado*) – Quarantine at Alicante – Setting sail for Naples, unaware that they were vulnerable to being seized by Algerians, being now at war with Denmark – Disappointed by the view in the Bay of Naples of Vesuvius – More quarantine – His Captain becoming increasingly ill tempered and abusive and probable reasons for this – Slackened demand for trade in Naples – Taking a house in Naples and housekeeping concerns; the cook and servants – Hairdressing by the Prince's barber – Contrast between European servants and those in England in America – Daily habits of Neapolitan businessmen – Neapolitans and their horses and equipages – The opera – Neapolitans do not mingle with foreigners – Passing his spare time in writing letters and keeping his journal – Only mentioning the locales of Naples, as interesting a city from the point of view of ancient history as any place except perhaps Rome and Jerusalem – Fears of French invasion – an unexpected visit from an old Boston friend just released by the Tunisians who had held him as a slave; he joins the Naples household – Politics in Rome and the French invasion prevent Isaac's hoped for visit there; mob violence and a shameful Treaty – Attending to business and preparations for the voyage home; his Cargo – Passage to Alicante; owing to fair winds following a gale that prevents their making anchor, not stopping at Gibraltar; St. Michael's in the Azores and not stopping there either – An uneventful further passage except for being detained by a pirate; Captain Neillsen's being overcome when Isaac is safely returned to the *St. Peter*.

1        1796 arrival }        Vol 3 Chap 1.  
              at Boston}\*

I found on my arrival at home the family situated in all respects as I had left it – My grandfather and grandmother Davis were still with my mother, and my Brother Tom, who, had been written for to take my place, had arrived in Boston a month or two after I sailed in

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\* In red ink, as are all such subsequent annotations up through III, 5.

Jan'y 1795, and had been with his mother ever since, but, all the time without employ – My brother John was engaged in writing in the office of my mother's uncle, Edward Davis, who then kept an insurance office in State Street – but received no pay – So that the family was a large and expensive one, as my grandfather was poor and I think could only pay my mother 80 \$ for a year and half rent board of himself and wife – He, with his son, owned a new brig which was taken by the French at Martinique, with out Insurance, and this loss ruined both –

This year 1795 there was much political excitement in the country – The Federalists were in favor of the ratification of Jay's commercial treaty with England the antifederalists and democratic party opposed to it –

2) **1795. Family }** Vol 3 Chap 1.  
**events 1795 }**

The contest between the parties was very bitter – on this occasion my grandfather, who had witnessed the tremendous power of mobs before the revolution, and who had taken such a decided stand in opposition to the revolutionists, was from his first arrival very much afraid of a renewal of these scenes. – He writes his son July 1795 “My fears are great of some confusion, a friends of ours advised me in such case not to be in Boston – a publication very lately has alarmed me as I have been obliquely pointed at. – I decline mentioning what it was., but it has led me to make up my mind to leave this place and get into quiet quarters, either in Connecticut, New York or Halifax, but on the 16 Augt his fears seem to have subsided in consequence of President Washingtons supposed opinion in favor of the ratification of the Treaty He mentions in this letter that “Cousin Jack and Joshua Winslow are here from Carolina.” (Sons of parson Winslow) Mrs Malbone from Newport, Mrs Startin from New York, and speaks of many other relations, concluding, “Isaac has

3 **1796. Family }** Vol. 3 Chap 1  
**events 1795 }**

gone to Italy, I think he will be at home next month I hope he will, he is much wanted. There is wild steerage – a grandparent not of much weight – advice lost in a manner[?]\* – and in a letter 24 Octob<sup>r</sup> 1795 to his son my grandfather Davis says “Isaac Winslow has not yet returned, I wish he was arrived, he is much wanted in the family, and the business of his fathers estate suffers from his absence.” He speaks of flour being very high in 1795 (12 ½) wood 7\$ Cord – other provisions also dear “Rents are getting enormously high – Joseph Russells house Atkinson Street 600 \$ per yran<sup>†</sup> – The house Polly lives in raised to 200 \$ per ann – Isaac is safe arrived and for his employer has done very well, he has cleared for himself 300£ He expects to go another voyage to Italy, and will probably sail about 1 May. – Polly[?] (my mother) [“]has a large family to maintain – Thomas out of employ Jack writes at my brothers office on trial – Isaac

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\* Presumably he means broadly that the management of family business is directionless or vacillating, but I do not understand his point about the loss of advice unless it is just that he is not being listened to.

† Perhaps Isaac began with “yr” for “year,” then switched to “an” for “annum, but failed to strike through the “yr.”

4. **1796. Obstacles to } Vol .3 Chap 1.**  
**a second voyage }**

is going another voyage to Alicante &c he takes Thomas with him, as he can find no employ here.”\*

It was indeed a great trial for me to make this second voyage, both on account of my mother, who from ill health and other causes, was little adapted to take charge of a family, principally too of sons, who required a good deal of looking after, Besides this as I was now of age, it was proper that, I should take the Guardianship of Aunt Patty and be qualified to manage my grandfather’s estate, nominally under the control of my uncle Winniett, but really of myself. Besides then, it was very important to settle my fathers estate, and to adjust with his uncle Isaac’s heirs, the large and unsettled account with them of 15 years standing. All their concerns had been managed by me during my minority, as my uncle Winniett being very old, entirely declined to do any thing more than lend his name – This

5 **1796. obstacles Vol 3 Chap 1 –**  
**to a second voyage**

however was an essential benefit at that time, for having no family friends at my fathers death when I was only 19 – and being myself so inexperienced in estate business, without his assistance I know not what we should have done – I think however during the 2 months I was at home, I took out guardianship on Aunt Patty, but thought it on the whole, the least of two evils to make another voyage, taking my brother with me in hopes of getting him into some foreign house who might be willing to take him in order to that myself or friends might influence to them the American business† – Therefore making such hasty arrangements as the short time I was at home allowed, I again after being at home 10 weeks embark’d in the Five friends with a Cargo designd partly for Alicante and partly for Italy –

On my return home I was received with a good deal of kindness by Mr Amory Mr Sargent – McLean and others interested in the

6 my position in Society 1796.‡ Vol. 3 Chap 1 –

Cargo which was shipped principally by them – These, at that time were some of the principal merchants in town. Their notice and influence was of great advantage to me in a business point of view – The fact of having been to Italy as Supercargo, and therefore more conversant in the commerce of that country, than any other Bostonian, gave me more weight in Society than I should otherwise have had – The notice too of these gentlemen introduced me into general society, a position I should probably otherwise not have attained. Considering the different position in which my own family and our near connections were placed, (never mingling at all with those who consider’d themselves as the aristocracy of the day) – This gratified my prides, and I suppose circumstances afterwards, might have induced me to try to make myself of a class, to which except wealth I felt myself equal – But there

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\* Isaac is characteristically modest about his crucial importance to the family and his own successes, but quoting these letters of his grandfather lets him get the point across.

† Based on deletions and insertions as well as the context, I think Isaac meant to write, “taking my brother with me in hopes of getting him into some foreign house who might be willing to take him in order that myself or friends might be of influence to them in their American business.”

‡ In brown ink, neatly printed and likewise the headline on the page following.

was no time to carry into effect any such plans, if I had entertained them, for on the 4<sup>th</sup> of May 1796, I again left Boston taking with me my brother Thomas in the vessell before mention'd Capt Jacobson for Alicante & Naples – The putting into Malaga, the preceeding voyage and repairs there, did not prevent the leaking of the vessell afterwards

7 (Second voyage and disaster) Vol 3 Chap 1

afterwards on the homeward voyage: this circumstance and probably the wishes of the shippers in order to be able to make insurance, led the Captain to have his vessell thoroughly overhauled in Boston, caulked and sheathed – judge then of my disappointment when on the 8<sup>th</sup> of May after rather a heavy North East blow in which the ship labor'd a good deal – she again sprung a leak, and after encouraging the crew to keep on their course, (for they had got alarmed and wanted to put back at once,) two days longer, during which the crew were continually pumping, and begging the Captain to make a port, one man being sick and accordingly on the 11<sup>th</sup> May then 7 days out were ship and\* stood back, to Boston, heavy hearted enough, but the wind heading us for the latter place we put into Portland the 17<sup>th</sup> May, and were here obliged entirely to unboard, and heave out the vessell, and found the cause of the leak to be that the garboard streak<sup>†</sup> had been left uncaulked

1796. put into } Vol. 3 Chap 1  
8 Portland }<sup>‡</sup>

owing to the neglect of the Ship Carpenter, who had recaulked her in Boston, or possibly owing to the ice being frozen in the seams – I was very kindly received by my Cousins Mrs & Mrs Waldo; who made my brother and my self stay at their house, Mr Waldo putting me in the way of, discharging and storing the Cargo, in the cheapest and most expeditious manner – This being decided upon as necessary, there was nothing to be done but, to set it about at once, but yet so many delays took place, that it was the 27<sup>th</sup> June, before we had got our vessell, completely ready again for Sea – I could not bear to go to Boston, which I had ample time to do, being mortified though with no fault on my part, at this second, detention, that, I could not bear to see those whom I had left for a long voyage, after only a few days absence, besides which as Supercargo I thought it my duty to attend constantly and carefully to the business which had thus devolved on me

While here I received a letter from my dear mother full of surprize and anxiety, at hearing of us so soon

2) 1796. Letter from my mother } Vol 3 Chap 1 –  
wishing me not to go }

after we had left her – and “to find” as she says, in that letter May 21, 1796, “that you was in Portland and that your vessell had again sprung a leak – you don’t know how anxious I feel, for you both, [”] (myself and brother Thomas) [“I wish you would give up the thoughts of going in that vessell – You know this is the third time, she has met with the like accident. Think my son how providential it was that you had it in your power to make a harbor, and having been twice in the same situation, I think it almost presumption to go on – I know you will say these are womanish fears, but my son my reply would be that a mothers anxiety

\* Isaac has likely left out “cargo” here.

† The garboard strake (here misspelled) of a vessel is the external plank on a ship’s hull next to the keel.

‡ The annotations now are back to being written in red ink.

fears every thing. If after what I have said you are determin'd to go I must make myself as happy as I can. I have just received your letter of the 19<sup>th</sup> – In this you say you think you shall sail in 10 or 12 days – I felt so dull after reading your letter, that I could not help shedding Tears, when I think you are risquing your life for my comfort and that of the family – I can't keep reflecting, should any accident

10 **sailing from}** Vol 3 Chap 1.  
**Portland —}**

happen to you, that I ought to have discouraged your going when you first proposed it – But it is now too late – I will say no more upon a subject which will answer no purpose but to give you pain. My father has left me and taken a small house in Union Street, so as to be near the meeting house – Give my love to Mrs Waldo and thank her for her kind attention to you &c – That heaven may bless and prosper\* you is the ardent wish of your ever affectionate mother.[?]

It was on this voyage I first began to Keep a regular Sea Journal, which far from making the Captain jealous, as is most always the case, when a passenger takes the reckoning at Sea, he seemed rather desirous of it, principally I suppose because he had little confidence in his mate – We had an easy, and pleasant passage enough, across the Atlantic to Gibraltar of 33 days, to the straights, meeting with no particular occurrence but the falling in with a small fleet of 25 or 30 Sail, bound to Newfoundland, under convoy of the Romney<sup>†</sup> 50 Guns, then 24 days from Torbay<sup>‡</sup> –

**Voyage Boston to Alicante** Vol. 3 Chap 1.

11. **and falling in with the Betsy of Boston prize to the Tunisians**

we had a dull passage from Gibraltar to Alicante of 19 days with a fair wind (often done in 3 days) on this voyage a few days we arrived<sup>§</sup> at Alicante we fell in with a Tunisian Corsair, having in company as a prize, a fine new American Ship, belonging to David Hinckley who was then on board – bound to Tunis behaved very well to us made us send him onboard a cask of water, and when he got it onboard pushed off with his prize. – The Capt who hailed us spoke very good English. He was said to be a Scotch renigado,\*\* he detained us but a short time, and made no examination of our Mediterranean pass. – We arrived at Alicante the 19<sup>th</sup>†† but we were put into 5 days quarantine on account of our meeting with the Corsair – and happy to escape so. In all the Mediterranean ports the health laws are particularly severe against vessells from the opposite African Coast – Egypt, Syria, and if a vessell is boarded by a vessell from those parts she

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\* Probably “prosper” was intended.

† A Wikipedia article says *HMS Romney* was a 50-gun fourth rate ship of the line of the Royal Navy launched in 1708 and sold out of the navy in 1757. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/HMS\\_Romney\\_%281708%29](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/HMS_Romney_%281708%29) .

‡ A port on the eastern side of the Avalon Peninsula.

§ Perhaps “a few days before we arrived” was intended.

\*\* Probably a misspelling of *renegado*.

†† Of August.



12) **1796. at Alicante** Vol 3 C 1 –

becomes tainted in the view of the health office with the original infection. Sometimes, such are refused admission altogether —

After 19 days detention at Alicante (5 in quarantine) we set sail for Naples, not, then knowing that at that time the Algerians were capturing all the Danish vessells they met with – I had heard the day I left from cousin Samuel Winslow, that he had seen a newspaper report that war existed between these two powers – hearing nothing of this at Alicante, we undertook our voyage to Naples with much confidence, The following extract of a letter which among my old papers written by me to Mr Samuel Waldo – shows that we run considerable risque in our passage up to Naples and might have been captured by the Algerians, had it not been, for our detention in Portland – My letter to Mr Waldo is dated Naples Nov<sup>r</sup> 27,\* 1796. – “It was however fortunate,[<sup>r</sup>] the deten-

12. Vol. 3 C 1.

**1796. letter from Naples, and capture of the Danes by the Algerians**

-tion at Portland) [<sup>r</sup>]for in the months of June and July, the Algerines stopd all Danish vessells they met with, and carried them into Algiers – The fact is that a Danish vessell with 300 Algerines onboard as passengers, was taken by a Neapolitan frigate, and brought into Naples –[<sup>r</sup>] (war between the latter and Algiers, being then and now existing) – [<sup>r</sup>]On receiving intelligence of this capture, the Dey gave orders to his corsairs to seize all the Danish vessells, which they met with at sea – In consequence of this as is said, about 20 Danish vessells, were carried into Algiers.– The Danish government, then interfered and obliged the Neapolitan Government to give up the Algerines, which they had captured in the Danish vessell from Constantinople, and then the captured Danish vessells at Algiers released – But these on their arrival at their various ports of destination in the Mediterranean were compelled to perform 40 days quarantine – so that but for the detention at Portland, we should probably have paid

**1796 – Alicante** Vol. 3 C 1 .

**Naples**

14— **to Naples**

a visit to Algiers, which would have, been productive of far more injury than our detention – The fish were indeed heated, and sold at a lower price but kept on board, 40 or 50 days longer might have been all spoiled – we had a tedious passage from Alicante to Naples of 27 days, and arrived at the latter place the 5<sup>th</sup> of October –

I was disappointed in the appearance of the bay of Naples, especially at the unexpected low appearance of Mount Vesuvius which I had anticipated being more imposing and lofty – It rises in a gradual slope from the sea shore, and is seen very distinctly in the clear atmosphere of Naples, 20 miles off – tho’ one would judge it to be not more than 5 or 6 – This as well as other high land in the mediterranean appears very much nearer than it is. It did not strike me that the view of the city on entering from the bay, was as picturesque as that of Lisbon from the Tagus – or Genoa as it is approached from the West – nevertheless however, the islands lofty islands of Ischia & Caprea<sup>†</sup> in the bay, the towering appennines in the back ground – The city crested by the

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\* This was almost two months after Isaac’s arrival at Naples.

† Misspelling of Capri.

15— **1796 – view of Naples} Vol 3 C 1 . Naples**  
**bay & arrival there }**  
 commanding eminence of Capo del Monte,\* overtopping the whole city, and the continuous line of buildings on the seashore for many miles, make the view of Naples bay, a very interesting one, but as it is not my purpose at present to give a description of that city or its environs, I should go back to the time of our arrival in the bay the 5<sup>th</sup> of October – Having been visited by an English man of war, off Naples bay, we were put into quarantine for 14 days, of course did not land till the 19<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> of October. This was unfortunate because it prevented my doing any thing in the disposal of the cargo – and because after we left Alicante the Captain seemed to have become very ill temper'd, and even brutal. His conduct was at times to my brother and self almost intolerable. What was the cause of it I could never find out – probably because he suspected that I should endeavor to throw the charges of repairs and delay at Portland on the vessell, being caused not by stress of weather, but defect in the caulking – or else because

16 **Capt. Jacobsens change Vol 3 C 1 Naples**  
**of conduct 1796**  
 I had my brother on board passage free, whereas tho' I had contracted when I charter'd the vessell that two might go, the voyage to America and back, he might think, I took advantage of this provision in the charter party. Probably however the former was the cause, as he knew my opinion that the cargo ought not to contribute for the expence, increasd at Portland, and probably I showed more of the feeling that such claim would be unjust, than I ought to have done. No doubt, it was in my mind combined, with what was always said of the northern freighting vessells that the masters always, contrived to get repairs sails &c partially at the expense of the cargo on board – Be the cause what it may, the effect was very disagreeable, as, we had no intercourse together for some weeks before we landed in Naples and being a rough uneducated man it seemed to give him pleasure to worry and even insult myself and brother, whenever he could – nothing

17. **dulness of markets Vol. 3 C 1 Naples**  
**at Naples – †**  
 can be worse, than such feelings of enmity towards each other, and yet be cooped up together in the same small apartment, and always in each others presence – Glad enough therefore were we to be set ashore in Naples.  
 Leghorn had been taken possession of by the French, the British merchants resident there had been all obliged to quit in haste, and the Port was blockaded by the English – hence the Cargoes destined for that place, generally found their way to Naples, and at that time several Cargoes of Colonial produce from the United States, principally in foreign bottoms,‡ were in Naples – This caused a slackend demand for Liquor Coffee &c, and finally a decline in price – We should have fared much better could we have sold on arrival, at the nominal prices then current – but they proved to be nominal only — The buyers in Naples

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\* Capodimonte.

† “1796” written also in red ink between the first two lines of text at the left margin of this page.

‡ Here, the hull of a ship and therefore, via a common synecdoche, a ship as a whole.

Peace between US} Vol 3 Chap 1  
 18. & Barbary powers }

Naples

1796 purchasing only for the supply of consumers, and confining themselves to their immediate wants, it is quite impossible to force off articles as can usually be done in large marts of trade, at, some reduction from the going price – The American Government had this year made treaties with Tunis and Tripoli, but I believe not so soon as they did with Algiers, otherwise the ship Betsy Capt Hinckley would not, have been captured and made prize of as has been before related – Our pacific relations with the Barbary powers being known in Naples, made the holders of Colonial articles more desirous to sell, while the purchasers in Naples were in the same proportion unwilling to buy – Both foreseeing that in the course of the Winter, the Med<sup>n</sup>

19) housekeeping at Vol. 3. Chap 1.  
 Naples —

Naples

1796 would be filled with American vessells, which accordingly was the case, as several, such arrived at Naples in the course of the winter of 1796. 1797.

