

Chase) [“]died at Mr Wakefield’s house Newbury St, now the S part of Washington St.* On the 27th she was buried in the Waldo tomb, Chapel burying ground.”† I presume that my Mother, Aunt Henrietta, Aunt Pickering &c visited her in her illness, and attended the funeral, as well as Mrs Chase’s family‡ and Charles Winslow her nephew – for she was a most generous disinterested person and much beloved by all who knew her. She and her sister Mrs Chase were connected by marriage with Mrs Gen Knox§ of the Revolutionary Army and by one of the singular turns of civil war, they actually formed a part of Washington’s “Court Circle” at Morristown NJ – although their father Isaac Winslow and most of their relatives were Tories and took the British side in the conflict. They were also for a time under the care of the Moravians at Bethlehem, Penn – but always retained their ladylike manners and breeding with straitened means but generous hearts and hands. Cousin Betsey was much more prim in her manners than was Mrs Chase; but with equal simplicity of character derived from her descent, for she was of the best blood of N England by her mother Lucy Waldo as well as by her Father. The portraits of both are now in the possession of Arthur Pickering

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1825

whose Roxbury house is curiously near that of Isaac Winslow’s former house before and during the Revolution within a stone’s throw of the present Roxbury P Office. It is supposed that he was there made a Widower, but afterward formed a second marriage with a Miss Jemima Dubuque,** mother of his youngest son Thomas, ancestor of the English Winslows, as I have mentioned.

Father’s
Journal

[“]Oct 3rd & 4th A comet appeared in the SE near the constellation Pisces – tail long and thin.††

Nov 6th Heard of death of Mrs Wilkings of Fayetteville N.C. daughter of my Uncle Edward formerly of Braintree Mass.

Dec 12th Commenced a spell of cold weather – ther 4 to 6 below 0 – Great steam of condensed vapor in the harbor Moderated next day and continued mild till Feb 1 1826.[”]

1826

Father’s Journal 1826

Feb 1st & 2nd “Very cold – Ther 10 below 0 in Boston – In Jamaica Plain said to be 20 below 0. Harbor froze up this night, but ice not being thick and mild the ensuing days, it was soon cleared by the tide.”

Feb 28th “Light snow mixed with rain ground not frozen – Mud and snow 3 or 4 inches deep – rainy & cloudy for a week.”

* It is most probable that “Newbury St, now the S part of Washington St” was also Margaret’s editorial insertion.

† King’s Chapel.

‡ Mrs. Chase, we have last been told (above, IV, 124), was an invalid. And see below, IV, 139.

§ Henry Knox (1750–1806). He became the chief artillery officer of the Continental Army and later the first United States Secretary of War. He married Lucy Flucker (1756–1824), to Aunt Betsey and Mrs. Chase (née Sarah Tyng Winslow). And see above, I, 190.

** More usually spelled in the family Debuc or Debuke.

†† Comet C/1825 N1, a non-periodic comet. It reached a maximum brightness of magnitude 2-3, and its tail spanned 14 degrees, which is indeed considered long.

April 20th “warm & showery – 22nd severe frost again.”

April 26th “This day Joshua Blanchard father of my wife died at Dorchester, and was buried from my house April 29th, under Trinity Church with his wife and daughter.”*

**G
B
d**
**Death of
Adams
and
Jefferson**

I remember visiting G father Blanchard with my Father & Mother at the house where he boarded in upper Dorchester, and once seeing him at our house in Leverett S^t I also perfectly remember his being brought in after his death, and the family service at his funeral which was conducted by my Father himself in our parlor, Uncle Blanchard, Aunt Henrietta and our own family alone being present.

The elders seemed little afflicted, but I, as a child, thought it proper to cry at a funeral, and wondered why my Mother asked me why I did so? Perhaps she wished to make some explanation to me of her own calmness, but I was so much surprised at the question that I simply said, I did not know.

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He was no loss, I believe, however, as a Father; his mind having been childish for many years, although originally it had been of good capacity, and his feelings kind before they were soured by disappointments in business, and irritated by the means he unfortunately used to forget them. Peace to his memory, and Oblivion, save as a warning, to his failings whatever they were.[†] In person he was tall and thin, with light blue eyes and a large acquiline nose, much resembling his son Joshua both in face and figure His age was 75, and the final disease, mortification in the foot. Joshua was a name handed down through three

1826

**Blanchard
family**

see
“Recollect-
ions of a
second
Mother” by
MCW 1858.

generations of the Blanchard family. My G father’s Father Joshua, who married Elizabeth Hunt and was buried in the Common burying ground 1786, (his wife 1807)– was the son of Joshua who married Sarah Loring, and was buried in the Granary burying ground close to Park S^t Church in 1748; the stone is visible from Tremont S^t near the fence. This Joshua’s father died 1716, and was probably the first settler of the name, perhaps a Huguenot, and Ancestor of all the Blanchards now living in Boston. The name is French, and has been illustrious both in France and Holland in Art Science and general literature, see “Biograph’ Dic”- art’ Blanchard – The Huguenots were banished in 1685 by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and if this first Blanchard then came to America he resided here about 30 years before his death; but of this there is no record in the family.[‡]

Father’s Journal resumed – June 19th “After a long continued and severe drought which has cut off about half of the hay and caused vegetables to be scarce and high (peas 50 cts per Peck) a NE rain began with cloudy & foggy weather to the 25th”

On the 4th of July arrived the news* of death of ex Pres^t Jefferson in V’a which occurred the same day with that of ex Pres^t Adams at Quincy Mass – Funeral honors to both Aug 2nd – Eulogy delivered in Fanueil Hall by Daniel Webster.

* His wife Margaret (Peggy) Savage Pollard Blanchard (died 1815) and daughter either Catherine (Kitty) Pease Blanchard Houston (died 1815) or Susan Blanchard (died 1814).

† This is the first allusion to what I presume to have been a drinking problem. But see above, III, 116 for mention of the “trial” that Joshua became to his wife and family.

‡ For a letter on the occasion of grandfather Blanchard’s death from his sister Mrs. Hodge to her nephew Joshua Pollard Blanchard, see below, IV, 143.

Journal Aug 10th “a Heavy rain for nearly a week wind NE more fallen than for several years within that time.”

On the 18th of July my Aunt Hudgens and her little son Augustus arrived from N Orleans and came to my Father’s house in Leverett S^t— Every one thought her much changed in appearance since she left Boston

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6 ½ years previous. She had little trace of her former beauty; but little Augustus was a pretty child and became quite a pet with me as there were no younger children in the family, except Frank Winslow, who was my playmate across the way in games of chess and chequers, and driving stage coach improvised from chairs tied together for the stage, and four in front on their knees[†] with long reins for horses. Frank was driver mounted up on a cricket[‡] in front of the coach, and I and Augustus were passengers, always driven to Dunbarton, Frank’s favorite visiting place,[§] where he was petted by his Aunt Charlotte Stark. He was a sickly boy, quiet in his tastes and habits** – Augustus was also more like a girl than a boy in his long calico dressing gowns, adopted in the hot climate of Louisiana, and although healthy enough, he had no boisterous boylike ways about him. My brother George was now 14, & in the English High school,^{††} finishing his education preparatory to an early entrance into my Father’s compting room – Brother Benjamin was in College at Cambridge destined for the Medical profession although he never followed it. He was however at home once or twice a week often bringing with him some of his classmates among whom have been several since distinguished men the Poet Wendell Holmes^{‡‡} and Dr James Freeman Clarke,^{*} his chum[†] and

1826

Younger members
of the family.

* This is almost certainly Margaret’s note and not from her father’s journal. The former presidents both famously died on the 4th of July (and on the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of the Declaration of Independence), but in a world without the telegraph or railways, the news of Jefferson’s death could not and did not arrive in Boston that same day.

† In other words, four chairs tipped forwards, with their backs parallel to the ground.

‡ We have already encountered this term for a low footstool.

§ And the subject of “Dunbarton,” a poem in Frank’s great grandson Robert Lowell’s 1959 collection *Life Studies*. The poem is full of references to his ancestors including Frank (Francis) and Edward the Sheriff. Lowell refers to “Our yearly autumn getaways from Boston / to the family graveyard in Dunbarton.” Dunbarton, we have seen, was where the family of Joshua Winslow’s wife (née Sarah Stark) were early settlers (above, IV, 70), and the family graveyard is the Stark Cemetery, now known as the Stark Memorial Park. Robert Lowell, who died in 1977, is buried there.

** But he grew up, like his first cousin John Ancrum Winslow, to have a distinguished naval career, becoming Commander. He died of Yellow Fever in 1862 while in command of the USS R. R. *Cuyler*.

†† Founded in 1821 as a public high school for boys *not* intending to go on to college (which in Boston of course meant Harvard and for which Boston Latin was the normal preparatory school). Its curriculum therefore leaned towards English, mathematics, and practical arts.

‡‡ Oliver Wendell Holmes Sr. (1809-1894). Among the papers that have come down through my mother’s family are two letters from Holmes to Ben of about fifty years later, which I insert here as they both evidently relate to annual Harvard reunions and tell us something, if only implicitly, about Ben’s social attitudes (and perhaps anxieties) as well as those of the man who coined the term “Boston Brahmin.” The Winslows may have been Brahmins by birth, but by 1860, when Holmes coined the term, they were no longer among the city’s most prominent families:

and now Pastor among them. My Father did not much approve of a college life for young men, and I have heard him say that he walked for hours back and forth on Cambridge bridge thinking and seeking direction from above before making up his mind to enter his son upon the list of candidates for the freshman class of 1825 which graduated 1829. He had good

296 Beacon St
Sept. 1st 1872

My dear Winslow

I hope and trust that you will follow the impulse which is prompting you to pay a tribute of affectionate remembrance to the two worthy classmates whom we have lost within the year. If I should refer to them at any time it would only be in some general way, and would leave more than room enough for the free expression of feelings on the part of any others especially such as had strong personal associations in addition to that brotherly sentiment which unites us all into one loving family.

I entirely sympathize with your feeling as to the less conspicuous members of the class. Perhaps the mere fact that they belong more exclusively to '29 than the men in public office, the men the whole community has a right to claim and one of whose evenings we borrow once a year. I think I feel the class sentiment quite as strongly in the presence of the most obscure member of our little band, as when I am with His Honor or His Reverence. - Not that I do not feel proud of our distinguished men, but my hold on them seems to be less complete than on one of the "ignoble" as you call them.

By all means give utterance to what it is in your heart to say of our brothers who have taken their last degree.

Always faithfully yours
OWHolmes

I read Mrs. Meriam's letter [their classmate Horatio Cook Meriam died in 1872] and returned it to her by post.

296 Beacon St
Jan. 24th 1876

Dear Winslow

I like both your hints and will endeavor to bear them in mind. The coming together of the noisier talkers is hard to remedy. A dinner party, it has been said, should have no less a number than that of the Graces, and no greater a number than that of the Muses. [A. Cornelius Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, XIII.11.2] If there are more than nine or ten, it is next to impossible to prevent what we used to call "grouping." And so far as I have seen any attempt to arrange difficulties of this sort by the hostess's shifting guests around has been a failure. On the other hand we cannot have our places marked by cards, as at a fashionable dinner party.

All that can be done, I think, is by giving hints to individual classmates not to keep too much in specialized knots during the whole evening.

Always truly yours
OWHolmes

* James Freeman Clarke (1810–1888), highly influential not only in his own Unitarian church, but in Boston intellectual circles more widely. Although not very well known today, his *New York Times* obituary (June 18, 1888) ends thus: "Though other men of his time were, perhaps, more brilliant, not one of his associates—possibly excepting Ralph Waldo Emerson—exercised greater influence in shaping the development of the intellectual community in which they moved." He was closely associated not only with Emerson and his and Ben's classmate William Henry Channing, but with Margaret Fuller, who was both a host and a guest of the Winslows in about 1829.

† At the time, the word typically meant roommate. *OED* says, "A well-known conjecture is that it was a familiar abbreviation of chamber-fellow, chamber-mate, or the like." Harvard directories of the time show that Ben and James Clarke were indeed roommates for their last three years at Harvard. BPW is also characterized as Clarke's "college chum, afterwards his parishioner, and always his friend" by Edward Everett Hale, ed., *James Freeman Clarke: Autobiography, Diary and Correspondence* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, the Riverside Press, 1891), 392.

cause for anxiety – The class was a wild one, even under the watchful care of a Parent’s eye, and several members among them my brother were rusticated or suspended on account of a riotous frolic which took place in his room. He went to stay with an excellent clergyman of Canton near the Blue Hills,* and pursued his studies with him until permitted to re-enter college. This was of course a grief to his Parents, but thank God he was preserved from every thing like vice or dissipation, and they had the happiness of seeing him graduate with honor though not with distinction in the Senior Class of 1829† under the commencement of President Quincy’s‡ administration.

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1826.
Instruc-
tion of the
young
people.

Music and
Drawing.

