

FAMILY MEMORIAL

The Winslows of Boston

Isaac Winslow
Margaret Catherine Winslow

IN FIVE VOLUMES

VOLUME IV

Boston, Massachusetts
1837?-1873?



TRANSCRIBED AND EDITED BY ROBERT NEWSOM
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A NOTE ON MARGARET'S PORTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT AND ITS TRANSCRIPTION

AS PREVIOUSLY NOTED (ABOVE, III, 72 n.) MARGARET began her own journal prior to her father's death and her decision to continue his Memorial. So there is some overlap between their portions. And her first entries in her journal are sparse, interrupted by a period of four years' invalidism, and somewhat uncertain in their purpose or direction. There is also in these opening pages a great deal of material already treated by her father. But after her father's death, and presumably after she had not only completed the twenty-four blank leaves that were left in it at his death, she also wrote an additional twenty pages before moving over to the present bound volumes, which I shall refer to as volumes four and five.*

She does not paginate her own pages. I have supplied page numbers on the manuscript itself and entered these in outlined text boxes at the tops of the transcribed pages.

Margaret expands the practice begun by Isaac and elaborated towards the end of his portion of supplying informative headlines and marginal notes on most pages. I shall transcribe them at the beginning of each page, at the beginnings of lines, or in marginal text boxes in a smaller and bolded font as seems most appropriate and efficient, and I supply editorial notes as necessary in instances where their physical position or other circumstances on the page might be significant.

Margaret also abandons her father's practice of dividing her text into numbered chapters; although she makes sporadic references to her "chapters" and divides these at decades—though not always (see below, V, 65). These practices somewhat obviate and certainly complicate the task of supplying periodic abstracts of events in her narrative. Therefore I have supplemented her headlines and notations where it seems to me helpful and placed these in the page-number boxes at the tops of pages, also in a smaller and bolded font.

* In fact at III, 107, Margaret herself has referred to the forthcoming volume as the "fourth volume."

Volume Four

[the following printed page is pasted on an endpaper]

OMNIA OMNIBUS*

THE CONSUMMATIONS OF FORTY YEARS.— Those memories that can reach back forty years may review and enjoy a history of such a series of consummations as no preceding century ever witnessed. First in the list stands the Abolition of Slavery in the British West Indies; Second, the Reform Bill in England of 1832; Third Rowland Hill's Penny Postage; Fourth, Abolition of the Corn Laws; Fifth, Repeal of Taxes on Knowledge and cheapening of literature; Sixth, the Great Reform Bill of 1867, and the enfranchising of the masses. These are the consummations of the last forty years that an English memory may review with rich satisfaction. The American memory will revert to one great fact that towers up above all other events in the same period of time; that is, the total and everlasting extinction of Slavery on the continent of North America. More than half a century's gladdening consummations are embraced in that great act. "Only one, but a lion," said the lioness in the fable to the fox, on being taunted by it with her lack of children. America has only one great consummation during the present century to glory in, but that includes all the long reaches of progress that England has accomplished in the same period. So the two great kindred nations have marched shoulder to shoulder, and kept step on the grand march of civilization; first one foot then the other, as if both belonged to the same body and were moved by the same will. The American foot has had to carry a heavy clog which made its stepping hard and slow; but now that clog is cast away, and the nation is stripped like a young giant for the race, ready and eager to run neck and neck with England on the high roads of progress, and clear the way and lead the van of all the other peoples of the earth.

Looking in other directions, what nations have been born or created in these forty years! What was Australia in 1830, or California, or half-a-dozen of the American territories now populous States! What was Germany or Italy at that time in the cohesion and one-heartedness of compact and patriotic nations! What a new and mighty people is growing up to manhood in Russia out of extinguished serfdom! Truly "John Brown's soul is marching on." Truly we may hear the feet of the nations shaking the world with their onward tread. Some are running, some are walking, some are just trying to step out like lately-weaned infants; but all are facing a hopeful future, and are reaching on towards the things that are before. Everywhere there is forward motion, or the tension of muscles for moving. And the lightning, horsed on submarine telegraphs, records every step in advance, and sends the news of it to the sundered and distant peoples as quick as the wings of thought. Thus a great and startling event falls upon the ear of twenty nations as a preacher's word falls from the pulpit upon the ear and heart of his small audience.

* I have not been able to identify the publication in which this editorial appeared. The date I suppose to be 1870. "Omnia Omnibus" means "all things to all men," which appears in 1 Corinthians 9: 22: "To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak: I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some."

[The first eight pages of the fourth volume of the Memorial, paginated by me i-viii, consist of genealogical tables and notes; they are not here transcribed.]

<p>1 Life in the Hawkins St. house shortly after Isaac and Margaret's marriage; births; Aunt Patty's Providential monetary help; living on an insufficient income.</p>
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1850.

January. Journal by M C Winslow.

27th Birth day. within one year of half the allotted fourscore & ten.* Begin this journal, or monthly with review of past . . . life. Father has been recalling the times of our birth (all his children) and the various places of his residence in Boston. Brs I W Jr and E W[†] were born in Hawkins S^t, out of Sudbury. The house was an old one, to which Gmother Winslow moved in Sept of 1800. She died in Oct of the same year, and Mother became mistress of it in Feb 1801. Father's brothers and sisters were then all with him, and thus Mother adopted a full grown family, and began housekeeping with all the old and shabby furniture of the Hawkins S^t establishment. Happily, being of an unambitious temper, the latter circumstance gave her little uneasiness; from the former she had much greater trouble and discomfort. In a short time, however, two of my Uncles went to a boarding house – while Aunt Pickering[‡] passed much of the year with Mrs Malbourn[§] at Newport R I. Aunt Hudgens, then young and very handsome, attracted many beaux to the Hawkins S^t house, and Father had many strangers and business correspondents to notice; so that in the shabby old house not a few dinner parties were given, although these were little agreeable to Mother's natural inclination, which preferred retirement and the society of her own family circle. Her Grandmother Pollard, her father and Mother & her sister Henrietta then resided in Brattle Square; her sisters Catherine (Mrs Houston) and Susan, – and her brother Joshua Pollard Blanchard all being in Tobago, W I. where Mr Houston had business. Uncles Tom and John also went abroad about this time, to France and elsewhere as supercargoes &c – on voyages mostly procured for them by Father. A sister of Grandfather Winslow called Aunt Patty an underwitted person lived at this time and for many years in Father's family, and her board making an income of about 800\$ pr annum which she had inherited and could not use, – was, under Providence, the means, in part, of enabling Father to support his numerous family. Thus when he was left, fatherless himself, but to act the part of a father towards his brothers & sisters, obliged, not only to struggle simply in the establishment of a new business for himself, but to procure a living for the former by making up voyages and contriving agencies through which frequent losses fell upon his own slender means, he was Providentially assisted in his household income by this poor unconscious instrument, whose board the other heirs of her property liberally consented to allow him. With such addition, however, the Hawkins S^t establishment with its half dozen steady inmates, its floating tide of sojourners, and its numerous visitors, was maintained upon the average sum of 6 or 700\$ a year; – about one third of the required limit within which an unencumbered modern pair think it prudent and reasonable to commence housekeeping on what they term an

* The 27th January is her thirty-fourth birthday. She was born in 1816.

† Isaac (1802-74) and Edward (1803-83).

‡ Elizabeth (b. 1787).

§ Odd that she should misspell *Malbone* given the frequency with which it has appeared in the Memorial.

economical scale.* But Hawkins S^t house boasted no plush couches, no lounging chairs of all shapes and sizes, no tapestry carpet, no marble and walnut commodes, no Nic knackery of the modern school.

Feb 1850 The 2nd of this month was my dear father's birth day, upon which he completed his 76th year, and the recurrence of this anniversary suggests the review of a period still more remote than that of the previous page, viz, that birth itself, in the year 1774, which took place in Coal[†] lane, otherwise called Portland S^t, his Mother, Mary Davis, G father's cousin and 2nd wife being then but 17 years of age. At the commencement of the revolutionary troubles in 1775 Grandfather removed to the old house in Dock Square, built & owned by his wife's father Thos Savage and after his decease, by his mother and sisters, one of them, the under witted girl who was subsequently called Aunt Patty – the other three were called Hannah Polly and Suky. My Grandfather, in common with all other citizens of Boston, particularly the loyalists, was then much straitened in his circumstances, although joint heir with his brothers and sisters to a considerable property in real estate; but this was utterly unavailable. Business of every kind was utterly prostrated, and all mercantile enterprise at a stand. His father Joshua, an upright, honorable, and prosperous merchant had died of gradual debility in 1769 aged 75. His elder brother Joshua of a sudden attack in 1775 this latter had been successor to his father's business which now devolved upon Grandfather, with the care of a distill house in Coal[‡] Lane now Portland Street which he was by his father's direction to keep up for the benefit of the family. This property was afterwards seized by the revolutionists during Grandfather's residence in Nova Scotia. At his first marriage with Miss Sparhawk of Salem in 1771 his income was 100£ lawful money from the distill house, and about as much more from his other business, making only 6 to 700\$ for his housekeeping expenses of all kinds, together with all the calls usually made upon the purse of a man so open handed and so Christian hearted as Grandfather. His exile from Boston for a period of 8 years – 2 in Halifax and 5 in New York and one in Connecticut proved a great injury to his affairs, and he appears to have been ever after unable to recover from its effects. Both in N York and in Newtown, Connecticut, he was obliged to keep a small store or shop replenished with miscellaneous articles for retail custom, and our dear father still remembers the house in which his family resided at the latter place, a house of primitive country simplicity, with huge beams projecting from the low walls, for ceilings they had none, and wide cracks in the chamber floors, through which every movement of the occupiers above was plainly perceptible. He also remembers a ridiculous incident of his boyhood, when, having been sent to procure some sugar from a large hogshead in the store, he lost his balance, being unable to reach down to it, and tumbled headlong in. At N York also, their accommodations

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Hann mar^d
Dean' Jeffries
Polly – Nat'
Barber.

* \$700 in 1800 dollars would be about the equivalent today of \$ 12,000, while three times that in 1860 dollars would be the equivalent of about \$30,000, based upon the Consumer Price Index. So Margaret's figures suggest that Isaac's extended family was living on about half of what just a married couple would require even if living economically. If we use the unskilled-wage index, the sum of \$700 would be more like \$200,000 in today's dollars.

† Error for Cole Lane.