On our arrival at Naples we were advised to take what is called a house, that is a story or flat, of which there are usually 3 or 4 divided off into apartments one or two parlors, chambers more or fewer, according to the size of the house and a kitchen – Our friends that is the house\* to whom we were consigned Degen & Schwartz, recommended us, to become house keepers as well as the cheapest, as the most comfortable mode of living especially where there were three or four together who, could divide the expences The family then consisted of my brother and self – Capt Trask of Gloucester,† and I think but am not certain that Mr Joseph W Alsop of Middletown Conn<sup>t</sup> and a Capt Stokes of Philadelphia made up the five who occupied the house – we had a cook, and two men servants – These at that time in Italy performed the work of chamber maids, as well as the duties of valets, or servants. The wages of the Cook if I recollect right was about 7 or 8 Ducats (6 or 7\$ per month)


house keeping at } Vol. 3. Chap 1.  
 20. Naples and Expences }

Naples

1796. and the men servants it appears to me 5 Ducats or 4\$ a month – The Sum allow'd the cook for the purchase of provisions & fuel was 2 Ducats or 167‡ per day – This included, tea coffee sugar butter Bread meats & fruit for 8 Persons – Sometimes the 2 Ducats was not quite enough, to, defray his bill, which he brought in every day, written very fairly in Italian, and comprising a long list of each article wanted for house keeping, purchased every day in the smallest possible quantities, just enough for the day. I am convinced that in a large capital where articles are sold by such very small quantities, and just enough for the days supply and can be purchased daily, it is the cheapest way of living because in such way, nothing more is bought than is wanted, and nothing wasted – one could buy, a leg or wing of a Turkey or goose, as we buy a quarter of lamb or mutton – when we had company, we allowed the Cook a Ducat [(84 cents)] for each guest – The house we occupied was in a

\* Here, business concern.

† Possibly Captain Israel Trask.

‡ Based on the stated equivalence on 1 ducat and 84 cents below, it appears Isaac meant to write “167 cents per day,” though I am interpreting a symbol that he uses here and elsewhere as *per* and not *cents*: 

very central position, near the Largo Dell Castello, or Castle Square, one of the greatest thoroughfares in Naples. The day after

21) **Gentleman  
Barber**

Vol. 3 Chap 1

**Naples**

our arrival we had requested our friend Mr Schwartz who was a German, and then did nearly **1796** all the American business, to send us a hair dresser – Schwartz was himself a very dressy young man, fond of ingratiating himself with the great folks of Naples natives as well as strangers – and perhaps supposed we Americans, had the same desire, Be the cause what it may, I was called in from my chamber to receive a stranger enquiring for the Signori Americani. He was extremely well dressed, and quite gentlemanly in his manners – I begged him to be seated, and having previously noticed from my chamber window a very handsome carriage at the door – with 2 horses Coachman and a footman, I had concluded that the stranger was some great man, who wanted to make enquiries about, our country, or had some other important business with us – but I was soon undeceived, when he told me that he was hair dresser to the prince and that Mr Schwartz had done him the honor to recommend to him their excellencies the American Signori, and he should be happy to wait on them in

22.

Vol. 3. Chap 1 —

Cook & Neapolitan servants \*

the way of his profession. Not to disappoint him we submitted his operations the first day, but afterwards told our consignee Mr Schwartz, that a less distinguish'd (and no doubt a less expensive operator would better suit the positions and purses of American supercargoes – So our connection with the Princes barber ceased – Our cook was a family man, and did not sleep in the house, his business was only preparing the meals after which he was quite at liberty – He would have thought it derogatory to his dignity to have been asked to drop a note at any place as he passed along – we often met him on Sundays and feast days with his wife and children all very handsomely dressed, when any of us stopped to speak with him, he did not seem to consider it as any condescension, but spoke as easily and unaffected as he did in the house. I noticed this as well in Italy as in Spain & Portugal, that the servants and poorer classes generally, had not that uncomfortable, uneasy feeling, as if they felt degraded by their occupations, such as the English and American

23) **habits of living** Vol 3. Chap 2<sup>†</sup>

**Naples**

**1796 and equipages of Naples**

sense of personal independence often creates, nor had they on the other hand that cringing servility, so disagreeable to an independent mind –

The habits of merchants and men of business in Naples then, was after taking a short breakfast and going to their respective places of business, in a sort of careless dishabille,<sup>‡</sup> (appearing in the same dress even on the exchange) then return home, and dress themselves for dinner and the evening. – Every person of even decent means, keeps a horse, and those more, able, a Carriage and pair. Very many drive four horses and

\* In brown ink, though evidently meant as a headline or notation of the pages subjects.

† An error that Isaac has made on a few previous pages, but corrected. We are still in Ch. 1.

‡ An acceptable spelling at the time: *in a careless state of dress.*

some six – The Carriages and harnesses are very handsome, and as has been have said, have from one to three footmen behind – I once saw one with five – The number of equipages to be met in every Street in Naples was prodigious – There is an especial display of these at the Carnival, in the great Toledo, Street, (I believe over a mile long) going up at a foot pace on one side of the street, and returning the other, each one

24.)

Vol 3 Chap 1 –

1796 Naples. Show of, Equipages on the Carnivals

following as close as possible the one preceeding it – This exhibition\* of all the handsomest equipages in the city, collected together in a handsome and spacious street is very striking. When I was there it was thought rather vulgar for a man, to be seen walking in the Streets, but for a lady it was quite unheard of, that she should be seen in the streets on foot There are also, a vast many Calasa's[?]<sup>†</sup> or one horse chaises, which are, to be had at their various stands in the city. The drivers overpower you with "Your excellency" and their eagerness to get employ – The fares are very reasonable – From the great abundance of carriages & horses, as well public as private, there is a great, deal of riding in the city suburbs and adjacent country – after dinner, it was very common to ride a few miles at a slow pace, and return in season for the opera – For the opera, it was usual to take a season ticket; Families took a box; individuals a seat in

**Theatres Naples**

Vol 3 Chap 1

**Naples**

25) in the parterre or pit, where each seat was a sort of chair, of which the seat turned up 1796 and locked to its back the owner of the season ticket kept the key – thus having his own seat at all times – most of the boxes had partitions, between them and the next box – and having blinds or screens to open or shut at pleasure, could and did often shut themselves in, so as not to be seen by the audience – Besides they could go out and in from the lobbies and to the adjoining Coffee houses, without making any disturbance, but, they never moved while the singing was going on – This would have been thought an insult to the audience – When a new opera was got up, the scenery and costumes being costly, the same piece was played every night for three months – The first week the theatre was very full, and if the new Piece took, it continued to attract the public for a long time, and

**Evening employments** Vol 3 Chap 1 .

**Naples**

26) and then got to be merely an evening lounge, where every body went, but which to 1796 foreigners became very tedious – to me particularly so – There is no intercourse of a social nature between foreigners and residents in any foreign place I have been in, both from difference of language and manners – Now and then one may be asked to a conversatione (where is no conversation) or a concert where there is still less – and where the most profound silence is observed by the audience – The Evenings therefore abroad are very dull, if one has not a party of his own or has not, other engagements – I had always however recourse in writing, which to the parties concerned in the cargo, or business or to various friends, took up a good deal of time in daylight as well as evening – Besides which the remarks, which were made on what I saw abroad, occupied some of my spare time to say nothing of the time which barely visiting

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\* No doubt "exhibition" was intended. The word is broken across two lines.

† There are carriages of this description in the Philippines called *Kalesas* or *Calesas*.

27.) **general remarks on } Vol 3. Chap 1.**  
**Naples ————— }**

**Naples**

the curiosities in, and about Naples, requires.

1796

It is not, as has been said, my design to interweave in this family memorial a detached account of the objects of curiosity which attracted my attention at Naples and its vicinity – The remarks before refer'd to are now in existence, and if any of my children have, any curiosity to, peruse them, tho' the crude and hearty observations of hardly more than a boy, yet, they have some interest as made at the time – Be this as it may it would swell this work to too great an extent, and be adding to the already too digressive character of this family biography – I will just add therefore that Naples though not particularly interesting or beautiful, as a city yet connected, with its adjacent scenery Vesuvius, and the appennines – the bay and its islands, Pompeia, Herculaneum,

28) **Environs of Naples } Vol 3 Chap 1 –**  
**remarks on———— }**

**Naples**

Campania\* where the ancient Capua stood with a valley (near a beautiful palace of the King of Naples called Caserta) supposed to be the ancient Caudine forks, where a Roman army under the Consuls were, caught in a ambushade, and made to pass under the yoke, by Pontius general of the Samnites, about 300 years before Christ – These on the East side of Naples – on the west – the bay of Baia, with the remains of an ancient Roman mole or bridge, ruins of ancient Roman Villas and if our guide could be believed of Caesar & Cicero, Agrippinas (mother of Nero) tomb – Ancient Temples, one or two in very tolerable preservation &c. I repeat therefore that Naples, were a traveller to be confined to one country only, is more interesting as connected with ancient history and reviving old associations than a similar area on the face of the globe, excepting perhaps Rome and Jerusalem – but as I have before said, intending not to describe the particular localities refer'd to, I here close that part of the subject – Great alarm prevailed in Naples lest the French, who had overrun the

29) **Fears of French invasion** Vol 3 Chap 1.

**Naples**

1796 north of Italy, would also invade Naples. The apprehension of this, and especially of the disaffected feelings towards the Government, which the spread of revolutionary principles amongst the people, caused (aided by foreign emissaries, coming on various pretexts into the city,) had as we were told, led the government to establish a very extensive system of espionage – of this we were warned on our arrival, and cautioned to avoid any conversation on political subjects in company, as many, apparently gentlemen, were to be found, wherever there was any considerable assemblage of people either natives or foreigners, mingled in with the company. These were in fact government Spies – To what extent this was carried I know not, but, it had the effect entirely to prevent any conversation on politics in mixed companies, or when any Neapolitan was present; of course the subject of politics was never discussed in Neapolitan society as we were informed, on the contrary, the principal subject of conversation amongst the English and Americans, was, the progress of the French towards the South of Italy, and conjectures when they would reach Naples an apprehended consequence of French predomination very important to them . While I was at Naples, an old Boston acquaintance Edward Rand son of Dr Rand of Boston, unexpectedly

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\* The region of Italy of which Naples is the capital.



made his appearance – It seems, he also as well as David Hinckley, had been taken and carried into Tunis, and was there when, the former arrived, From him we learnt many more details of the treatment which American prisoners received in Tunis, than we had before known. By his account all were much indebted to the interference of the French consul at Tunis for the amelioration of their condition as slaves. It was through the Consul that Rand obtained his liberty, and took passage for Sicily or Naples – At the latter place we invited him to join our establishment where he remained till an opportunity presented for his return to America –\*

The State of political affairs in Italy entirely

1796 prevented going } Vol 3 Chap 1 –  
30 . to Rome — } }

Naples

prevented my going to Rome, as I had intended, Tho' with some difficulty, (thru the influence of the British Ambassador) Passports for Rome were obtained from the Neapolitan government, for some Americans who had gone to visit Rome, and I probably could have obtained one – but, the apprehension that the French would be in Naples, or that from other causes the property remaining under my care, would in my absence be left unprotected, and the American owners unrepresented, made me very unwillingly give up the plan – There was no personal risque to be apprehended, because as an American I was equally safe, where the French power prevailed as, in Naples – where it did not – and perhaps, the property under my Care, of which owing to the state of public affairs very little had been sold, would as American property, have been legally safe, as well in my absence as if I was present – but the fear whether I could obtain passports from Rome back to Naples, the little respect which the French paid to neutral rights, combined with the fact, that a good deal of property

31. French at Rome Vol. 3 C 1 .

Naples 1796

belonging to those who were subjects of powers at war with France, did avail themselves of neutral protection, made me determine that it was my duty to remain with the property entrusted to my care – So I gave up, the long cherished determination and wish to visit the eternal city – The French under Bonaparte whose progress, to the north had been, somewhat delayd by the obstinate defence of Mantua, under the Austrian General Wurmser,† were enabled by the surrender of that fortress, about January 1797, to push on to Rome, to which they were in full march after having defeated, . the Roman forces, which had been sent out, to, defend, their territory – Previous to this it seems that about December 1796 a treaty of peace, had been hatched up between the King of Naples and the French, published in Naples Dec 12 of that year – In Rome however the greatest danger existed, from the villainy of the lower classes of the Romans, deliverd for a time, from the curb of municipal law, who seeing the pope with his

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\* Blank space of several lines here.

† Dagobert Sigmund von Wurmser (1724-1797).

32.) **Treaty of peace between** Vol 3. C 1 .  
**French and Rome**

**Naples**

1797 carriages at the door ready to set off\* for Naples, and the authorities of the city ready to flee, were prepared to commit all the excesses, which in despotic governments, the sudden withdrawal of the accustomed restraints of law and justice are sure to produce – Indeed such was actually the case in Rome for two or three days, when the police superintendance being suspended, many of the populace had begun the work of robbery, and even murder – This state of things was happily terminated, by a disgraceful treaty with France In which the pope stipulated to pay 30 millions of Livres, and give up to the enemy all his most valuable Statues, painting, and manuscripts –†

It had now got so late in the Season that it was impossible for me to go to Rome, as the business of the voyage so long delay'd, by adverse circumstances, required my immediate and unremitted attention, the Peace between, France and the Roman and Neapolitan powers, had given more confidence to buyers, and our Cargo, gradually went off – immediate preparations were therefore necessary to make up for the long delay I had experienced by a winter residence in Naples. I therefore took up

33) **Preparations for home and** Vol 3 C 1 .  
**voyage and sailing**

**Voyage from Naples**

1797 a vessell, for our homeward voyage, and provided the part of our Cargo we were to take in at Naples This indeed had required time, as the silks comprising part of the Cargo were to be manufactured, the Brandy to be distilled – the oil bottles and cases to be made and packed, none of these articles being kept on hand in quantities for sale – To superintend this required my daily inspection, that the incidental operations were faithfully attended to – In March 1797, I therefore chartered the Swedish brig St. Peter at Naples for a voyage to Boston and back to the Mediterranean, and on the 26 March 1797, embarked onboard her with my brother Thomas, for Alicante, where we to touch‡ in order to complete our Cargo for Boston – we had 28 days passage to Alicante, arrived there the 14 April, and after completing our cargo, saild again 29 April for home, we had a tedious passage of 25 days to Gibraltar, the winds having been constantly west & north west, and very strong, occasionally with dead calms, ever since we sail'd and as we approached Gibraltar fell in with many vessells, who had had from 5 to 6 weeks passages from Italy, so that we lost nothing by going into Alicante – on the 23<sup>d</sup> of May we put into Gibraltar bay, purposing to take a supply of water there

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**voyage Naples to Alicante & Gibraltar**

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\* An error no doubt for “off.”

† The Roman Republic, operating under France, was created in the following year, on February 15, 1798. It was short-lived, however, and the Papal States were re-established in October the following year. And see below, III, 41-2.

‡ A few deleted words here after “where we” (probably “were to land”) and “touch in order to” inserted via caret. No doubt “where we had to touch” was intended.



34 **Voyage Alicante to  
Boston**

Vol 3 C 1 –

1797 and accordingly ran up near the mole\* and there anchored, but the gale had so increased, and getting foul of another vessell and our anchors not holding – we were obliged to heave on them, and get the cables in, stand out of the bay into deep water – with the help of myself brother and all hands heaving at the windlass, we did not get them in till towards morning, when the wind blowing a gale from the Eastward as fair as it could be for us, bound for the Westward we concluded to avail ourselves of such a fine opportunity and stop at the western islands† for water, and not lose the only favorable wind we had had – We had a fine run of 10 days to St Michaels,‡ made a signal for a boat to come off, but after waiting for 4 or 6 hours, and none appearing, having also a fair wind, we thought it best to continue our course, economise out water, and try to fetch Boston with the stock we had – we arrived the 11 July being about 48 days from Gibraltar, without anything very remarkable except being stoppd on the Banks§ by an English armed brig letter of marque,\*\* bound to England, who detained me on board his vessell 5 or 6 hours, indeed all night as a prisoner, while he sent a boats crew to our vessell which

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**boarded by a vessell which appeared piratical.**

35 **Voyage, homewards  
and arrival –** Vol. 3 C 1.

1797 he insisted was good prize, and I really thought he would have taken possession, and carried the vessell to England – or rather I took him to be a pirate, from the looks of his vessell and crew –. but I fell in with his humor of singing and drinking, till he got pretty well soaked, then he got good humored, said I was a good fellow, but must give him some wine, raisins &c – sent me back onboard the St Peter – where I found his boats crew had already pillaged wine, raisins sails small stores, and every thing they could lay their hands on, and rejoiced were we to see him off with so little cost – Capt. Neillsen a fine, pleasant temper'd Swede, was so persuaded he was a pirate, that he was really overcome, hugged & kissed me (according to the custom of the Swedes) as if I had been his wife; telling me he had expected, they would have taken my life, and he never expected to see me again – He was one of the mildest and pleasantest Captains I ever sailed with, a young man of about my own age, and besides an excellent Shipmate and thorough Seaman.

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**supposed piratical vessell**

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\* *Webster's 3<sup>rd</sup> Unabridged*: “a mound or massive work formed of masonry and large stones or earth laid in the sea as a pier or breakwater.”

† The Azores.

‡ São Miguel Island.

§ The Grand Banks, an extensive fishing ground about 100 miles south of Newfoundland running parallel to the coast for several hundred miles, though it is possible Isaac refers to banks further to the west and closer to Cape Cod.

\*\* Government issued warrants authorizing private warships to search, capture, or sink ships of hostile nations. But since Britain and Sweden (or the U.S.) were not at this date adversaries, there would appear to be no justification for exercise of such a warrant under these circumstances, which is probably why Isaac will surmise that the ship is a pirate ship.

## Chapter Twenty-One (Volume Three, Chapter Two)

A less emotional homecoming than the last – A letter from his mother that he had received at Naples dated September 1796 – Little profit from the voyage, and he is not offered another though that would have been tempting as he has acquired a taste for voyaging – At last turning to the settlement of the various estates; he buys his father's distillery; compromises with the heirs of his great-uncle Isaac – The usefulness of having to deal with the complexities of estate law, probate, &c. – The French ascendancy over weaker European powers and the capture of numerous American ships leads to stagnation in commerce – His brothers' situations; concern for Thomas, who at the end of the year becomes Supercargo on a Swedish vessel bound for Marseilles – His sister Eliza one of the family – His cousin Eliza marries their cousin John Winslow son of Edward the clergyman; the match aunt Malbone had wished for her – Rage for theatricals – His mother's house; soaring rents – Yellow fever in Boston in 1798; deaths, including Mr. Samuel Waldo in Virginia.

36 – **Arrival in Boston**  
and remarks

Vol 3 C. 2.

[per. not cop. ?]\*

**Boston**

**1797** Though I was certainly rejoiced to find myself safe at home\*, yet I by no means, was so overcome, at, meeting my family and friends as, I had been on my first voyage – I had left, my mother more comfortably provided for than on the former, I was relieved from the anxiety of a winter passage, in an old vessell this passage being in summer time, in a very good vessell almost new, and a habit of absence had no doubt, become more familiar, so that the home sickness, which all young people feel, at first, had given way to more important considerations, and besides this my long stay in Naples and the increased intercourse under other flags with the Mediterranean, had enabled me to get recent information from home – In a letter of my mother 24 Sept 1796, she says “I hope ‘ere this you have arrived in some safe port, for indeed I have not been a little anxious for you both, since you left Portland. I know it will give you pleasure to hear that we have all enjoyed health since you left us, indeed I judge from myself how much pleasure I should have in hearing from you. I hope you will be more successful in this voyage than you was so as to enable you to stay at home, you will say I have self interest in the wish, and I cannot but acknowledge that

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**Letter from my mother rec<sup>d</sup> at Naples**

\* In July 1797. See note on back

[verso of the preceding]

Copy<sup>†</sup>

\* An annotation in light pencil and neither clearly legible nor intelligible.

† Written lightly in pencil in a large hand.