I was at Miss Thuring’s[?] school in Hancock S^t about this time,§ taking the same year music lessons of a Mr Spear, and a “bran new Piano” of Chickering’s** was presented to me by my Mother, who was very desirous that I should be thoroughly educated. The arrival of this Piano was a great event in the family – and many are the tales it could tell, despised as it is now for a shabby old fashioned thing, — of family musicatings,†† family merrymakings, family flirtations and courtships which were carried on around it. As also could the dear little old organ purchased for me by my Father a few years later, —of the sacred Sunday evening hymns in which he loved to join, and of the House worship which he for so many years conducted every Sunday morning. I can see before me now the very places of those instruments in the little music room of Leverett S^t and the flutes of my brothers beside them – Ben however being the only one of them who had a genuine ear for music. He belonged to an Amateur band, and played the Bassoon as well as the flute although without musical instruction. Some times this band or a part of it met at our house, as my Father always encouraged his sons to have their amusements under his own eye,‡‡ rather than to go abroad§§ for them among strangers. – My brothers Isaac, Tom Edward and George had little musical talent, but some for drawing, particularly the latter. George received instruction from a Mr Brown and began painting in oils at twelve years of age, but he never pursued the accomplishment afterward. Edward took lessons of Doughty*** many years afterward, and painted for his own amusement and that of his friends. In dancing my brother George was the most accomplished of any of the

* Below, IV, 161.

† At this period, fewer than sixty young men constituted the graduating class.

‡ Josiah Quincy (1772-1864). Congressman, Judge of the Massachusetts municipal court, State Representative, Mayor of Boston and President of Harvard College (1828-45). Also a cousin of Ben’s future wife.

§ Above, IV, 115, we have been told that in April 1824 Margaret was about to enter this school.

** Chickering began in business only in 1823, so Margaret’s was a very early instrument, but from the beginning Chickering made first-rate instruments. In a few years they were world famous, winning prizes, for example, at the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London.

†† Margaret’s coinage, it appears.

‡‡ Below, V, 58.

§§ Here meaning of course *out of the house* rather than *out of the country*.

*** Possibly the painter Thomas Doughty (1793–1856) of the Hudson River School, who was centered in Philadelphia, where he was born, but who also lived in New York and Boston. Margaret’s manner of referring to him suggests his was a name that would have been well known, as Doughty’s was at this period.

**Father's
Journal
Death of
Mrs Chase**

boys being of a light, compact, and agile figure, —and in the family parties he figured as a good waltzer when diffidence did not interfere to prevent his, seeking a partner. My brothers Ben & George and I took lessons of Mr Park in Concert & Boylston Halls* where a great number of boys and girls assembled every

Wednesday and Saturday afternoon. The latter wore white tuckers[†] or ruffles in the neck of the dress, and white pantalettes[‡] of which I was envious; but my Mother true to her principles resisted all such incipient vanities and I appeared in a plain dark green crape,[§] a colored dress of her own,

**Dancing
School**

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1826 the unbecomingness of which to a pale sallow child was set off by no addition whatever, save a pair of dark green morocco slippers to dance in. A wholesome mortification no doubt, as many a seed of foolishness is sown at dancing schools with the finery and frippery displayed there, and the youthful flirtation and coquetry often cultivated in advance of a more extended field thereafter.

**Uncle
Blanchard,
Record**

**Maelzael's
Chess
Player**

Oct “Automaton Chess Player and other figures exhibited in Julian Hall.” These were in “Maelzael's** collection,” and excited great interest especially the chess player a solemn looking Turk life size seated at a chesstable who moved his head and said “Echec”^{††} whenever he chequed his Adversary – Many gentlemen played with the figure, but were always beaten, and it was supposed that a first rate chess player was hidden in the base or table although the doors (were opened to² the audience)^{‡‡} beneath the table) and no one was visible.—only a little deceptive machinery. Besides

this main object of interest for grown people, there were for the children, puppet rope dancers,^{§§} a french Trumpeter &c &c at which we were much delighted.

Dec 7th “This day was taken from us our beloved and valued friend Mrs Sarah T Chase, youngest daughter of my great Uncle Isaac Winslow of Roxbury aged 61, after a lingering illness of many years, the 2 last being confined to her bed, and having suffered much distress the last 2 or 3 weeks, though her final exit from life was easy and tranquil. – She was steady and uniform in her attachments; an anxious and affectionate parent, a warm and sincere friend; kind and compassionate to all whom she could assist, extremely considerate of the feelings and comforts of those around her, grateful for trifling kindness often too small to be

* Boylston Market (built 1810 and demolished in 1887) was on the corner of Boylston and Washington Streets. The third story was Boylston Hall, and in addition to providing meeting space also served as a venue for performances.

† *Webster's 3rd Unabridged: a piece of lace or cloth used to fill in the low neckline of a dress.*

‡ Or *pantalets*. *Webster's 3rd Unabridged: long drawers having an attached or detachable ruffle at the bottom of each leg usu. showing below the skirt and worn by women and children in the first half of the 19th century.*

§ Or *crepe*. *Webster's 3rd Unabridged: a lightweight fabric of various fibers (as silk or cotton) with a crinkled surface obtained by using hard-twisted yarns, by printing with caustic soda, by weaving with varied tensions, or by embossing.*

** Misspelling of *Maelzel*. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johann_Nepomuk_M%C3%A4lzel .

†† French for *check*.

‡‡ The parens and the superscript “2” (if that ‘s what it is) are a mystery to me.

§§ tightrope walkers.

remembered by the bestower, and averse to all parade or ostentation, seeming only desirous, (to use the words of the Poet)

“Along the cool sequestered vale of life
 “To keep the noiseless tenor of her way.”*

My Father felt this loss like that of a near and dear sister, and like a most helpful affectionate brother he had ever been to her—

140 An unsent letter from Isaac to Samuel Sparhawk on being depressed

1826 retaining the interest of a Father in her children, especially in her daughter Elizabeth, who, after her marriage, did not return as her Mother would have done, the gratitude which his disinterested friendship deserved at her hands. But her half brother William Waldo always kept up with him the friendly intercourse of old days, until his own death in 1844.

Letters

The letters of this year to which I have access are chiefly those as before mentioned which passed between my Father and his Sandemanian friends with acknowledgements from the poorer ones of donations &c – With Mr Humphreys and Mr Sam Sparhawk he kept up a religious correspondence with the latter on the subject of infant baptism which neither of them much approved. He also wrote Mr S about taking a certain guardianship for some property left to Frank by his great Uncle Mc’kinstry† and had intended to add the following touchingly confidential epistle which however was never sent.

I Winslow to Samuel Sparhawk Concord NH‡

“My dear Sir,

Nov 7 1826

The kindness of feeling which I am sure prompted you to accept the office of associate Trustee for Francis Winslow, is very gratefully acknowledged. Sympathy from a friend is a balm to the sometimes depressed mind, and mine from several causes has been much so of late. The pressure of cares at my time of life leads the mind to be intent upon objects of more importance than appertaining to the present life. The desolate feeling of being alone in one’s religious views, none to rejoice in or sympathize with them; –the, at times, total disgust with the world,– and yet the necessity of doing one’s duties in it, –the weight of worldly cares upon a naturally anxious disposition, all these concur to cause a state of depression at times hard to bear. – I look with pity on a world lying in unbelief, and with regret that I have assimilated myself so much to it, while thinking I have made every effort to avoid its contagious influence. – I have prayed constantly to be submissive to God’s holy will, – but have not submitted myself: My pride has overcome the love I ought to bear Him, whose forbearance has been so great, & whose

141 Continued

1826

Letter of
 IW to Mr
 S Spar-
 hawk

love so inexpressible as not to spare his justly dear and beloved son, but hath given him freely that sinners might be redeemed to himself. – I have speculated on

* Thomas Gray, “Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard” (1751): “Far from the madding crowd’s ignoble strife, / Their sober wishes never learned to stray; / Along the cool sequestered vale of life / They kept the noiseless tenor of their way.” The “they” of this stanza are the buried dead, “The rude forefathers of the hamlet.”

† Possibly the Dr. McKinstry mentioned above, I, 123 and 128.

‡ Margaret continues her placing of quotation marks at the beginnings of lines in this quoted letter.

religious points of no importance, or rather in my mind of little importance compared with the submissive disposition of – “Lord what wilt thou have me do now?”* – and I feel myself declining in the vale of years doubting and desponding, and at times unhappy. It was in one of these moods your letter found me, and seldom have I felt more the effect of a kindness of feeling than was communicated by your offer to manage the business of the Trusteeship as was at first proposed. You will perhaps think that in some of the views I have expressed at times to you, I see myself to have been erroneous. This I am liable to, and daily perceive the weakness of the human understanding, and the limited powers of the human mind. In such views I may be wrong or right; but are they of any importance compared with the disposition to do God’s will whatever it may be? Do we not all think too much of clear views, and too little of such obedience as was exemplified in our blessed Lord? In regard to myself I feel as if I were hedged in: as if it would be my supreme happiness to do that will, – and yet that circumstances on all sides prevent me. Excuse this free communication: Your kindness has drawn it from me. With best regards to Mrs S and your children, especially your valued sister, I am, dear Sir,

Yours very truly
Isaac Winslow”

Troubles of Uncle Edward and his wife, the oversight of their sons at the North, business losses by Uncle Josh Winslow in S^t Croix and other brothers, his sisters’ situation, both now widows with boys to be looked after, his own sons coming forward to be established in life, the risks & losses of his own business, the declining health of his wife and that of his dear friend Mrs Chase, who looked to him as a Father for her own children in case of her death, and perhaps physical causes

1826 such as delayed returns of gout operating upon the brain instead of the extremities,[†] will account in a great degree for the tone of this letter, which probably seemed to the writer himself too desponding, as he marks it “not sent in this form” but in a different one, probably more cheerful. The unusual circumstance to that overburdened mind and heart, of a friendly hand stretched out to share so much as one of them, a friendly pen shewing appreciation of his cares, was so overwhelming as to draw forth this full hearted confession to the ear of a Christian brother, and none but a Christian can understand that tender sentence of the all seeing Master, “The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.”[‡] The world seems of the opinion that when one becomes a Christian, he almost ceases to be a man. After all, the faith of my Father was real and steadfast, and his abiding hope was, throughout life, that expressed in his letter to Aunt Hudgens on the death of her husband,[§] x x x x “In the Scripture so far as I can gather, the chief object of the coming of our Savior was to communicate a more perfect knowledge of the resurrection from the dead than the world before knew; – a resurrection as I think, of the whole compound soul and body, on

* Acts 9: 6.

† Gout is a disease of the joints. The severe pain that comes with an attack of gout can certainly exacerbate depression and anxiety, but there appear to be no complications or effects of the disease that could directly affect the brain.

‡ Matthew 26: 41.

§ Related above, IV, 124.

the present earth, beautified and, like Eden of old, – fitted up as a residence for the sons of God, A scene of happiness unparalleled, where sin and sorrow, selfishness and pride shall flee away; where Love, true and divine Love shall pervade the whole; where the happiness of each shall increase that of all, and the happiness of all add to the joy of every individual: – A fulfillment, in short, of those prophecies, “The Lion shall lie down with the Lamb,”* and “The Earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord,” &c and when the petition in the Lords Prayer will be fully accomplished that “the kingdom of God may come and his will be done on earth as it is in Heaven”† This thought was, I am sure, my Father’s deepest conviction, his stay and comfort through all trials, and cares and temptations; – however the pressure of many worldly duties, many perplexing incongruities in himself and those around him, might at times dim its clearness.

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Before quitting the events of this year I must add a letter which should have been inserted after the mention of G father Blanchard’s decease.‡ It was written by his sister Mrs Hodge to my Uncle Blanchard her nephew, upon hearing of that decease,§

“Philadelphia July 18th 1826.

My dear Nephew, — My being from home when your letter arrived is one cause of its remaining so long unacknowledged. Another and principal one arises, from the effects of the season on my weak frame rendering me averse to employment beyond the immediate calls of the day. But though silent I have not been unmindful of your kind attention. It has led me to dwell much on the scenes of early days which are viewed with peculiar interest and feeling

**Letter from Mrs
Hodge on G father
Blanchard’s death.**

in the decline of life. — Your father was an excellent and amiable man; but peculiarly unfortunate in all his concerns except his domestic circle. There he was highly favored; and the undeviating cheerfulness and sweetness of your Mother’s disposition was a solace and cordial to him under every depression. His children too were such as to gratify the

fondest wishes of a parent heart; – and though he was called to witness the decease of two lovely daughters, – yet others were spared to comfort him in the decline of life, - and to smooth his passage to the tomb. I alone remain of all my family; a wonder to myself when I consider the state of my health for sixteen years past. But such is the effect of continued indisposition and frequent revival from severe illness that we lose the sense of danger by the frequency of escape from it, and thus the summons though long withheld, appears sudden when it comes. Should it find me also unprepared, the greater will be the condemnation.

May I hope that a communication thus opened between us you will feel disposed to continue. I have no recollection of you but as a delicate school boy; but my son Charles[?] (Professor Hodge of Princeton) [“]had the pleasure of seeing you, and excited in me a wish to know so interesting

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Continued, with Margaret’s reflections.

* A common misquoting of Isaiah 11: 6: “The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them.”

† Matthew 6: 10 or Luke 11: 2, and whichever version Isaac has in mind, he slightly misquotes it.

‡ Related above, IV, 135.

§ Margaret continues her placing of quotation marks at the beginnings of lines in this quoted letter.

1826 a relative. You are surrounded by persons whom it would gratify me to hear of. Your sister Henrietta too must have leisure, and her kindness I trust would induce her to contribute to the gratification of an old relative. It only wants a beginning and she would find writing so easy as to be compensated by the satisfaction resulting from it. – My kind regards to her and to your sister Winslow* who has been my only correspondent in Boston for several years and to whom I believe I am indebted for a letter by her son.† My kind regards to them all, and accept the best wishes for your health and prosperity of your Aunt Mary Hodge.”