‡ Again.

were miserable enough;— the town was filled with British troops, and in consequence of his dislike at having them billeted upon him, G-father removed to a small shabby house into which were crowded not only his own immediate family, but other relatives whom circumstances threw upon his protection, also a negro slave girl named Rose belonging to my Gmother, a wild heedless creature of whom sundry pranks are related by Father.

Aug 1855
1st John
brother of
Governor Edw.
2nd Edward
our GGG Grandfather
3rd Edwd Sheriff
our G G Grandfather
4th Joshua
our G Grandfather
5th Isaac our
Grandfather
6th Isaac
our father.

Joshua
and
Elizabeth

Marriage
and Settlement

After four years invalidism, this book is here resumed, chiefly for occupation and amusement through the remaining portion of feebleness which may be yet in store for me.* I shall keep it in the form at first of a biography or general account of my Father's and Grandfather's lives, to which the preceeding pages may serve as an introduction, and subsequently, perhaps, if life is spared and health permits, to a journal of our own family History, which may sometime interest and gratify a future generation.

My Grandfather Isaac Winslow was the youngest but two of fifteen children born to Joshua Winslow the son of Edward (whose portraits still exist) and Elizabeth his wife, (whose likeness (taken as a child of nine or ten years old) also remains in the family. She was the daughter of Thomas Savage, an eminent merchant, to whom my great Grandfather Joshua was, in his youth, apprenticed. We have the portraits of Mr Savage's elder daughter Margaret, afterward Mrs Alford, and of a son who died early, greatly lamented.† Elizabeth was married when but fifteen years of age, at her Father's house in Dock Square; and he, being quite wealthy for that time, the wedding was a grand one; but no particulars now exist in any document or letter; these family memorials

having been scattered and lost during the distracted times of our revolutionary war.

The large square brick house in Dock Square, still standing, was built by Mr Savage, and descended to his daughter Elizabeth. My Great Grandfather however, himself built a house on Tremont S^t, the site of which now appertains to the Tremont House, and adjoins the burying ground. He also owned houses in Union S^t, then like Dock Square, a respectable if not fashionable quarter of the town; but, in which of these different dwellings he resided immediately after his marriage, is not known. I have heard my father say, however, that he lived in a very generous style, having several negro slaves in his household, being very hospitable and kind to his large circle of relatives, and keeping a table to which he could at any time invite a stranger without notice or preparation of any sort. He held a very reputable station among the merchants of Boston, and was highly esteemed both at home and abroad for integrity and uprightness. He was a man of strict religious principles, a member of "the Old South" church at the time when Dr Sewall was its pastor, and he was one of those who contributed towards the

Old South
and
Dr Sewall

* Margaret had another 35 years in store for her.

† Now both at the Massachusetts Historical Society, Portraits Rm. 301.

purchase of the clock now existing on two sides of the Old South Steeple. My Gfather used to say that he thought the portrait of his father must have been painted after one of Dr Sewall's pastoral visits; its expression being so much more prim than usual.*

4

My Father's Uncles and Aunts.

Children of Joshua

Of these, there were born sixteen, but he remembers only eight as much spoken of, after their youth or infancy; viz three Uncles and five Aunts, and even these were so scattered about, at the period of our revolutionary war, that he knew little about most of them. The eldest son Edward, an Episcopalian clergyman, and Ancestor of all the Winslows in N Carolina, was an excellent man. He was clergyman of a church in Braintree, now Quincy: but being of Tory principles, was obliged to flee to N York, where he lived during the war and never returned. He was, like all the family at that time, – terribly straitened in pecuniary circumstances, and lived for some time in a single room which he shared with a fellow exile, both keeping house, as it were, on very slender materials. Another Uncle by the name of John, was commissary of prisoners for the British, and died in NY of the yellow fever caught from the horrible prison ships there. An Uncle Joshua, partner in his Father's business, died just before the revolution; and six daughters survived through or nearly through that distressful period, two of them to quite an advanced age, the eldest, my Great Grandmother Pollard, especially. We possess a fine portrait of her and also of Colonel Pollard her husband.

Revolution and its distresses.

How little can we, the feeble degenerate descendants of these stalwart ancestors, imagine what it must have cost them to struggle through those terrible years of bloodshed and confusion, of which we now peacefully and luxuriously reap the fruits! Let us picture it to ourselves by a Single instance of this kind. The young blooming girl who became a bride at fifteen, leaving the luxuries of an indulgent father's wealthy home only to preside over the well spread table of her hospitable husband; the respected matron to whom not only her own large family looked up with a regard inspired not less by her character than her station, but who was the center of an extended circle beside, dispensing kindness to all, and in authority over many, – this woman was, by the unhappy circumstances of the Revolution, obliged to flee into a forlorn and desolate exile in her old age, separated from almost all her family, reduced to the greatest necessity; and finally through bodily infirmities and mental distresses, losing possession of her once firm and vigorous intellect, she sank into the grave a melancholy hopeless imbecile. How striking the lesson for her descendants! for her who writes, and for those who read! Shall we not heed it?–

5

At no very distant period, we also, or those who succeed us may be forced to encounter the same privations, and may witness or share the horrors of a new revolution. Already clouds of ominous import are gathering in the political sky. The divisions of North and South on the slavery question, the deep rooted and increasing American feeling against the foreign

* Probably the portrait by Joseph Blackburn painted in 1760 now owned by the Yale University Art Gallery and reproduced in *The Winslows: Pilgrims, Patrons and Portraits* (Brunswick, Maine: Bowdoin College Museum of Art, 1974), Pl. 11.

population with which we are inundated, the as yet concealed but insidious advances of Popery, and its approaching conflict with Protestantism, Infidelity on the other hand spreading with fearful rapidity especially among the young, accompanied by the utmost insubordination to all authority, and by precocious unblushing profligacy; – the pride and luxury of the rich, the discontent and envy of the poor, the covetousness of all classes, in eager haste to be rich, and to outvie each other in display of houses furniture and dress, the unreasonable love of amusement, much of it pernicious in the highest degree; the superstition and folly developed in those immense numbers who have been deluded by the Spiritualists, Mesmerists, &c; the Atrocious immoralities of Mormonism which has taken possession of the whole territory of “Utah” and which will soon demand to be legalized by our Government; the struggle for freedom in “Kansas”, so shamefully overpowered by Government, the breaking of the Missouri compromise, the fugitive slave law, the disgraceful scenes in Congress, the corruption and venality of the whole administration, the allowed attempts of ruffian freebooters to invade the peaceable territories of neighboring and weaker powers, and the uncontrolled ruffianism, violence and lawlessness of our S western states and territories, now beginning to pervade the whole country, ——all these things warn us that our boasted but abused prosperity may soon be broken up as we have so abundantly merited of divine displeasure. (1856).*

Reflections
written in
1860.

Then may He who led our fathers through all the distresses and tribulations of their times, be the guard and guide of their children and children’s children. May they trust in him as their father’s trusted, and He will bring them through all troubles, personal, family, and political.

Decease of my Father[†]

* Probably just the few lines following the parenthesis were written in 1860.

[†] The following is Isaac’s obituary as it appeared in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Boston, Massachusetts, Tuesday, August 5, 1856. Issue 29, Column D. It was apparently composed with the aid of at least some information furnished by the family.

THE LATE ISAAC WINSLOW. – We announced, a few days since, in the Daily Advertiser, the death of Isaac Winslow, Esq., which took place at his residence in Roxbury, on Saturday the 26th ult. Mr. Winslow was of the old Puritan stock, being a direct descendant of John Winslow, who was a brother of Governor Edward Winslow. He was born in Boston on the 2^d of February, 1774, and accordingly he had attained, at the time of his death, to the advanced age of 82 years. He began to fit for College at the Latin School in Boston, in which he took a very creditable rank, but the religious scruples of his father in regard to the services at Cambridge induced him to change his plans, and prepare to become a merchant. He entered the counting-house of that excellent master, Thomas C. Amory, Esq., where he acquired his mercantile education. The death of his father, when Mr. Winslow was but 19 years of age, left him the head of a large family, and threw upon him the settlements of numerous and intricate estates, embarrassed by the vicissitudes of the Revolutionary War, the trials and perplexities of which position did not come to an end for many years. – To aid in providing for those dependent upon him, he very soon after his father’s decease, made several voyages to the Mediterranean, as supercargo, visiting various French, Spanish and Italian ports, and exercising, in an eminent degree, the skill, judgment and fidelity needful in those times of peril to infant American commerce, in order to protect the interests entrusted

Sept 1856

to his care. He resided several months in Naples, and a short time in Alicante, and opened the trade with Sicily after the war by making the first voyage from the United States to that Island. During this period, he acquired a knowledge of the French and Italian languages, which he retained with unusual perseverance to the close of his life. He also learned the Spanish language so far as to be able read it, and to speak it, though imperfectly. He established himself in business in Boston in 1803, which he carried on alone, except for a few years during which he was associated with the late Martin Brimmer, Esq. For nearly half a century, Mr. Winslow was one of our leading and most highly respected merchants. Active, energetic and enterprising, always characterized by the strictest integrity and honor in all his transactions, he was esteemed one of the most valued members of the community. When the city charter was granted, he was chosen a member of the first Common Council under Mayor Phillips, in 1822, and was reelected the following year. With these exceptions, we believe, he never held any public office, though repeatedly solicited to become a candidate for the offices of Mayor and of Representative to Congress, the numerous private trusts confided to him requiring much of his time, and his conscientious convictions compelling him to shrink from every position of public notoriety. He belonged to the Washington school in politics, and always did his duty at elections as a private citizen, but eschewed office seeking altogether, yet his pride in, and love for the place of his birth, and the home of his ancestors from nearly its first settlement, made him always ready to do any thing in his power to promote its prosperity and elevate its character. It is said by those who may be presumed to know, that a large proportion of all the disputes settled out of Court, came under his cognizance as referee, to which, and other duties of a good citizen, as well as the promptings of a keen conscience, he sacrificed opportunities of personal benefit. His strong advocacy of free trade doctrines was based upon the now generally recognized inexpediency of oppressing our own manufactures by heavy duties upon raw materials used therein, the mischief of which he foresaw many years ago. He was a man of decided literary tastes, especially in philology, and found time in the midst of constant demands upon his attention, to cultivate and extend these grateful pursuits, especially in the field of the Scriptures, of which he was a diligent student, comparing constantly the common version with the original tongues, so far as he could under the disadvantages of want of instruction in the dead languages in early life, but this only to seek for himself and his family all possible development of Divine truth for his and their guidance, though valuing as far more important its simplest practical revelations. In his disposition, he was naturally social, frank and friendly, and, in his days of vigor, was always glad to open his house to relatives and strangers, exercising a general open-hearted hospitality, now less generally known under the great changes which have taken place in circumstances and custom. He has left a large family, among whom are several sons known as active and enterprising merchants. He lived a long life of usefulness, and has left a good name and character unsullied by any blemish. His work was finished, and he was calmly waiting in Christian trust and firm reliance upon his Savior the summons to go hence. The last act of his life was to write with a pencil on the blank leaf of a book, on the day before his death, "Thy will be done," and in some papers addressed to those who should survive him, he says that the only obituary notice that he desired was, if it could be truly said of him – "He fell asleep in Jesus, to God be the glory." Sacred as are the wishes of the departed, there is yet a higher duty to those who may be encouraged by such examples of the power and influence of Christianity early embraced and steadfastly adhered to. Mr. Winslow's name and memory will be ever cherished by his many friends and by the community among whom he lived.