\* note, when in the Bay, the weather was foggy, which gradually clearing up, discovered the town at 10 or 15 miles distant. The Captain pointing to the State house dome asked what that conspicuous object was – I could not tell him – It seems this building which I believe had been commenced about 1795 or 1796, had been completed at least externally in 1797.

**Letter from my mother**

Vol 3 C. 2

**Boston**

37.) I have in some measure, as I am quite tired of the anxiety of the devolving on me,\*  
 1797 combined with the difficulty of collecting monies &c Grubb does not pay his rent and I have been obliged to draw on Mr A for \$50 and fear I shall be compelled to take more from the same quarter, I am loth to draw on you my dear Isaac, but what can I do? A large family to be supported and the means small, considering how expensive the necessaries of life are, now – Be assured my dear Isaac I live as saving as I can” – She mentions in this letter, Mr [L’Angier’s? L’Augier’s?] death (Son in law of her Aunt Minot) hopes some situation may be found for Thomas, and concluding with love to him signs [“]Your affect<sup>e</sup> mother MW[”]  
 The, markets for the articles of our Cargo I found on arrival were much depressed, and would not sell, – It was divided to the respective owners and my share was a long while selling, and finally

**38) little profit by the voyage**

Vol 3. C 2

**Boston**

1797 at very little profit – In both cases the great delay abroad, brought me home both times at the wrong season – once in midwinter and again in midsummer – The expence of myself and brother for 6 months ashore abroad too was a heavy drawback on the Commissions, so that I made little or nothing this voyage, but I had acquired such a taste for voyaging, that I was very desirous to try it a third time, but whether the concern did not entirely approve of my management, or whether the chief owners wanted to get the place for a relation, who went out in the St. Peter to Europe I know not --They did not make me the offer – If they had, I might have been tempted to go though I ought not – for the affairs of, the estate required immediate attention, Mr Otis the lawyer of the family,<sup>†</sup> had gone to Congress, and nothing was attended to,

**39). remain at home }  
buy Distill house}**

Vol. 3 C. 2.

**Boston**

1797 so that without my personal attention neither my fathers estate nor that of his uncle Isaac could, be, settled – both being so intimately linked together – (Thus my foreign voyaging ended,<sup>‡</sup> not however without a wish for years afterward, when I saw a fine ship leaving the end of the Wharf, with fair wind and favorable prospect, without feeling a strong inclination to be one of the number on board.

Being obliged to take my Share of the homeward cargo from Napes, and consequently to sell it, I became in some measure establish’d in business immediately after my return, though I did not take a counting room till Jan’y 7 1798, at John Kennedy’s Store No 47 Long Wharf –

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\* Most likely a word following “the” left out here.

† Harrison Gray Otis (1765–1848). He was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1797, went on to be a Massachusetts Senator to the U.S. Congress and Boston’s third mayor.

‡ “1797” lightly in pencil above this.

I immediately set to work to settle my fathers estate,)\* by selling the Distill at Auction in Aug<sup>t</sup> 1797 which I bought myself at 3000 Doll<sup>s</sup>† as well as, another piece of estate, a farm in Hopkinton,‡ then made a compromise

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**desire to continue voyaging**

40). **Settle Estate by com-}** Vol 3 C. 2 **Boston**  
**-promise — }**

1797. with the heirs of my great uncles estate, and I think in the course of the year, brought both these matters to a close, by a compromise first with the creditors of my fathers estate, so as to be at liberty to settle, with the aforementioned heirs – then began to collect the debts of old standing due principally to my grandfather Winslows estate, to pay a considerable amt due my Aunt Pollard, having at Mr Winiett’s death which I think happened about this time, taken out administration on my grandfathers estate; (I had in March 1796 become guardian to Aunt Patty). The necessary attention to these estate concerns, with my own private business, occupied my time during the remainder of the year 1797, and by my staying at home (if I recollect right by the end of 1798) I had got through the most difficult part of the Estate business, that of settlement with my great Uncles estate and final liquidation with the creditors of my fathers estate – As to the Estates of my grandfather Winslow, Aunt Patty, and some minor concerns I had to

41. **early knowledge of Estates** Vol 3. C 2 **Boston**  
**business usefull** -

attend to – these were play work, compared with the other two estates –

1797. To have been introduced as early as I was, into the business of – the probate court, and acquiring a very considerable, knowledge, of the laws of descent, those regulating, Testate – intestate, and insolvent estates and the legal, practices incident to such laws, has proved thro’ life of great advantage – The legal or proper disposition of the effects of a deceased person, is what, many, if not, most, individuals in Society are called on in the course of their lives, to take an interest in, and an imperfect acquaintance, such as an unprofessional§ man can attain by his own experience, on this subject, is better than none at all –

At that period the French directory were in power,\*\* and their chief object seemed to be how the actual government and their generals could fill their pockets at the expence of other nations – The tributes which were, forced from Rome Venice, Germany, and probably the other weak states which the French armies, had taken forcible possession of, it was supposed, were directed from, the Treasury of the nation, to the purses of successfull generals, or grasping directors – The directory at this period authorized

\* Both the opening and closing parens are in light pencil and probably not meant to delineate an actual parenthesis.

† About \$50,000 using the CPU.

‡ A small town about 30 mi. west of Boston.

§ Here meaning simply *not belonging to the profession* (of the law) as opposed to *not befitting a member of a profession*.

\*\* See above, III, 31-2.

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**Political State**

**Early experience in Estate  
business beneficial**

42)

3<sup>d</sup> Vol Chap<sup>2</sup>

1797. the Capture of all American vessells on almost any frivolous pretext, and great numbers were accordingly captured and carried into the various ports of Spain and France, The places which were in possession of the French as well on the Atlantic, as in the Mediterranean, and west Indies, were filled with American prize vessells The Plunder from this source no doubt, went principally into the Pockets of the corrupt government which then ruled the destinies of France, Several if not most of the American vessells, which were bound home from the Mediterranean at the time we were coming down, were captured by French privateers, and carried into ports of Spain In about 4 months over 120 American vessells were captured by Corsairs, In fact, France might then be considerd as the universal plunderer of all the weaker powers, whom she was able to reach – This state of things combined with propositions then on foot for peace between England and France in 1797 – produced a great stagnation of business in the United States and throughout the commercial world –

The affairs of the family were much as they had been, when I left Boston the year before – My brother John had left the office of our great uncle, and was out of employ – Him therefore I

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**American vessells Captured by French**

43)

Vol. 3. C 2

took into my counting room – My brother Benjamin, who being about 14 years old, was of the proper age to be put to some business, I got a place for, either in 1797 or 1798 at, Mr Luke Bakers shop in Cornhill. The others were younger and therefore kept at School. My brother Thomas next to me was the source of the greatest uneasiness, for being from a boy of an indolent habit of body and mind, at the same time fond of that sort of gay convivial company, where he could be perfectly at ease; business seemed to be quite a secondary consideration with him – Returning from abroad with me, without having attained the object for which he went, “obtaining a situation with some foreign merchant,” was rather discouraging, and there was little prospect of obtaining a situation at home, but fortunately at the end of the year, I obtained through Mr Amorys influence and kindness, a birth\* for him as a sort of supercargo onboard a Swedish ship to Marseilles.– My sister Eliza, had become one of the family, her kind Aunt Atkinson having died in November 1796, leaving her some property

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**Situation of the family 1797-1798**

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\* Misspelling of *berth*.

44)

Vol 3 . C 2

and charging her estate with the expences of EW's education till she was 18 – The former however got reduced to \$800 which was, all as, Capital, realized from that quarter – amongst the alterations which I found on my arrival had taken place was the marriage of my Cousin Eliza Winslow daughter of my uncle Joshua with her cousin John, son of my uncle Edward the clergyman – This had taken place in the summer of 1796 – In a letter of mine to her at Fayette Ville, No Carolina dated Aug 4 1797, after congratulating her on her “change of condition though not of name,” wishing to see her in her [“]matronly situation, and, desiring kind regards to her husband, [”] I refer to sending her [“]a piece of silk brought from Naples by the bearer of this letter—”

This friend I never saw afterwards –. She died at Fayette on the Sunday before the 20 of Jany 1800 – of which more hereafter –

Aunt Malbone, with whom she resided after she left our family, was disappointed at this match having had in view for her a connection with a man of good property at Newport, a widower, whom however she would not have – Her cousin was not then

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**marriage of my 2 cousins John son of Edw<sup>d</sup> & Eliza daughter of Joshua**

45).

Vol 3 . C 2.

**1798** a man of much property – tho he afterwards acquired a competence, and became a principal character in his own State, North Carolina – The brother and sister of Eliza Winslow Mr & Mrs Paiba, I found on my arrival in July 1797 were residents in New York, and I believed remained there some months or a year afterwards when they returned to England ——— The rage for theatricals had become great in Boston and to rival the one in Federal Street, built about 1795 – an immense wooden structure, was got up, this year (1797) as a sort of opposition theater opposite the, Mall near Boylstone\* Street.

In 1798, the family still continued in the small tenement corner of Lynde and Green Streets – It was inconvenient and too small for the us, † but at that time the population of the town was so much on the increase, that houses could not be had and besides the rents were advancing so‡ as to frighten people of narrow means – To pay \$400 to \$500§ for the rent of a house, when 200\$ had heretofore been paid for the very best house in town

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**My mothers residence . Theatricals. Mr & Mrs Paiba**

46 .)

Vol 3 C 2

**1798** seemed, enormous – we continued therefore in that house, till 1800 – In the summer of 1798, the yellow fever prevailed in Boston. It made its first appearance near the town dock, then a receptacle for all the filth from the market, and adjacent streets,\*\*

\* Misspelling of “Boylston.”

† written over a struck through “family.” Isaac no doubt intended to delete “the” as well.

‡ In the decade 1790-1800 Boston's population increased by 36%.

§ A \$500 annual rent would be equivalent to about a \$750 monthly rent today calculated relative to the Consumer Price Index.

\*\* See above, II, 180 and note on yellow fever.



many conspicuous persons in town were suddenly carried off by it – Joseph Scott brother of Mrs Sam<sup>l</sup> Winslow – Rob<sup>t</sup> T. Paine a lawyer son of Judge Paine – a Mr Frazar of the house of Lane Son and Frazar of London – my mothers cousin Edward Davis son of her uncle, Edward Davis a Col<sup>l</sup> Bradlee, with some other persons of note – This caused such a general alarm that business of all kinds was nearly at a stand – many (almost all who were able) moved out into the country – . I took my mothers family out to Cambridge where we continued some weeks. – but came myself to town every day – This I think was the first time that this disorder

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**Deaths by yellow fever at Boston 1798**

47.)

Vol. 3 C 2

**1798** had appeared in Boston, though it had before, been severely felt in New York & Philadelphia, no doubt apprehensions of a similar result, here was the cause of – the great alarm which existed in 1798 – In point of fact, comparatively few deaths took place during the 3 months it prevailed, if I recollect right – never more than 3 in 24 hours, and not over 100 to 130 deaths during the time of its continuance –

The husband of my early friend and almost sister Mr Sam<sup>l</sup> Waldo, whose business called him into Norfolk, Virginia in September of this year died there of this disorder. He was detained in Virginia to attend Court, where he had a law suit at Suffolk, and died of the yellow fever in September or October 1798 – In a letter of mine to the widow Dec 21, of that year I say “It could not be expected that so irreparable a loss as yours would be otherwise than severely felt – It is indeed great, and few are there of your friends, whose feelings are sufficiently acute to sympathize fully in your afflicting situation, There are still alleviating circumstances which should soothe the grief they cannot prevent. Your health and

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**not many deaths by yellow fever**

48) **1798**

Vol 3 C 2

existence ought to be doubly valuable on account of your children,\* for whom we all know your affectionate anxiety .. anticipate my dear cousin, their one day becoming your solace and comfort, and you and they, will then remember their valuable parent, with pleasing, if melancholy recollections – For their sakes do not indulge your feelings, you have still many friends who love, and are interested for you – I know your brother feels a fraternal regard, and I think I do him no injustice, in saying that your cousin at least feels an equal one, and wishes always to viewed by you as a brother” – & &c–

[“]PS my brother Thomas has just arrived from Philadelphia, after a long passage from Marseilles.

~~note. I had through the influence of Mr Amory obtained for this brother a situation as Supercargo of a Swedish vessell from Boston to Marseilles — The voyage was safely performed and he made as near as I recollect 6 or 800\$ by it but it did not last long . – ment<sup>d</sup>~~  
Pa 50

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\* The Waldos children, not named in the Memorial, and all born in Portland, ME, were Samuel (1789-1829), Francis Wainright (1791-1836), William Tyng (1793-1844), and Sarah Erving (1796-1827). Mrs. Waldo died in 1826.

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**Death of Mr Sam<sup>l</sup> Waldo at Suffolk Virg<sup>a</sup> \***

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\* The last of the annotations in red ink.



## Chapter Twenty-Two (Volume Three, Chapter Three)

Omitted in the last chapter to notice the death from yellow fever of Mr. Rand, who might have been a suitable marriage partner for Isaac's first wife – The state of business necessitates Isaac's entering business on his own account; the problem of American vessels being seized abroad; the loss of a vessel on which Mr Gardner was supercargo (and never heard from again); France's role in impeding business; Brother Thomas – Their mother's declining health – Trips to Virginia, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York – Move to a house in Hawkins street – Turnaround in Isaac's business success – Aunt Patty's Providential increase in income aids the family; the state of her mind, habits, and manners – Business and social relations – Tragic death of Captain Chipman in Haiti – Isaac's standing in Boston society; religious reflections and considerations – Death of his cousin Eliza in North Carolina – His mother's relapse and unexpected death – Engagement to Margaret Blanchard – Reflections on Autobiography – His feelings on the death of his mother – His feelings about marriage; his mother had wanted him to marry Sukey Sparhawk; second thoughts about his engagement; the danger of his love of distinction in the world; religious considerations; Sandemanian ultra-Calvinist tenets on society, marriage, and children.

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1798  
1799

**Death of Barth<sup>w</sup> Rand by yellow fever of 1798. embarrassed state of foreign Trade 1798 to 1800 –\***

In a sketch of the deaths by yellow fever of 1798 I forgot to notice that of my wife's cousin Mr B Rand – I do not know that he was engaged to my late wife – but they were quite intimate, and I always, there was, a mutual attachment, which might have terminated in marriage –<sup>†</sup>

My business which was, or was wished to be Commission business, was not profitable but having little of this I was in some measure necessitated to do business on my own account – Besides which the foreign commerce of the country, which had been owing to the carrying trade a very profitable one, was paralyz'd by the general seizure of American vessells abroad in 1797, 98 & 99 causing Insurance to be so high as to deter shipments – It was during this period that I became interested in a small vessell & Cargo to the West Indies, with two neighboring merchants, making finally an outfit of 9000\$ of which my share was 3000\$.<sup>‡</sup> – The Supercargo a Mr Gardner sold the vessell and Cargo, never returned to the US. and this became a total loss. – Owing to French, depredations on our Commerce, and no satisfaction being obtainable from the Directory then in power the

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\* Headlines now in brown ink.

† An odd usage, though *Webster's 3<sup>rd</sup> Unabridged* recognizes the sense *to have an indicated outcome or result*. Still, it is hard to avoid the no doubt unintended implication that marriage would have ended the attachment. And Isaac has plainly also left out a necessary verb. Surely he wanted to say something like, “and I always felt there was a mutual attachment” between Mary and Benjamin. And see below, III, 113.

‡ in excess of \$50,000 early twenty-first century dollars (and the same amount he had used to buy his father's distillery).

intercourse with France was for a time suspended and finally a quasi war between the countries, took place about 1799 or 1800 – – This state of things, added to the general Continental pacification in 1799, and Buonapartes singular letter to King George 3<sup>d</sup> of that year, offering a peace on certain

1799 (50)<sup>50</sup>

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terms prouduced in Europe as well as in other commercial countries a temporary stagnation in Trade – The Country had already suffer'd severely by the numerous captures of valuable American vessells & Cargoes in various parts of the world – entirely illegal as, no formal state of war existed – at least when the captures were principally made from 1796 to, 1799., and, on the part of France no declaration at all –\*

After my brother Thomas[?] return in Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1798 from a voyage as Supercargo in a Swedish Ship to Marseilles which I had obtained for him, he was out of employ all the next year. By that voyage he had made about 1000\$ – He cared little for money, yet was not expensive or extravagant in personal expenses – but fond making presents and treating his sisters & cousins with rides – parties sight seeing &c – like the sailor character, of expending while they have got it to spend – Besides this he was naturally indolent and had no tact<sup>†</sup> for what is called making business. Hating to see a young person of 23 or 24 in this position and in order to find him employ, I was induced to enter into a larger operation than I had yet been concerned in principally to help him. Accordingly with Mr Amory & Mr Hays, a ship of about 250 tons burthen was bought and loaded with a pretty valuable Cargo of fish Sugar Log wood & value over 20,000\$<sup>‡</sup> for the Mediterranean. – I was foolish enough to arm her & have her commissioned as a letter of mark as others did at the time for fear of French privateers – She saild in the fall of the year 1799 – sold at Alicante, took a Cargo of Barilla & Brandy for Dublin – Salt & Crates from Liverpool – & She arrived safely back late of the summer of 1799<sup>§</sup> – making as far as I recollect for the owners a poor

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1799. **my brother Thomas – State of my mothers health—**

though not a very losing voyage – my brother with his usual disregard to economy, travell'd about England – after dispatching the ship at Liverpool – staid long in London – lost his passage and passage money in one vessell for which he was too late, paid much a greater Sum for his passage in another vessel – and finally got home about a year after he sailed and after the death of our dear mother in October 1800. – Had he returned from Liverpool in the Mercury, I, estimated his gains would have been over \$2000, but his expenses, abroad being deducted, I doubt if more than 700 to 800\$ was left for him – But as this is anticipating my narrative, more of this hereafter –

In 1799, I took a journey to Norfolk on account of a lawsuit, in which the late Mr Waldo, claimed of a person in Virginia a large sum for the charter of a Ship – It was not decided however when I left – I then first visited New York, after 16 years absence Every thing about the place was quite familiar – I then first saw Philadelphia –

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\* Written at the left margin at an oblique angle is what looks like “11-20.” I have no idea what this means or refers to, if anything.

† Meaning here *feeling* or *skill*.

‡ About \$350,000 in today's dollars relative to the Consumer Price Index.

§ An obvious mistake here as Isaac has her arriving back before she had sailed out.

Baltimore & Norfolk, and was absent only about 3 weeks, or a month – saw in New York Mr & Mrs King my cousin Paiba & wife – Uncle Sparhawk & Children &c

My mother & family had from about 1794 to 1799, resided in a small house corner of Lynde & Green Streets, very inconvenient for a large family – In the fall of that year we, moved into a house in Hawkins Street\* –

At that time my dear mother continued to be subject to a sort of epileptic fits, which seemed at once to deprive her of mental and corporeal powers. These however did not last long, but the more frequent recurrence of these, kept, weakening more & more, an already shatter'd constitution, so that at the time of our removal about August 1799 – as, we afterwards ascertained, she was much nearer her end, than we then supposed –

In this year I, had not been in business long enough to have become establishd or secure much emolument

52,  
1799

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**My business Success. & Aunt Patty**

enough however to meet my own expenses, and those of the family which my poor mother's limited income would not, allow her to defray – Tho I did all I could in this matter it would have fallen far short of the required amount, necessary to support, in decent style, a family of 6 or 8 Individuals – but providentially my Aunt Patty's income which had been nearly nothing for 2 years before & 2 or 3 after my father's death being pledged to rebuild the Stores on the Long Wharf was cleared off about this time, so that in 1798 to 1799, it became a very ample one 700 or 800\$ per ann – and her surviving sisters<sup>†</sup> having authorized me as her guardian to apply her Income to her support, adding thereto an allowance, for my own board to my mother – and added to this a small pension of 30£ Stg per year, part of which my father as a Loyalist had received for some years, all combined enabled the family to get along very comfortably – The minor expences, such as the expence of a music master for my Sister – French instruction – dancing &c for my younger brothers were defrayed by me –

Often have I reflected on the undeserved goodness of God which after the dreadful, blow, to the family in the death of my dear and lamented father, was evident in continuing in life and to a very advanced age – a poor imbecile aunt (who had by sickness when a child lost, her mental powers) whose pecuniary means was really the chief means of supporting his family, thus repaying to them most amply, the outlay for her expenses during several years when her

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1799

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**Aunt Patty**

Income was little or nothing. This Aunt though weak in mind, totally unaware of the lapse of time, or any thing connected with numbers – was not entirely idiotic – Her affections were strong – her manners & habits good – her love to children & animals remarkable. She had not the smallest desire for distinction either in dress, or the exercise of any attractive power (being very good looking when young) Her manners and habits were correct – In company she never spoke – always waited till the table cloth was removed – drank wine with any who

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\* Very close by the distillery.