This letter, found since the foregoing pages were written, shews that G father Blanchard was beloved and esteemed in his family before the misfortunes of his life had soured and irritated him. A lesson that adversity does not always work out good results for us, unless we strive and pray that it should do so, as God doubtless intends, when he sends affliction. Medicine the most skilfully prescribed and the most tenderly administered, will do a child no good if he obstinately refuses to retain it in his mouth;– and God uses no force upon the Godlike will which likens us either to Himself or to that awful Power of evil who chooses rather – – – – – “to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven.”‡

In the characters of those around us, as well as in the records of History and of Revolution, we may if we will, study the effect of God’s dealings, both of propriety and adversity, upon men and nations as they will to receive them; and this study may and should be a warning or an example as the case shall warrant. As the old copy books have it,

“Happy is he – whom other mens’ harms –Do make beware”,§
or in the language of the 107th Psalm –

“Who is wise and will observe these things, even they shall understand the loving kindness of the Lord.”**

145 Margaret’s Mother’s journal commenced. A trip to Lowell and a canal boat ride.

**1826
Father’s
Journal**

Jan 1st Six inches of snow fell pretty level; making excellent sleighing. Jan 12th about four inches more fell. Good sleighing and moderate pleasant weather till the 16th when after a light snow, the month became very cold – Harbor frozen to the Castle – On the 21st the thermometer in Boston stood at 8 below 0 about sunrise and had been 2 below for the morning previous. Sleighing very good – snow hard and level. Jan 29th Harbor opened by sawing through the ice after being closed for seven days – No foreign entries since the 19[?]th – coldest weather since 1821. Jan 30th Snow till 4 PM. Jan 31st all day. No farther mention of the weather or events of the year in this Journal till May 31st when my Father and Mother set off on a journey to Philadelphia. But from a journal commenced by my Mother in 1826 which I have just come across,†† I will make some

**Mother’s
Journal
Circumstances
omitted in
1826.**

* Margaret’s mother, Isaac’s wife.
† Possibly Margaret’s brother Isaac, who had visited Mrs. Hodge in Philadelphia (above, IV, 114).
‡ Milton, *Paradise Lost* (1674) I, 263. “Better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven” is Satan’s choice, and Margaret’s point is that we have been granted free will to do right or wrong.

§ Proverbial from about 1500. It turns up in all sorts of places, from *Gorboduc* to *Poor Richard’s Almanack*.

** Psalm 107: 43.

†† A very important discovery as her mother’s journal now becomes the chief source for the Memorial right up to her mother’s death.

extracts, and add any important event of that year which has been forgotten or overlooked in the previous pages.

In August 1826 Mother mentions a visit from Elizabeth Sparhawk daughter of Mr Sam Sparhawk of Concord NH – “a lively pretty girl” she writes; “the boys seem quite pleased”. “The boys” were the young men of the family, always called “the boys” till they were married.

A trip to Lowell by Aunt Henrietta Blanchard Miss Thomas and “our Edward” is also recorded in August. Lowell was then a rural village and the Mansion House on the banks of the Merrimac* where they stayed commanded a romantic view of the rapids and wooded shores of that river. My brother Edward often related the indignation of Miss Thomas afterward Mrs Houston the fourth,† upon being mischievously persuaded by Aunt Henrietta not to cut into the nice pastry served up at that well kept little family hotel; –An indignation which at length burst the bounds of her long and patient submission, and of the excellent pies which she said “being paid for, were certainly intended to be eaten.” While there they were joined by our Benjamin and Edward D Winslow both having a college vacation. The whole party were so much pleased with Lowell, that my Father Mother and Aunt Pickering also took a trip, there, “little Meg”‡ with them, on the 7th of September in a canal boat.§ I remember well my Father losing or leaving behind his pocket book on this trip

and having to leave the boat and walk back to Medford** where he borrowed the needful of Peter C Brooks Esq.–.†† This somewhat damped the pleasure of the excursion, but still it was very delightful and wonderful, sinking and rising at the locks especially, – the wooded banks and romantic Pond at Woburn where we landed for a while, & the horses tugging along the side path with their boy driver behind them: hard work, poor things, it was for the beasts, pestered as they were with flies and mosquitoes from the stagnant water, and pulling all on one side, as it were, a strained unnatural position. from the termination of the canal, we had to take a dusty, hot stage ride over to Lowell loaded up with baskets of prog,‡‡ with Father’s inevitable long skirted Olive colored overcoat, the blue cotton umbrella, and the remains of a huge watermelon, which he had beneficently distributed to all the children on the canal boat. I remember distinctly the old Stone Mansion House and the beautiful rapids in its rear,

* A common alternate spelling of the *Merrimack River*.

† Charlotte Thomas, sister of the widow Phillips who married Mr. Houston, became an intimate of the Blanchards and kept a school at which Margaret was once a pupil. We first met her in 1816 above, IV, 68.

‡ So another of Margaret’s nicknames, in addition to “Peg.”

§ The dating of this trip is problematic. See the next note but one.

** They were traveling on the Middlesex Canal, which connected the Merrimack River with the port of Boston. It was built between 1795 and 1803, originally terminating at Medford, but later extended to Charlestown.

†† See below, V, 27-28, where Margaret will retell this story, but placing it there in the year 1828, apparently taking off from her Mother’s journal, which places the trip in August of that year. Or were there in fact two separate trips that Margaret has conflated the details of? If so, she has below forgotten the earlier trip altogether and retells not just this incident, but several others.

‡‡ OED: *Food; esp. provisions for a journey or excursion; (also) a quantity of food, a meal. Now chiefly regional (Brit., Irish English, and N. Amer.)*.

overhung by trees and wild shrubbery, the mysterious masonic emblems in the great Hall of the house, a walk with Father to the “improvements” which one of the gentlemen Manufacturers was shewing him, hills levelling, houses putting up for operatives, and all the commencing plans of that then village but now extensive and populous city. Mother writes that they went over to see an old Winslow house and tomb at Tyngsborough where John Winslow,* Uncle to Mrs Chase, was buried. They went also across the river to Dracut, then a quiet romantic woodland shore.

After our return mention is made of letting “our new brick house” for \$350 per annum “to Mr Mellin[?]” So the old Marston garden and house where Grandmother Winslow then Davis was born, had been torn down and a block of brick houses built on Leverett S^t, of which my Father owned the one next us – Another block had also been built on Chambers S^t at the back of that estate.– I remember when the workmen were digging there an old brick vault was discovered buried in the back part of the grounds with remains

* 1700-1783. He married Sarah Tyng, after whom Mrs. Chase was named. *The Harvard Register, an Illustrated Monthly* (Vol. III January to July 1881), 178-79 contains “an interesting letter” about the town of Tyngsboro, and the following extract may shed light on the question why Mrs. Chase as a young woman was for so long called “Sarah Tyng” instead of plain Sarah or Sally:

The only daughter of Eleazer, Sarah Tyng, became the wife of John Winslow, of Boston. She gave a sum of money to the College [Harvard] in trust to pay the income of it to the support of a grammar-school master and a settled minister within the district, in equal moieties, subject to certain conditions by which, in case of failure on the part of the town to comply with the terms of the donation, the fund is to be forfeited to the College. This trust is still in existence, and the College regularly pays over the income to the teacher of the school and the minister of the First Parish, as appears by the treasurer’s annual report. It was on account of this donation, and at her request, that the town took the name of Tyngsborough, in honor of her family. She died and was buried here in 1791.

Mrs. Winslow had no children. *She was more attached to the name of Tyng than to that of Winslow* [my emphasis]. Perceiving that her family name was about to become extinct in this country in the male line, she induced her relative, Dudley Atkins (1780) of Newbury, to take the name of Tyng upon the assurance that she would give him part or all of her property. Mr. Atkins accordingly had his name changed by an act of the Legislature in January, 1790, to that of Dudley Atkins Tyng (1781), as it now stands in the College Catalogue.

Mrs. Winslow gave to him most, if not all, of the landed estate which she inherited from her father, Eleazer Tyng (1712), and he came here and resided upon it. During the years 1793, 1794, and 1795, he seems to have taken a prominent part in the affairs of the town.

But Judge Tyng, who was a man of strong will, and great prejudices, was never reconciled to the taking of the name of Tyng by Mr. Atkins, and did many things to annoy and harass him. The estate given to him did not afford a sufficient income for his support, and he sold the land to Nathaniel Brinley, and removed to Newburyport, where he was Collector of the Port. Afterwards he resided in Boston, and was the reporter of the first sixteen volumes of Massachusetts Reports, except Volume I. The College gave him the honorary degree of LL. D. in 1823, and he was one of the Overseers from 1815 to 1821. He had two sons who graduated at Harvard: Dr. Dudley Atkins (1816), who resumed the family name of Atkins; and Rev. Stephen Higginson Tyng (1817), the elder of the two distinguished Episcopal clergymen of that name in New York, to whom the College gave the honorary degree of S.T. D. in 1851.

Either it was simply known and honored in the family that Mrs. John Winslow was very attached to her maiden name, or great uncle Isaac may have had hopes that naming his second daughter after his wealthy sister-in-law would bear worldly fruit for her. As the extract above tells us, the elder Sarah Tyng Winslow died in 1791, which was two years after the marriage of her namesake to Samuel Waldo. For more on Eleazar Tyng (and the wonderful portrait of him painted by John Singleton Copley in 1772) and his daughter, go to <http://www.nga.gov/collection/gallery/gg60b/gg60b-50291-prov.html> .

of Animal bones in it – It was a great mystery at the time, what could have been the use of that arch or vault, but it was conjectured to have been a depot of

147 Isaac visits Portsmouth. Visitors in Boston. Aunt Pickering moves to Barton St. Ben briefly apprenticed to a druggist, but soon returns to College.

provisions, in time of war, perhaps.

A visit of my Father in Portsmouth is also recorded in September of this year, and afterward of brother Edward at the same place, both on business, I believe, though at the same time they probably saw the Sparhawk and Humphrey families, always intimate with our own. Parties are mentioned at home also for a bride Mrs Duncan daughter of Ben Willis and niece to Mr Sam Sparhawk; also for a Mr Clarke of England relative of the late Lord Lyndhurst & Mrs Gardner* Greene. Going to a return party at Mrs Willis', Mother with others of the family stops on the way "to see the new Quincy Market House lit up for the first time of a Saturday evening". Another party in Oct of the Cotton family &c for Miss DeChezreau[?][†] of Halifax a Sandemanian cousin of theirs. Edw returns from Portsmouth Oct 6th "Never was more glad to see any body", Mother writes. – "his Father is so dull in trouble about an old vessel," mentions a Mrs Fairbanks who drowned herself and children at Craigies' bridge, supposed from poverty. – Brs Isaac and Thomas encamped with their respective military companies at Dedham.

Aunt Pickering moves into a new brick house in Barton S^t at the foot of Leverett, with a very pleasant back view over Charles River. "Took a little girl named Alice from the female Asylum" Mother says – she afterward gave her up to Aunt Pickering.

"Our Benjamin P left college – Mr Winslow went to get him a place at Mr Henry White's druggist" apprenticed there Oct 24th.[‡] My Father thought that all of the boys ought to learn some trade like the sons of even the wealthiest Hebrews of old, that they might have something to fall back upon in times of need or misfortune in business – I suppose that in addition to this idea he was depressed at this time about his own affairs, and felt unable to carry my brother through college. However affairs must have mended soon for BP returned to Cambridge in the following February – Mother writes somewhat indignantly, "Mr White's proved a very unfit place for such a boy." Mother took not a little pride in Ben and wished him to remain in College.

Oct 26th ["Received 130 dollars for signing away my Father's right to the land on which the new Theatre is building" –(now Tremont temple)[§]

148 Mother's Journal continued. Domestic doings. Brother Tom's hand burned. More about Mrs. Chase's death and other bereavements.

* Error for "Gardiner."

† I can find no instances of this name, but there is a family named *DuChezreau* or *Duchezeau*.

‡ Benjamin graduated with his class in 1829, so neither his apprenticeship here nor his rustication in 1827 slowed down his overall progress in college.

§ 80 Tremont St., just down the block from the property the Winslows had occupied on Beacon St. and lived in by Margaret's great Aunt Sukey Winslow and where Isaac's father's family first lived when they returned to Boston in 1784 and that eventually became the site of the Tremont House. Above, II, 48-49.

This was a quit claim;* the property having lapsed from inattention. It would now produce a fortune.

“Oct 30th Sally Ayers left my service” – a most respectable American[†] woman, she had lived with Aunt Henrietta, and afterward became one of the best corset makers in Boston.

31st “Mrs Hudgens & child went to board at a Mrs Hunt’s in Court S^b”

Nov 3rd a Friday evening party of the Starks, Miss Willis, Elizth Chase Eliza Houston &c &c – some Strangers invited.

1827
resumed.

Oct 17th My brother Thomas burned his hand with a bottle of Vitriol[‡] and was helpless with it a long time, suffering a great deal. – Had Dr Shattuck to attend him for many weeks.