On the 26th July, this year of 1856, deceased my beloved and honored Father. He was laid in the lot recently purchased by him at Forest Hills Cemetery. W Roxbury.* The first of our family interred there, except an infant son of John A[†] named Benjamin. The funeral service consisted of a selection from his own writings part from a book of manuscript prayers, and part from a little printed work entitled a “Father’s Legacy”. This was read by Uncle J P Blanchard, the prayer by brother E W, a hymn being sung by all, and after the funeral Anthem, “Unveil thy bosom”, the Lord’s prayer was said by Mr Clarke,[‡] pastor of the church attended by brs Edw & B P.[§] The whole of our family were present, six children, met all together the first time for twenty three years four daughters in law, his wife and sister, brother and law and sister in law, (of his own brothers, one was absent and the other ill) – nephews nieces, and other connexions, besides some friends, neighbors and domestics. Had the event been published before the funeral, doubtless many more would have been present, but this was intentionally avoided. Upon the coffin and buried with it was this inscription.

Isaac Winslow born Feb’y 2nd 1774 .

died July 26th 1856

Aged 82 years, 5 mos.

Also a paper containing these words,

His chosen obituary. _____ He fell asleep in Jesus
To God be the glory.

Also his favorite verse from a book called “Christian Songs”

“A time shall come when life shall yet

Inform this mouldering clay,

And these closed eyes shall then awake

And Jesus’ form survey.”**

Also the closing words of his printed work on “The Lord’s prayer.”

“Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive the things which God hath prepared for them that love him.”††

7	Her mother’s person and personality.
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Marriage of Isaac Winslow and Margaret Blanchard##

The marriage of my Father and Mother took place on the twenty fourth of February, 1801, about 8 o’clock in the evening, at the house of my maternal Grandfather Joshua

* Opened in 1848.

† Rear Admiral John Ancrum Winslow (1811-73).

‡ James Freeman Clarke, Benjamin Pollard Winslow’s Harvard classmate and “chum” (below, IV, 137). The Church was the Church of the Disciples.

§ Benjamin Pollard Winslow (1810-78).

** John Glas, “Elegy V,” *Christian songs : to which is prefixed, the evidence and import of Christ’s resurrection, versified, for the help of the memory.* (Perth: R. Morrison, 1784), 139.

†† 1 Corinthians 2: 9. Very slightly misquoted.

This is the point at which Margaret’s portion takes up from where she had left off at the end of Volume III. The previous five pages may be considered incidental and not really a part of the Memorial proper.

Blanchard, and was performed by Dr, afterward Bishop, Parker* of Trinity Church Boston. The ceremony was quite private, being witnessed only by the immediate relatives, Grandmothers Pollard and Blanchard, Grandfather Blanchard and Aunts Henrietta, Mary, afterward Hudgens, and Eliza, since Pickering, Uncles Thomas, Joshua, Benjamin, and Edward, with some others not now recollected by my informants. After the usual amount of fun and frolic all sat down to the wedding supper, after which the Bride and Bridegroom repaired to the old house in Hawkins S^t, where, the next day, they held a levee or reception, with cake and wine, for the general acquaintance of both parties. This house stood on the street with a yard in front separating it from the next house similarly built.

My Father at this period, had just entered his 28th year; my Mother had not completed her 23rd. Those who have perused the foregoing chapters of this “Family Memorial” will remember that they were second cousins;† Mrs Pollard, my Mother’s Grandmother being own sister to my Grandfather Winslow; but so much his senior, that her daughter, Mrs Blanchard, was only nine years younger than her Uncle, and her children were very nearly the age of his; thus making us (the descendants) a whole generation older by one parent than by the other.

My Mother was of what is generally called middling height, and of a slender and supple frame; her hair, in youth, brown, neither dark nor light; her eyes of a bluish grey, quick and lively, her nose somewhat prominent and inclining to aquiline, her mouth rather large and not handsome. Her chief beauty lay in the fairness and delicacy of her complexion, relieved by a remarkably beautiful color in the cheeks, – and in the quick intelligent expression of the whole countenance. She

8	Her father’s person and personality.
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could boast also of a small slender foot and ankle, and was, on the whole, considered I have always understood, a very pretty girl, though less regularly handsome than her sister Mrs Houston. Her disposition was lively and frolicsome, and, in early life, not averse to dress and gayety. Her education, so far as social instruction was concerned, had been extremely scanty; but, like all her family, she possessed a quick wit, and a clear sound judgement and discrimination, which greatly concealed her early disadvantages. I have been told that she was expert and tasteful with her needle in matters of fancy work; but so entirely changed were all her ideas in regard to dress, In the latter years of her life, that she would not permit me to learn the most simple style of embroidery, lest a love of ornament should be the consequence. She had, of course, no instruction in music, but, to my childish ear, her voice, even in advanced life and infirm health, was sweet and melodious, although far from being a powerful one. or of great compass.

My Father having lived to so advanced an age, has left in the minds of most of them, for whom I write, a personal remembrance too vivid to need so minute a description. To those, however, who will have a fainter impression of his appearance, I will observe, that although his features were not so regular as many others in his family, and

* Most probably Reverend Samuel Parker (1744 –1804). He was consecrated bishop in 1804 (the second such in the Episcopal diocese of Massachusetts), but died before he could serve. This is the first we have heard that Isaac has had anything to do with Episcopalians. He has indicated that while he did not seek membership in the Sandemanian church, he nevertheless continued to attend Meetings there. Above, III, 72.

† More precisely, first cousins once removed. Joshua and Elizabeth Savage Winslow were Isaac’s grandparents, but Margaret’s *great*-grandparents. Isaac’s and Margaret’s fathers were first cousins.

though his figure partook more of the Davis stoutness than of the Winslow symmetry, yet as a young man he was considered very good looking. His eyes were small, but dark and lively; his hair dark and slightly inclined to curl, his nose prominent, and his complexion very florid. I have heard him say that in youth he never accounted himself a well looking man on account of his legs, with whose shape he used to quarrel much, when the fashionable “stocking and “tights” forbade all concealment of any defect in those lower members. A well formed limb was then much thought of, and his were rather of the “thick-set” order, introduced by the Davis branch into the family. His social and attentive manners, however, made amends, I fancy, for any disadvantage of this sort; for I have heard that he was generally liked and sought after, even in circles where the rest of his family were not invited, and scarcely well known. Mr Thomas Amory

9	Extract of a letter from her father to her Uncle Edward about family pride, 1836.
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Mrs Gardiner Greene, and other persons of similar standing shewed him much attention and would have continued such to my Mother after his marriage. But whether from disinclination or difference of style in living, she rather avoided, than otherwise, all such advances, and thus his acquaintance with those families gradually became cool and distant. My Father’s religious views also, and the sad scene of early bereavement experienced in the death of his beloved Parent, served as has been observed in the previous Memoir, to keep him from the worldly or ambitious associates to which his genial temperament and natural love of popularity might otherwise have exposed him. A letter addressed to his youngest brother Edward at a very late period of his life, may not be out of place here, as illustrative of this;— although greatly anticipating the general Memoir.*

Extract from a letter of I Winslow, Sen’ to E Winslow Sen’ May 1836[†]

[“]In the letter to our sister above referred to, you speak of my sons in a manner which cannot but gratify the feelings of a parent, and for this I am obliged. You speak also with apparent satisfaction of the prospect that the prosperity of the family may be restored. “as reflecting one of the oldest, and most respectable families in New England.” In this wish I cannot coincide; so much of the evils of this kind of pride have I witnessed, in some cases before you were born, and so severely have I suffered from its effects; so offensive has it appeared in some cases, that independently of religious considerations, there is no feeling that I should be more desirous that my children should avoid. The love of family, comprehending a strong interest in one’s ancestors, is a different thing. This, being an extended filial feeling, I admire, and think it may be often made useful. This I should like my children should possess; but the former I should consider a great evil. To know how to get their own living, and avoid being burthensome to others, as much as the course of divine Providence will permit, is, in a temporal view, the extent of my ambition

10	Extract of Isaac’s letter continued.
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* Indeed, many of the themes of this letter do anticipate those of the Memorial, its Preface, and Isaac’s motivations for undertaking the work beyond the immediate requests of his daughter.