† Or possibly "sister." Isaac often concludes word with a little flourish that looks like an "s." In any event, aunt Patty (Martha) had at this point only one surviving sister, Catherine (aunt Malbone) comfortably married to a wealthy man.

asked her and was in many respects a child of nature – Some bad habits she had such as appropriating and secreting almost any little thing which came in her way –

Her own immediate family would no doubt at any period of her life, have consider'd her death as a blessing thinking her continuance in life neither happy for herself or for others – Yet it pleased God that this humblest and least esteemed of all the family should outlive them all but one, and thus become, from her increased income the chief means of support, to the family of a brother otherwise nearly destitute –

Brought up with her from the age of 10 years old, in my fathers family and continuing to make part of mine till 1816\* (38 years) I became strongly attached to her. For the last 15 years of her life, a woman was always kept to take care of her – of this grown child may it be affirmed with more certainty than in most cases that Because Christ liveth she will

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1799.

Business and Social Relations

live also – It was my wish to obtain Commission business, the principal part of was then derived from domestic sources, and, consisted mainly of Colonial produce imported into almost all the Ports of New England and sent to Boston or New York for Sale. This however required capital credit and influence, neither of which I had – Neither was I supported by any person of known credit, through whom, I could get a lift now and then – In that respect, I now think it was quite as well that I had not such an one to call on, having since observed, that those who are thus sustained by external aid often find it hard to keep above water when their corks are taken away – I began business by small foreign adventures – and this year began rather a promising trade to the island of Hayti<sup>†</sup> with a Captain Chipman a very, intelligent active shipmaster of Wellfleet – on his 2<sup>d</sup> return voyage just after getting out of Port he was killed by a boat full of armed negroes, who put off after the Schooner.<sup>‡</sup>

My position in Society was rather a singular one – As a merchant, then and for a century before consider'd as the first class, tho' as a young beginner of course, the least of the flock – still I belonged to the sheepfold – As regards what was considered the upper circle, from early introduction through my Cousin Eliza Winslow from 18 to 27,<sup>§</sup> I associated a good deal with those of that circle especially young men of my own age, and by degrees got introduced, tho' not extensively into general society – Perhaps I might have so done to a greater degree than I did, had I not been restrained by two considerations – The one that in the balls & large parties to which I was occasionally invited I seldom met a single relative – nor any of those

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\* I. e., until her death at age 81.

† Haiti. But Isaac's is in fact the spelling that appears in the recently discovered Haitian declaration of independence (1804) recently discovered in the British National Archives. <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/04/01/world/americas/01document.html?ref=world> .

‡ See Levi Whitman, *A sermon, preached at Wellfleet, March 9, 1800, on the Sabbath after the confirmation of the news of the death of Capt. William Chipman, who was inhumanly murdered by a party of Rigaud's pirates in the West-Indies.* By Levi Whitman, A.M. Pastor of the church in Wellfleet. Published at the expense of Adams' Lodge. (Boston: Printed by Manning & Loring, 1800).

§ So from 1792 (the year before his father's death) to 1801 (the year of his marriage).

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1799

**Business & Social Position**

whom I occasionally met, at, the North or South end Parties – and further both in the Clubs & parties of my own Sex, as well as those mixed, seeing none of those religiously educated – or of similar views of religion, the Self questioning often arose, why was I there? It is true the tenets of the Sandemanian Society allowed a far greater latitude in the participation of worldly amusements and associations than those of most of the other of the more rigid Sectarians permitted – Still however the more refined dissipation of what is called Genteel Society, and the grosser dissipation of the young men, the former enervating to the mind as is the latter too often both to mind & body is dangerous – That I was not more led away by either than I was is far less owing to internal principles of right being strong enough to resist those seductions than to counteracting circumstances, which I now believe to have been preventive mercies of Divine Providence – Into Scenes of grosser dissipation I was indeed only occasionally dragged in – These were disgusting rather than seducing –

External, not internal power, as it appears to me, was the cause of my preservation and to God be the glory – on the other hand great seclusion from the world has its dangers – In such case, we are apt to get an overweening conceit of our own, merits talents & advantages, to judge of men & things by a narrow scale, and to grow up into life ignorant of ourselves and of others – for the knowledge of both is intimately connected – Extremes in this as in most all other cases are to be, avoided. The temperate clime is between Frost and fire –

The second circumstance which made my

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1799

**my position in Society.**

position singular was, the Strong attachment I felt to the religious views of the society in which I was brought up – There was evidently in them such a coincidence of faith & works – profession and practise – that though, fully agreeing in their views, as to the self deception of most professors of Christianity and therefore in little danger on this score (faith being the foundation on which they rested, and works scarcely ever spoken of) yet the excellent and self denying characters, belonging generally to all the members of the Society, could not fail as examples, to lead to the inference that the same faith which the Society ought\* to produce the same characters – and hence as none of them or even their children, were at all in the same, circle, (which could not indeed have been expected, as most of them were brought up in a different line of life-) I could not but feel uneasy at being in a position where it was impossible the self denying principles of the Society, could have any scope – This no doubt prevented matrimonial connections which I was very well inclined to have formed, and which would have brought me into the circle of the elite, no doubt however combined strongly with this feeling, that I ought not, & could not leave my mother, and the children to themselves.

Myself & all the family continued to attend the meeting – at times, indeed going to the Episcopal church where my mother Blanchard went, but still with the idea that this like all others was merely a form of worldly religion –

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\* Evidently a word or several left out here. Isaac perhaps meant some thing like, “the same faith which the Society regarded as foundational ought to produce the same (excellent) characters.”



To return from this to the narrative of events, as near as recollected, or obtain'd from old letters in 1799. – This year is memorable as the one in which Gen Washington died – an event

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1799 noticed in all parts of the Country with funeral orations, mock funerals, and ostentatious parade of every kind, which the worthy old man in his anticipations of death would himself have been as averse to as I was myself –

The year 1800 was usherd in by an event which affected me a good deal, the death of my cousin Eliza Winslow wife of her & my cousin John who died at his place of residence in Fayetteville No Carolina – She had made so long part of the family that I felt a fraternal regard for her – I subjoin a letter from Mr Eccles who had married her husbands Sister Lucy mentioning this event – after stating the inability of Mr John Winslow to write he says “Mrs W had been for some months in a low & feeble state of health – about the first of this month she was taken in labor & deliverd of a female infant, (this event hastend as supposed by a fright she received in crossing a creek on her way up to Wilmington) the Infant lived nearly two weeks, when she as well as could be expected – on the death of her infant her spirits were greatly depressed, and her weakness increased altho’ no danger was apprehended till last Sunday, when she was attacked with a pain in the breast, a difficulty in swallowing and shortness of breath – She continued declining till Wednesday at 8 PM when she, surrender’d her pure spirit to the Giver of Life without a groan Jan’y 15” – dated Fayette Ville 20<sup>th</sup> January 1800 –

By this letter it appears, that a brother of her husbands Joshua Winslow whom I knew very well, had died a few months previously – an extract of a letter from her husband

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1800

**Death of my cousin Mrs EW**

in reply to a letter I wrote him, follows, dated April 18 1800 “Your truly affectionate letter of 20<sup>th</sup> February I had the satisfaction to receive – If any circumstance could relieve the pain I feel from reflection it would be the experience of a friend whom from experience of similar mournful & heavy dispensations of Divine Providence, has acquired & rightly exercisd of offering those objects of comfort to the mind, that has proved efficacious in allaying the excess of his own feelings\* Your observations are founded in truth and offerd in the language of friendship – a language truly grateful in the hour of affliction – accept my sincere thanks” – speaks of his little Lucy, would like to move to his native state, but “the goods of fortune being scantily bestowd on your friend” a change is impossible &c Aunt Malbone in a letter from her 17 July 1800, with whom her niece had lived a long time mentions this want with great feeling “Our beloved Eliza is no more She died 15 Jan’y mother and child buried in one grave” &c

In June 1800 I made a short visit to my widowed friend & Cousin Mrs Waldo in Portland All this year my mother’s health was declining the Spasmodic or epileptic fits increasing & force till October, when on the \_\_\_\_\_, † she fell asleep – I hope in Jesus – During my previous journey to Portland she had had, as my brother John, says Jan’y 8 “a relapse or

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\* Another example of somebody’s wayward syntax, though whether John’s or Isaac’s we cannot tell. My guess is that Isaac has slipped up in copying the letter.

† A blank here for a date that Isaac probably hoped later to fill in.

repetition of her old disorder, and now lies in the same state of Lethargic stupor as, formerly” – and adds in a PS

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1800 that “Mama has revived, tho a little deranged” She had indeed got over this, so as to get down and attend to her family and in fact headed the table when 2 or 3 persons whom I had invited dined with us – so that finally her death was rather unexpected – my particular feelings at the time could only be portrayed by my own letters to others which I have not. I see on this occasion two or three to me – These I do not extract one, as in similar cases more credit is given than is deserved -- only one extract from a letter of Mr Jos King a member of the Sandemanian church husband of my cousin Isabella daughter of my uncle Edw<sup>d</sup> the clergyman – whom my father took into his family after her fathers death – Mr King says 24 Nov 1800, after some religious remarks “You have been very early called to act the Part of a father, and now the family looks up to you as their only support, and there is no doubt a blessing will attend your kindness to them” &c–

Buried with my mother was the newly born still born infant of Mrs Catherine Houston daughter of Mrs Blanchard,\* who had been married in the early part of 1800 – Her body was deposited in the Davis Tomb Chapel burying place, Gen Winslow<sup>†</sup> declining to let us deposit her in the Winslow tomb where my fathers remains were buried all our relatives especially Mrs Blanchard were very attentive to my mother in her last sickness, and her daughter Peggy or Margaret afterwards my wife,<sup>‡</sup> staid with my sister

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1800. **Engagement with my late wife, and autobiography.**

It was during this time that I became engaged to her, not having that I recollect previously thought seriously of marrying her or any one else –

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\* I.e., Isaac’s future sister-in-law.

† Probably John Winslow (1753-1819), who was a revolutionary soldier and became, according to an entry at <http://famousamericans.net/johnwinslow/> a brigadier general of the Boston brigade in 1799. Isaac does not detail his relationship to the family, nor have I been able to ascertain it. He is mentioned in *Mayflower Heritage* (129, 131, 134), but identified merely as “a John Winslow” (my emphasis). How he came to be the person who decided which Winslows were eligible to be interred in the “Winslow Tomb” is a mystery, but probably stems from his having been one of the Sons of Liberty and his rise within the military and the Suffolk County political circle. Given the lack of genealogical information we have on this John, and given all that Isaac has said about the causes of the Revolution and the considerations of class relevant to them, it seems to me likely that this John was quite a distant cousin who belonged to a branch that had fallen in status sufficiently to make it susceptible to the appeal of revolution, in which case Isaac might have been forgiven any bitterness he felt in his mother’s being excluded from internment with her late husband. But whatever bitterness he may have felt, he, characteristically, does not express.

It is, incidentally, quite wonderful how so many of the family were interred in the family tomb. The first John and his wife Mary Chilton Winslow are most likely buried there and then another four generations up to Isaac’s father. Presumably others in other lines than the one from John and Mary that descends to Isaac are buried there too. But the tomb is, like others in the King’s Chapel burying ground, quite small – a stone box perhaps four by eight feet and four feet high covered by a stone slab. I am aware of two dozen males directly descended from John (and who therefore bore the Winslow name) who might be considered to have been eligible for burial in the Winslow Tomb, although several of these, as we have seen, died outside of Boston.

‡ That Isaac feels the need to explain who she is indicates—in spite of what he will claim on the following page—that he imagines a much wider and more distant audience than his daughter and other children, for all of whom such an explanation would of course have been unnecessary.

An auto biography after the lapse of more than 40 years must unavoidably be deficient in conveying the traits of individual character, which principally interests us, and can be only obtained by the lights & shadows which a free unrestrained intimacy – enables the observer to notice, and note down before forgotten – No man can be his own biographer, and of those who write the biographies of others, few, very few, who not err on the one side or the other – and become either panegyrists or Revilers – Letters no doubt, especially domestic ones, give partially a Key to character, but imperfect compared with personal observation – The former of course, are not in my possession now and then I have met with an old one quite forgotten – In such case I have for the time felt like a third party, and in some degree seen in my former self another person. – In such cases a writer might sometimes quote himself – Generally speaking however we are too self ignorant or too self partial to be our own biography – As this is intended for the use of my children only, they must consider this as what I have called it at the beginning as a “family memorial” with slight sketches of those with whom I was more immediately connected –

61.

Vol. 3. C 3 – **Feelings and events succeeding death of my mother**

**1800-** I have already noticed the rather sudden engagement with my late wife soon after my mothers death – Soon after this, Miss Sukey Sparhawk\* made a short visit to my Sister Mary. I was pleased with her, and though I did not see enough of her, already engaged as I was to become particularly attached, yet hearing after my mothers death from my Sister Mary, that the former was very desirous I should marry Miss. S, and at that time – feeling much depressed in spirits, in parting from my mother – and being far from satisfied with myself, and others around me, so absorbed in worldly feelings – and knowing my own weakness in this particular – I certainly for a time regretted my engagement, and that I could not place myself in a position where the strength of religious principle in a wife would sustain my weakness† – not from any fondness for the frivolities of fashionable life – which I never had – my real danger was the love of distinction, which always craving more than it has, I felt to be so inimical to religious feeling, as to lead to a conflict I felt myself too weak to sustain – The society did not require that its members much less their children, should confine their marriage connections within so narrow a pale – but, yet, the fear of violating religious opinions & practises, or acquiescing in those I condemned, in order to please a wife – combined with a consciousness of the strong desire of the favor & approbation of man, which I had – and perhaps combined too with family circumstances & limited means – prevented my improving the opportunities which, without vanity I may say, fell in my

**62 views & Feelings in regard to the marriage State, and its connection with my religious views**

**1800.** way.

The religious Society of which my father was a member, was well known for many years before the revolution, as well, by the writings of its founder John Glas in Scotland 1737 to 1745 as, by the writings, preaching and successfull establishment of a Society in Boston, and also in Portsmouth & Connecticut from 1764 to 1766 – The leading tenet of

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\* See above, II, 76.

† Evidently Miss Sparhawk was, like many in her family, a Sandemanian, and Isaac's mother's wishes that he marry her reflected this. So Isaac here regrets, at least briefly, that his engagement will deprive him of the religious support of a Sandemanian spouse, the Blanchards not belonging to the Society. “Sustain my weakness” presumably means not uphold his weakness itself, but sustain Isaac in spite of or against the tendency of his weakness.



this Society that Church & State religion, \* was the anti Christ prophesied in the Scriptures – led to the inference that its doctrine, practises views and officers, were Antichristian – Hence his writings, bore particularly hard on the Clergy – whom he treated with the same, and perhaps greater acrimony than even Luther himself the Romish Hierarchy – Avowed Arminianism, though undoubtedly the tenet of many of the Clergy as well as of the laity both in England and America, was yet not a subject of much polemical discussion – as it has since been. The ministers of the Colonies, considering themselves as part of the congregational or (as it was for, 70 years) the dominant church, that is Calvinists – did not allow a silent difference of views on religion to produce a separation which however was very marked as regards, Episcopalians – Quakers and Baptists – Mr Sandemans artillery was directed against ministers of all denominations, whom he considered “blind[?]”† – leading in the broad way of self righteousness, their followers “a devout path to hell”‡ – Nothing could be more offensive than such language.

[verso of this page]§

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way – The society was well known as in Boston before the revolution, and in small places where it was establish’d that upon its revival after the revolution and my fathers death, it was not of importance enough, to be either favor’d or oppos’d

#### Vol 3 C 3

#### 63. Religious views & position of the 1800 Sandemanian Society in their Social relations

Yet the truly Christian conduct of its professors – their humility, brotherly love, kindness to all men, whether in or out of the Society – conscientious obedience to law and order – practise of truth and justice in their intercourse with all men – industry – indifference to wealth and self denial where required, probably led even the clergy to consider Mr Sandeman & his followers as honest well meaning Enthusiasts rather than dangerous opponents – But the influence of the Clergy – and those under clerical influence; (diminishd after 1688, when William & Mary came to the throne, and a new and tolerant charter was granted to Massachusetts,) was still very great – The latter I say, could not easily stomach that the Gods of their idolatry –(for such certainly were the congregational ministers from 1630 to 1700) should be made out to be, but Idols of human manufacture – and hence combined with the prejudices natural to man against the appearance of a rival religious sect – the adherents of Mr Sandeman, few in number, were looked upon by society generally, with indifference, by the devout – with the dislike, natural to those, whose religion is thought a self deceiving or

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\* All churches but their own were regarded as “anti-Christian by the Sandemanians, but especially odious was a church or state that adopts or grants the established church powers normally belonging to the state and thus ignores Christ’s teaching to “Render ... unto Caesar the things which are Caesar’s; and unto God the things that are God’s.” (Matthew 22: 21) Such, from the Sandemanians’ point of view, were both the Church of England and the Congregational Church in Massachusetts, which, at least under the first charter, was for all intents and purposes an established one.

† Matthew 15: 14.

‡ Robert Sandeman, *Letters On Theron And Aspasio, Addressed To The Author* (Boston: Weeks Jordan & Co., 1838), xviii (Preface to the Second Edition).

§ Evidently a first attempt and discarded, though never struck through.

hypocritical one – by some a honest well meaning, but rather bigotted people – by most non professors from the coincidence of preaching with practise with approbation – but whose tenets they thought, were better adapted to die by, than live by – by all, as excellent worthy members of Society – many of their wives not themselves members were also bitterly opposed to the system – especially those whose notions of the proper identity or union of worldly religion with worldly respectability (in the present case antipodes) imbibed in early youth were sensibly shocked, at the great change from the fever heat of religious distinction, to the almost freezing point of religious contempt, some also felt the change from civil distinction in the world to the lower grade to which their husbands had with their families descended in consequence of the new religious connection – or what is the same thing, the decline in rank which they supposed their husbands had submitted to –

64.