Nov 30th A Thanksgiving party both at dinner and supper. Aunt Pickering’s and Uncle Ben’s families & Oliver Sparhawk – among the former,[§] Mrs M^cKeige & three daughters, granddaughter and a Miss Campbell one of her scholars, the Simpsons, Uncle Blanchard and a Mr Cavenor^[?] (stranger) [^{[?]at the latter. Dec 4 “Thomas out to see the new rail ways.”–suppose on the Leverett road. [^{[?]Isaac returned from a business trip to Plymouth.[?]”}]}

All though this winter Mother was much with Mrs Chase who sank rapidly, and died, as is previously recorded in this Memoir, on the 7th of December. She says of Mrs C, –“She was a kind benevolent woman, much beloved by all her acquaintances – I feel as if I had lost a friend in her”. Funeral Dec 11th. After her death, Mother was very attentive to Sally Waldo and Elizabeth Chase – I am surprised also to see how many neighborly visits she made, and how many calls of relations and friends she received, as well as both dinner and evening company, in her feeble state and with her numerous household cares. She visited the Oliver and Hurd family after the death of Mr Oliver, a Mrs Payson upon occasion of a similar bereavement, besides several others during that winter – She mentions in December a Christmas party at the Simpsons which some of “the boys” attended but of course she did not go. Thurs 18th she says Charles Pearce and Major Bryant dined here The Winslow girls drank tea here, These were Uncle Ben’s daughters then at Miss Callahan’s.

149 Isaac’s family journal now taken over by his wife. Family members off to hear Dr. Channing and Mr. Beecher.

The weather which ushered in the winter of 1826-7 has already been described from my Father’s journal which ends here – Mother having taken up the family Diary from this time onward.

* A quitclaim is a deed in which the grantor disclaims any interest he may have in a property and is sometimes used when property is transferred to a business entity and to eliminate any clouds on a title. It is not clear what it means to say the property had “lapsed due to inattention” or why its dilapidated state would have affected anything but the monetary value. It seems likely that a quitclaim was used in this case (instead of the usual grant deed) because there may have been uncertainty about Joshua Blanchard’s having had a clear claim to the property. The amount seems ridiculously small, even if whatever structures on the property were to be torn down. This was a prime location at the period, as may be gathered from the fact that the city’s finest hotel and one of its only two theaters were built there.

† See above, IV, 133 and n.

‡ Sulfuric acid. Among its commercial uses at this period was in the dyeing of fabrics, but I do not know why Thomas would have been handling it. It may simply have been among the commodities in which his father’s firm dealt (and in this case likely imported).

§ I.e., the people at dinner party (and the latter being those at the supper party).

Jan 5th mentions Harding the Painter* as one of her Friday dinner party and a Mr Bullfinch a stranger, I suppose.

Sun 7th Mentions Aunts Henrietta and Pickering going to an evening lecture by Dr Channing† – Same evening my father having been to see Old Mrs Sandemanian Harris, stops in “to hear Mr Beecher‡ afterward Dr Beecher “hold forth in his new Gothic church in Hanover S^t – thinks him a sensible man.” So go the contraries in religion! I fancy old Mrs Harris, Drs Channing and Beecher if they had all “held forth” in the same place would have been curious to hear.

Dec 9th Hears of sudden death of young Harry Otis§ after a sleighing party.

Dec 10th Judge Potter of Portland, and British Consul Manners & Son to dine. Father attends Anniversary meeting of “the Howard benevolent society”.**

Dec 13th “Thomas Sparhawk & Dr [Reuton? Renton?] both from Concord NH dined here”. Very cold weather as Father previously mentions “Everybody complaining of frost bitten noses and ears.”

19th “Went to see E Chase and Sally Waldo – their chamber very cold.” Few people now, at least in our cities, have an idea how even families in good circumstances then suffered with the cold. Few had a fire in their sleeping rooms except in case of illness, and when they did, the breath was visible a few feet from it, so it was in the family sitting room Those only were at all warm who sat close to the open fireplace –All others were and expected to be cold as a matter of course. In the chambers every drop of liquid froze solid, and the windows were all day curtained with thick frost, especially if it were cloudy weather, or they were facing North Halls or entries were equally chilly – Kitchens were cold with a roaring wood fire in them, Pumps had to be wrapped in woolen: plants blanketed around the parlor fire; every breakable vessel or pitcher emptied for fear of cracking; and provisions cared for liable to be injured by freezing hard.

150 Robberies. A Pirate hanged next door. Mother’s cough. Frank Waldo

**Mother’s
Journal**

Jan 22nd Aunt Henrietta had a valuable gold watch stolen from the parlor by a woman who professed to apply for a situation as cook. Nothing ever heard of it–. Uncle Blanchard had a year or two previous been robbed of his watch by two foot pads†† in a bye street of Boston; – So it seems that the town was “getting on” even then. Jan 27th Little Margaret’s birth day 11 years old – She was indulged with a small party, a great many sugar plums and scraps of poetry(?)* from the boys. On the 25th Father had dined with

* Above, IV, 101, 104.

† William Ellery Channing (above, IV, 58) and uncle and mentor of Ben’s Harvard classmate William Henry Channing.

‡ Lyman Beecher (1775–1863), father of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Henry Ward Beecher, Charles Beecher, Edward Beecher, among others. He was a conservative Calvinist appalled by the liberal drift of Boston churches towards Unitarianism, a strong advocate of Temperance, and a leader of the evangelical Second Great Awakening. The Hanover Street Church, alluded to here, was built in 1826 and burned down in 1830.

§ Perhaps a son of Harrison Gray Otis (above, IV, 91n.).

** Founded in 1819 to respond to the needs of families and widows in crisis and still in operation at 14 Beacon St..

†† Footpad. OED: *A highwayman who robs on foot.* Obsolete.

the Long Wharf Corporation. Father was considered one of the Pillars of Long Wharf, not however one of the posts, for he was an active member of the corporation.[†] I think his old store is about the only one which now remains of the original buildings there.

On the 31st there was a great excitement about the hanging of a Pirate on Almshouse wharf near our house. His companion Pirate had hung himself in the Jail on the previous day. My brother Benjamin says that the young boys had in former days mimicked these executions with miniature Gibbets and Pirates, which shews that they did not impress the young with that solemnity which our worthy magistrates probably desired.[‡]

Jan 31st Miss Jane Sparhawk, Elizabeth's cousin, passed a few days with us.

Feb 1st "Eliza Pickering here in the evening, also Eliza and Margaret Houston, Mr W[?]" (my Father) [?] treated us with sugarplums in anticipation of his birthday tomorrow, commencing his 53rd year "old fellow." [?] What would she have thought of his 83rd, had she lived to see it as he did. "I sent for Dr Shattuck, my cough very troublesome, – he ordered a warm house & bathing, good nourishing food, rest and sleep, and a daily drive in the open air every decent day, [?]" – we might have kept her longer with us. But good Dr S was an awful believer in doses and drugs, to our sad cost in every way.

Feb 7th "Mr Winslow had a large party in the back room, of men on business: I fancy this was something about Frank Waldo's affairs, as William Waldo was among them. – Frank W

151 Benjamin nearly frozen walking to Cambridge. "Delightfully ugly" Ned Lawson. Robert Manners, a "fast" Englishman.

1827

Mother's
Journal

a handsome talented young man, had always been a torment to his Mother and consequently to my Father - her friend and adviser. I suppose he wanted after her death to get hold of her property having always squandered more than his share.

He was a great grief to his excellent sister Sally, who since her mother's death was fast sinking into a decline brought on by her faithful and close attendance in the sick room and in the family.

* The question mark in parens is Margaret's, so she may have had difficulty in making out the word or may not have understood or recollect exactly what being indulged with scraps of poetry might mean—though we know she is fond of poetry. I would imagine either that the boys recited to her or wrote (and recited) little poems for her. But evidently not sufficiently memorably—unless the question mark is simply an ironic jab.

† Perhaps Margaret is thinking of the phrase *from pillar to post* and connotations of *post* that are evident in such proverbial expressions as *deaf as a post* (which was prevalent in the mid-nineteenth century) and *dumb as a post*, which is not attested in *OED* but is nevertheless prevalent nowadays (and may have evolved from *deaf as a post*). *OED* also notices *to run one's head against a post: (perh.) to be frustrated; to receive one's comeuppance*, which would also accord with Margaret's meaning that her father was no obstacle to business.

‡ The Almshouse and Jail were adjacent in Leverett St. There is a long and lurid account of these "pirates," their crimes, and their trial in Henry St. Clair, *The United States Criminal Calendar, or An Awful Warning to the Youth of America* (Boston: Charles Gaylord, 1840), 76-85. The hanged man was Sylvester Colson, but he went by the alias of Winslow (!) Curtis. His partner, who hanged himself from the grates in his cell (even though they were not high enough to allow him to hang full length, according to the account in the *Rhode-Island American* (Feb. 2, 1827, p. 1) was Charles Marchant. The crime was the murders of the captain and mate of the schooner *Fairy* on which Colson and Marchant were crew, and the motive seems to have been simple disgruntlement with how they were being treated. They were eventually apprehended with the help of Capt. Hook (!) of the schooner *Sally*. St. Clair's account ends thus: Colson "was a man of ordinary stature, and without any peculiarity of person or feature. After his body was cut down, some experiments were made on it with a very powerful galvanic battery, conducted by Doctor Webster. The most appalling effects were produced."

Feb 11th “One of the coldest nights of the winter, – Our poor Benjamin walked to Cambridge and was nearly frozen with the wind and snow blowing in his face; – Could hardly keep his feet; but thanks to a kind Providence he arrived there in safety.”*

14th “A thaw; but a great quantity of snow still on the ground.”

15th “Mr W dined with Richard D Tucker. Again on the 17th with Mr James Hall, an old neighbor. Edward Lawson of Halifax staying with us.” This Edward Lawson was excessively plain, but very funny. He used to pretend making love to Elizabeth Chase, who in her wild way screamed out at his “delightful ugliness” as she called it. It was very droll to see them together I remember his buying an india rubber air cushion to take home to Halifax as a new Yankee invention. This he expanded and placed between her face and his, peeping round the edge at her, and telling her that she longed to kiss him he was so handsome; whereat she gave one of her screams.– Kiss you, Ned Lawson, you’re a fright!” She would say – “You’re the most delightfully ugly man I ever saw!” And the contrast of the two faces, one on either side of the cushion, was certainly a study for the Artist.

18th “John A Winslow obtained a warrant to enter the Navy but is not yet appointed to any vessel.” Now famous and a Commodore.

22nd Sally Waldo and Elizth Chase left the old house in Leverett S^t and went to board with a Mrs Whitwell in Chestnut S^t

23rd “Small dinner party – Mr R D Tucker & Son, Mr James Hall, Mr Dixon and Mr Gossler, a German”.

28th “Robert Manners here evening to play chess, also previously on the 19th A fast[†] young Englishman, as was his burly Father before him My Father drawn into this intimacy by business relations, but although lefthanded descendants[‡] of Nobility, they were very undesirable acquaintance for us,

1827 and it was a Providential mercy that our young men were not ruined by the intercourse as perhaps I have before remarked.[§]

March was occupied with much the same ongoings of the family – Everyday some of the family connections calling in at “the house” as it was familiarly called, or sometimes, “the Ark”: Little gatherings there or at my Aunt Pickering’s; “The boys” invited to parties among their acquaintance, and strangers dining with us, or coming to pass an evening. Among these I chiefly remember one little Mr Heilbron a Jew merchant of London, the head of the firm

* A good hour-long walk today under ideal conditions.

† *Webster’s 3rd Unabridged* suggests two possible meanings: either *unusually quick and ingenious or cunning in finding or recognizing and profiting by easy and often shady ways of making or acquiring money* or *marked by trickery and unfairness*.

‡ Either descendants via a morganatic marriage or via illegitimate descent. “Morganatic” means, in the OED’s definition, *Designating or relating to a marriage in which a man of high rank marries a wife of lower rank, but neither the wife nor any children of the marriage have any claim to the possessions or title of the husband. Also (occas.): designating a similar arrangement between a woman of high rank and a man of lower rank*.

§ This is the first notice we have had of Mr. Manners. A Wikipedia article on General Lord Robert Manners (c. 1721– 1782) lists among his children a General Robert Manners (1758–1823), who had a mistress, Mary Ann Goodchild (1780–1854) (also known as Mansel) with whom he had 5 children, and it is possible he is the father of the Robert Manners mentioned here. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lord_Robert_Manners_%28British_Army_general%29.

since that of “McLean Maris & Co,” – now quite a wealthy and noted house of business.* The 27th was Mother says, “uncomfortably warm for the season.”

On the 2nd of April Mr Houston went to look at a house in Exeter, NH Mrs Houston having persuaded him to move there much to the grief of his daughters who could not bear to be separated from the circle of all their family friends and connections. Mother and Aunt Henrietta were very indignant about it.

On the 14th Mother writes – “A stranger calling himself Alderman Bailey, an Englishman from Halifax, sent his card to us late in the evening, desiring to see Mr W or one of his sons immediately. Our Thomas went to the Stage House where he had put up. He proved to be very silly, and so delicate that he could not stay one night at a public house. So Thomas took him up to Mrs Delano’s boarding house[?]† (now Beacon S^t near the Athenaeum) This Bailey was a frequent visitor afterward, at our house, and a most absurd person he was, with his gold striped pantaloons, his flashy neck handkerchiefs and chains and rings, his grand eloquent air and cockneyish speech. “The boys” made great fun of him and pretended that there was a flirtation between him and Miss Charlotte Thomas, who was a devoted admirer of Englishmen. My Father used to be much amused with his pompous ways, and sometimes mischievously “drew him out” in a good natured way, to the great

153 A party of people soon to be dispersed and Margaret’s reflections on “unimagined consequences.” M. & Mme. Canda

satisfaction of “the Alderman,” who thought he was making a profound impression of English superiority on the benighted Yankees around him.