[†] Once again Margaret writes in a different hand, for the duration of her extract, this time about her usual size, but slightly rounder.

for them. To be rich themselves, or to be connected with wealthy families would be, in my opinion, a snare. Yet I confess,— my brother — your views are those of a vast majority of mankind, and therefore perfectly natural; mine in this respect would be considered singular. This brings to my mind an observation which I understood you made in regard to me many years ago. That your brother's religious education and views had injured his prospects in life. Whether you did make such a remark or not, I do not know, but it is very true. The example of a father has, no doubt, great effect on his children. The sentiments and opinions which are imbibed in early life, though in adult age, appearing to be spontaneous, are probably less so in all men, than is generally believed. An able writer whom I read more than 30 years ago, observes, that no man can tell how or when he first got the opinions he now holds.* Be this as it may, the sincere and unaffected piety, self denial, moderation of views, affection for his family, & friends,— and general kindness to all whom he could assist — a deep sense of the danger of wealth, and ambition, — fears of protruding himself where the Providence of God did not appear to have called him;— these characteristics of a much loved parent have always been indelibly impressed on my memory; and when ambition or avarice, pride or vanity, have prompted me to take a position in society, which probably might have been attained, the voice of a parent was often heard, Beware! —. not that a man may not, be in the way of his duty, in a public as well as in a private,—in a high, as in a low station, if so placed in the course of Providence, or attain to distinction in society. Nay, a man's duty may require him to sacrifice everything, were it life itself, for the good of the society in which he is placed. But then it must be clear, at least to his own conscience and judgement, that he is called on so to do. Our father always felt a fear of putting himself forward, knowing well that the pretence of serving the public is generally but a pretext for a man to serve himself. Such fear is also mine. I do fear losing the favor of God, for that of man. Not that to me

11	Extract of Isaac's letter concluded.
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as well as to others the idea of gratifying one's own feelings and especially those of near friends, has not been at times a strong temptation. The wife, the child, the parent, the brother, and other relations of the rising man, feel a direct interest in the success of the head clansman, Yourself & nearer relations, may feel disappointed, and coincide in regretting that the head of the family had not striven for eminence, which might have been his. Such feelings are quite natural to man, as he is. They excite sympathy, rather than reproof. Yet to me, are such feelings a proof of the vanity of human wishes. Perhaps this tone of feeling, has been derived from early impressions, perhaps the recollection of a parent so loved, and so lamented, are still indelible. Perhaps local incidents and frequent reference to his letters, &c, keep the impressions always fresh. A recurrence last Winter, as I had any spare time, to old papers, which had been in the garret near 40 years, in order to burn the greater part, has tended of late to revive & renew these recollections, and to strengthen family feelings; but certainly to diminish the feeling of family pride. One from Mr Howe, (relating the circumstances of our father's sad, sad death) which probably you never saw, turned up amongst other papers, and I shall now enclose a copy.† The reflection in my mind has often been, "Why has such an one as I am, been spared to the present age, when such a man as he

* Compare with I, 76-77 above (but written a year or more after this letter).

† No doubt the "minutes" of his interview with Isaac's father on the day of his death, above, II, 160-64.

was, was snatched away from a young and distressed family, when his life so important to numbers, was taken away in such an awful manner. May you and I improve this dispensation, of Divine Providence as we ought. To you it probably appears like a tale of past generations;* to me it is an event of yesterday. According to my views, I could not wish the family a greater benefit than that my feelings, impressions, and reflections or analogous ones, should be theirs also. To promote their temporal interests, I have perhaps done as much as I could. To promote their better interest Alas! how little has been done. With assurance of my sincere desire, that both may be your lot, I remain your affec^t brother I Winslow.[⁷]

It will be seen by the foregoing letter, how early and how deeply rooted were the religious impressions which my Father received from that beloved parent whose loss he never ceased to lament; and it is inserted here to serve as a key to that course of conduct, which, although commencing in some degree in his very boyhood, may be said to have taken a more permanent form, from the period of his marriage, and, in consequence, to have so largely influenced the domestic circle around him. Of course the date of it, is long subsequent to the period of which I am now writing, and to which it is right to return from this digression. — —

— — —
1801 Under date of April 1801, a letter from my father to his dear friend Mrs Chase (then Waldo) speaks thus of his recent marriage.

“I am settled down as sober a married man as you would wish to see, and having a very affectionate, obliging, and pleasing companion, find matrimony a very agreeable pleasant state.”

My Mother, I have heard, possessed at this time buoyant cheerful temper, which was happy for her, as she had entered upon a trying situation in the Hawkins S^t old shabby house, with the care of a half or wholly grown family, very undisciplined in habits of self control, and yet acknowledging no rightful authority over them. She had also a half witted Aunt of my Father’s to take charge of, and a great deal of company, friends and strangers, to entertain, on very inadequate means or appurtenances. However, her deep and fervent love for my Father made all of this bearable; and so the first year of their marriage would have passed happily away, but for the evil insinuation instilled by one who afterward became her bitterest trial,[†] — that her husband’s affections had been previously bestowed upon another. — My Father indeed, himself states in his Memoir, that he had been warmly attached to her sister Catherine. But she was now married to Mr Houston, and had departed with him for Tobago. It was Miss Susan Sparhawk of Portsmouth, a handsome and most estimable young lady, to whom the above named insinuation applied; it being hinted at the same time, by the same mischief maker, — that this lady had been the desired daughter of my then lately deceased Grandmother. This information and the idea of a dissimilarity of views in religion in his marriage relation were the only real influences which disturbed my Father; — but my Mother’s wedded happiness was, I fear, greatly poisoned by the unkind and unfounded suggestions thus put forth.

* Edward was 4 when his father committed suicide.

† But who this person was is never specified.

**Birth of
Isaac**

1802 Be this as it may, however, – the mutual affection of both parties was cemented in the following year by the birth of a son, February 18th 1802. This child being the first in the family, on either side, was hailed with great delight, and became the universal pet of his young Uncles and Aunts, and especially of Mrs Pollard, his great grandmother, with whom, on account of his quiet disposition, he always continued a favorite.* When the event was announced at the house in Brattle Square, all the family were in commotion, and the two youthful Aunts Henrietta and Eliza[†] (for the latter often passed a night at “the square”) sprung from their bed in eager haste to run over to Hawkins Street, and welcome the new nephew. I have heard my Father say how exceeding proud he felt when the child grew old enough to be carried about in his arms, and how much pains he took to amuse and interest him. In April he writes to Mrs Waldo, “Margaret, Mary, and the rest of the family are well. The boy is a pretty smart fellow (as you know might be expected,) and if he participates in his Father’s sentiments, will be happy to see his cousin Waldo.”

In October of this year I find a long letter from my Father to Joshua L Winslow in Madras, giving quite an extensive account of family affairs in general. This young man had been an officer in the British army. He was my Father’s first cousin by his father’s side and sister[‡] to Eliza Winslow of Fayetteville, who had lately deceased, as has been mentioned in the previous volume of this Memoir.§ Their father was Joshua Winslow eldest brother of my grandfather. He died during the revolution, as has been before stated, leaving several children, among whom was the Mrs Paiba of England mentioned in this letter. Her husband had also been in the British army, but had resigned or sold his commission.

My father says, Boston, Oct 14th, 1802.

**^xLucy Ann
Winslow, afterward
Ochiltree.**

“I think you must have heard very little American news since the death of your amiable sister and my much lamented friend; nor perhaps has there been much to interest your feelings since that melancholy event; an event in which all of Eliza’s friends particularly her intimate ones, sincerely sympathize with you. To her little^x daughter, though unknown to you, you must have transferred some of your regard for its mother. This little girl”

* She was just short of 78 when he was born and lived another thirteen years.

† Henrietta was Margaret’s sister and Eliza was Isaac’s.

‡ *Brother*, of course, is intended.

§ Above, III, 93.

1802 (^xafterward Mrs Ochiltree) “is now about 5 years old and is spoken of as a fine interesting girl. She has been this summer on a visit to her friends in N York”, (*probably her father’s family, children of “Edward the parson”, who all removed afterward to N Carolina, where her father “John” then resided.”) “Her paternal Aunt Betsey Winslow has had the care of her since her mother’s death, and a mother’s place could not have been better supplied. Her father Mr Winslow has formed another matrimonial connection with a young woman^x of the place where he resides. She is said to be an amiable woman but quite young. — — — — Your advices from Mrs Paiba in England – are, no doubt, later than any I have; their situation a twelvemonth since, was, from good account,— bad enough; Paiba unemployed and subsisting principally on her little pension, which I believe, is a miserable pittance.* I feel for her situation, and sincerely wish some mode of assisting her could be devised.

Letter from
my father to
Josh
Winslow

*N Carolina
Winslows.

^x Mother of
Edw, Warren
& John
Winslow of
Fayetteville,
N.C.

^obrother to
the N
Carolina
John.

The alterations in Society since you have heard are many. Among others my valuable mother has been taken from this life for, I hope, a better; She died about two years since. Your namesake ^oJosh W, son of parson Winslow preceeded her about a year; while your elder Aunts Pollard and Malbone still retain a tolerable share of health and spirits for their age. The latter is still as fond of frolicking about, as when you were in the country. We are now expecting her annual visit to Boston with one of my sisters who has passed the summer with her. Her property has become considerably lessened

by one means and another, and I suspect the income does not more than afford a genteel subsistence.

In respect to the hero of every man’s tale, your humble servant, he has become a sober quiet married man, and what is more, a father too;— having been united in holy matrimony a year and a half ago, with an affectionate and faithful companion, the daughter of Mrs Blanchard, and granddaughter of your Aunt Pollard. I have been established in business here since the year 1797, when I returned from Europe. The end of these five years has not found me much richer than their commencement; you will infer, therefore, that I have not been very fortunate in commercial concerns. It is true I have at least sustained my share of ill success on the fluctuating sea of commercial speculation, But when I see around

!!! compare
1802 with
1860,
M.C.W.

me the almost daily bankruptcies of people heretofore esteemed opulent, and the diminution of property consequent upon the cessation of a war so long in duration and so extensive in its effects. I feel rather an agreeable reflection that I have the means of doing business with credit and reputation equal to any one of any standing, in the place; and ^{!!!} when the too far extended trade of this country shall have settled to its

15 Letter to Joshua concluded. Family visits. Birth of a 2nd son, Edward.

1802 proper limits (though the profits will be less, the risk will not be so great.) I shall hope the judgement I may have derived from several years experience may ultimately prove advantageous.

Of five brothers, two have been abroad in a mercantile capacity; the rest are not yet of age.” — — — — —

1803 In this year I find that my Uncles Thomas and John had both returned home, far from successful in their mercantile voyages. My father speaks of “the continued care of so large a

* For more on this couple see above, II, 202.

family, some of whom seem to require one's daily seeing after." "in fact" he says, "some of my family who should now have it in their power to assist me, are but an additional burthen." He had besides, incessant cares of business both for himself and various family connections, so that he had little or no leisure, for the least recreation. He did, however,

**compare
with 1860. !**

contrive, in September – of this year, to go with my Mother to Portsmouth on a short visit to his friend Mrs Waldo. He wished very much to have this friend reside near him, but he says, "when I know the heavy expenses of this town, house rent and wood daily rising, it certainly would be imprudent for you to reside in Boston, because you could not live for twice the money here."