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**Position of the Society in relation to their children**

1800 But whatever might be the feelings of the near connections, not of the Society, as to their friends in it having lost caste as is usual in such cases, the feelings of the interested parties are stronger than they ought to be – if we do not cross the paths of others, they care not much what bye paths we take – A century before the clergy in all countries had power and those who crossed their paths, had to pay for their temerity, since 1700, their power was gone, and men were more generally judged by their character & connections than their religion –

Mr Sandemans tenets and those of his followers were ultra Calvinistic – His grand doctrine of Justification by faith, that of Scripture, as well as Luthers main pillar – The practises were different from any sect, more nearly that of the Quakers in Church government, and of the moravians in certain church practises – Self righteousness he considered the very antipode of Justification by faith, and this he thought prevalent in a greater or lesser degree in all the various Sects of Christianity but his own –

A few pages back I noticed the influence of the religious system in which I was born & brought up, on my mind at the age of 26 – when I had serious thoughts of marriage, and what in this important change in the circumstances of life I ought to do – Before this however it is not amiss to mention the Societies mode of educating their child – premising, that no parents were ever more attached to their offspring, and none more desirous to promote their temporal, and especially their spiritual good –

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**Position of the children of the Society**

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1800

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Children in all countries, and under every system of religions false or true, unavoidably adopt the opinions of their parents – Truth to them is what their progenitors held to be truth – The rule of right is the same to all – The parents worship in the Synagogue, the mosque, the temple or the meeting house – They cannot err, they must be right think the children – and they too worship as did their fathers – So it must be, and so indeed it ought to be till at or near adult age – It is natural therefore that the children of the society should imbibe the opinions and follow the practises of their fathers – and this they did – for myself I can say that at the age of about 30 – perhaps later – I was as firm a believer in church infallibility, as any Romanist.

The members of the Society having no religious communion with those of other denominations all of whom they deemed antichristian, of course the children of each were only known to one another, as playmates or schoolmates only. The religious

observances which the one party was brought up to believe as positive duties, such as catechisms, hearing sermons, lectures, attending prayer meetings &c – the other party were taught to believe were positive sins – The children of the Sandemanian Society not forbidden to associate with any other children naturally and unavoidably became companions intimate with the children of persons whom the religious and devout would consider as mere worldlings.

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**Children of the Society**

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**1800** These were however, good moral kindhearted and unambitious people, though not professors of religion (The society carefully avoided exposing their children to any influence of an immoral or irreligious tendency, whether by conversation, books or bad company) They thought that the social intercommunion with worthy characters though nonprofessors, participating in the innocent enjoyments of youth was less dangerous to the children than religious intercommunion with those who were closely connected with antichristian societies, as they consider'd all others.

In this respect the Sandemanians resembled the Romanists – Thinking themselves the only true church, they necessarily think all dissenters from “mother Church” wrong, yet these \* like the Society in question unreservedly mingle with those of all other persuasions in the varied interests, duties, business pursuits and even pleasures of life, at the same time carefully guarding their children from the most tender age against the contamination of heresy – as does the latter† against the leaven of anti Christianity – Both are equally firm in considering their own as the only true church – Both too have succeeded, in infusing into the minds of the children an ineradicable conviction, that the religion of each of them is from God – Yet it must not be

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**Results of the Education of Children**

Vol 3 C. 3

**1800** – concealed, that while I have seldom known one individual brought up in the Society, who has not in heart adhered to its tenets, yet of none has so few of the children been united to it as church members – I impute this principally to the error in this and most others of the reformed Churches, that they do not, consider the children of Church members from their birth – as “Lambs of the flock” – in which as it appears to me, the primitive Christians did follow the example of the Jews, and so considered their children – such is the case in all civil communities – and in such light only I think can the obligation of Baptism be, necessary, i e being as I think a public declaration by the Parents that they purpose to bring up the “children in the nurture & admonition of the Lord”‡ – As members of the Society they would be subjects of its discipline, after parental authority ceases, or was ineffectual. The young companions of the Society would easily be formed from its natural increase – They would intermarry, and like the Quakers their increase would be gradual but certain – The children of the Society were in the habit of mixing with companions, a majority of whom were not of it. They did not indeed easily lose the effect of the excellent example set them by their parents, nor the attachment to a simple form of worship in which God (at least

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\* All dissenters other than the Sandemanians.

† Members of “the Society in question,” i.e., the Sandemanians.

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

appear'd to be worshipp'd in Spirit and in truth, but as I have already said, through life had a heartfelt

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1800

**Education of children and effects**

attachment to what they consider Genuine religion – But this intermingling with a majority of those who were brought up to the observance of no religious peculiarities, such as abstaining from Cards & games of chance – from giving tilles[?]\* to the Clergy – eating blood or strangled meats – (such as pigeons & Chickens generally be[?] killed) calling the Lords day Sabbath – never joining in any religion's service – requires a strength of mind and firmness of principle not to be expected from children – especially when it not unfrequently happen'd the children of the host, nay even the host himself knew not even what religion the parents of the guest was attach'd to, or if so nothing of its peculiarities – hence the children of the society acquired a timid wavering state of mind, prompting them on the one hand to do as others did, seeing nothing morally wrong in so doing – and on the other hand, though perhaps never commanded to adhere to the forms of their religion – seeing their parents & others of the society constantly practising them, and thus led to do what to them appear'd wrong, or at least not right for the sake of avoiding the appearance of singularity. Christian courage and firmness, were thus undermined or destroyed. This could seldom have happen'd had the children have born<sup>†</sup> the relation to the Society which all children do to the civil community – I cannot stop to consider objections to what I think the Scriptural view of this matter

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\* Probably *tilles* was intended.

† I. e., *borne*.

## Chapter Twenty-Three (Volume Three, Chapter Four)

Isaac's thoughts and considerations on marriage; the concern that husbands and wives be compatible religiously; marriage changes the whole course of a man's life; a dilemma: engaged to Miss Blanchard, a woman brought up in the world, but his mother and his own conscience incline to Miss Sparhawk brought up in the same religion as he: and the demands of a contract already entered into as peremptory as those of religious conscience; his earlier attachment to Catherine Blanchard, Margaret's sister, also a complicating circumstance; the sacredness of the marriage contract and the happiness of all the several persons involved leads to his decision, of which he has never repented; nothing could have proven more amiable than Margaret's religious conduct – Isaac arranges voyages for his brothers John and Tom – [CONTINUATION OF THE MEMORIAL BY ISAAC'S DAUGHTER, MARGARET CATHERINE WINSLOW, AFTER HIS DEATH IN 1856] – Margaret's Aunt Catherine's marriage to Mr John Houston of Tobago and how this came about; their spending the warm season in Nahant; a stillborn child – The Hawking St. residence – The Houstons depart for Tobago with Margaret's aunt Susan and Uncle Joshua Blanchard – Letters concerning his mother's death from Isaac to Mrs. Sarah Waldo; to Mrs. Malbone – Isaac's reflections on the death penned at the time; Margaret notes his religious convictions definite at an early age; her own reflections.

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Vol. 3 Chap 4.

**My considerations on marriage.**

1800 The preceeding chapter contains a sketch of the views and position of the religious Society in which I was educated The exemplary conduct and self denial of a very dear father and others of the church could not but have a great effect on their children. Early taught in practise as well as theory to see a broad line of distinction between, the religion of Jesus, and national or popular religion, I could not but feel, myself out of place, in fashionable and frivolous society. It is true I was not a member of the society, and had I have been, that the going into company, or mixing with worldly Society not immoral, was freely permitted – yet with such, I never really felt at home – And after my mothers death, which revived the recollections of that of my father, and feeling then more powerfully than ever before – a sympathy for her feelings, which before her death, was perhaps less felt, because, my own feelings were so excited – I thought deeply of what course of life I ought conscientiously to pursue – not merely on my own account, but for the sake of those, to whom as eldest of the family, I should be looked up to as an example. Marriage is an event which generally determines a mans course of life – I knew if I married a woman (not of the Society) to whom I was strongly attached, and one who had been brought up and was fond of fashionable life, I could not resist the gratification of pleasing her perhaps, against my own conscience – I had known the unhappiness of marriages so circumstances\* and in one case

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\* Surely *circumstanced* was intended.

the absolute departure of the wife from her husband\* – Even in regard to my Cousin Margaret B to whom I

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1800

**my consideration on marriage.**

was engaged, neither she nor any of the family, had known anything more of the Society, than that the family, always went, to their meeting – Nay as the Surviving Sisters of my father were always prejudiced against the Society from the first, and much more so after his death, supposing and perhaps not without cause, that it was in some measure to<sup>†</sup> the intercourse and remarks with one of that Society, whom he last, conversed with before his death – it was natural for me to believe my wife as one of the family and probably of their opinion, if she overlooked the partial connection I had with the Society when engaged, might feel, that my actual union with them after marriage, was a complete blight, of her expectations (natural to the young) before – Hence associating in imagination my position with others of the Society similarly situated – I anticipated rather an unfavorable result – The one party was, brought up in a worldly religion, in which a close adherence to its forms and acquisitions is creditable as well amongst its members, as the world – The other in a religion based on great self denial, which if valued by the Society, is either disregarded or even contemptible in the world – I was in a dilemma – on the one hand there was a young woman – agreeable in person face & manners, – recommended too by a departed mother (as I heard) habituated from early youth, to all that I had been brought up to myself – and of course as I had reason to believe, of the same religious views – on the other hand one of agreeable person & manners enough

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1800

**considerations before marriage**

of quick perceptions and fair understanding, yet whose religious views could not at all coincide with mine – nay worse, whose dislike of mine, might reasonably enough be expected to produce the unfavorable result of other similarly circumstanced marriages before mention'd – if conscience bade me, dissolve the engagement and take the former – its commands were equally peremptory, not to violate a solemn engagement – a contract from which neither could be freed but by mutual consent

As to feelings in regard to neither of the parties was the conflict so, trying as, might be expected I had become so attached to Catherine Blanchard<sup>‡</sup> my wife's sister 2 years before my mothers death, when however it was out of my power to take a wife, that a renewed attachment to any one else was out of the question and between the time of my engagement and meeting Miss Sparhawk, only a few weeks had elapsed In the later case an acquaintance of a fortnight, was too short to produce any very strong attachment, even had I been unengaged – It was rather a conflict of conscience than of affections – the sacred nature of a marriage contract involving the happiness of the other party & her family (also my own most intimate relations –) made me decide to do as I did.

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\* Probably Isaac is referring to the marriage of his grandfather Benjamin Davis to a Miss Whipple described above, I, 28-28 ½.

† Probably Isaac means “it was in some measure *owing* to” that last conversation.

‡ Catherine Pease Blanchard, who married John Houston.



Nor did I ever repent of it, for in what interested me most, acquiescence in religious views my dear wife, was quite as easy and apparently more con-

72 Voyages of Uncles  
1800 John & Tom

Vol 3. C 4.

Marriage of My Aunt Catherine  
Blanchard.\*

tented in going to meeting with me<sup>†</sup> and the children as they grew up – in her hospitality to those of the Society who came to the house – than she would have been to have continued in the habits of religion in which she had been brought up – Indeed nothing could be more amiable than her conduct in this matter –

In the fall of 1800, I chartered a vessell to the Mediterranean – in order to give my brother John who was then 21 his first outset<sup>‡</sup> in life – I could put but a small part of a Cargo on

board from lack of means, but had influence with several other merchants to fill up the vessel with a pretty valuable Cargo consign'd my brother – I think he sail'd after my mothers death, –<sup>§</sup> and arrived home Oct 1801.

Uncle Tom was abroad from Nov 1799 to the Spring of 1801 – first in the Mediterranean and then in England. Of course so was absent at the period of his mother's death.\*\*

On the first day of January 1800 occurred the marriage of Mother's sister, Catherine or Kitty Pease Blanchard, (named for her Aunt Malbone)<sup>††</sup> to John Houston of Tobago, a Scotchman by birth, but then in the employ of the English Ordinance

After Father's  
death  
1856  
MCW continues

\* Headline notes in Margaret Catherine Winslow's hand (and written as if her being the first person).

† Though not a member, Isaac nevertheless continued to attend its meetings, perhaps still simply as a child of a (deceased) member and elder, though he is now well into his majority. It is not clear if at this point he had determined the question whether he would join. And clearly other nonmembers, such as his wife, were welcome to attend without formally becoming members. But see below, IV, 7-8, where Isaac is married in an Episcopal ceremony.

‡ Meaning *start*.

§ Isaac's ms. ends here. He had concluded with the kind of dash he most often uses to indicate a period, and his daughter, Margaret Catherine Winslow, has finished his sentence, writing her "and" over his dash/period. There is no way to know when Isaac actually stopped writing and how long that was before his death. I have suggested in a note to the title page of this volume (above III, 1) that he had gathered the 24 blank leaves noted on the title page and wrote the title page (and most likely that to the first volume as well) knowing he wasn't going to complete the volume or at least that work on it needed to be interrupted for a considerable period, or perhaps just feeling he needed a break, making the writing of the title pages a good idea, or at least a prudent one. The handwriting at the end of Isaac's ms., it may be noted, shows no signs of infirmity. The last time he had mentioned a date at which he was writing was in the second volume, and the latest date he mentions as the present time of writing is 1844. All we may therefore be sure of is that he composed the work from 1837 at least to 1844, but perhaps much longer. It may be significant that he ends his narrative at the very moment he has decided whom to marry.

In the meantime, his daughter had begun to keep a journal in a bound album of lined pages in January 1850 of her own. But only two months after that was begun, she experienced what she calls "four years' invalidism" (IV, 3), resuming her journal in August 1855. This start is again fitful and of uncertain purpose. For a few pages Margaret undertakes a review of family genealogy. There is an entry with an annotation that contains recollections from 1860 (IV, 5), followed by a page about Isaac's decease (though presumably written in 1860 or after. And only then does Margaret adopt her final plan, continuing her father's Memorial now in the bound journals, and she at that point takes up where she had left off in her continuation of the unbound pages of her father's portion.

\*\* Isaac has already noted this trip and Tom's being away when their mother died (above, III, 50-1).

†† Whose first husband was Simon Pease.

department, at that Island. My father had been accidentally introduced to him at Norfolk Virginia, when attending to Mr Waldo's affairs there, in the spring of 1799, and had introduced him to the family as a stranger in the country, to whom hospitable attentions would be agreeable. He became attracted by the fine appearance and conversational powers of my Grandfather Blanchard's second daughter, and she having been, as is supposed, disappointed in a former attachment,\* and desirous to aid her family, who were far from wealthy, in fact at that time and for many years afterward, chiefly supported by the very moderate income remaining to my Great Grand mother Pollard, —

[written sideways bottom to top at left margin]

Continued by Margaret Catherine Winslow.

1856.

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Vol 3 Chap 4

Visits to Nahant .

**1800** accepted his addresses, and was united to him at her Father's house, as I have stated, Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 1800. They immediately went South on their wedding journey, probably as far as Norfolk, Va – & paid a visit to Aunt Malbone at Newport afterward returning to Mrs[?] Blanchard's house, they remained there till the ensuing summer, when they took lodgings at Nahant,† for the warm season. Nahant was then a very secluded place, a mere barren rock, with only three or four very ordinary lodging houses upon it: and I have heard my Mother say, that she used to ride down with a party of young folk, the girls dressed in dark calico frocks and deep sunbonnets, with stout leather shoes for scrambling over the rocks: – the young men had a costume appropriate for fishing which occupation they pursued for their dinner, adding to their prey such articles as the party had brought with them from town; for no Hotel luxuries were to be found then, any more than the other fashionable appendages of modern Nahant. But freedom, fun, and frolic more than compensated our Mothers and Grandmothers for the want of these, and very pleasant excursions they had to the rock bound peninsular. I presume a good many of these expeditions took place during the summer of Aunt Houston's residence there.

In the fall of this year, she returned to her Father's house in Brattle Square, where on or about the third of October, she gave birth to a dead daughter, which was, as has been mentioned, buried in the coffin with my Grandmother Winslow, who died on the same day in the Hawkins St house, and was interred in the Davis Tomb, Chapel Burying ground.

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Voyage to Tobago.

**Mr & Mrs Houston, Aunt Susan Blanchard  
and Uncle J P Blanchard .**

**1800** To this Hawkins St house, my Father had removed his mother and family in September. Although shabby and old fashioned, it was more roomy and comfortable than the small house in Lynde S<sup>t</sup> where they had previously lived. It was near Father's Distillery at the corner of Chardon S<sup>t</sup> and not quite so far from his compting room on Long Wharf. It stood end of the street, facing a yard which divided it from the next house similarly situated and constructed. It was while my Mother was staying here, for a week or two, with my Aunt

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\* Presumably she means the attachment to her father that Isaac had told us about, above (III, 71).

† A small village located on a rocky peninsula in Massachusetts Bay, originally part of the town of Lynn. The name means "almost an island."



Mary (afterward Hudgens) to console her for her Mother's death, that the engagement with my Father took place. She was to have sailed with Mr and Mrs Houston for Tobago, had not this event taken place. As it was, her sister Susan and brother Joshua\* were substituted, and all left Boston November 1800 for that Island, where the latter remained for some years – and the three former, about a year and a half.– My Grandfather Blanchard was unfortunate in business, and glad to get an opportunity for my Uncle Joshua, his son, of being put in the way of employment, first for Mr Houston, and afterward for some American mercantile houses at Tobago.– But there, as well as subsequently in Havanna and elsewhere, he always seemed to have more work than pay;– Ever indefatigably adventurous, faithful, and painstaking in all his duties; but never gaining wealth or even a competency thereby,– much as his generous disinterested character deserved of all who employed him.

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Vol 3. Chap 4

**Letters**

**1800** The following letters from my Father to some of his friends during the year 1800, will shew the state of his mind at the period of his Mother's death better than it can now be described from any other source. The first is to his second cousin and much loved friend Mrs Sarah T Waldo of Portland, written four days after that event.

Boston Oct 7<sup>th</sup> 1800.

Before this, my dear cousin, you will have heard of the death of our dear and much lamented Mother, and I know your affectionate heart (experienced in the school of affliction as it is ) will sympathize with us all in this afflicting dispensation of divine providence. We knew not half her value till she was taken from us, nor were sensible how much her happiness, (the little she ever experienced here below) lay in contributing to the comfort and pleasure of her children and those around her; nor how perfectly undisguised was every emotion, how unaffected every thought, word, and deed. I feel but illy prepared to give you any detail of the melancholy circumstances of her death, but will attempt it tho' with an aching heart,

About a fortnight before her death, she appeared uncommonly well, observed that she had left her complaint in the old house, walked out one afternoon and rode also once; till on Thursday week (a very cold day) she began to complain, and was quite unwell till Sunday night, when she appeared cheerful & chatty, although

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Vol 3 . Chap 4

**Letters from my Father  
on his Mother's death.****1800**

then abed; after which her senses were taken from her till an hour or two on Tuesday. A strong fever then came on, which carried her off on Friday evening. She died without much struggle, and her countenance after death appeared to be an evidence that her soul had ascended to the bosom of its Maker.

Mary was very much shocked, as neither she, (nor indeed any of her friends) had supposed her complaints so dangerous. However, I always felt alarmed when I found how ill she was through the summer, though I thought she might last a long time, I cant help wishing you had have come up with Mr Brimmer.† She was expecting you and had fitted up her room, &c. However it might have affected you too much.

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\* This is the Joshua Pollard Blanchard who devised a family tree of the Winslow family in 1810.

† Martin Brimmer (see above, I, 11).

Mary unites with me in tender regards to you & yours, as does Jack, who is going away soon.

I am, with esteem & regard,

Yr aff<sup>ce</sup> cousin

I Winslow Jr.”\*

The next I shall transcribe, is a “copy of a letter to Mrs C Malbone dated Boston Oct 4, 1800.” It was evidently written under strong excitement, and with all the sensibility which my dear Father really possessed, although this was not, I suspect, generally understood among his family and connections, owing to counteracting traits being more on the surface of his character, and partially concealing this one.