Ap 16th “Hard frost– Ice an inch thick – great change from the warm weather in March.”

18th “Our B P W has a short vacation; so he went to the theatre with “the Alderman” and walked around to shew him the city, for which he appeared grateful; but it required some confidence to go about with him as he made himself so conspicuous, and Benjamin did not much like it.

Fri 20th Small party in the evening.– Mrs McKeige and daughter Francis‡ and Mrs Hoit were here[?] (the former lives now in Italy, having married an Italian by the name of Penazzi) – another daughter married afterward a German by the name of Schneidler[?] and lives in that country or somewhere in Europe – I attended Mrs McKeige’s French school at this time, as did also Ellen Houston and Amory Winslow) – [“also the three Houston girls were of this party Francis Doane daughter of our neighbor Sam Doane, Eliza Pickering and “boys,” [?] our “own boys” of course, [“]and a Mr and Mrs Canda and their children – These were French people and in reduced circumstances and he was said to have been an officer in Napoleon’s Army, and his wife of a good family in France– She was quite ladylike and accomplished, and they kept a dancing school to which I went at this time – and also a few boarders lived with them to learn the French language. The children danced this evening beautifully for us as I remember, by the father’s violin; – After the revolution of July 1830, I

* I.e., Mr. Heilbron was the head of the firm that has since become McLean, Maris & Co.

† Formerly the Bowdoin Mansion.

‡ There seems to have been less consistency in spelling the female form of the name “Frances” in the mid-nineteenth-century (and vice versa) than there is nowadays.

believe the family returned to France,* Thus have been since scattered to all the parts of the world, those who once met beneath my Father's roof in social intercourse. How strange it would be to meet them all again and hear their various fates and vicissitudes. May it not be so hereafter? Even a transient intercourse with others, leaves some effect upon the character, perhaps upon the lot of everyone.— Will that effect not be revealed in the disclosures of all things which we are assured will take place in the future world? If so, should not Christians watch and pray that even such casual meetings may be for good and not for evil, so far as they are concerned. A word, a look a tone of voice, even a manner, may be a seed of unimagined consequences.

154 M. L'Augier's method of musical instruction. Exhibition of pictures at the Athenaeum.

1827
Journal

Last illness
of Sally
Waldo

All through the month of May, Sally Waldo continued to decline, being frequently visited and even watched with by Aunt Pickering and Aunt Henrietta at Mrs Whitwell's – My Mother also visited her, but it was a great effort to her as her own cough was now increasing and she had begun to spit blood. Mr Sam Sparhawk was in Boston at this time for a few days to see - his son Oliver who was boarding with Monsieur and Madame Canda, and his daughter Elizabeth who was staying with her cousin Mrs Newell at Charlestown in order to obtain a quarter's instruction in music. Her teacher and mine both established what was called the L'Augiarian system from a Frenchman L'Augier who invented it to perfect the ear in keeping time. Several pupils played on different pianos at the same time – One leading in the theme, and the others playing each a separate harmony or variation to the principal air, so as to produce one whole or simultaneous effect upon the audience.

May 23rd Mother writes, “Eliza Pickering, Elizabeth Sparhawk Mr Winslow, our Edward, myself and little Margaret all went to see an exhibition of pictures at the Athenaeum some of them very fine. All returned here to tea with the addition of our BP in from Cambridge, and Eliza and Marg^t Houston. May 9th Bought a silk dress, \$4.50, the whole dress cost.†

26th “I accompanied Elizabeth Chase to see Mrs Robbins in Beacon S^t where we met Mrs Morse of Watertown and argued with her for the removal of poor Sally Waldo to her house. – we hope it may be the means of reviving her strength.

29th My brother George left Mr Canda's where he had boarded for a short time to learn the French language.

* Margaret has the family's return to France wrong. There is a famous tomb in the Greenwood cemetery in Brooklyn, NY, erected by Charles Canda—indeed, a former officer of Napoleon's, who fought at Waterloo. His circumstances much improved after the period when the Winslows knew him. He eventually ran what evolved into a very exclusive boarding school in lower Manhattan and in 1845 lost his daughter Charlotte in a tragic accident on the evening of her seventeenth birthday, when the horses of the driverless carriage she had just entered to take her home started, and Charlotte shortly after fell out of the vehicle, fatally hitting her head upon a curb. The ornate tomb her father built for her became one of the most frequented spots in the cemetery. There is an informative article about all this in the *New York Times* of July 7, 2002: <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/07/07/realestate/streetscapes-readers-questions-an-1858-house-2-similar-buildings-stained-glass.html?pagewanted=1> . Charlotte would have been born in 1828, so it would have been older siblings who entertained and were entertained by the Winslows in Boston. And see below, V, 42.

† About \$100 today using CPI. The final comment seems to me more likely to be Margaret's than her mother's.

30th Election day. E Pickering and self went out to make purchases for a journey to N York and Philadelphia. We had here to bid us good bye, Eliza, M and Ellen Houston, E Sparhawk Miss Thomas, Brs JPBlanchard and B Winslow,* and heaps of boys.
31st Mr W, E Pickering, our Edward and myself set off in the stage at 5 AM – Got to Providence at 12 M,[†] and on board the steam boat Washington. Had a very pleasant time, not sick, as I expected

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Awkward sleeping arrangements averted in New York.

Visit to
N York and
Philadelphia

but rather dizzy and headachy.— On passing Point Judith most of the ladies and some of the gentlemen were sick, among whom were Mrs E P and our Edward. It was a very rough passage round the point but soon over.

June 1st Pleasant day. – in sight of Long Island. We met on board Mr and Mrs Loring[‡] (a daughter of Joseph Head and a very pleasant woman) an[§] Samuel Hollland the son of our old Olive St neighbor. Arrived at New York between 9 and 10 o'clock AM – Went to Bunker's Hotel on Broadway a fine house but very extravagant." I wish Mother had recorded the amount of the Bunker's bill for comparison with present prices at "extravagant Hotels." "Eliza Pickering and "our Edward" went to see Kean play at the theatre.** Dr Bartlett (of the Albion) and wife, Mr and Mrs Myers and two gentlemen called to see us." June 2nd "Left for Philadelphia at 6 AM in steam boat – arrived at Brunswick about 2 PM took stage to Trenton and passed a curious bridge – then went on board another steam boat "The Trenton," had a beautiful sail, and arrived at Philadelphia about 6 PM. Took lodgings with a Quaker lady where we are very comfortable and quite at home". This simple hearted Quakeress, being rather short of rooms, wished to put Edward and Aunt Pickering into an apartment with two beds in it; saying to the former in the most matter of fact way – "Thee wouldn't mind, Eliza, having thy nevey in the room with thee." Said "nevey" being a whiskered young man of 24 years old. The arrangement was therefore disagreed to by the "world's people",^{††} Father taking the two bedded room with Edward, and Mother taking Aunt Pickering with herself. – The journal goes on to say that the party were much more pleased with Philadelphia than with n York–. "It is so very clean, she says; The public buildings are much handsomer, the people so civil." Her cousin Dr Hodge called and she

* Her brother-in-law Benjamin Winslow, not Margaret's brother Ben.

† Although the letter seems to be "M," I suspect that an "N" was intended, indicating noon instead of midnight. On modern roads, Providence is only a bit over forty miles from Boston, so a nineteen hour stage trip seems very unlikely. Moreover, a midnight arrival would mean the next leg was completed in only ten hours and an average speed therefore of about 15 knots, which seems very fast for the period.

‡ Over "Loring" is written what I believe to be "Lorning?)," though it is difficult to make out and might be "Larning," among other possibilities. We have up to now met many Lornings but no Lornings, and the latter names do not turn up on the usual databases.

§ Perhaps "and" was intended.

** Edmund Kean (1789–1833), widely regarded as the greatest English actor of his time and perhaps of all time. In 1827, however, all sources I have located, including the biography by F. W. Hawkins (1869), indicate that he had returned to London. It is plausible that he performed in New York in early June of 1826, however. (Hawkins says he performed in Baltimore on the 7th.) So this is a puzzle. Is it possible that Margaret has somehow gotten off by a year?

†† The worldly people with whom Quakers were reluctant to mingle.

and Father went to see her Aunt Hodge. She says [“I found her looking much older than I expected and very much out of health. I admire her daughter in law, Charles’ wife, and the Dr seems a very amiable, pleasing, friendly young man.” An excellent Quaker friend and correspondent of my father’s David Lewis also sent his family to call upon them, and Josh Haven’s[?] likewise called.

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Sightseeing in Philadelphia and New York.

1827

NY
&
Phila
delphia

They visited Peale’s Museum, Penn’s Hospital, a gallery of Paintings and statuary, West’s great painting “Christ healing the sick in the Temple,” to the Fairmount water works, Pratt’s garden, the then new Penitentiary &c &c, of all which my Mother gives a description in her journal.* Several other acquaintances are also mentioned as having called and paid them attention, Mrs Guisenger, her sister Mrs Lawrence and others, so that poor Mother was “quite fagged out” as she expresses it, and although she much enjoyed it all, yet perhaps she was not sorry to turn homeward on the 9th of June, when she says “we left Philadelphia in the Steam boat “Pennsylvania” landed at Bordentown,[†] took stage, 25 miles, to Washington NJ, thence by steamboat to New York, a whole day’s journey; They took lodgings at a Mrs Dugald’s[‡] overlooking the Battery and the harbor, then a genteel and pleasant location.

June 10th “Dr Bartlett sent us some Boston newspapers wherein was inserted the death of poor Sally Waldo who expired the very day after being taken to Watertown. This was, although expected, a great shock to us, as our letters had gone on to Philadelphia. We hoped

Journal.

S Waldo’s
death.

that she was better, or at least would continue till our return. We walked two miles to Mr Buchanan’s meeting.” This was the British consul[§] in N York, who was a sort of Sandemanian in his religious views. June 11th Returned the call of Mrs Masters[?] (Markoe Masters & Co correspondents of my Father) [“12th Went with Dr Bartlett his wife and sister to Hoboken NJ on the opposite shore; a very

beautiful place. 13th Received calls from Consul Buchanan Mr & Mrs Marcoe and several others. went over two miles to see Mrs Capt Tom Winslow.** E Pickering and Edward went in the evening to Castle Garden^{††} where there was a band of music, and fireworks were exhibited. 14th All went in the Steamboat Linnaeus to Flushing, LI visited Prince’s botanical garden^{‡‡} and dined at a small inn on good bread & butter cheese and eggs, which we relished

* And all but Pratt’s Garden remain important sightseeing venues in Philadelphia today. Dickens writes extensively about the penitentiary based on his 1842 visit in *American Notes for General Circulation*.

† New Jersey, on the Delaware River.

‡ On the following page, she becomes Mrs. McDugald.

§ The U.K. National archives list James Buchanan as Consul general for eastern states 1817 to 1819, 1821, 1824, and 1825.

** Mary Winslow (above, IV, 94).

†† A circular fort completed in 1811 in what is now Battery Park, renamed Castle Clinton in 1815. The U.S. Army stopped using the fort in 1821 and leased it to the city as Castle Garden for use as a place of public entertainments. In the mid-nineteenth century it became the point of entry for immigrants, the predecessor to Ellis Island.

‡‡ William Prince II was the proprietor of the Linnaean Botanic Garden at Flushing—hence the steamboat’s name. Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778) is regarded as “the father of modern taxonomy.” The garden began operation in 1737 by William’s grandfather Robert.

better than any dinner we have had since we left home. Returned to the city about 5 PM and found cards from Dr Bartlett, young Robert Foster, Mr Levi (the rich Jew) Mrs Tom Winslow and son Robert.” Uncle John Winslow also went to see them, and of course was then living in N York – My brother Edward was to remain there and endeavor by Fathers help and credit to establish himself in business, so Mother writes when they finally left NY June 16th, –“We took a walk through the Battery to take leave of it and at 3 PM embarked on board the

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1827

Return to Boston, Br Edward left in NY.

Steamboat Washington for Providence. Left poor Edward standing on Mrs M^cDugal’s steps – To leave him I found rather trying. –Found on board a Mr and Mrs Bailey from Philadelphia she formerly a Miss Hall of Boston, and with them Miss Cunningham sister of Mrs Josh Haven[?] who was to have gone to Boston under our care”. (This was a very pleasing young lady – She afterward married Parkman Blake of Boston)* [“Arrived at Providence about 10 o’clock June 17th took the stage and dined at Dedham Arrived at home in Leverett S^t about 7 PM, where thanks to our kind Heavenly Father we found all safe and well.” “Two ladies came under our care from N York, a Mrs Smith and a Miss Jackson whom EP and self called to see the next day. Miss Cunningham also called to see us”– Such were the old travelling courtesies, letters and packages had to be delivered in person and fellow travellers called upon – and the recipients of letters or packages as well as the fellow travellers generally called also, in acknowledgement of the civility bestowed. “Old school days, indeed!”.

Mother’s Journal at home.

“June 18th BPW came in from Cambridge to see us. Two boys attacked George in the street and beat him in the face.‡ Mr Winslow brought home a Mr Pollock and another man from N York to pass the evening.