His own expenses were threatened with an increase this year, by the birth of a second son on the 7th of November, the eldest being then but 21 months old. This child was of an entirely different disposition from his brother, and became the favorite of poor "aunt Patty," as the eldest was of his Grandmother Pollard. The latter was disturbed by his noisy restlessness, and preferred the quiet passivity of little Isaac. Edward* was, I presume, named for his youngest Uncle, then a resident of my father's family, and who had been apprenticed by him to Mr Samuel Walley, a respected merchant of Boston; but unhappily dissatisfying that gentleman, he was obliged to go South into Carolina, where he married and has since resided. — — — — —

In the summer of this year, Mr Houston broke up his household in Boston, and removed with my Aunt Catherine and her little daughter to Newfoundland, greatly to the regret of my Mother and of the whole family in Brattle Square. My Uncle Joshua Blanchard continued during all this period from 1800 to 18[†] in Tobago & Havanna.

In the summer of 1803, New York was visited by the then dreaded pestilence yellow fever. My father writes; "I hope our N York friends may be preserved from the destructive and terrifying pestilence with which that place is

16 More visits. Nursing Isaac. Letter to Isaac's brother Edward (little Edward's namesake).

1803 afflicted. We have reason to be thankful that Providence is pleased to spare us; it is not certainly for any superior deserts; but from the goodness and mercy only of a benevolent and kind God."

My Aunt Eliza, since Pickering, also paid a visit to Mrs Waldo at Portland this year, with her brother John; and in the winter of 1803-4, she went to pass some months with her Aunt Malbone at Newport. It seems also that poor Aunt Patty and little Isaac had been staying about six weeks in the country for their health: Probably my Mother was with them, or they might have been sent there with some friends. I remember hearing that Aunt Henrietta and Aunt Pickering were, at one time, sent out to Dorchester for some weeks, in charge of little Isaac, ill with whooping cough, and this might have been the time. As young nurses of about sixteen years old, they felt a great responsibility. The only liberty they allowed themselves was occasionally to run up on some rocks opposite their boarding house;

* Still not named as of March, 1804. See below, IV, 19-20. He died in 1883, and the census of 1880 indicates that Margaret was then living in his household.

† The date no doubt left blank intending it to be filled in later.

but the moment they heard the child's distressed cry, "I'm doing to tough, I'm doing to tough",* down they had to run again in haste.

The only important letter I find in this year is a fatherly and admonitory one to the young Uncle mentioned as taking his departure for the South to set up in life.† I make a few extracts for the benefit of any future generations. My Father writes as follows:

"My dear Brother," — "The situation you are now about to enter into, is of immense importance to you. It is an epoch, from whence, all the subsequent events of your life will be dated, and, your success or your ill fortune hereafter, will very much depend upon the line of conduct you shall now adopt" — — — — —

..... "I have chosen this mode of advice in preference to conversation, because, in the latter case, I may from a warmth of temper, — lose sight of that cool dispassionate frame of mind which I wish always to possess, and which, I hope you will be convinced when you peruse this, — is my present state. I think you will then believe that my advice arises from a serious and tender regard to your future welfare, and not from personal irritation. To point out another's errors is at all times a painful office; but it is the business of friendship to draw aside the veil of delusion which self love always draws over even the best of mankind, and boldly to shew one to oneself, in proper colors."

17	A brother's fatherly advice. Isaac's brother Edward's marriage and issue.
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After "pointing out the errors" alluded to, the writer continues. "These may appear to you but minute specks in a person's character, and if stained by no immorality, by no mean or improper propensity. — self love may whisper all is right within. But you will find from every day's experience, that most of the disputes and quarrels which abound in the world arise, from frivolous circumstances; — haughty and hasty observations, taunting and sarcastic remarks, proceeding from a proud and obstinate disposition: Hence the many duels which we daily hear of, in which man, equally regardless of divine and human laws, dares to take away that life which no human power can restore.

One of the best judges of human nature; himself arrived at an age when the faculties are at their fullest maturity, has said, speaking of wisdom,—

"'Tis but to know how little can be known

To see all other's faults and feel our own'‡.—

And shall youth in the very light of infancy presume to set up its opinion in opposition to the experience which assumes that "man" is ever "most ignorant of what he's most assured," and, without judgement, experience, or knowledge, assume a positiveness in word, conduct, and manners, that would ill become the very wisest of mankind? — How opposite is such a character to that winning modesty, those accommodating manners, that diffidence without bashfulness, that amiable docility which ought to characterise youth. In the former case, a lad of superior talents and good heart may be shunned by all the world. In the latter,— one of modest attainments may make an interest with all the world."

* Perhaps Margaret's attempt to imagine Isaac's baby talk ("I'm going to cough"), though the fact that she had not heard it herself suggests as more likely that she is relaying her Aunt Henrietta's and/or Aunt Pickering's recollections.

† It may be helpful to consider that at the time Isaac was 29 and his brother 15.

‡ Alexander Pope, *Essay on Man* (Epistle IV). The lines quoted answer the question, "What is it to be wise?"

This Uncle it seems settled at Fayetteville, N C, where my Father's cousin, (probably John Winslow, son of "Edward the Parson,") had procured for him a situation as is mentioned in the ensuing letters of 1804, to Mrs Chase and Aunt Malbone. It may be as well to state here that he afterward removed to Charlestown, S Carolina, and being very handsome, captivated the fancy of a wealthy widow already twice married, and having four children.* To her he was married at the age of eighteen, and had by her four children, a little girl who died in infancy, one son James who died at the age of 12 years, and two sons Edward and John who still live (in 1861). The latter is an officer in the U. S. Navy; and married his cousin Catherine Amelia daughter of my Uncle Benjamin Winslow.† By her he had six children, four sons James Ancram,‡ Chilton-Rhett, William Randolph, and Herbert; and two daughters, Fanny Amory, and Mary. Their seventh son Benjamin died an infant.

1804

Letter to Mrs Catharine Malbone – Newport. Feb 29th, 1804.

After referring to some business which he had been transacting for Mrs Malbone my Father writes of a death which had recently occurred at Newport among her friends, and says, in regard to his sisters, who were both staying with Aunt Malbone at that time,§ – "Poor Eliza too! it must have been a sorrowful scene for her to lose such an early friend, her friends at home have felt for her situation. I understand the Girls have been expecting that such a young dressy & gallant beau as myself should escort them home; but I fear any business will prevent; however when they wish to return, one of the old ones, say Josh or Ben, will come up to be their gallant. My family are all well, as are our other friends; they would if present unite in their kind regards.— we have had one of the most violent snow storms rememberd for many years; the roads have all been blocked up, all communications suspended for some days. The long talked of affair of a Bridge is at last settled; they are to build one from the neck to Dorchester, & make a new street near the water to run strait to somewhere near Trinity Church; at the same time that part of the town of Dorchester facing Boston, is now to be a part of the Town; this is the project of Jon^a Mason Otis, Tudor & G Greene.** I have a letter from Edward at Fayetteville, where the place his cousin at first obtained for him was still open, so that he will have that chance. I sincerely hope he may find it a good one and retain his health there." –

Another letter of the same year to Mrs Chase then Waldo of Portland, also speaks of my Uncle's new residence, and gives sundry other particulars of the family; as does the former of a great snow storm, and some contemplated public improvements in the little town of Boston.††

[“]Boston Mar 11, 1804

My dear Cousin I received your agreeable letter by post and should have answered it sooner, had it not have been for a hurry of business. You are

* And below, 1V, 37.

† The aforementioned John Ancrum Winslow (above, IV, 6).

‡ Probably an error for *Ancrum*.

§ Again, Margaret shifts to a rounder hand when quoting the letter.

** Jonathan Mason, Harrison Gray Otis, William Tudor, and Gardiner Greene.

†† Again, Margaret shifts to a rounder hand when quoting the letter.

1804 mistaken about not being thought about; we very often talk of you and yours, & you may be assured always with pleasure & interest; I wish we had the satisfaction of more often conversing face to face, and I hope it may not be long ere your residence will be changed to Boston or its vicinity, an event I assure you, I look forward to with pleasure.— Mrs Fox drank tea with us Sunday last, & from her we have heard a good deal of you, the boys, & your little Sarah; we had begun to fear you were seriously sick, not having heard so long;— but were glad to learn that your disorder had left you, and you were on the mending hand.* — Your letter to me retains some of the impressions to which I know you are sometimes subject; but don't my dear Cousin, give way too much to gloomy or anxious feelings; recollect that, as the situation of the most prosperous cannot be secured by human foresight, but must be left to a superintending power, so also the most destitute & forlorn may be upheld by the same power, whose goodness is over all his works. Now you certainly have many to whom you are dear & who take an interest in your happiness, & that of your children, & whose

X
This proved an
error, see
previous page.

services (I speak at least for one) you may always command; — we are all well at home; Jack, as I suppose you have heard, sailed for France about a month ago.— Edward went to Carolina in expectation of a good place which was there offered to him, but ^Xwhich was filled up before he got there. Our little boys are well. Ike[†] begins to grow very amusing; the youngest has no name fixed, as yet; I am for Joshua, and so is the “family lady”; but it don't take with the fashionables. Cousin Betsey says Thomas Amory; I am rather partial to the name

1804 and perhaps may decide upon that.— If you wish some money, I beg you to write; it is quite convenient to send it to you; so you have only to say the word.— Lucy Waldo, poor Girl, has had a sad time with a complaint of her Eyes. I am told in riding out a week or two ago, she caught a cold & had another operation performed. I wish the old lady would take Sam. I suppose he is almost 14, & he ought to think of our plan; I wish I could take him in the family, with all my heart; & I could, if the elder brothers had have been fortunate enough not to need a reiteration of exertions to get them along. I think I shall tell Mr Bowdoin that I have promised to take him in the store, & ask him to hint it to the old lady.— Elisa has been at Newport all the winter, & Ben has just gone to fetch her home; with regards of my fire-side, I am, in haste, Dear Cousin, Your affect'y IW.

PS. Please asks Mr Chase to write me soon what is to be done about the French debt.--[”]

x unmarried sister
of Mrs Chase, and
Aunt to Charles
Winslow herein
mentioned.

The second son of the writer, to whom reference is here made, was the one born, as has been already stated, in the old Hawkins S^t house, Nov 7th 1803, and afterward named Edward. In August 1804 the family still resided there; My Uncle Joshua in my father's employ; my Uncle Ben to be set up in life, as will be seen in the following extracts from a letter ^xto “Cousin Betsey” at Dedham. After some business information, my Father says, “—[‡]

* A common nineteenth-century American expression for *on the mend*.

† Short for *Isaac*.