77 Vol 3. Chap 4. **Letter from my Father to his Aunt Malbone on occasion of his**

**Mother’s death.** Oct 4, 1800. He was 26; his Mother only 43 years of age, at her death 1800

My last, will, I hope, in some degree have prepared you for the dreadful news I have now to communicate; my heart sickens at the task, and I can scarcely summon spirits to tell you my dear Mother is no more. The inanimate corpse is all that remains of our much loved and truly lamented parent. The soul is, I hope and trust, reposed in the bosom of All merciful and All forgiving God. My heart is too full to give you the detail. I can only say generally, that being seized with another of her nervous turns (attended with a strong internal fever) she died on Friday evening 3<sup>rd</sup> Oct, at 6 o’clock. On the Sabbath evening, we all passed the time in her chamber, when she was quite pleasant and chatty, after which I never saw any lucid interval. Mary says she had a short one on Tuesday, and conversed a little with her Although perhaps she did not then apprehend immediate death, it appears for several months she had given up all hopes of recovery. It came very sudden upon poor Mary, who seems ready to sink under it; she is indeed in the deepest affliction, and I much fear her health will be hurt; after the first bustle of the funeral it will be such a dreadful deprivation to her. — It has made a truly melancholy house, and requires a great deal of fortitude to bear up against it, which can come only from that Power who had taught to say “Thy will be done” to every dispensation of his Providence. I am dear Aunt, with affection and tenderness

Your afflicted nephew

IW

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Vol 3 Chap 4

**(G mother Winslow’s death**

1800 In this place it seems proper to introduce a paper in my Father’s hand writing which commences as follows.

“The following reflexions were penned about the time of the death of my dear Mother.

“How inattentive or forgetful is man of the superintending power of a Deity! How little does his heart, swollen with the self sufficiency of pride, or borne away by the dissipation and vanities of a sensual age, own its dependence upon, or acknowledge the bounties of a God “whose tender mercies are all over his works.”† The sun shines, the grass grows, the corn springs up, – man’s countenance continues, animated with the glow of

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\* Note that even seven years after his father’s death, Isaac still styles himself “Jr.”

† “Tender mercies” is a phrase that appears repeatedly in the Psalms. The exact language used here is often attributed to George Mason (1725-92) in his will, though I have not located an authoritative source for this.

health, his body nerved with the spring of strength; – but proud, unfeeling, ungrateful, unreflecting, he sees only the course of nature in the distribution and continuation of these blessings, and either forgets that Power by which he is every moment sustained or preserved, – or saith in his heart “There is no God.” Yes, that man who trembles with apprehension at a finger-ache, who shudders at the approach of the slightest disease, – boldly denies the very existence of a God, or laughs at the idle tale of a future state. But not alone the professed Infidel, whose conscience continually opposes, and whose conduct perpetually falsifies his pretended unbelief, but the selfnamed Christian and accommodating Moralists, all as practically deny the superintending power of Providence. — Placed here amidst scenes of misery and wretchedness, witnesses every moment to the instability of life, and the uncertainty of its pursuits, yet we persevere in the prosecution of our deep laid designs, thinking all men mortal but ourselves.

One man falls, in the possession of Power,

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Vol 3. Chap 4

**Reflections by my Father**

1800 titles, wealth and fame; Another follows, just as every prospect of human wishes brightens to his view. A third rushes unbidden into the presence of his Maker, in the act of gratifying his pride or revenge. These examples make no impression. We inquire only who succeeds to their honors or how their wealth is disposed of. Even the deaths of our near friends cause but a momentary impression: the first tumults of grief subside, and our minds are as unimproved, our hearts as unmoved as before.”

It is evident, by these remarks, that my Father’s mind had been seriously impressed from a very early age, although he himself did not realize the fact, always supposing that his religious feelings were not called into existence till much later in life. I think, however, that there is small reason to doubt the commencement of his Christian life to have taken place at the unhappy period of his beloved Father’s decease, so feelingly described in the foregoing part of this Memoir. The foundation of his principles was probably laid by the example and instruction of that revered parent himself. But the sudden and distressing event of his death, with all its accompanying circumstances, was calculated\* to make, and did evidently make a life long impression upon the mind of a son, so truly and deeply attached to a Father, worthy and

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Vol 3 . Chap 4

**& my own comments .**

1800 estimable in every respect as, by general consent, my Grandfather must have been; as indeed, all letters and family traditions which have come down to us, agree in representing him. To the very last period of his own life, my Father could never speak of this event without an emotion which shewed the powerful impression it must have exerted on him, and his mingled love, reverence and esteem for this cherished friend of his youth was never equalled in any subsequent connexion, however near and intimate. In fact, so great was the influence of this early bereavement and the awful manner of it, in correcting a temperament of strong & lively passions, and a social disposition peculiarly liable to worldly temptations, that the words, somewhat reversed, of an admired poet,<sup>X</sup> may not be too decided in their application, that

“God the father took, to save the son.”†

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\* A somewhat unusual use of the word (but of which Margaret is quite fond) meaning *suit*ed or *adapt*ed.

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

So terrible a dispensation has been mercifully spared his children, although all of the present generation, can remember how near we seemed to such an anguish. Yet, although our Father has been permitted to depart as “The Autumn fruit falls in its ripeness,”\* and “the shock of corn in its season,”† the solemn lesson of death should no less remind us to set our affections, as he did, “on the things which are above.”‡ Let not his own children be, in the last day, mournful witnesses to the truth of his remark at the early age of twenty seven, – “The first tumults of grief subside, and our minds are as improved, our hearts as unmoved as before.”

X See Parnell’s “Hermit.”

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\* Unidentified.

† Job 5: 26: “Thou shalt come to thy grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in his season.”

‡ Colossians 3: 2: “Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth.”

## Chapter Twenty-Four (Volume Three, Chapter Five)

Letters from his brother Tom to Isaac and more about his character – Colonel Handfield of Dublin visited by Tom, brother of a suitor of Aunt Malbone, and he married to a daughter of Edward the Parson; the Col.'s station and family; their cousins in North Carolina – More about Cousin Eliza and her death – Aunt Malbone's character; her manners and tact for society compensate for her being less handsome than her sister Mrs. Pollard; her Episcopalianism and her worldliness; her attachment to Margaret's grandmother Blanchard, who was unruffled by the demands of her visits, always glad to have Katy come and to have her go – Newport friends – A letter from Aunt Malbone on Margaret's grandmother Winslow's death – A tumultuous household while Isaac was away in Portland and brother Jack left in charge – The many commissions charged to Isaac on his trips by his relatives and friends – And his being charged with many larger tasks also, that involved the business affairs of his relations – His sister Mary and his great attachment to her; her being a great favorite early in life without adequate parenting and later consequences.

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Vol 3 . Chap 5

Letters to my Father. 1800

My Uncle Tom.

1800. I shall here insert a few letters from sundry persons to my Father in this year 1800. The following short note from his brother Tom, was, however, probably written in November of 99, just as he was leaving for the Mediterranean. It is dated at "The Narrows" "below," and was sent on shore by a Mr Ayers. It is of little importance except to shew his affection for my Father; and, wild or heedless as he was from a boy, I, suspect that this was pretty strongly reciprocated by the elder brother, notwithstanding all the trouble he gave him; for besides being so near his age, Uncle Tom was a young man of very amiable and affectionate disposition, and of open social manners.— He would have been very good looking, but for the cataract which disfigured one of his eyes.\* I have heard that he was a great favorite with my Mother and with all the family; – being very generous, and bringing them handsome presents from abroad, besides amusing his younger brothers and nephews with various shews and excursions when at home. All the money he made in the voyages which my Father took such pains to get up for him, usually went in this manner; and his fine qualities, however agreeable to others, proved in the end a bane to himself, for want of that self discipline which would have given them solidity and true value.

[“]My dear Brother<sup>†</sup>

We appear to go on so far

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\* See above, II, 74-5.

† Margaret transcribes this letter in a large flowing hand.

1800)

very well, a prospect of a fine breeze off, I shall arrange all my matters I hope by night; I feel, I assure you, not a little dull with parting from you but I endeavor to keep up my spirits. The Capt appears to be tolerably complying. I shall exert myself to remain on good terms with him till I am convinced of reasons to act otherwise. Adieu, my dearest and best of Brothers, may Heaven long preserve you to our family, – Remember to my dear Mother & Brothers & Sisters. God bless you all,

Yours sincerely  
& ever affectionately  
Thos. Winslow

By a letter to my Father from his  
Aunt Malbone of Newport, I find that my

Uncle Tom passed some time in Dublin, and visited there some friends of this Aunt by the name of Hanfield.\* Family tradition states that an early attachment existed between herself and Colonel Hanfield, but that he, being in the British army, was not an acceptable son in law to her father. (Joshua Winslow) She therefore dutifully declined his addresses, and married Simon Pease, a worthy Quaker merchant of Newport. It is said that during her first, and even after her second widowhood, the offers of her early admirers were renewed. Why these were again rejected that same tradition saith not, save that Mr Malbone, was rich and an honorable Senator

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Handfields of Dublin.

1800 of Rhode Island, although a widower with several children. Perhaps after his death,<sup>†</sup> she was tired of connubial life, or thought herself too old to enter into a third connexion, or, as the Colonel ungallantly sent out for her to come to him, he being unable to leave some official duties, she might have thought his devotion, if persevering, yet less ardent than at first. At all events, the youthful flame resolved itself into a temperate friendship, and so continued during the remainder of the old lady and gentleman's career.

The Colonel Hanfield to whom my Uncle Thomas paid a visit, was brother to Aunt Malbone's admirer and had married in America, a daughter of Edward Winslow the parson.<sup>‡</sup> In a letter, chiefly on business, from Uncle Tom to my father, dated Dublin, April 1800, he says, "Colonel Handfield has insisted upon my passing Sunday & Monday with his family, at a delightful country residence five miles from the City, at which place I am now writing you, and you will imagine that it must be very agreeable to be in the company and enjoy the society of so amiable a family, after having been so long restrained from that in America." "Col H. is in a very lucrative situation of Commissary General, and highly respected. Mrs H possesses all the goodness of the Parson's family; and there appears to be all that sincere affection and goodness of heart in the whole family for each other, that is always so interesting and constitutes the happiness as well as prosperity of families." Uncle T also speaks of their having a fine and numerous family of children – three grown up sons, one in the army,

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\* Misspelling of *Handfield*.

† Suddenly, on the Capitol steps in 1809.

‡ The Joshua Pollard Blanchard family tree shows Margaret, daughter of Edward, married to Charles Handfield.



1800 one in the navy,\* and one an Engineer; two adult daughters and several younger children. All these were very nearly related to the Fayetteville Winslow's, ("Uncle Parson's family", as they were called on account of their Father's profession as an Episcopal clergyman) I do not know any of these Handfield children are surviving at the present date 1857, but there may be some of them in England and if so, they would stand in the same generation with Mrs Ochiltree and her half brothers Edward, John, and Warren Winslow† of N Carolina, being of course their first cousins, and my second cousins – Mrs Handfield being first cousin to my Father, as was also John the father of the Fayetteville Winslows, who, it will be remembered married Eliza Winslow the daughter of his Uncle Joshua. Their daughter Mrs Ochiltree is thus our second cousin both by her Father & Mother. This Mother was the cousin Eliza so affectionately spoken of in the preceding pages of this Memorial, and whose death called forth the letters transcribed in the previous pages of this manuscript. She was married from the house of my Grandmother Blanchard, and I believe that it was there the attachment commenced between herself and her cousin John. She was a great favorite with all her relatives, and had many acquaintances in the higher class of Boston society, and I have heard my Father say that he, although some years her junior, was invited a good deal about with her to parties &c, during her visits to Boston. One of her intimate friends was the late widow of Dr Freeman,‡ minister of King's Chapel, and the latter always retained a high regard for our cousin; Even in

1800 the latter years of her life she remembered her with so much interest as to desire her granddaughter Miss Clarke to copy for her the miniature of Eliza Winslow in my Father's possession, which was accordingly borrowed for the purpose. The picture shews her to have been not regularly handsome, but possessing a brilliant complexion, good eyes, and hair which must have been fine if not disfigured by powder, as it is in the Miniature, according to the fashion of that day. – Of her character my father speaks thus, in his letter to her husband. "Knowing Eliza intimately as I did, loving her with almost a fraternal affection, I can imagine the extent of your grief upon the trying separation from so much purity of principle, goodness of heart, & sweetness of disposition as she possessed, & all who knew her must grieve with you.§"

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\* *The Gentleman's Magazine* Vol, XII, New Series, 1839 July-December, 203 contains an obituary notice of this son (Edward, a Commander in the Royal Navy) and says of his father, "Colonel Charles Handfield, accompanied the Duke of York to Flanders ; and, after other situations of trust and importance, was appointed Commissary-general of Ireland, which office he held twenty-five years, and was described by Lord Howden as 'the most faithful, beneficial trustee of the public purse that ever appeared in that department.'" It is there pointed out that his father "Colonel John Handfield, commanded the 40th regiment at the siege of Louisburg," so it is quite possible that the Winslows knew the Handfields through the Pepperrells.

† Possibly Warren Winslow (1810–1862), Governor of North Carolina (1854-55).

‡ James Freeman (1759–1835), The Episcopal minister of the Chapel, but whose beliefs were Unitarian. He was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society, step-grandfather but virtual father to Isaac's son Benjamin Pollard Winslow's Harvard "chum" James Freeman Clarke (below, IV, 137).

§ The text of the letter is surrounded by lightly pencilled parens, and immediately before inserted by caret and also lightly pencilled is "Speaks thus of her character." The parenthesis is followed, also in light pencil by "[on? or?]" (855 W.)," which I do not understand.



Aunt Malbone also laments the loss of her niece as follows – Feb 1800  
 “Your heart will, with mine, recoil at the mournful tidings that our beloved Eliza is no more.  
 – She died 15<sup>th</sup> Jan’y – Mother & child buried in one grave. My eyes dim while I write the  
 melancholy truth; but no tears can now restore her to her friends who loved, or to her  
 distressed Husband who almost adored her.” “Such a fine blooming girl so early nipped in  
 the bud – All who knew her must lament, &c” In fact she was thus lamented by a large  
 circle, and seems to have been an uncommonly fine character.

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Vol 3 . Chap 5<sup>th</sup>**Aunt Malbone’s character.**

1800 . Before introducing another letter from the aforesaid Aunt Malbone on occasion of the  
 death of my Grandmother, it may be well to give a short account of this lady’s peculiarities.  
 She was the sixth daughter of my Great grandfather Joshua Winslow and Elizabeth Savage  
 his wife, and the seventh of their sixteen children. It is related that she was not nearly so  
 handsome as her elder sister Mrs Pollard, whose portrait we have;\* but she owed her chief  
 attraction to lady like manners and her tact for society, which surpassed that of any other  
 member of the family, except, perhaps, the niece whose death she so much lamented.  
 Possessing, herself, a considerable share of ambition, she was extremely desirous that her  
 family should make a figure in the world, and keep up, as she did herself, a punctilious  
 regard to the usages of polite society, increasing and widening their connections, &c. She had  
 no children of her own, but interested herself warmly in the concerns of her nephews and  
 nieces, from whom, however, she exacted a due degree of deference and respect, both when  
 staying at her house in Newport, and also in the way of writing and paying attention to her  
 little commissions when absent. At the same time she did not fail to impress upon them  
 sense of their religious duties, being herself a strict Episcopalian, like her elder brother  
 Edward “the parson,”

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Vol 3 Chap 5<sup>th</sup>**Aunt Malbone’s character**

1800 and her elder sister Mrs Pollard. – On reading the old lady’s letters, however, one is  
 struck with the idea that she rather desired, as so many people do, to keep up an “interest in  
 both worlds”; in one of her letters she says of my Aunt Hudgens, who, being very  
 handsome, was expected to make a good match, “hope she is not turned recluse so young,  
 or got disgusted with the world; but will know she has her part to act. May she do it with the  
 applause of her own mind as well as her friends.”

To my Father she says “You, I suppose, are taking it out in winter  
 amusements with the cares of this world on your mind. Amidst it all, hope you remember  
 another and better one, where all your good deeds will be rewarded, and which I trust you  
 look forward to, with a comfortable hope. At least, you have the comfort of knowing  
 yourself a useful member of society. All of your name seem to feel a claim to your services.”  
 “I have scarce left room to mention my friend Tom’s departure – I think the girls miss him  
 as well as you; he has my sincere good wishes for success equal to his merits.”

She seems to have approved my Aunt Catherine’s marriage to Mr Houston,  
 for, in the same letter, she writes of my Grandfather Blanchard’s family, – “am glad they are  
 all well, expected to hear they were beginning the bustle of wedding,” (this was written only  
 three days before the marriage took place) — —

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\* A portrait of her attributed to Joseph Blackburn and painted in 1756, is owned by the Yale University Art  
 Gallery, but I do not know if it is the one referred to here. See *The Winslows: Pilgrims, Patrons and Portraits*  
 (Brunswick, Maine: Bowdoin College Museum of Art, 1974), Pl. 12.

1800 “come when it will, they have my warmest wishes for happiness; they are both charming girls, and will, I hope, meet the smiles of a kind Providence in this arduous undertaking.” This refers to the intended residence of Aunt Catherine and my own Mother in Tobago, which was expected to be of some years duration, and of course was an entire separation from their family and friends in Boston and this country.

Mrs Malbone was warmly attached to my Grandmother Blanchard, whose extremely lady-like manners, and kindness of heart made her a general favorite; and although always attentive to the old lady's comfort during her visits to Boston, my Grandmother did not allow herself to be at all ruffled or suffer her household to depart from its usual order in consequence of her peculiarities. The rest of the family stood, it is affirmed, somewhat in dread of these migrations – as there was a general stirring up to execute little commissions, run on sundry errands, and refresh old acquaintanceship, with the great folks of Aunt Malbone's circle, the chief of whom was her intimate and life-long friend Mrs M Hubbard, mother in law to the late Gardiner Greene and Mother of the late John & Harry Hubbard of Boston. —Then she was in the habit of reproving her nieces for various little indecorums in manner, not suitable, as she conceived, to the pretensions of the family in birth and respectability; and altogether was a cause of such disturbance, that her own Mother even in earlier days said of her filial visits. – “It's good to have Katy come, and it's good to have her go.”

1800 . I have spoken thus fully of my Father's Aunt, because there are so many of her letters extant, all written in a ladylike, fair, & even, Italian hand, which in her early days, it had been the fashion to acquire. Many of these refer to persons in Newport then acquainted with my Father; among others, George Gibbs, an early friend of his, during his boyish visits to N--\* This was the family of Dr Channing's<sup>†</sup> wife, and a very wealthy and respectable one. Aunt Malbone also speaks of a Miss Cornelia Greene, who at one time staid with her, and who was much admired by the Newport gentlemen – and I believe, not a little by my Father when there – A letter of his to his Aunt shews that he once executed a little commission for this young lady, relative to some embroidering silks, which she wished to procure in Boston.— She was the daughter of Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene<sup>‡</sup> of revolutionary celebrity, was quite handsome, and I have understood, a fine woman in every respect – having been educated among the Moravians in Pennsylvania. She afterwards married ———

Aunt Malbone herself gave my father many commissions for small articles, – as fish, tea, &c., and required a great exactitude in these, as well as in his larger transactions of estate business with her. She sometimes compliments him, though evidently sparing of her praise in general.— Writing him in reference to taking Aunt Patty's income for the benefit of the family,

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\* It is likely Margaret intends an abbreviation for *Newport*.

† Dr. William Ellery Channing (1780–1842), the most important Unitarian minister in the U. S. in the early nineteenth century. He was born in Newport.