June 19th Mr W and self went to see Elizth Chase at Watertown. Found her more composed than we had expected. Her cousin Mrs Mary Bradford was staying with her. June 21st Miss Susan Sparhawk and the Miss Humphreys from Portsmouth (now staying at Charlestown with Mrs Newell) Elizth Sparhawk, Mrs Newell and br BW dined here – Eliza

* According to Samuel Blake, *A Genealogical History of William Blake, of Dorchester and his Descendants* (Boston: Ebenezer Clapp, Jr., 1857, “Samuel Parkman Blake [...], m. Ann Boylston Cunningham, of Boston, Feb. 18, 1830. He was son of Edward and Sarah (Parkman) Blake, born Jan. 30, 1804. He is engaged in the patent leather manufacture; resides in Roxbury, and has a store in Boston” (72). And according to James and Lois Cowan, S. Parkman Blake was nephew and assistant to Dr. George Parkman, the victim of a sensational murder at Harvard Medical College in 1849, a case that fascinated Dickens because (quite apart from the fact that he never could ignore a sensational murder) Dickens had met Parkman’s murderer, John Webster, professor of Chemistry at the College in 1842. The Cowans maintain a web site about their book at <http://www.whokilledparkman.com/index.html> and a sample that includes the above information about Parkman Blake. Of course Margaret would have known about the murder, but perhaps not the closeness of Parkman Blake to it.

† Margaret here begins the practice when quoting from her mother’s journal of beginning each line with an opening quotation mark.

‡ He was at the time just about to turn fifteen.

Pickering came in the afternoon and all went to see David's painting the coronation of Buonaparte & Josephine*

23rd My old friend Mrs Bartlett of Marblehead, E Pickering, Elizth Chase and Sam Waldo dined here Judge Potter & daughter called PM —

24th I called to see Mr[†] Hudgens whose son Augustus has been quite sick

26th Mr & Mrs Daniel Greenleaf of Quincy & E Pickering dined here –

Mrs Newell, Elizth Sparhawk & Joe Minot here PM – Mrs McKeige and son here in the even'g. – I received letters from our Edward and brother John W- they complain of the heat and dirt in NY.

July 1st Uncle Davis, Eliza Pickering & boy the Winslow girls, Oliver & Elizth Sparhawk all here at meeting.” And this was the way we lived constantly – but

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1827

Journal

Edward's
return.

it would be tedious to give every day's occurrences and visitors. In July being BPW's college vacation Mother mentions several meetings of a musical band of which he was one, practising for serenades.

“July 26th Our Edward returned from N York by way of Albany.” Mother had been alarmed at hearing of some cases of yellow fever in NY, and Edward not being well himself, she insisted upon his return home. – He went on again the following

November and was there till near the middle of December, but by this time my Father had given up the idea of establishing him in N York and not long afterward he formed a partnership with Charles W and son of Judge Ward a very respectable man and went into the metal trade, in Boston. This young Ward had a great deal of musical taste which led him into dissipated habits, and he did not get along very well in business, although pleasant as a companion; He was one of “the band” of which I have spoken above, as were also W^m Pickering and our Thomas, – with some other young men of their acquaintance.

Narrow
escape.

July 28th Mother records an incident worth copying. “This afternoon Mr W hired a carriage, and we took Miss Thomas, Henrietta, Eliza P our BPW and little Marg^t to see E Chase at Watertown:– left our little M there to pass a few days, and called on Consul Manners[‡] at Brighton hill. On coming down this hill from the house, one of our horses proved so restive that we thought best to get out, and it was a Providential escape, for the horse fell and threw the carriage over a steep embankment. We all went back to the house, sent the carriage to be repaired and did not get home till 11 oclock at night.” That dangerous “Manners Hill” had also at another time nearly proved fatal to Edward, whose horse ran away there in the dark, frightened by a loose trace of the harness, and just grazed the

* Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825), “Consecration of the Emperor Napoleon I and Coronation of the Empress Josephine in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris on 2 December 1804.” The painting measures 20 by 32 feet, and it seems doubtful that it went to America. David did himself paint a replica, which replaced the original in the Louvre, and perhaps this is the painting that went on tour.

† Error for “Mrs.”

‡ George Manners (1778-1853), a satirical writer and editor before becoming a diplomat. He was as British consul in Boston, Massachusetts from 1819 to 1839. Not to be confused with the Englishmen of the same name we have previously met (above, IV, 151). William Jerdan, the eminent English journalist and satirist, an early appreciator and close friend of Dickens, said of Manners, whose *Satirist, or Montbly Meteor* Jerdan had taken over in 1812, that he was “a gentleman in every sense of the word, full of fancy and talent, acute and well informed” (*Autobiography* [London: Arthur Hall, 1852], I, 108).

gatepost, at which, if upset, he must have been, thrown violently out and probably killed So much for dissipated and worldly connections! If Christians escape from them morally, it is, as it were, “by the skin of their teeth.” Were not these bodily escapes a warning? Thanks to a merciful Father both for* the physical and moral preservations, known and unknown, through all the manifest dangers which have been around us in life, and might have proved our destruction.

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1827.

Journal

Death of
Augusta
McKeige

Aug 5th My Mother mentions the death by accident of one of Br B’s college classmates, a son of Mr W^m Sturgis, who was killed by being struck on the head by the boom of a vessel in which he had gone on a fishing expedition.

Aug 9th Mother mentions the death of Mrs McKeige’s youngest daughter Augusta by the breaking of a blood vessel – I was attending Mrs McKeige’s school at this time, and I well remember the fine appearance of this young lady, and the fascination she exercised over all the scholars and in fact over all around her – My Mother writes “it is a dreadful loss to her Mother and to all who knew her: – so

young, so gay, so handsome, so amiable, she is snatched in a moment as it were, from light, life and pleasure” – I should say mercifully taken from the temptations which would have beset her. “Three of Mrs McKeige’s young lady boarders” continues my Mother, “came home with me from the house of mourning, Miss Campbell, Miss Hammond and Miss Page, who all stayed some days with us.” The latter afterward married George Stearns concerned most unfortunately with my Uncle Ben in business, and Miss Hammond married a Mr Bacon now of Brooklyn, NY – Both were very pretty girls, and said to be pleased with the attentions of Mr Pickering, as Augusta had also been – He was very handsome and greatly admired by all the young ladies of our circle, caring very little himself for any of them.

Aug 10th Funeral of Augusta McKeige, attended by Mr W, Isaac and our Thomas.–Our Edward and BP sailed in a packet for Hingham[†] Edw W Sen of Carolina brought on his son Edward from Hartford dined here with a Mr and Miss Campbell of the same state. Elizth Sparhawk here all night with the other three girls and remained over Sunday, all at our meeting. Mrs M^cKeige’s two sons here even’g. Next evening an additional party – Elizth Chase, Miss Cunningham, Mrs Josh Haven, and several strangers among who was Gosler[‡] the German. Next day Mrs McKeige’s boarders returned to her house.

21st Our BP drove me in a chaise to bring home our little M – She has been staying a week with E Chase – E Sparhawk also there. Found a party at home waiting for us, Mrs Hoit and sister Mary McKeige and, little Mary Cockburn, Miss Campbell, Miss Hammond, Miss Page, Miss Babcock and Eliza Pickering” She has these girls all at her house tomorrow even’g.

160 Excursions. President Adams. An ugly black lizard. Comings and goings.

* Written over “both” is the numeral “2” and over the “for” a “1.” A mystery to me what they mean. And see below, V, 27n.

† On the South Shore, east of Quincy.

‡ Above, IV, 151, his name is spelled *Gosler*.

1827

Journal

Aug 25th “All the McKeige girls and E Sparhawk went to the Navy Yard* with our Edward and Edw D W; Thomas and BPW.

26th Heard of death of Mr Henry Wainwright, drowned bathing near the Mill dam

28th Thomas camping at Nahant with the N England guards BPW gone there to spend the day. Henrietta and EP went to Mrs Greenleaf’s Quincy – E Sparhawk went with them to stay in the family of Mrs Tom Adams, same house with President J Q Adams.-[†]
 29th Commencement day – Our BPW returned to Cambridge. Isaac set off for Canada – We have found our reptile the Guanna[‡] – It has been lost three times”–. This was an ugly black lizard looking creature which had been sent to Edward from S. America[§] – a strange kind of pet, and we were not sorry when it was lost the last time for good and all. “Remarkable Northern lights like a broad belt in mid Heavens – You could see the stars through it, and it seemed to move from E to W. Miss Thomas gone to see the Houstons at Exeter. Great gathering at Nahant on the 31st of August to see the N Eng guards – “Edw W Sen, Eliza P and Henrietta went down in the Steam boat – Mr W myself and little M in a chaise after visiting Mrs McKeige at Blaney’s near Phillips Beach Swampscott** BW Sen and his son Ben D W, Edw D W and brother John, Arthur & Mrs Pickering and Charles Ward all there – Ball at the Hotel and fireworks in the evening notwithstanding a thunder squall.”
 “Sept 4th A gentlemans dinner party, among whom came a Mr Whittlesey with a private servant[?] – My Mother writes “We made a droll mistake in setting this man to tend table thinking him one whom Mr Winslow had hired for the occasion.”
 “Miss Helen Pearce arrived from Baltimore to stay with us.” This occasions more parties, calls, and excursions, too numerous to mention – More strangers also, and all sorts of people coming and going to and from the house.

Sept 10th News of Canning’s death prime minister of England.

12th Mr W sold Mrs Chase’s house in Leverett S^t for 4000 dollars.^{††}

16th Heard of deaths of Sam Sewalls son, Brookline, and Sam^l Simpson Cambridgeport.

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BPW’s rustication.

* At Charlestown. Established in 1801 and currently operated by the National Park Service. It is the berth of the USS *Constitution*. For most of the nineteenth century it was chiefly used for storage and repair rather than shipbuilding.

† President John Quincy Adams was in the middle of his term, but not in the capitol. His diaries record that on the 28th he went with Thomas Greenleaf to “the Quarry near the Railway” to see some work being done there and later he visits with the Greenleafs. On the 29th he notes that he had a bath and that because it is Commencement day he is not interrupted by visitors, meaning people on business. He writes, “There is a young lady here a visitor, by the name of Sparhawk of New Hampshire whose father was some years Secretary of that State.” http://www.masshist.org/jqadiaries/doc.cfm?id=jqad37_275 .

‡ Iguana.

§ Possibly a Black Spiny-tailed Iguana or Black Iguana, *Ctenosaura similis*, native to Central America. http://www.itis.gov/servlet/SingleRpt/SingleRpt?search_topic=TSN&search_value=585835 . But more likely a Galapagos iguana, described by Darwin as “a hideous-looking creature, of a dirty black colour, stupid and sluggish in its movements” (*Voyage of the Beagle*, Ch. 17).

** Probably the Blaney House hotel, a fashionable resort at the northern end of Nahant Bay.

†† About \$90,000 today using CPI.

1827

Journal

19th “Our BPW and young Phillips* went to look for board at Canton found out a Mr Huntoon† a clergyman lives 11 miles from Boston – Storm from NE – fire in the parlor –

20th Storming furiously – BP left in the stage for Canton–”

Motherlike she says not why or wherefore; nothing of the college scrape – nothing but that “B was to board at Canton for a few weeks”‡

Sep 25th Militia review on the Common – Helen Pearce’s niece little Sarah Guisenger here, also Harriet Sparhawk to stay with us

26th Elizth Sparhawk called to take leave of us. She returns tomorrow to Concord NH – having been from home 4 mos, learning music.”

Death of Mr
Daniel
Humphreys

Oct 3rd “Heard of the death of Mr Daniel Humphreys§ by a letter from Mr Samuel Sparhawk.– He died of influenza”–. This event affected all the Sandemanians a good deal, as Mr H was considered their head; – He was a learned and talented man and a most agreeable companion. I insert some lines

of my Father’s on this occasion, which were sent to the family of Mr H in Portsmouth. (Original)“Lines on the death of my Father’s old and esteemed friend Daniel Humphreys, the last Elder of the Sandemanian Society in this country, aged 87. At one time Co Elder with my Father in Boston.

Will God forbid that, o’er the sable bier
Of one so loved, – we drop the silent tear: –
Will He who kindly gives, but justly takes, –
Condemn that sorrow which His mandate makes? –
Ah no! –For oft we read, – that when in death
Mary’s loved Lazarus passed his parting breath
And in the silent tomb unconscious slept, —
The Friend of man was grieved, and “Jesus wept.”**
So sorrowing o’er the grave which now contains
Of one so loved and prized the sad remains,–
Imagination fondly tries to trace
Each well known feature of the lifeless face, –
Recalls the affections warm, the manners mild,
In wit, a man. – simplicity, a child-;

* Probably his classmate George William Phillips, elder brother of the abolitionist Wendell Phillips and son of John Phillips, Boston’s first mayor (above, IV, 91n.)

† Rev. Benjamin Huntoon (1792-1865).

‡ Above, IV, 138. Presumably Phillips was likewise rusticated following the “riotous frolic.”

§ We first met Daniel Humphreys almost fifty years previous, in 1779, when Isaac began attending his school at the age of five in New York during the Revolution. Above, I, 209. We may recall too that of all Isaac’s father’s friends, it was Mr. Humphreys who was most affected by his suicide and that his reaction to it led to controversy among the Sandemanians (above, II, 177).