‡ And again the hand changes.

Miss E Winslow

Boston Aug 4 1804

^xAfterward
"Auboyneau"

Dear Cousin, I am quite mortified at the dilatoriness of my brother Josh, who I thought had long ago Complied with your request. The only apology I can make is that his head has been turned by a Miss^x Malbone from Newport;["] (not Aunt M) ["]who has done great execution amongst the beaux, & kept them all in a flurry for a fortnight she was here. All the world are running after a Mr Bonaparte" (Jerome Buonaparte)*

21

Married Miss Paton of
Baltimore.

^xretail dry goods store
in Washington S^t
which they did)

& lady, now here from Baltimore; they came in a Coach & Six, with footmen, Secretary, Physician, &c, She is said to be a very pretty little woman,— Ben & Charles, being now of age, have been talking of setting up together^x in business, and I think they would do well. I should like to assist them. I never thought that it would be as well for you to let them have the money in my hands, belonging to you, taking their note, upon which I will become security &c."

Review of 1801
to 1804

During all this period, the old Hawkins S^t house, shabby as it was, and in a street far from desirable, yet saw many lively scenes; being filled with young people, possessing all the attraction of a "beauty" in the person of my Father's elder sister Mary, (afterward Mrs Hudgens,) and, as has been previously remarked, becoming the resort of strangers from all countries, correspondents of or consignees to my Father, now in a prosperous and increasing business on "Long Wharf." Some of these were persons who have since attained a distinguished position in American or foreign society, and who owed perhaps, their first footing in some measure to my Father's kind and encouraging interest. He always felt for strangers, having himself been a stranger so long upon foreign shores. The constant change and variety of this intercourse, together with the visits of rather numerous family – connection, and the frequent, almost daily communication kept up with Grandmother Blanchard's household at "the Square", left little time for dullness either within or without. At "the Square," as it was familiarly termed, the family at one time consisted of only my Great Grandmother Pollard, my Grandfather & Grandmother Blanchard, and my Aunt Henrietta, then about 14 years of age, and very intimate with my Aunt Eliza (since Pickering) who was also 14 at the time of my brother Isaac's birth, 1802. Mr & Mrs Houston, my Aunt Susan, and my Uncle Blanchard, were then at Tobago in the West Indies, whither they arrived January 20th, 1801, having been nearly two months on the voyage; and from whence, Aunts Catharine and Susan returned, I think in the summer of 1802, Mr Houston following them in the Autumn, and Uncle Blanchard remaining at the island. At this period viz^{lt} 1802-3, Mr Houston took a handsome house in Boston, at the South end, and Aunts Henrietta & Susan frequently stayed there a night or two at a time; with their little niece Catharine; a sort of rival, I believe, to her cousin Isaac, the pet and pride of Grandmother Pollard at "the Square." This made another household connection

22

* Jérôme-Napoléon Bonaparte (1784 –1860). Napoleon's brother. He married an American woman, Elizabeth Patterson (not Paton as Margaret has it) in 1803 while on a visit to the United States. Napoleon soon after nullified the marriage.

Letters from J P Blanchard – Tobago – W I –

in Boston, and was a very pleasant arrangement to my Mother; who rejoiced in having her favorite sister once more at home; although residing at a considerable distance “up town”. But I must go back a little to introduce a letter from my Uncle Blanchard to my Uncle Benjamin Winslow, both then young men of 18 to 20 years old. It is dated in the first year of his residence in Tobago – March 22nd 1801, and should have been inserted on a previous page.*

**Review of
1801 to 1804**

Dear Ben

Tobago March 22 1801

I take the present opportunity to write to you in consequence of a promise I made to you to that effect before I came away: You will recollect that you made me the same promise, but how have you kept it? We received letters from our friends in Boston dated 18 Decr 1800 by a vessel from Boston bound directly to this place, as fair an opportunity as you possibly could have, yet you never wrote me. It is true that I have write home to my Father before this, and have not written to you, but then I labor under a great many disadvantages here; whereas in a place like Boston where pens & paper are so easily to be got, and it requires so little time & trouble just to write a letter, it is inexcusable in you not to write, when you know how much I wish to hear from home. I therefore expect that you will write to me by every opportunity that offers – Should you wish to hear an account of our voyage, I will refer you to my Father, to whom I have written on that subject before; It is sufficient at present to say, that after being twelve days upon the water, we arrived at Granada, from whence we came up in an English sloop to this place, where we arrived on the 20th Jany 1801 –

When we first arrived at Grenada every thing appeared extremely strange to me; but now I have been in the West Indies two months, objects appear more familiar, the greater part of the people here are negroes, as you may suppose, many of whom

23 Letter from J P Blanchard to Margaret's Uncle Ben Winslow continued. Insects and reptiles.

go partly, and some entirely naked of both sexes; this at first appeared extremely disgusting, but one soon gets used to these things. Our house here is small, but beautifully situated on a hill, with a fine prospect, & such a continual sea breeze, that we are afraid to open the windows or else everything blows about the room – Upon the whole, I dont think, from what I can see at present, that this is so terrible bad a climate as what people in Boston are apt to imagine, It is certainly not half so bad as I expected to find it; for myself I never enjoyed better health in my life, than I do at present, & there seems to be but very few complaints among the people in the island; indeed it appears to me that a person might live as comfortably here, as any where in the world, were it not for two things; first, that every article of life is extremely high here, & secondly on account of the insects, & reptiles; You cannot walk out here without seeing the lizards running from you in all directions, & if in the evening toads; cockroaches thick as hops, which eat up every thing of the stationary kind they can get at, get into our trunks, and eat our clothes, books &c Mosquitoes so thick that one cannot sleep without a mosquito net, & spiders which when extended, are, without the least exaggeration, full as large as my hand. Scorpions & centipedes we have as yet seen none alive, but there are many thousand sorts of insects, reptiles of all shapes & colors, which you

* And again the hand changes.

have not in America; There is an insect of the locust kind, which they call the rasor grinder on account of the noise he makes, which sounds like the filing of a saw, full as harsh

24

Letter from Tobago continued.

1801 to
1804

and much louder, there is also a creature of the lizard form, perfectly black, and about three inches, his claws do not come out exactly opposite to each other, but at different parts of his body, & when he falls on a person, he sticks so close to their flesh that nothing but fire will make him let go – & there is another which is perfectly white, and looks like a small white stick or bone; his limbs are bent in the same manner as a human persons; he is about four inches long, & when he stands erect & stretches out his arms, he gives you such an idea of a human skeleton in miniature, as would make you shudder – In short it would be an endless job to give you an account of every kind of creature which a burning sun produces in this sultry climate – The lodgings here would not be very agreeable to you nor would they to me when I first came from Boston. Imagine yourself in a small room not twice your own length in a bed which at night fills it, surrounded by a mosquito net, hearing the rats racing about the room, the croaking of frogs & toads, the sharp notes of the crickets & rasor grinders, & the singing of the mosquitoes' tormented by fleas, & with cockroaches & large spiders crawling on the walls all around you & you will have an idea of my situation; yet I can sleep & soundly too; for after being 42 nights sleeping in the cabin of the Hannah at sea and two or three days on a small sloop, where for want of room, I was obliged to sleep upon the open deck in most tempestuous squally weather with the sea running very high, my present berth is luxury – Aye Mr Ben if you want to see a little hardship leave off waiting upon the ladies in Cornhill & either go to prentice to hard ware, or go to sea –

25

Letter from Tobago concluded.

1801 to
1804

Though we had a remarkable easy passage yet many nights was I obliged to get up out of the Cabin & go a lay on the hencoop on deck in consequence of the smell & confinement below & when we were like to be cast on the rocks at Granada I was up all night assisting in working the Brig. You may laugh but it is true, the Captain gave me my post at the main boom & there I stuck till most morning when I got about half an hours sleep through mere fatigue; again when our fore topmast was carried away in a squall, Mr Houston & myself were both assisting to Clear away the wreck it raining all the time as hard as it could pour down & lastly when we were coming safe to Tobago in the Sloop & were obliged by the weather to put into the Isle Ronde[?],* here we landed in a boat on the beach, (these being scarce any wheres[?] in the west Indies) the surf from ill management burst into the boat & came very nigh oversetting & drowning us, my sisters were obliged to be carried ashore, I had for my part to lug Susan ashore (who is no feather) through the sand, in which I sunk to my knees at every step & the surf beating upon me above my Middle, at a time too when I was sea sick & of course as weak as water gruel: I thought once or twice I should have sunk, & it was with the utmost exertion of strength, & resolution that I got her safe on shore – This is a fine place for you to send adventures[†] to, could you get acquainted with Mr

* There is an Isle de Ronde just off Grenada, but that is almost 90 miles from Tobago, so seems unlikely as the placed named here.

† Here meaning *an undertaking, enterprise, or venture involving financial risk or speculation.* (Webster's 3rd Unabridged)

Greens Captains who will come to this Island. Wines of all kinds are extremely scare & will bring any price, if you will consign your adventures to me, I will endeavour to do the best in my power for you, on the usual Comission, though I Confess I am not much in the way of business here, being poked away in the country as it were.["]

26 Further letters from J.P.B. in Tobago, 1803 to Margaret's mother.

**1801 to
1804**

The two following letters written by my Uncle Blanchard after the return of his sisters Catharine and Susan to America will shew his situation in Tobago during the year 1803; in the summer of which year, Mr Houston with his wife and little daughter, removed as I have before stated, from Boston to Newfoundland. To Mrs Margaret Winslow Boston

Tobago 22nd April 1803. After a preamble of little consequence concerning want of time for correspondence &c, and an acknowledgement of his sister's home news he says, * ["I am now living as a clerk to a Mr John Smith a Merchant in the American line; here I have a Salary of 24\$ pr month,[†] a good snug bed room, plenty to eat & drink, washing & attendance; Mr S. is a man of no education, but a very good sociable man, I live hitherto very easy with him; it is true from the nature of his business, I am obliged to be much out of doors, to be exposed alternately to the heat of a perpendicular sun, or a sudden torrent of rain; to be roasting on the burning sands of a beach, or be wet at the knees in crossing a river; but all these things, if not entirely removed, are at least greatly palliated by habit. Although severe at first. Nothing can be more flattering, I assure you, than the wishes you express to see me again, or that I might be in some situation where I could be near you; & I beg leave to observe, that it is a thing which I should like above all things, myself, especially as this place which never was mistaken for Paradise, seems growing worse & worse every day, on account of its political situation; but I see not probability of such an event taking place, at least for this long time.["]

["]To Mrs Margaret Winslow . – Tobago – 4th[?] July, 1803.