‡ Major General Nathanael Greene (1742–86). Thought by many to be Washington's most talented officer, he was also a native of Rhode Island.

1800 She says, "there can be no doubt of your taking the whole income as right and proper, nor do I know who can call you to account: for that, a simple note I should think quit\* sufficient: for myself I can answer never to hurt you if I could; having, from long observation, found you trustworthy." Again she says, speaking of her friend Mrs Hubbard, "I grew partial to you from the attention paid her, as well as your own merit – I think that such friendship is rare," &c. I shall close for the present this account of Aunt Malbone, by introducing the before mentioned letter on occasion of my Grandmother Winslow's death, a very kind and affectionate note, truly.

[“]Newport 11<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1800.

With Grief<sup>†</sup> of heart, my Dear Nephew, I received the melancholy news your letter so pathetically describes. Heaven's will be done! and it will, I trust, pour the balm of comfort into the wounded bosoms of tender Orphans, so early deprived of the Last remaining Parent. The consiousness of steadily persevering in the path of rectitude to these dear connections, & wiping the tears from a widowed Mother's eyes; must yield you comfort & satisfaction, or self approbation beyond what the world can give, & cause you to realize the truth of those reflections, you so justly make.

1800) We are taught by our Heavenly Father, to believe, "he does not willingly afflict the children of Men,["<sup>‡</sup>] Your dear Mother is removed from a state of sickness, & sorrow, which her best friends could not wish to see her endure, & is, I trust, safely landed on that blissful shore, where we hope to join our departed friends, never more to separate. To a mind like yours, I am willing to believe the aids of reason & religion will strengthen & support you under the heavy affliction, & may each one be brought to look to Him who has "promised never to leave or forsake["<sup>§</sup>] those that trust in Him. We know his word stands sure when he says, "If thy Father & Mother forsake thee, He will take thee up";\*\* may you all experience, that consolation, & be kept under his protection. My kind love to all the sharers in your grief – I can not write Mary now, but feel for her as much as if I did, best wishes for her.– I hope to hear she is better; remembering the double weight of care now devolving on her, she will, I doubt not, see the necessity of making exertions to set an example to the younger branches of the family, & the duty she owes herself & you, Poor Patty! I dare say she feels severely the loss; I will try to see you all before winter; depend upon my earnest desire to throw

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\* Possibly an error for *quite* or possibly short for *quitclaim* (a relinquishing of a claim).

† The whole letter is transcribed in a large hand and quite unlike any in the Memorial thus far. There are errors in spelling and corrections of a kind we don't expect from Margaret. It might be the hand of a child in the later stages of learning penmanship. It has features of earlier writing, such as the large double-looped medial "s." There are not, however, good candidates in the family for who such a young person might be if this is being written about 1857 and the writer is supposed to be about 10 or 11.

‡ Lamentations 3: 33: "For he doth not afflict willingly nor grieve the children of men."

§ Hebrews 13: 5: "Let your conversation be without covetousness; and be content with such things as ye have: for he hath said, I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee."

\*\* Psalm 27: 10: "When my father and my mother forsake me, then the Lord will take me up."

1800) in my mite; to alleviate your present, distress.— to Aunt Pollard and Peggy, with all the young folks, offer tender & Affectionate regards; – will write further soon.— Adieu

Blessings on you all. Yours  
K Malbone

During the previous summer of this year it seems that my Grandmother Winslow had a severe attack of her nervous spasms and was attended by Dr Jarvis.\* My Father was at Portland, attending to some business for Mrs Waldo, (afterward Chase) and Uncle John appears to have been left in charge both of his compting room and the house. He writes under date of June 10<sup>th</sup>, 1800, to my Father,

“How anxiously do I look for you home, not so much on account of her[?] (his Mother’s) [“]low health, as the absolute necessity of having the authority of some one by whom our family are used to be controlled. In fact you can hardly have an idea of what a scene our house has presented during her sickness.— No subordination, every thing running wild,— such tumult, ——

**tumult**

1800) neighbors, friends and relations, – and all without any one to whom they will be subject; I have been so worried and harassed with these short cares of five days, that nothing would be a more exhiliarting sight than to see you landed at our door in safety.”†

The above extract is significant enough of the relation which my Father sustained to his Mother’s household, and other letters which remain, though few in number compared to those that must have been written by & to him, prove the truth of Aunt Malbone’s remark that “all of his name,” and, I might add, many not of his name, “seemed to feel a claim to his service.”‡ Among them I find little commissions, from Mr Humphreys of Portsmouth, from Mr King of New York who had married his cousin Isabella; – Requests on behalf of his Father’s cousins Sam, Isaac & Thomas, in the management of whose shares of their Father’s estate my Grandfather had been so greatly harassed, and my Father after him: Of Josh L Winslow§ in the British army E Indies Eliza Winslow’s brother, for advice as to the investment of his little property, correspondence with Sir W<sup>m</sup> Pepperrell concerning government aid for his cousin Eliza Sparhawk of Shelburn N.S; a very large amount of letters on Mrs Waldo’s and her sister Betsey’s affairs, in which

**My Aunt Hudgens.**

1800 he took a brother’s interest; and upon whom almost more than a brother’s time & labor seems, in the midst of his own multifarious business to have been expended. In the scanty

\* Dr. Charles Jarvis (1748-1807), who apparently was in the same class at Harvard as William Pepperrell Sparhawk (the second Sir William Pepperrell). See <http://famousamericans.net/charlesjarvis/> .

† John would at this date have been only twenty-one.

‡ Above, II, 87, and here apparently slightly misquoted as the tense and person have shifted.

§ Joshua Loring Winslow (1766?-1820). Major in 14th Foot 1806 (on transfer from 77th Foot); resigned September 1807. See

[http://www.napoleon-series.org/military/organization/Britain/Infantry/Regiments/c\\_14thFoot.html](http://www.napoleon-series.org/military/organization/Britain/Infantry/Regiments/c_14thFoot.html) .

letter file of this year, 1800, there also appears, one or two curious french letters from a poor Italian named Ombrosi whom my father had befriended and who seemed very grateful to him; – one or two from a Mrs Dorcas Chipman, wife of a shipwrecked Captain Wellfleet, Eng,\* for particulars of his fate,† and about Policy of insurance, and one from my Aunt Mary (afterward Hudgens) at Newport, from which I extract the following “Received the silk by Mr[?] Erving,‡ which is exactly the kind of one I should have chosen; also your kind remittance: how do you suppose, my dear Brother, I am to repay all these obligations, when every year is adding to the debt, &c.[?]”

In this sister, he was, in early life, very attached; – indeed, I have understood, he shewed toward her almost a romantic devotion, addressing not only letters but poetry to her, when abroad, and lavishing many presents upon her on his return, as indeed did all her elder brothers, from the proceeds of their voyages. She was, as I have before observed, very handsome, with regular features, a complexion of uncommon brilliancy, large dark eyes, beautiful hair, and a well formed figure from the waist upward – the lower limbs were clumsy and her walk ungraceful. Still, on the whole, she was much admired, and her family were proud of her. – She also possessed good abilities, and was both sensible and witty.– But, as so often happens in cases where these advantages are not regulated by principle or guided by judicious parents, they became her worst enemies. – Her excellent Father, lost while she was yet too young to have profitted by his care,§ her Mother in feeble health,

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Vol 3 Chap 5<sup>th</sup>**my Aunt Hudgens –**

1800 and unfitted to guard her from the flatteries which were poured into her ear, is it wonderful that these took effect in such a manner as to render the girl, once petted and beloved, afterward, as a woman unhappily different from the promise of her childhood. She seems herself to have been in some degree aware of this danger, for in a letter written to my Father when in Naples on his second voyage, 1796, – she says – “Indeed my dear Brother, we long to see you – to speak for myself; who need your advice so much; and always do and shall look to you as my Father now: That I was so early deprived of one, I have scarce felt; for I am sure, I have ever experienced a Father’s kind attention from you in every respect. I should be ungrateful indeed, did I not love & esteem such a friend and brother – Though at so great a distance, you may still continue that advice in writing, if your business permits you; Nothing gives me more pleasure than the receiving one of your entertaining Epistles” &c

Of these “entertaining epistles” it is much to be regretted that there are but one or two now in existence; and those have been extracted from, already, in my Father’s own account of his voyages abroad;– besides which, however, we have the rough journals to which he refers in the previous pages of this Volume. Still, as both journal and letters are well worth preserving, I shall insert them entire in an appendix,\*\* as the originals may be lost or mislaid;– and with them, a few epistles written to him from home, shewing

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\* Cannot stand for *England* as there is no Wellfleet in England, and Capt. Chipman was definitely from the Wellfleet on Cape Cod.

† Above, III, 54.

‡ Perhaps G. W. Erving, mentioned above, II, 133.

§ She was eleven at his death.

\*\* Which, if ever written, appears now lost.

the state of the family during his absence. To copy them here, would be a retrogression in this Memorial, which is henceforth to be carried on from the first of this century, consecutively, including a general view of the family connections, during the year 1800 which the writer is now continuing.\*

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\* Margaret has at this point filled in the 24 blank leaves mentioned on the volume's title page, all of which are on the same or substantially the same stock as most of Isaac's portion. The remaining twenty pages in the unbound portion of the Memorial are on a thinner and slightly translucent stock, which is very faintly lined on one side, but inasmuch as the lines are visible on the other side due to the thinness of the paper, Margaret has sometimes written on the lined side and sometimes the verso. After completing these, Margaret evidently decided to continue her portion in the bound volume (eventually two volumes) she had commenced in 1850.



## Chapter Twenty-Five (Volume Three, Chapter Six)

“Aunt Atkinson,” sister to Isaac’s father’s first wife; she adopts Isaac’s little sister Eliza after their father’s death; Eliza remembers that dismal time and the move to a wealthy but lonely house in Portsmouth; her Sparhawk relatives; the Humphreys; the unfortunate division and disposal of Mrs. Atkinson’s estate – Eliza returns to Boston – one sister always or generally to be with Aunt Malbone; Newport then and now – Margaret’s Uncles; “Honest Jack,” intelligent and literary, but ill-suited to business; Uncle Joshua, sedate and studious; the unfortunate consequences of being deprived of their father so young and their mother’s ill health, and too old to accept Isaac as a surrogate parent, and their religious upbringing also narrowed the circle of their acquaintance; Uncle Benjamin an exception in temperament being mirthful and lighthearted, which better adapted him to society, but no better adapted him to business than his brothers; Uncle Edward, the youngest and most difficult – Margaret’s motive in writing to tell the truth even when painful; solemn lessons to be learned both from the virtues and the faults of departed Ancestors.

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Mrs Atkinson

1800. In the correspondence of this year, I find a letter from Mr Thomas Sparhawk to my Father on the subject of a provision made for my Aunt Eliza, (since Pickering) which leads me to notice a personage who was known both in my Father’s family and that of the Portsmouth Sparhawks by the name of “Aunt Atkinson.” This lady was, in fact, only a marriage connection to us, being the sister of my Grandfather Winslow’s first wife. To Mr Tom, G<sup>co</sup>, & Sam Sparhawk, she was Aunt by blood, their father’s own sister. She survived her husband, Mr Atkinson, and from him received a very considerable property, there being no children to inherit it. – She had, I believe, a sisterly attachment to my Grandfather, and not long after the distressing event which rendered his family nearly destitute, she very kindly adopted the youngest daughter Eliza, and took her to her own home in Portsmouth. I have heard my Aunt Pickering\* often relate how dismal to her, a child of nine years old, † was the change from her own lively home filled with young people, and a large circle of friends & relatives as visitors, to the luxurious but dull abode of the rich Aunt Atkinson, solitary and childless; notwithstanding the carriage, the servants, the good living, handsome clothing, and abundance

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Sparhawks &amp; Humphreys

1800. of toys with which she found herself surrounded. Very kindly indeed was she treated by her adopted Mother, who sent her to a good school, and provided handsomely for her in

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\* Eliza married William Pickering.

† Eliza was 5 ½ at her father’s death, and above (II, 205-06) we have been told that the adoption took place within a year or two of Isaac’s father’s death, so Margaret’s memory here is probably faulty.

every way; but still the poor child would have been very lonely, had it not been for her occasional visits to the nieces of Mrs Atkinson, the Sparhawks, and Humphreys, both of which families were enlivened by young people, although not quite so young as herself. Mr John Sparhawk, the Grandfather of my sister Elizabeth,\* had long been an intimate friend of my Grandfather, connected with him not only as his brother in law but by the still stronger ties of religious fellowship in the Sandemanian church to which they both belonged. He was a most excellent, amiable and upright man, and it has been supposed might have been instrumental in averting the dreadful fate of my Grandfather, if he had resided near enough to have been aware of his disordered state. Both he and Mr Humphreys, his co-elder in the church, felt that event acutely – and both, from friendly feeling and Christian Sympathy were disposed to shew kindness toward his family; consequently there has ever since been a considerable intercourse kept up between the

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Vol 3 Chap 6<sup>th</sup>**Sparhawk connections.**

**1800** descendants, now cemented by another marriage between the grandchildren of those who were brothers in heart as well as in name. There existed yet a further connection between our family and that of Mr Sam Sparhawk of Portsmouth by the marriage of his Uncle also called Sam, to my Father's Aunt, Polly Davis.— This was the Uncle Sam who was so indolent that he called his wife “Pholly” instead of “Polly”<sup>†</sup> and who could not keep a store because he had “no cabbage nut.”<sup>‡</sup> — He was the father of Eliza Sparhawk, concerning whom my Father corresponded with Sir W Pepperrell – A brother of hers, went away and was never heard of. Both children were in my Grandfather Winslow's family at Halifax, after their father's death: He was a poor shiftless character, I have understood; very different from the Portsmouth nephew who was his namesake. This young man Inheriting all the fine qualities of both his excellent parents, and exhibiting such early seriousness of principle as to be admitted into the Sandemanian church at the age of 17, thenceforward led a life of consistent Christian uprightness, such as has been rarely exhibited in any society or sect, be its denomination what it may. At the same time, both in his business and domestic relations, his kindness of heart inspired the deepest affection while his mind and character commanded the most implicit respect & obedience.

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Vol 3 - Chap 6<sup>th</sup>**The Sparhawks.**

**1800.** Unfortunately for the interests of my Aunt however, the two elder brothers George & Thomas Sparhawk who, upon Mrs Atkinsons death, in the year '97 were left executors to her estate, did not manage affairs as Mr Sam Sparhawk would have done. Well meaning but careless, and unused to business habits, they suffered the property to be dispersed in such a manner, that the views of the testatrix in regard to her adopted daughter were by no means carried out, and, instead of ample provision being made for her board education and clothing, as she had directed, only about 800 dollars<sup>§</sup> was obtained from the whole legacy, which should have amounted to a much larger sum. Neither did her legitimate heirs fare much better.— Extensive lands in N Hampshire were, one by one, sold for a small

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\* Margaret's sister-in-law Elizabeth Sparhawk, who married her brother Edward.

† In fact it was Margaret's grandmother Mary who was addressed as “Folly.” See above, II, 76-77.

‡ Probably a slang expression for *no head for money*.

§ About \$14,000 in today's dollars.

consideration; the personal estate became divided among many; even her executors profited little or nothing in the end by this once large and handsome inheritance. Neither of the brothers were calculated to gain or to keep property, and finally came, in a great measure, upon their youngest Samuel for assistance and support. He although having but a limited salary as Secretary of State in N Hampshire and Cashier of Concord Bank, not only assisted numbers of persons unconnected with him, but was like my Father the source to which all his relatives looked for counsel & help in every emergency.

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Vol 3 Chap 6<sup>th</sup>**Eliza Winslow, afterward my Aunt Pickering.**

1800 After the death of Mrs Atkinson, which took place during my Fathers second voyage to Europe with my Uncle Tom, their youngest sister returned home to the house in Lynde S<sup>t</sup> Boston, much to her own satisfaction. I have heard her say that when she met the two elder brothers just returned from abroad, she courtesied\* respectfully to them, taking them for strangers, until a burst of merriment all around the home circle revealed the truth. From this time she remained with her Mother, and afterward in my Father's family until her marriage, – with the exception of being part of the time at a boarding school & frequent and lengthy visits to her Aunt Malbone at Newport. The family being large, it was thought expedient that one of my Father's sisters should be at times absent from Boston, and Mrs Malbone was always very urgent to have them with her. – But the Newport of that day was far different from the Newport of this.– The British and French Officers had carried off its belles, and beaux were scarce. The town was in a transition state from the grandeur of its old aristocracy to the gayety of its present fashion & wealth. It was stiff, stately & dull – My Aunt Mary preferred Boston & her admirers; and the [amiable?? little?]<sup>†</sup> sister<sup>‡</sup> was obliged to

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go in her stead, to be tutored into propriety of behavior, and an attention to appearance not altogether natural to her. Boston however, was still considered her home, and her brother's house was, by her also preferred to the somewhat formal ceremoniousness of her Aunt's abode.

My uncle John, known in the family by the appellation of “Honest Jack,” was intelligent and extremely fond of reading. He had quite a taste for the acquisition of languages, and might have made some figure at College, had his circumstances permitted him a liberal education; but for business, he was ill calculated, and did not succeed very well in the voyages which my Father got up for him – Of strict integrity and with the most anxious desire to do well for his employers, he lacked the necessary judgement, decision and energy to carry out his intentions. His manner also was against him, as well as an infirmity, (hardness of hearing) brought on by an accident in his childhood. Disliking extremely every thing approaching to servility, he was repulsive to strangers in general, unless where he took an especial fancy, and then was as enthusiastic in the other extreme. Even to his own family, he often appeared with a frown which overclouded his fine

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**My Uncles.**

features, and his extremely kind affectionate disposition seemed not unfrequently moody &

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\* *curtsied.*

† These two words fall under a dark smeared blot of ink and are therefore extremely difficult to make out.

‡ Presumably Eliza,

disagreeable, from a temper too little controlled, a sensitive pride, roused by the least real or imaginary insult, and a one sided view of things, caused by his abstracted habits, and his more constant companionship with books than with men. This Uncle never resided permanently with my Father after his marriage, though mention is made in some letters of his staying at the house in Hawkins St<sup>h</sup> in the intervals of his voyages.- His permanent residence seems, at this time, to have been a boarding house kept by Mrs Sam Winslow in Boston, Mother of the late Charles Winslow, and Grandmother of our cousins Charles, Sam, Elizabeth, & Lucy Winslow now in Boston. The Old Lady has been living within the memory of most of this generation, and resided many years with her son Charles in Fayette St.

My Uncle Joshua, who lived with my Father after his marriage, was sedate & studious. He was about eight years old at the time of his father's death. Afterward he earned very creditable honors at the Latin School, but there seemed to exist with him also, the business deficiencies, and some of the peculiarities in disposition of my Uncle John. I should think, from what I have heard, that he was of cooler judgment and less apt to be biassed by enthusiasm; of a temper also less

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My Uncles

1800 violent, but still, like his indolent tenacious and irritable. In fact it would appear that the whole family had sorely missed that early discipline of which their unhappy bereavement deprived them, and which would have brought their finer qualities into more steady and efficient action, while modifying the faults of temper & disposition, inherent with all men in one form or another. The position of the elder brother\* was one of danger & difficulty both to himself and his family. With all a parent's responsibility he was without a parent's authority: – with the most disinterested, self denying and painstaking desire for their real welfare, he had not, on his side, that entire command of temper and indulgence toward small failings which a Father might have possessed, nor they on theirs, the reverence that a Father's counsel would have commanded, at least in early youth. While therefore, on the one hand, they expected from him every assistance in giving them an outlet into life, they were little satisfied to abide by his judgement or advice. At the same time their own minds were prejudiced partly by an obliquity<sup>†</sup> peculiar to the family, partly by their position which was a singular one; Their Sandemanian education had in the first place separated them both from religious and worldly society, and while the pride of birth hindered them from familiar intercourse with some classes, lack of means prevented their admission into others;

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Therefore they had few acquaintances beyond the family circle at home, nor did they incline to make them when abroad.