** John 11: 35.

1827

Lines on
D Humphreys by
IW

The feeling heart, – compassion never slow
To soothe, to aid the afflicted child of wo:
For every human claim a willing ear, –
For human grief a sympathetic tear; –
These were all his; Survivor these were thine
In him: — Yet may we not repine. –
Calm resignation, meek humility, –
And wingéd hope, which points to joys above,
To scenes where all is bliss and all is love. –
Then dry the tear; – suppress the rising sigh: –
Around the silent, speaking grave draw nigh: –
Anticipate that bright Millennial Morn,
When myriads dead, and myriads yet unborn,
With him we mourn – from deaths long sleep shall rise, –
To change Earth's dream for Heaven's realities,
To join the blest in that celestial cry
“O Death where is thy sting where, Grave, thy victory?”*

Sweet sleep the just – in calm repose,
Freed from affliction, care and woes;
Life's toilsome voyage safely o'er,
Waiting the passage to that shore
Where Love and Joy, – and Light and Life
Succeed to Sorrow, Pain and Strife.
There Jesus hails with smiling face
The happy subjects of His grace.
Then banish grief. – for surely blest
Is he who sinks in Christ to rest.”

I W Sep 30, 1827

Mr Humphreys was of a good family and distinguished talents, and might have risen to eminence as did his brother Col Humphreys,[†] but for his unworldly principles, highly

* 1 Corinthians 15: 55.

† Col. David Humphreys (1752–1818) had been aide de camp to George Washington and was appointed the first U.S. Consul to Portugal (like William Jarvis, who preceded him [above, IV, 43]; like Jarvis, Humphreys was an early importer of Merino sheep from Spain, which was critical to the U.S. woolen industry). On Isaac's first voyage to Europe, he was supposed to be joined by Humphreys who was to negotiate for the release of prisoners of the Barbary pirates, though this plan fell through owing to delays in Isaac's ship's arrival at Alicante. (Above, II, 217 ff.). The brothers provide a fine example of a family split by their religious views during the Revolution. That David after the war maintained a lifestyle appropriate to an ambassador, while his brother was among those Sandemanians most suspicious of the snares of the world (especially after his friend Isaac's suicide), suggests what Margaret implies, that the brothers were not close following the War. It would be interesting to know just how the plan for Isaac to ship on a vessel to be met by the Consul was arranged, however. Humphreys was appointed Washington's aide de camp in June of 1780. We know that Mrs Chase (then Sarah Tyng Winslow) and her sister Betsey were with Washington's “court circle” at Morristown in

displeasing to the latter, who was of a very opposite character. The one lived to God, the other to the world. Had it been

1827 otherwise, what would now avail him his learning, his accomplishments, his fascination of manner for which all would have admired him?— and what wealth and station which those qualities might have secured? “The world passeth away and the lusts thereof; but he that doeth the will of God abideth forever.”^{*} Mr Humphreys, true to his Sandemanian principles, “laid up no treasure” save “in Heaven,”[†] and his descendants were poor, but never forsaken by my Father or by other of their Father’s friends. The last of the name died in the house of Dr Sparhawk Amesbury[‡] Mass § 1866, being his granddaughter Abby, whose Mother was a Sparhawk.

Nov
&
December
unusually
cold.

During these months my Brother Edward went again to N York with Robert Manners, being absent from the usual Thanksgiving gathering on the 29th of November. Benjamin came in from Mr Huntoon’s at Canton to attend it. The dinner party seems to have been small on this occasion, consisting only, besides our large home family, of old Uncle Davis, Uncles John Winslow lately arrived from N York; my Uncle Blanchard and a Collegiate youth named “Lazarus” from the south who was in some sort under my Father’s care. I believe he was of Jewish descent, and bore the characteristic look of his race. In the evening, although a heavy rain prevented the Simpsons, Miss Thomas and others from coming, yet a large and merry party seems to have assembled, which, as my Mother’s Journal states, consisted of^{**} [“]B Winslow the elder, his two daughters and son, Mr & Mrs Charles Winslow & son – Three young ladies from Mrs McKeige’s school – Miss Page, Miss Hammond, and Miss Campbell; Elmsmere^{††} McKeige and Mrs McK’s granddaughter little Mary Cockburn; Consul & Mrs Manners and a Mrs Ford – Mrs Hudgens and little Augustus, Eliza Pickering and all her boys — Samuel Waldo, Mr Gosler and Charles Ward – a little Miss Thatcher & Miss Bradlee[”] (my musical friends) [“]also John Winslow Sen and a young Washington Lazarus who staid after dinner. We had a violin and all the folks danced.

Dec 7th– Charles Ward[”] (brother E Ws partner) [“]had a letter from our Edward – He is coming home tomorrow. and little John Winslow with him The latter is appointed as midshipman to a sloop of war fitting out at Charlestown Navy Yard.[”]

March 1780 (above, I, 193 verso), though we don’t know for how long. But it seems quite possible that they were socializing with Col. Humphreys with Washington and Knox when their cousin Isaac’s son was a pupil of his brother across enemy lines back in New York and living in straitened circumstances.

* 1 John 2: 16-17.

† Matthew 6: 19-21. “Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal: But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal: For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.”

‡ Almost at the border with New Hampshire, so not far from Portsmouth.

§ A blank perhaps intended to be filled in later.

** It isn’t clear where exactly Margaret starts quoting, but this seems as likely a place as any.

†† A perfectly legitimate name, but the usual databases are full of “Ellesmere McKeige”s, while turning up no McKeiges with Margaret’s spelling of the first name. So this may be a misspelling.

1827 A funny little dot of a Midshipman he was, escorting young ladies over to the Navy Yard with an important air –Whoever would have dreamed of his World wide fame as the Victor of “The Kearsage,”* the destroyer of the Alabama, the hero of the greatest naval action of our age – now Commodore soon probably Admiral[†] Winslow, if he lives; and that little “Thatcher girl[?]” (a daughter of Judge Thatcher of Maine) receiving little Kate Winslow[‡] as “the Commodore’s lady” in Philadelphia, herself one of the wealthy patriotic ladies of that city during the rebellion of 1861 to 65. So things come about.

Dec 18th Eliza Houston arrived on a visit to Mrs Osias Goodwin – her Father not being willing that she should stay with us, but she was much at our house during the winter

19th My Mother writes that she passed the day and evening with us “Arthur Pickering and William, and Charles Ward were here in the evening – so glad to get a Belle among them”

Mentions “a great battle at sea, English, French and Russians against the Turks.”

Dec 28th Our George has a letter from BPW – he is coming home from Canton on the 1st of January “for good and all” as they say, and as I hope and desire.” Poor Mother, she felt this rustication much both on her own account and on that of the “college son” in whose “good standing” she took a Mother’s natural pride and interest.

All the flock were therefore together again, my Brother Edward having concluded not to remove to N York as at one time he contemplated doing. He liked that city much better during his recent visit than he had done the previous summer, having been much noticed by some of my Father’s correspondents, attended several parties, &c. But such a life would not have been very good for him and it was Providentially ordered otherwise. The Season was very severe and business was at the time quite dull in N York, as well as in Boston – he therefore returned, as I have said on the 12th of December, and was once more a member of the family at “the Ark” in Leverett S^t

1828 was ushered in by a large family party New Years night at my Aunt Pickering’s house in Barton S^t –at which Elizabeth Chase and Eliza Houston (the rival family belles) were present and all our “boys” except Br George who was not well and staid home with my Mother.** Aunt Pickering was fond of young people and so made her house very pleasant to them, so the party was probably enjoyed as much as the little miffs and disappointments and “contretems”^{††} which attend young flirtations such as were always going on in the family would permit. There were also some young ladies out of the family there – a Miss Sarah Thayer and a very pretty interesting daughter of Dr Harris the Dorchester clergyman. These young ladies also visited at our house some times.

* Margaret again misspells *Kearsarge*.

† He was promoted to Rear Admiral in 1870.

‡ He married his first cousin (daughter of Margaret’s Uncle Benjamin Winslow) Catherine Amelia Winslow.

§ Two pp. each numbered 165 have been renumbered 165a and 165b.

** He was 15, so not in need of a baby sitter, but perhaps unwell enough to need nursing.

†† *Contretemps*.

Jan 4th We also had a party of our former neighbors Mrs Doane and Hall with their daughters, Mrs Chapman and her daughters, Mrs Coffin and her daughter – a Miss Bridge of Charlestown who came with Mrs Newell, Neighbor Thatcher & sister, neighbor Phillips & daughter – Aunts Hudgens and Pickering, Eliza Houston, E Chase Miss Willis &c – The Journal says, “without intending it they danced by the Piano, and, I believe, enjoyed themselves very much. We had the husbands and brothers of the ladies with the addition of Charles Ward Oliver Sparhawk Mr Kinsman, Mr B Winslow Sen, the Pickering boys and our own. Quite a large party for us.

Dinner parties also continue to be mentioned, of sometimes one or two strangers sometimes more. My brother George seems at this time to have had a touch of scarlet fever and afterward rheumatism in the hands and feet, but was not very sick. The Small Pox being about, Dr Shattuck vaccinated my Mother George and myself, but without effect. BPW returned to his class at Cambridge Dec 5th, but continued to come in very frequently.

165b Margaret’s mother’s declining health amid continued comings and goings. Little M.’s 12th birthday party.

Jan 12th My Mother mentions some of the family as going to see Chantry’s Statue of Washington, “lately put up in the State House.”*

My Mother’s cough continued severe, and her health was declining, yet still the coming and going is daily recorded much as follows –

[“]Sunday Dec 13th Uncle Davis, E Pickering & boys here at meeting, also Oliver Sparhawk – Miss Thayer staying here – Her brother called

Nov 14th Consul Manners and Son here – He, Edward Thomas and Sarah Thayer played Whist.

16th Musical party in the back room, Charles Ward W^m Pickering, &c.

19th Two to dinner and two more to tea, and five or six in the evening.[”] – and so it goes on.

[“]21st Sarah Thayer, Edward, Thomas, BPW, the Goodwins and Eliza Houston all went to the Theatre”.

Then there are parties all round for Eliza’s entertainment at the Chapmans, and the Goodwins, and the Phillips’ – and the Andrews” &c &c, quite a round of visiting. E Chase meanwhile had been staying with Aunt Pickering, and was equally invited about. Gay times those for the young men of the family! who went every where as escorts to the young ladies. Miss Thayer still staying with us and having her friends to call and to visit. She was a lively pleasant girl, but rather plain.

27th Sunday – [“]This is our little M’s birthday – she enters her twelvth year.†

28th Preparing a little party for M her cousins Amory & Cath^c W, – Mary Cockburn, Susan Bridge, the two Miss Doanes, Miss S Thatcher and Eliza Coffin; had a dressed plum cake and a fine merry time of it. Thomas helped to amuse them with a magic Lanthorn‡ and a whirling vessel§ – Ben W Senior and W^m Waldo were here in the evening, as much amused

* Sir Francis Leggatt Chantrey (1782–1841). An English sculptor, almost all of whose subjects were English. He based the head upon the famous portrait by Gilbert Stuart.

† Actually, she turned twelve, so entered her thirteenth year.

‡ A spelling still common in the nineteenth century.

§ Possibly a toy boat with a wind-driven propeller.

as the rest.” Had the birth day been kept in modern style magic lanthorns and Whirligigs would have been scorned; but we were children,

166 Old fashioned Breeches and Stockings. An adopted Greek girl, a former slave and survivor of the massacre at Chios.

1828 not little blazé ladies and gentlemen at 12 years of age.*

Jan 31st [“]Br Isaac sets off for N York[”]; the weather was bad and no boats ran; so he went all the way by land and was three days going.

Feb 1st [“]William Waldo came to bid farewell; he is going to sea tomorrow. – Old Mrs Harris of the Sandemanian church died at her son’s house, aged 91.[”] She was a Deaconess in the church. February seems to have been uncommonly mild up to nearly the middle of the month. Afterward cold.

Journal 15th My Mother’s Journal mentions hearing of the sudden death of the famous De Witt Clinton, Governor of N York.

16th [“]“Our boys” had company this evening, Charles Ward William Pickering and Robert Manners. Edward bought a bushel of oysters cheap at auction; they are to have them for supper.

17th A family gathering – Eliza Houston, Elizth Chase the Pickering “boys”, &c. “BPW and Thomas put on some old fashioned Breeches and Stockings of black Satin and silk, formerly their Father’s, in which their slinky[†] legs looked so droll as to set the girls laughing.”

20th “Mary Cockburn, Susan Bridge and Lucretia Winslow here to see Margaret. Amory W came to take her sister home; Their Aunts Callahan being very particular that no one else should go with her.”

24th [“]An “old fashioned” drifting snow storm in the midst of which Isaac arrived from NY, astonishing every body with his hardihood as it was always his delight to do.

28th “Mr Winslow went to see his brother Benjamin and young Ben whose eyes are very weak; he is shut up in a dark room and kept on low diet.

29th Sarah Harris brought a little Greek girl here, adopted by Mr Langdon of Boston.” She was a Sciote[‡] named Garapholia, one of the orphans made captive by the Turks and sold for a slave at Smyrna.[§] I remember her shewing me her beautiful Greek dress,

* I.e., blasé.

† Not in *OED* or *Webster*, but it does turn up without the “e” in a novel published in London in 1871: Henry Holl, *The Golden Bait* (London: Tinsley Bros., 1871), 9-10, where it is helpfully defined as Northern dialectal meaning *skinny*.

‡ A term for a native of *Scio*, which is the Italian name for the Greek island of Chios in the Aegean Islands.