Dear Sister, – I have by this opportunity written particularly to Catharine respecting the changes lately taken place in this Island; to whom I beg leave to refer you; you will excuse me for not addressing these particulars to you, as from having been here & knowing the situation of the places mentioned,

27 Letters from J.P.B. in Tobago, 1803 to Margaret's mother, continued.

**1801 to
1805**

she is best able to understand & explain them, and in case she is absent from Boston, you or Susan can open her letter. I write you however to shew you I am not ungrateful for your attention to me, a continuation of which will give me the highest satisfaction, although I have nothing at present to say, but I hope the length of Catherine's letter which will probably be shewn you, will compensate for the shortness of this. I am with best respects to Mr W– his Brothers & Sisters, Yourself & little family – JPB["]

During all these years my Uncle Blanchard underwent an ill paid and laborious life for so young a man, his family at home being unable to assist him. He had at

* And again the hand changes.

[†] Only about \$5,500 per annum in 2008 dollars using the CPI, but over \$80,000 compared to the wages of unskilled workers.

**1805
Resumed**

**Birth of
Henry.**

one time a hope of being taken into business with Mr Houston who, in 1802-3 was on the point of establishing a wholesale English dry goods store in Boston; but was grievously disappointed, as were all the Blanchard family, by Mr H's acceptance of the ordnance department under the British government in St Johns.*

In August 1805, my Father was presented, at the Hawkins S^t house, – with a third son, who was named William Henry, and who afterwards became a deserved favorite among all his friends by uncommonly interesting qualities,

causing great regret at his early death. So soon as my Mother was able to bear the removal, and about six weeks after the birth of this child, my Father transferred his whole family to a house in Howard S^t near the corner of Somerset S^t,[†] up which toward the South, then stretched a considerable range of gardens, making the back of this house extremely pleasant. The house itself was of brick, in a block of two; still, I believe, standing at this date (1862) although now old and somewhat shabbed.[‡] At the time of my Father's removal, they were modern and, for the times, rather stylish, possessing, I have been told, folding door parlors in the second story, a basement dining room, &c. Having taken the house for the remnant of a lease from "a gentleman going to Europe," my Father was persuaded to take the carpets and some few articles of furniture then rather "smart"; so that this may be considered the most ambitious epoch of the family History. The young "Uncles and Aunts" rather rejoiced in it I believe; especially the Beauty; who, in a fashionable boarding house just opposite, discovered several admiring neighbors of the young gentleman species.

1805 Howard St House. American Domestic or "Help."

For this house my Father paid the enormous rent of six hundred dollars per annum, equal to eight or nine hundred at a subsequent period, say 1860.[§] Boston, then confined within the original limits of its little peninsular, was beginning rapidly to fill up with enterprising young men, and families from the country towns, who were rising to wealth and station by the impetus now given to business of every kind, in the general prosperity of a young and flourishing nation. Houses of respectable appearance were therefore becoming extremely scarce, and as the Hawkins S^t house was much out of repair, besides being too limited for his increasing family, my Father was glad to take the remnant of a lease, as before mentioned, till he could look about for some more permanent residence.

It was at this period that my Mother first took into her service an American woman by the name of Warren, who was first hired as a sort of nurse to my brother Henry, and for many years continued in the family, – sometimes as cook, and sometimes as sempstress, or general assistant with the children as might be wanted, being addressed by the familiar appellation of "Waddy." – Her husband, I have always understood, was a regular soldier in the United States service, and she had two children who were boarded out at the time she lived with us. She was a small delicate woman in appearance, but being very neat and orderly,

* Above, III, 72.

† Not far from the southern end of Sudbury St.

‡ An archaic variant of *shabby*.

§ Margaret seems wrong in her estimate. Using CPI data, \$600 in 1805 money would actually have declined to less than \$500 in 1860. It would have been closer to the original amount in 1862, when Margaret seems to be writing this, and it would be about the equivalent of ten or eleven thousand dollars today.

like most American “Help” of that day,— she was able to accomplish a good deal, although often sorely tried by the dirt and disorder introduced by the careless flock of boys into her tidy well scoured kitchen. It is related that one of them, being reprovved by her for soiling with muddy shoes her nicely washed floor, improved the lesson, by stepping from chair to chair, all equally well scoured, around the forbidden precincts. It is also told of the same or another family urchin, that he dared the extent of her capacity in the production of pancakes, and fairly won the day over her exhausted strength or materials. My Parents, however, must have compensated by their kindness to her, for all grievances of this sort; for she remained always warmly attached to the family, long after advancing age and infirmity compelled her to quit all household service. She was a very ardent Baptist, having been converted during an exciting revival among that sect under the leadership of a famous colored Preacher named “Paul,” who made quite a stir at that time in Boston. She was afterward a member of Dr Sharpe’s church.

29	Her sister, Mary Valet.
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1805 Her sister Mary Valet or Valette (being descended from a Huguenot family of much respectability) also lived, when a young girl, in my Grandmother Blanchard’s family; but being a woman of more intellectual capacity than Mrs Warren, she afterward raised herself to a superior station; at one time keeping school, then a dry goods store, and finally a boarding house, where she made quite a competence. She also remained much attached to the family, and frequently visited us to the last of her life. She differed widely from her sister in religious views, and joined the Swedenborgians,* — writing a good deal for the juvenile magazines of that society — She also published a book for young persons before her death, and was a very worthy excellent woman in every respect. Personally she bore a strong resemblance to my second Mother, as did her sister Mrs Warren to my first, and yet they were totally unlike each other in every point.

Nabby Tower

Another American woman who lived with my Mother at or soon after this time, was called “Nabby Tower.” She had partially the care of my brother Thomas who was born in Oliver S^t, — and there was always a contest between her and Mrs Warren in regard to the infantile charms and merits of their respective pets.

Nabby Tower was very considerably treated by my Mother, under some circumstances of mortification which cast her rather under a cloud for a time, and she never forgot the kindness. For years after she left us, her annual visit to the family was punctually made, and inquiries affectionately put for every member there, especially — for her former nursling “Master Thomas.” She lived for some years in the family of the Clergyman, Henry Ware, Jr.,[†]

* Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) was a Swedish scientist, theologian and mystic, who believed that the second coming and last judgment had already occurred. Probably the most important adherent in Boston at this period was Henry James, Sr. For the Winslows who still adhered to Sandemanian tenets, the most significant Swedenborgian belief was that faith alone was not sufficient for salvation. But Swedenborg’s belief that he had been divinely and mystically inspired to (re)interpret scripture rendered his doctrines very foreign to Calvinists and Episcopalians, less so to Unitarians. Swedenborgian churches exist today under many names and like the contemporary Unitarian Universalist Association are attractive to people frustrated by traditional Christian doctrine.

† Henry Ware, Jr. (1794 -1843). An important Unitarian and teacher at the Harvard Divinity School, where he taught Ralph Waldo Emerson. He later quarreled in a polemic with Emerson’s controversial “Divinity School Address.”

and afterward with a daughter who was married in Worcester Mass. This kind of respectable “help” who considered themselves a part of the old households to the end of their days, seems now to be almost extinct; but certainly the purely mercenary relation which has taken the place of that state of things, is far from being so favorable to the present comfort or the future prospects of her now almost foreign-ridden country. The change is however, perhaps the fault of the Employer, equally with that of their much berated employe’es. Patient training, skill in domestic affairs, kindness and firmness united, on the part of Mistresses, would probably, in the majority of cases, have already formed a class even among foreigners, nearly if not quite so faithful and efficient as were the American domestics in times past. And as their characters react upon the rising generation, a reform in this particular is very desirable among us.

30

Mr. Schwartz and other beaux.

1806 Extract. Letters from my Father’s youngest sister Eliza Winslow to Henrietta Blanchard, St John’s, Newfoundland, Both nineteen years of age.

Mr and Mrs Houston, accompanied by my Aunt Henrietta Blanchard, were now residing at St John’s Newfoundland, where Mr Houston held an Office in the British Ordnance service. The two former, with their infant daughter Catharine had sailed from Boston in 1803: Aunt Henrietta joined them in the summer of 1806, finding two more little daughters, Eliza and Henrietta, then added to her sisters family. The first of these letters is from Newport to Boston written just before the departure of Aunt Henrietta for Newfoundland.*

“My dear Henrietta,

—Newport Aug 19th

“Ben has just informed me by a letter from Josh, that you expect to sail in the course of this week. In that case I shall not return before you go, and it will be a long time before we meet again; but perhaps it is best; for, to meet merely to bid farewell is extremely unpleasant. My principal motive in writing is to remind you of your promise to keep up a correspondence between us; Mine, I will certainly perform while there is any thing interesting to relate.”

“We have been in constant dissipation. —Its usual this town is full of strangers.— We have become very intimately acquainted with one, very agreeable, a Mr Schwartz[†] from Marseilles. He was acquainted with Thomas there. He and Ben have formed quite an intimacy. We had a party to the Bridge which is building here. I rode with him; it alarmed me considerably, as you may suppose, to ride twenty-six miles with almost a stranger: However I lived over it.”[‡] (parties then used to ride in chaises on an excursion, two and two in each.) [“]He is to spend three months in Boston, and as he is inclined to be very sociable, I expect to see a great deal of him. You must not suppose I have fallen in love with him; but as I may mention him again, I think it as well you should be introduced to him.

* Here the hand does *not* change and Margaret abandons her practice of transcribing letters in an alternate script.

[†] Possibly the same gentlemen we met above, III, 21-2, or at least a relative and belonging to the firm of Degen & Schwartz (III, 19).

[‡] A not uncommon early nineteenth-century variant of *I lived through it*.

My old favorite Malbone['] (a celebrated miniature painter of that period; he was Mrs Malbone's relative by marriage,) [']is here but very ill, dangerously it is thought, and I am afraid he is going to the shades; if he recovers, he must give up painting entirely. so much for Beaux which I know you not care for.

31

Social doings and gossip.