An exception to this remark, however, existed subsequently in the case of my Father's third brother Benjamin. – Of a remarkably gay, mirthful, & lighthearted

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\* Isaac.

† In such a context this would be expected to mean (to take the sense found in *Webster's 3<sup>rd</sup> Unabridged*): *deviation from moral rectitude or sound thinking* or (from the *OED*): *Divergence from right conduct or thought; perversity, aberration.* but it seems unlikely that Margaret intends anything quite so strong, especially if applied to her father or grandfather, whom she considered singularly upright and disciplined in almost all their conduct. She may mean simply a tendency to deviate from *conventional* thinking (and of which therefore Isaac's father's Sandemanianism would be an example).

temperament, which continued through life, this Uncle seemed to combine a certain tact unknown to the rest of the family, which in some sort compensated him for the numerous misfortunes of his life, and which in early youth made him more acceptable in society than most of his brothers. He was only about 10 years of age when his father died, and of course both he & my Uncle Joshua came more than the elder brothers, under the influence and control of my Father. He was placed at what was called a “Ma’am School”\* under the tuition of a certain cross Mrs or Marm Dillereux[?],† and I think ran away from her rather tyrannical government – He was not a good scholar, but was very fond of repeating plays & scraps of poetry, for which he had a wonderful memory. He had a great taste for the theatre and for military life. But seems not to have been more calculated than his brothers to succeed in business. Yet he was industrious and painstaking, extremely methodical & neat in all his habits; but thoughtless as to expenses when he had money & liberal in presents & hospitalities when a householder. He never “got on” in life, and not only met many losses himself, but occasioned them

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Vol 3. Chap 6<sup>th</sup>**My Uncles**

1800 to others also. But, as a boy, amiable, cheerful, & good tempered, he occasioned far less trouble than the youngest of the family my Uncle Edward.

He was but five years old at the period so often referred to, and about 12 or 13 at the time of my Father’s marriage. He was an handsome boy, of warm affectionate feelings, but proud, passionate, & self willed.— Such a character peculiarly needed careful and judicious training, and alas! such was wanting. The Mother, feeble in health and unnerved by the terrible shock she had sustained, the elder brother absent or overwhelmed with business, the next in age, wholly unfit to guide or even to influence the younger, it was small matter of surprise that the faults to which I have alluded soon overshadowed the virtues. In very early life they began to mar the successes of my Father for his establishment in business, and to render him an uncomfortable inmate of the house. In later life, they drew on him other difficulties in domestic and social life – although as a business man he proved more energetic & successful than would at first have seemed likely. But more of all this will appear hereafter.

If the humble chronicle that I am now writing should hereafter meet the eyes of any descendants who may feel themselves aggrieved by these plain statements concerning the characters of their Ancestors, I can only say to them, that I feel

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Vol 3 Chap 6<sup>th</sup>**Motives for writing –**

1800 at least an affection as warm, a reverence as tender, for him whose loss is yet recent,‡ and will be forever fresh in my heart, as can be theirs§ for the Parents or Grandparents whose youthful portraits I have attempted to depict, according to the best information

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\* More usually called, outside New England, a *Dame School*.

† Unlikely to be the correct spelling.

‡ According to the genealogical table that precedes Margaret’s entries in her bound albums (IV, ii) Edward died in 1864 in South Carolina, age 76. A little more than twenty pages previous (above, III, 84), however, Margaret says she was then writing in 1857, and at III, 108 she again says she is writing in 1856. It is therefore likely that the “him” referred to here is a general rather than particular person. “For him” therefore may mean “for *any* relative” who has recently died.

§ I.e., the affections and reverence of the descendants who may read this.

which can now be collected. Yet with me the sacred claims of truth are not to be sacrificed even in the biography of so near and dear a connexion. In his own words on a similar occasion, "I write, not to gratify the pride of the living by inflated eulogisms on the dead;"—nor yet to soothe the more innocent feelings of affection for my own departed friends or those of others. "When man writes Biography,["] says the able authoress of "Scripture Readings," ["]to exalt the creature, or as he thinks to save the honor of religion, the misdeeds of godly men are suppressed and their faults extended. Not so when the Holy Spirit dictates, Then the creature's share is weakness, inconsistency and sin;— to God alone belongs the glory."\*

Reverently and earnestly do I desire such a guidance in these Memoirs, as shall cause them to be written with a single eye to that glory, and to the everlasting welfare of all who will to learn a solemn lesson from both the virtues and the faults of their departed Ancestors. Then will their lives not have been spent, nor their deaths have been suffered in vain.

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\* Caroline Wilson, *Daily Readings: Passages of Scripture Selected for Social Reading, with Applications, by the Author of "The Listener," Etc.* (London: J. Hatchard & Son, 1835), 164. Slightly misquoted.



## Chapter Twenty-Six (Volume Three, Chapter Seven)

A more detailed account of Isaac's wife's relations, the Pollards and the Blanchards – The earliest Pollards; Anne and the portrait of her age 103; family portraits; Col. Pollard and his wife and cousin Margaret; the Colonel's scientific instruments and library; housekeeping in the house in Brattle Square built by Col. Pollard; the six children born here, the sons on opposite sides in the Revolution, two casualties and one whose fate was never known; their mother's misfortunes in this and her several forced moves; her property not confiscated because of her daughter's marriage to Joshua Blanchard, a Whig; his flourishing business as a wine merchant ultimately failed – The Blanchards; not known when they arrived in New England, but Margaret's great-great-great-grandfather born 1692, married Sarah Loring; their very numerous descendants; branches now scarcely acquainted; Grandmother Blanchard's family resided with Grandmother Pollard, "the old lady," who lived almost to 90; her appearance and habits; Grandmother Blanchard; her love of her garden; family austerity following Mr. Blanchard's failure in business and reluctance to socialize with the wealthy after that.

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**My Mother's family.**

Before commencing, in the fourth volume of these Memoirs, the record of my Father's married life, It seems necessary to give a more detailed account than has yet been written, of my Mothers Ancestors, the Pollards and Blanchards.

My Father, in his Family Record or book of Genealogies, mentions the family of the Pollards as among the earliest emigrants to the colony of Mass<sup>ts</sup> Bay – William & Anne Pollard were inhabitants of Boston in or before the year 1644, as their first son was born there at that epoch. The Portrait of their 10<sup>th</sup> child a daughter Anne painted when she was at the advanced age of 103, was deposited by my Father in the gallery of the Mass<sup>ts</sup> Historical rooms, where it now hangs. Her next brother Jonathan was our Ancestor,\* and married Mary Winslow Aunt<sup>†</sup> to Edward the Sheriff, whose portrait we have painted in the red coat of his office.<sup>‡</sup> Their son Benjamin again, – married Edward's granddaughter Margaret Winslow, eldest daughter of Joshua, whose portrait also we have, painted with a brown coat, a moderate wig, and a brown tear<sup>§</sup> running down one cheek –(the result of a sword thrust at the Canvass by some mischievous boy in the family of his descendants).

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\* Margaret here gets the relationships wrong. She presents, at IV, vi, a genealogical table correctly indicating that Benjamin Pollard was William and Anne's grandson via their son Jonathan. And in any event the aged Anne of the portrait was the first Anne (1621-1725), not her daughter.

† She was in fact Edward the Sheriff's half-sister.

‡ Possibly the portrait painted by John Smibert in 1730 now owned by the Yale University Art Gallery, or possibly a copy that remains in the family. There were several copies, including one possibly by Joseph Blackburn.

§ It isn't clear if Margaret is intentionally punning here.

Of course this Margaret was 2<sup>nd</sup> or third cousin to her husband Col Pollard. We have portraits of both – He is taken in velvet cap and dressing gown. She, in white Satin dress and blue mantle.\*

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Col Pollard & wife

When married she was twenty-two, he fifty years of age. At the time the portrait was painted, she was about thirty or thirty one, and had been the mother of six children. Both are very handsome, and look much younger than their actual age. A copy of the Colonel's portrait now hangs in the Mass<sup>ts</sup> Historical rooms Boston. The one we have, was reclaimed from the Society's keeping and was fitted up & framed about a year since, 1856, at the expense of my 2<sup>nd</sup> Mother Henrietta.† She also caused the same renovation of her Grandmother's portrait to be made, some three or four years ago, about 1851. Some persons have thought this picture to have been painted by the celebrated Copley, who was her second cousin by marriage; but others suppose the portrait to have been Blackburn, whose celebrity was anterior to that of Copley – and who painted the portraits of her father Joshua, and her grandfather Edward. The painter of Col Pollard's portrait is unknown.

This gentleman has a countenance both agreeable and intelligent, conveying an impression which is confirmed by the family traditions concerning his character. His original business was that of an Underwriter of Insurance Policies, and my Uncle J P Blanchard discovered an immense number of these in the Brattle Square House owned & occupied by him, and afterward by his widow. Several Philosophical instruments and papers were also found among his effects, indicating him to have been a man of considerable scientific taste

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1800

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Col Pollard & wife

for those days.– He doubtless brought these instruments with him from Europe, over which he travelled extensively, and this alone constituted him a notable person at the period when he lived; It being then much more rare for an American to have seen all Europe, than it now is to have traversed the entire circumference of the globe.‡ Part of a once splendid waistcoat, embroidered on rich white watered silk, and brilliant with floss of gold, now exists, in which Col Pollard is said to have flourished when he had the unprotestant honor of kissing the Pope's great toe at Rome. He did not marry till after his return from abroad, and then became high Sheriff of Suffolk, successor to Edward Winslow his wife's grandfather. He also was principally instrumental in raising the Independent company of Cadets in Boston,

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\* This portrait, painted by Joseph Blackburn in 1756, is now owned by the Yale University Art Gallery.

† Isaac's second wife and his first wife's sister.

‡ The European "grand tour," fashionable especially among the English, began in the latter third of the seventeenth century. Based upon the description of Winslow Family Papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society (Ms. N-486), it appears he took the tour in 1736-38. So the waistcoat would have been about eighty-five years' old when given to Benjamin Pollard Winslow in 1823 (below, IV, 103). It is of course possible that he traveled abroad more than once, however.

and became their first Colonel— His commission from Governor Shirley\* was presented by my Uncle Blanchard to the company, and is now in their possession.

Colonel Pollard and Margaret Winslow were married in 1746 and commenced housekeeping in the Brattle Square mansion built by Col P where my Grandfather Blanchard afterward resided, and from which my own Mother was married. The house was then considered in a genteel situation,

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Chap 7<sup>th</sup> Vol 3**Col Pollard's children**

**1800** commodious and handsome for those days – and possessed a fine garden lot running up the hill toward Court S<sup>t</sup>. The house itself stood in what was then called Brattle Square nearly opposite Brattle S<sup>t</sup> church, and quite a short distance from the house of my G father Joshua in Dock Square. In this dwelling, six children were born to them, five sons and one daughter. The eldest, Benjamin, died at 2 ½ years old. The second, Jonathan, lived to be fifty three years of age and was a Colonel in the American army. He married a Miss Johnson and had one son Benjamin, who afterward visited my Father and Mother occasionally.— He was rather a pompous person, fond of spouting plays and pieces of poetry. He died single in Boston since 1830 – the last of Col Pollard's descendants. — G mother Pollard's third son, Benjamin, married a sister of Miss Johnson, but had no children. He was an officer in the British army, and was killed at the siege of Savannah by the bursting of a bomb shell.— He was called remarkably handsome, and was, I believe, popular in the army, and regretted by his brother officers, the pride and flower of the family, and his mother's favorite son.†

All these sons were born before the death of their great Grandfather Edward the Sheriff. Peggy the next child, my Grandmother, was born the year after his death in 1754. Then came Joshua, who was in the British navy, and was wrecked lost at Egg Harbor‡ – N Jersey, – and

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**1800** lastly Peter, the youngest son, born in 1756, who was in the American navy, went to sea, and was never heard of. Thus, this unhappy mother had the misfortune to see her family all divided against each other, brother opposed to brother in open combat, two of them lost by casualty, and the fate of one forever unknown. – Herself and daughter also were driven about from one place to another, first taking refuge with her sister Mrs Pease§ at Newport, then with her brother Edward at Braintree, her means straightened\*\* by the condition of all property & estates during the revolution, and only, I suppose, secured from confiscation by the marriage of her daughter to Mr Blanchard of the popular or American party. After this event, she was suffered to remain unmolested, residing with her daughter at the Brattle Square mansion, or else in Hanover S<sup>t</sup>, where my Grandfather Blanchard kept house at one time in good style.— He was then a Wine merchant in flourishing business, and continued

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\* “Shirley” appears to be either lightly underlined or struck through. But it seems more likely that Margaret had drawn a light line to indicate a blank she would (and did) later fill in with the correct name. Shirley was Governor in 1741-49 and again in 1753-1756.

† And above, I, 129 and 235.

‡ About eight miles down the coast from Atlantic City.

§ Later Mrs. Malbone.

\*\* Error for *straitened*.

prosperous for some years following the revolution, associating with some of the first men of Boston; but about the time his children were growing up,— he failed in business, became discouraged, and never afterward recovered himself.

The Blanchards were probably of French origin, but the time of their emigration to this country, is not known

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**Blanchards –**

**1800** The first mention of them in our records, is of Joshua the Grandfather of my Grandfather, whose residence is supposed to have been in Malden;\* he was born in 1692, and married in 1717 a Miss Sarah Loring, by whom he had fifteen children, of whom eight only survived to adult age. The eldest, Joshua, born 1718, married in 1743 Miss Elizabeth Hunt, and had twelve children, of whom seven only grew up. My Grandfather Joshua was the second adult child, having one older sister, afterward known in his family as “Aunt Betsey,”— She and her widowed mother lived together, within the remembrance of both my first and second mother. She had also two younger sisters, Sarah who married Josiah Blakely, and Mary who was the Mother of Dr & Professor Hodge of Philadelphia & Princeton NJ. This latter Aunt kept up an occasional correspondence with my first Mother, and I shall have opportunity to refer again to her, hereafter, in the “Memorial of my Father’s married life.” There were also three younger brothers, Samuel who married a Gardner, and was the Grandfather of the Hon Robert Winthrop’s first wife, and the Father of a certain “cousin Lucy” who married an Orne[?], John Dixwell, who married a M<sup>c</sup>Cullough, and Thomas who married a Newton one of the first families in Virginia. Samuel’s adult children were Henry, Francis (the Father of Mrs Winthrop) and Lucy. John Dixwell’s were John, Isaac & William.

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**Blanchards**

**1800.** Mrs Hodge’s, “Hugh & Charles” – those were all my Mother’s first cousins, but little intercourse was kept up between them, and the descendants are now quite strangers to each other. There was a certain Mary Blanchard, cousin of my Grandfather’s whose funeral I remember attending, when quite a little girl – She was an inmate, for several years, in Grandmother Blanchards family, and is frequently mentioned in the letters which remain of that period.—There was also another cousin by the name of Bart Rand, a fine young man, who died of yellow fever. This is the one spoken of by my Father, as having been attached to my Mother before her marriage.† I have heard that he requested on his death bed to see her and my Aunt Catherine, and that Grandmother was thought very brave to let them go to him, so much was that disorder then dreaded, almost as if it were the plague. I well recollect afterward visiting with my Mother an old Miss Haile Rand, the sister of this young man, who resided with a half brother, near us in Allen St Boston. There are some descendants of other branches of the family now living in Roxbury; -- with one of these, a Mr Charles Blanchard, we are slightly acquainted, but he never visited our house more than once within my recollection. A Miss Blanchard who married an Otis is also a neighbor, and has been introduced to us.

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\* Malden is about four miles due north of Boston.

† Above, III, 49.

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**Grandmothers Pollard and Blanchard**

1800 My Grandmother Blanchard's family resided, as I have before said, with my Grandmother Pollard in the Brattle Square house, at and before the time of my Mother's marriage, and were chiefly supported by her income. She was then always spoken of as "the old lady," yet she survived for nearly fourteen years after that event, and finally died of cancer; The family removed, first to Dorchester and then to Blossom St, upon the sale of her Brattle Square estate which took place in 1815 and the house was taken down to make room for the brick stores which now occupy its site. She was within a few months of 90 years of age at the time of her death. Year after year, she might have been sitting in her old arm chair, with her little stand and large Bible before her, dressed very neatly in her snowy muslin cap, brown silk gown, and white kerchief crossed over the bosom, with spectacles on nose, over which she peered at the visitor, who was always expected to shew some token of respectful acknowledgement of her presence. My mother as her eldest, was said to be her favorite grandchild, and my brother Isaac became her pet great grandchild, for whom she always kept a store of nice cakes in the old Mahogany cabinet which has descended to us through her daughter. But my Aunt Susan was, in her latter years, the old lady's chief stay and comfort; so devoted was this noble girl's atten-

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**Grandmother Blanchard**

1800. –dance through the painful disease which so long afflicted her Grandmother that it was thought to be one cause of her own early and lamented departure. She was sincerely attached to her Grandmother, as indeed were all the family and their connections. But an early friend of my first Mother, now surviving at the age of 80, speaks of the impressions concerning my Grandmother Blanchard as still more pleasing than those left on her mind by the "Old Lady." And she (Peggy Savage 6\* was a truly kind mother, a faithful friend, a devoted wife, and an unpretending Christian. The house at "the Square" was a centre of attraction to all her connexions, far and wide. Even the relations in humble life from whose visitations her two elder daughters in the foolish pride of youth, would fain have escaped, were treated with the same ladylike hospitality which she shewed to the richest and the greatest. She was always the person called upon for a watcher in sickness, a friend and helper in all distress among neighbors and relatives. But her relaxation was in her garden, where she might be seen on summer mornings, in her neat white short-gown & petticoat, tending her favorite damask roses, or, in September, gathering the peaches which her fruitful trees so abundantly supplied. In winter, the pleasant evening fireside never lacked a supply from her household stores, and the nine o'clock supper was the most pleasant reunion of the twenty four hours.–

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1800 My Grandfather Blanchard was, I have understood, in a very good line of business at the period of his marriage, and kept house for a time in Hanover, then Middle S<sup>t</sup>, a very respectable neighborhood at that time. But after his failure, he became discouraged and depressed and would no longer associate with the Gentlemen of the town. I think he became a trial to his wife and family from all I have heard, and they never rose to their former

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\* "(Peggy Savage 6)" in pencil and inserted via caret. Margaret Savage (nee Pollard) married Joshua Blanchard, whom Isaac often refers to as "mother Blanchard," was Margaret's' mother and was in the 6<sup>th</sup> generation from John Winslow and Mary Chilton Winslow; presumably that's what the "6" here refers to. It is quite possible this addition is by a later hand.

station in society.\* – The family living principally upon Mrs Pollard's income, were obliged to be strictly economical in all their habits, and shrunk from, rather than sought the society of those in more affluent circumstances, which Aunt Malbone would have had them cultivate. At the occasional periods of her visits at the house of her sister Pollard, they were obliged to receive her friend Mrs Hubbard, and other of her aristocratic acquaintance, and these were received by Grandmother Blanchard with the same unaffected ladylike ease, which welcomed alike the wealthiest and the poorest of her relations.

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end of Chap 6<sup>th</sup>

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\* For more on the "trial" he may have been to his family, see below, IV, 136, for Margaret's thoughts on his death.