§ During the Greek war of Independence, a massacre of tens of thousands of Greeks living on Chios occurred at the hands of the Ottoman Turks and many more thousands were enslaved in 1822. See, e.g., Philip P. Argenti, ed. *The Massacres of Chios Described in Contemporary Diplomatic Reports* (London: John Lane the Bodley Head Ltd., 1932). The massacre was also the subject of a well-known painting by Eugène Delacroix and was written about by Lord Byron and Victor Hugo, as well as by Felicia Hemans (n. below).

1828

Greek Girl of Scio.

a green velvet tunic embroidered with gold, a little red cap, and embroidered velvet slippers with, I think, a yellow silk skirt or underdress, also richly embroidered;- the tunic had wide, open sleeves, shewing white muslin under sleeves caught up in front with a gold button, if I remember; it was a very picturesque costume, and the child looked very pretty in it.* It was a happy change for her to come into the hands of a good kind American family, who put her to school in Boston, and gave her every advantage, but she died young; having, I suppose, suffered many perils and hardships in the war, and being naturally delicate.— There was, I believe, a younger sister also rescued from slavery by an American in Smyrna, but whether she ever came to this country, I do not know. This incident cannot but remind one of Mrs Hemans' lines on "the Sisters of Scio," founded probably upon a scene of the same terrible massacre.†

Mrs Mary Bradford

March 7 "News of the death of Charles Bradford at N Orleans of fever and dysentery." This was the husband of Mrs Mary Bradford, but he had long been a trouble instead of a comfort to her — He had run through all her little property and left her destitute with three children to provide for. She began taking music lessons of my Master Spear, and was soon able to become a Music Teacher herself, thus for many years supporting herself and her boys. She now has the happiness of seeing one of them a prosperous and respected man of religious principles, and engaged in many benevolent acts. — She is a most amiable woman, and few have had so many trials to endure, or have borne them so well.

All this winter continued the usual dining and evening company, the young men's whist parties, and out goings to theatre or parties abroad, BPW's "droppings in" from Cambridge with his classmates, Eliza Houston's almost daily visits, Elizth Chase's frequent ones from Watertown and those of other young ladies, — calls of my Mother on neighbors, friends & strangers, &c, &c ; Yet her

hectic cheek grew thinner, her fair temples more transparent with the blue veins shewing through them so plainly, the motherly eyes more hollow, and the slender form more fragile beneath that steady incessant cough which had now become a fixture. There is little about it in the Journal however except that "Miss Thomas lends a book upon the advantages of mustard seed for the cure of cough"; or "I never venture out now of a winter evening"; these are the only hints of her declining health, — and the busy feet move round upon the household duties which the gay young folks think so little about, and the busy attenuated fingers mend and darn and make over the clothes so little prized, and every one's health, and comfort, and pleasure secured more important to that true wife and Mother than those of her whose life was so needful to them all, and which yet was waning month by month, little heeded alas! by the thoughtless ones she loved with a Mother's self forgetting devotion. Truly she might say as my Father has quoted from a letter to one of her sons, "The full

* Evidently the costume made a deep impression, for Margaret is recalling it in great detail forty years later.

† The poem appeared in Hemans' 1830 collection, *Songs of the Affections*.

extent of a Parent's affection you can never fully understand until you are yourself a parent, and then not that of a **Mother.**"*

Sandemanians

March 23rd occurred the death of another old Sandemanian, a Mr Butler who was burned to death by a terrible accident. He was connected with the Cottons and Howes of that denomination, and I remember him quite well sitting with old Mr Howe and Mrs Harris who had a shaking palsy in her head, around the elders' table in the Sandemanian meeting. They were very good old people, but not, I believe, very wise, and I invariably went to sleep during their prosy "expositions["] of the Bible – I rather think that my Father & Mother had hard work not to do so also. A letter from a brother of this Mr Howe in Halifax, who was a much brighter Sandemanian, refers to old Mr Butlers' death and also to an unhappy difference of opinion

169 Sandemanian controversies and their effect on the church and its members.

1828 (not of feeling) which took place upon the two natures of Christ, about this time between Mr Samuel Sparhawk and Mr Humphreys the leaders of the Sandemanian Society in Portsmouth. The principles of this sect forbade them to associate with any member who did not strictly agree in opinion with the ruling elder – and taking literally the injunction in the first of Corinthians 5th 8 "with such an one no not to eat,"† the other members would not sit at the same table, at a common daily meal with the one who differed. A total misconstruction of the text, and of true Christian Unity or of Christian liberty. The occurrence was a grievous trial to both of those good but mistaken men; especially to Mr Sparhawk one of the most devoted and consistent Christians who, ever lived. It disturbed all the Sandemanians everywhere, and the Portsmouth families especially – Yet they were equally to do each other all the good in their power as Mr S continued to do toward Mr H and his family during the remainder of his life, and as his children did after him. Yet there is

**Letters
of and
to my
Father.**

little doubt that his sufferings on this occasion injured his delicate health and perhaps shortened his days. Truly in Scripture reading, "the letter killeth but the spirit giveth life."‡ Besides the Sandemanian letters on this subject, I find letters of thanks, about this time, from several of my Father's beneficiaries, old & destitute connections of the family, businessmen helped with facilities, and advocates of good public causes upheld by his aid Among others one from a Quaker a Mr Lundy,§ acknowledging a donation for the then infant work of Antislavery reform. He was the Editor of the first Emancipation journal in Baltimore. A copy of my Father's letter to an English

* The underlining and bold hand in which "Mother" is written are Margaret's editorial emphases. Margaret's mother is saying to her son he won't know how deeply a parent loves until he is a father, and even then he won't understand the depth of a mother's love. The letter is quoted again with slightly different wording below, V, 125, and there "not the affection of a Mother" is all underlined.

† Actually, should be 1 Corinthians 5: 11: "But now I have written unto you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such an one no not to eat." Taken literally, of course, and as Margaret herself well understands, the injunction would not have to apply so broadly as to include everyone with whom the elder did not agree on all religious questions.

‡ 2 Corinthians 3: 6: "Who also hath made us able ministers of the new testament; not of the letter, but of the spirit: for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life."

§ Benjamin Lundy (1789–1839), editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, which ran from 1821 to 1839.

Merchant on the Anti tariff movement* is here appended. Mr Henry Lee and my Father were the principal Bostonians connected with the Antitariff party, which was really as events proved an Antislavery party; – for had not Mr Clay and Mr Webster compromised “protection” for slavery, we might never have experienced the horrors of our late civil war, a war really brought on by the cotton Whigs of New England.

Isaac Winslow’s letter

Boston May 29th 1828

copied by his son George.

Extract to Joseph Austen of Halifax

I had before heard of a good deal of attention to religious subjects in Halifax before your last, but not that it was encreasingly so. Robert Foster wrote me last from Thomaston, that it was so much the case there, that business was for a time nearly suspended, he seemed by his letter to be very much under the influence of the prevailing feelings. There is in the mind of every man a sense of Religion, and this feeling may be excited into action in like manner as any other passion is roused. But, I apprehend that love to God, like love to our near friends, is a regular, temperate, & Steady affection, better gratified at the hope of having his favor equally with others like minded, and of simply pleasing him than with the reflection, that we are singled out as the

* In response to the Tariff of 1828, which was intended be protective of U.S. manufacturers. It was particularly detested in the South, and while New England manufacturers did indeed benefit form it, it seriously interfered with the business of New England merchants in international trade. The history surrounding the tariff is very complex. There is a good and fully referenced entry about at in Wikipedia: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tariff_of_1828 . It is generally agreed that the tariff played an important part in the run-up to the Civil War (and Webster did indeed cast a vote critical to its passage), but whether on the grounds that Margaret asserts I am not qualified to judge. Although Isaac expected its repeal to be swift, it remained in effect until 1832. For a full explanation of the tariff and its context in the world of business in which the Winslows moved, see F.W. Taussig, *The Tariff History of the United States*, 5th Ed., (New York and London: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1910), 70-74.

† This copy of a letter has been tipped in as the last page of the volume. George was not quite sixteen when he copied it, and it and the following letter inserted after it are the earliest-written leaves in the Memorial, since Isaac’s earliest pages were written ten or so years after this.

special objects of that favour. The former feeling, leads us to estimate the Divine Goodness the more general it is. The latter because it is supposed, to be particular to ourselves or our party. The former was Paul's feeling, when he affirms that God would have all men (that is, men of all nations as well as the Jews) to be saved. The latter was the Jewish feeling in the days of Christ that God would have only that nation to be saved, and to push their long expected Messiah from the brow of the hill, because he intimated that the Gentiles, were to become joint heirs with the favoured Jews. The first would delight in contemplating the goodness of God to all his works even the evil & unthankfull. The others in reflecting on his goodness to them, in distinction from others. The one loves God because he is lovely,† the other because as they suppose he loves them.‡ in a particular manner to the exclusion of others —*

[following leaf unbound and inserted after the previous tipped-in leaf]

Isaac Winslow's letter
copied by his son Thomas§

* Luke 4: 28-30: "And all they in the synagogue, when they heard these things, were filled with wrath, And rose up, and thrust him out of the city, and led him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong. But he passing through the midst of them went his way."

† I have not been able to identify a source for this phrase, but it turns up in published Christian writing of this period. E.g.,

"We love him because he first loved us," says I the apostle John. The Orthodox exhort us to love God for fear he will hate us if we don't. (What is the difference? The former love God because he is lovely, the latter (profess to love him) because he is hateful. (*Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate*, I [1830], 254)

Isaac turns this around. The opposite of loving God because he is lovely is not loving him because we fear his hate, it's loving him because he has singled us out for his love, which actually approximates John's position. The evangelical writer perhaps means by "lovely" *full of love*, whereas Isaac means something more like *lovable*.

‡ The copy in George's hand ends here, and the final words appear to me to be in Isaac's hand.

§ He had just turned twenty-one. His hand is somewhat less impressive and certainly less legible than his brother's, but still is a formal business hand.

Liverpool

(Copy)

Boston June 29th 1828

Cyrus Monall Esq

Dear Sir— It was a high source of satisfaction to myself, and other members of the Boston Committee,* who ushered† the "Report" to the public and especially to the Author Mr Henry Lee, that this week should have recd the favorable opinion of those on your side, who are so well informed on the subject, — the communication from Mr Finlay which you were so obliging as to send me, in your friendly letter of the 26th April, was particularly gratifying, not more from the flattering encomiums on the performance itself, than in the disposition it evinces, to appreciate the liberal views, which this country ought especially to cherish and maintain — such views from the Tenor of his note I am persuaded must be his, they are no doubt common to those who have the interest of their respective countries most at heart though few can express them so concisely and happily as Mr Finlay has done in his short note — Happy would it be for mankind if our practise was founded on the truth that as individual happiness is best promoted by the happiness of society at large, especially of those nearest us — so also is national happiness promoted by the welfare of those nations with

* [Henry Lee,] *Report of a Committee of the Citizens of Boston and Vicinity, Opposed to a Further Increase of Duties on Importations* (Boston: from the Press of Nathan Hale, 1827). The report is 196 pp. long. An edition published in New York the following year is available at <http://books.google.com/books?id=waYuAAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Report+of+a+Committee+of+the+Citizens+of+Boston+and+Vicinity,+Opposed+to+a+Further+Increase+of+Duties+on+Importations&source=bl&ots=DLK8qKFKG2&sig=TSJw47RBDO-A4rMaBTjXZ2SNWm4&hl=> . Fifteen persons are listed as members of the Committee, including Henry Lee and Isaac. From remarks Margaret makes below (V, 4), we can perhaps infer that all but Lee and Winslow were from surrounding towns.

† In this context the word means *introduced* (as a publication).

whom we are most nearly connected — I caused your letter to Mr Finlays to be published in order to keep up the spirit of the friends to liberal principles who are here a minority as regards wealth and influence — So much capital has been absorbed in manufacture's especially by our wealthy people, that even those who have always been and still are engaged in commerce and whose fortunes have been thus acquired, are now amongst the most ardent advocates of what is miscall'd "the American System". others whose benefit is more evidently connected with the prohibition of foreign articles, of course are friendly to this system, this especially applies to the six New England States, the Western part of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, over which very many

[verso]

manufacturing establishments of various descriptions are distributed. Our^{*} existing Government, actuated no doubt in some measure by their old prejudices against the mother country, but principally by the belief, that their competitors for the reins of power would have advocated the selfish claims of the manufacturers, had they have omitted to do so, was the cause of getting up in the country various meetings of the manufacturers, in order that their combined strength might act on Congress when in session: — this has been successfully done, but without the least regard to the interest of the people at large, especially those of the agricultural States; and we are now shackled with a System not even acceptable to the manufacturers themselves, and which, in order to render it

* "Our" in what appears to be Isaac's hand.

* even tolerable to the nation, it is said will be repealed next year. — This is however easier said than done. In the mean time we must look for a materially diminished commerce, and consequent embarrassments to[†] those who can not easily withdraw from this now-unpopular occupation. — I shall look with some anxiety to know how it is recd on your side. — I think from what you say, that your[‡] Government will not be disposed to adopt any measures of retaliation; but that your commercial & manufacturing classes may consider it at least an unfriendly proceeding. — The Southern States are so much opposed to the Tariff that some opposition may, I think, be looked for from that quarter. —

I am Yr Sv^t [?]

Yours &c IW

[written sideways bottom to top at left margin crossing the beginnings of the opening nine lines of the letter, apparently in Isaac's hand]

Copy to Cyrus Monall
June 29 1828

* Inserted via caret in Isaac's hand.

† "to" in Isaac's hand over a struck through "from."

‡ "your" inserted in Isaac's hand over a struck through "the."