1806 And now for "the Lovers". ['] (The lovers were my Uncle Benjamin and Miss Amory Callahan, who were engaged at 16 years of age (a romantic love affair) and married 10 years afterward.) "Ben has recovered his health considerably; but Amory remains much the same. As she has not benefitted by her journey so far – we shall not return before the next week, and by that time I fear you will have commenced your voyage. May you, my dear Henrietta have a safe and pleasant one, and be happier when you arrive than you expect to be, with a favorite sister who is very much attached to you. It will be a change in your ideas and prospects which may not be unpleasant to you." To this letter Mrs Malbone adds the following Postscript in a neat Italian hand,

"As Eliza tells me she has not mentioned me to you" (that must have been a grave offence to the proper old lady)–"I take her pen, my Dear Girl, to assure you of my best wishes for health and prosperity in the new situation of life you are about embarking into. May Heaven be your guide, and protect you through the arduous task of leaving such near and dear friends, and safely convey you to the arms of an affectionate sister, is the sincerest wish of yours KM"–

"Offer my kind love to G Mother['] (Mrs Pollard) [']Mother Father, Susan &c, &c."

Another letter of October in the same year, from Boston to Newfoundland between these young friends, describes the family life in B as follows.—

[']The weather has been extremely unpleasant since my return from Newport, but every opportunity we get, Susan and I walk in the Mall. We calculate at every turn to lose a pound of flesh; so you will expect when we meet again to see me reduced to quite a genteel size; but alas! I see no prospect of it at present['] (Aunt Pickering was much troubled when a young girl, on account of the stoutness of her figure.) [']It is very lively here just now. We have a number of strangers who visit here very often.['] (This was at my Father's house, probably in Howard S^d) She mentions a Mr Grandee, and the same Mr Schwartz whom she had met at Newport. Aunt Susan sometimes slept at the house in Howard S^t, but oftener Aunt Pickering (then Eliza Winslow) at "The Square" as Grandmother Blanchard's & Pollard's home was called by the family. One evening she speaks of their all assembling there; the said Mr Schwartz, Charles Winslow, Ben Pollard, and George Hunt being with them, as she says, "quite a shew of Beaux"; Also her brothers Benjamin & Joshua were there, and her handsome sister Mary (Aunt Hudgens) a merry young party!

32

Brattle Square, Mrs Pollard's home.

"The Square" was always a pleasant visiting place for young people: it had a cheerful social air about it, and although plain and old fashioned the house and furniture looked homelike, and the neat order of the rooms was enlivened by plenty of sunshine, cheerful fires, plants, birds and pet animals. Mrs Pollard, the

very picture of “a nice old lady,”* liked the society of young people, of whom, with her grandchildren, great nephews and nieces, and others, there met quite a lively circle around her. In fact her own nephews and nieces were as young as her grandchildren and some of them younger, as she was married when her younger brother my Grandfather was an infant, and therefore his children and hers came upon the stage of life at about the same period.

**1807
Marriages.
Benjamin
Winslow to
Amory
Callahan.**

The marriage of one of her younger nephews took place about this time, My Uncle Benjamin, who was at length united to his fiancée Miss Amory Callahan after an engagement of 10 years as has been stated.

“We have been engaged the last three weeks” writes my Aunt Eliza to her friend in Newfoundland, “making visits with the bride.” “I suppose Susan will inform you of the wedding which was very stylish. Jack” (her brother John) “Charles” (cousin former partner of the bridegroom) “Timmins” (afterward Mrs Hill & then Blanchard, sister of the bride) “and I were the bridal attendants. “We accompanied them” (the young couple) [“]to Billings” (Hotel) “with the rest of our families and had quite a diverting day.” This Hotel at Blue Hill† about miles‡ from Boston was a famous resort for parties of pleasure, wedding trips &c. The company generally went two by two in Chaises, as at Newport, had a dinner or supper, and often a dance before returning to town. About this same spring, the writer speaks of the marriage of John Callahan at one time in my Father’s counting room, brother of my Uncle Ben’s bride, to a Miss Young of Providence mother of the present Mrs Abbott of Norwich Connecticut. These young Callahans were the children of Captain Callahan who married a sister of the wealthy Gardiner Greene; they were very well connected on the mother’s side, and one of the daughters, Mrs Perkins, married into one of the wealthiest families in Boston. Two others became, as above mentioned, connected with our family; and their descendants again still more closely;— as for instance, Catharine second daughter of my Uncle Ben, who married the second son of my Uncle Edward; and Mary Quincy daughter of Mrs Hill

**Oliver St
House.**

**Mrs Chase,
&c, review of
1806**

afterward Blanchard, who married my fifth brother Benjamin, having been brought up in the Callahan family, by her unmarried Aunts.

I must return to 1806 for the mention of some circumstances omitted in the foregoing narrative of that year. In a letter of my Father’s to his friend and Cousin Mrs Chase of Portland, I find that in Jan 1806 he was in the Oliver St^t §house, having, I presume, moved from Howard St^t in the latter part of 1805. It was one of two brick houses in a block owned by Mr Young (father of the minister) he himself occupying the other. Although a less desirable house than that in Howard St^t, it had pleasant gardens around it, and the sea view and air from Fort Hill, at the head of the street, were delightful in a summer’s evening. Here were born my three youngest brothers; Thomas in 1807, Benjamin in 1810, and George in 1812, my Father residing in this house for about

* She was at the time in her early eighties.

† “Blue Hill” in light pencil, so no doubt inserted in a blank space meant for later filling in.

‡ No doubt Margaret forgot to fill in the number (which should be about 10). There is a small space available for that purpose after “about” at the end of a line.

§ Oliver St., unlike so many of the streets the Winslows lived in, still exists, even if the buildings of this period no longer do.

eight years, Aunt Patty, Aunt Mary, and, part of the time, Aunt Eliza, afterward Pickering, being inmates of his family. Two of his brothers were absent; Joshua in Algiers, and Edward in Carolina. John and Benjamin were, I believe, boarding in Boston, Uncle Tom in the country.

In his Compting room, my Father had at different times all the young men of the family, and many others beside. At this time one of them was the son of his cousin Mrs Chase, Samuel Waldo by name, an amiable but very indolent young man, more given to dry jokes than dryer accounts. It seems that he was in Boston at the time of his stepfather's death, concerning which my Father thus addresses his friend in Portland.

"Again you are called, my dear Cousin, in the course of the wise, though mysterious providence of God,— to mourn the loss of a near and dear friend: Again it has pleased the great Disposer of events to take from you a tender husband your stay and support, — the lost and lamented partner of your griefs or joys. Under this afflictive dispensation shall I tell you of the fruitlessness of indulging in all the luxury of woe? Can I calmly sit down to advise you to stifle those emotions which cannot fail* in the bosom of sensibility upon such a trying event? Shall I tell you that excessive grief will injure your health? —that both yourself and family have a right to demand a mitigation of that sorrow which is as unavailing to bring back the dead as it is hurtful to the living? — —Such observations as these, however true they may be, do not touch the heart. Nor will the sympathy of your

34

Reflections on grief concluded. Mrs. Chase's relations.

1806 Mrs Chase.

friends, however warm and sincere,— do any thing further than alleviate those pangs which they cannot cure. —No, my dear-cousin:— it can come only of God himself to pour the balm of comfort into the wounded breast. He that hath bruised can heal; and however hard it may be, we ought to say, "The Lord gave, and the Lord taketh away, blessed be his name!"† Such instances of mortality where a human being is cut off in the midst of health strength and usefulness, in the prime of life, just as the goal of human happiness appears within his reach, are striking lessons to us all of the instability of human life and human expectations and if they had their due effect, — would lead us to consider life itself in comparison with Eternity as a moment of time; — and that, as our turn must soon succeed, — we should value no earthly enjoyment so as to dread the loss of it. Had I time, I could say much more upon this subject, and could, I think, even convince you by reference to a long past, though always melancholy event to me, — that your affliction, however severe, could be heightened."‡

The closing paragraph refers to his own Father's death, never forgotten by him, and probably the cause of his lifelong devotion to the principle inculcated in this letter, "Love not the world."§

* No doubt Isaac or Margaret has left out "to arise" or its equivalent here.

† Job 1: 21: "the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord."

‡ A reference, as we are about to be told, to his father's untimely and tragic death, about which Sally of course was well aware (see above, II, 180 for the letter in which, writing from Boston, she informs her husband in Portland of her cousin's death). But it is not quite clear what Isaac intends by this. Is he telling her he might convince her that things could be much worse? And if so, is that meant to be all that consoling? She has now lost two husbands.

§ 1 John 2: 15-17: "Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him."

1807 I find letters of this year to Mrs Chase's sister cousin Betsey Winslow who resided in Dedham, but passed the summer of 1808 at a place called "New Ipswich" in N Hampshire. These letters are mostly on affairs of business, my Father having the management of her little income. She was very liberal however, like her sister Mrs Chase, but with far less means, and delighted in making such little presents as she could afford to her friends and relatives – She was especially attached to my Father, who was more of a brother both to herself and Mrs Chase than their own were able to be. Sam Winslow was quite in poor circumstances, keeping a school in Connecticut, and assisted by Mrs Chase so far as she could do for him. Isaac was in N York, & but little to his relations in any way, even, I believe, separated from his own daughter most of the time. These brothers were, as is stated in my Father's Family Memorial, wards of his Father during the Revolution, and growing up with large expectations of family property, never realized to any considerable extent, although a source of much care and distress to my Grandfather, in his distribution to them as he feared of an over due share,— they remained unoccupied, and of course

35 Vicissitudes in the lives of the descendants of Isaac's great uncle Isaac (Mrs. Chase's father).

**1807 "Uncle Isaac"
Winslow's
descendants**

unprosperous through life, in that most unhappy of all positions, poor gentlemen. One of Sam Winslow's sons, Charles, was in a rather prosperous dry goods business with my Uncle Benjamin, for a time; but afterward became much reduced.— His children however have again risen to wealth and consequence by

their own exertions especially those of the second son George, who is at this date (1867) — one of the most prosperous and liberal dry goods merchants in Boston. Mrs Bradford's son

**Geo S
Winslow,
Russel
Bradford, and
Sarah
Pickering are
all from Isaac
Winslow
brother of
Joshua and
son of Edw the
Sheriff.**

has also raised his mother from the necessity in which her husband left her at his death, — and has become one of Boston's prominent men both in business and in the religious world, being much interested in the Orthodox Society* of which he is a member, and in several religious and moral reform movements. Both of these cousins having families, are likely to renew in them the rather declining prosperity of other branches. Of Mrs Chase's own children by both husbands, one only has left descendants, viz her daughter Elizabeth Mrs Howard, four of whose children are now living in prosperous circumstances, two sons and two daughters, all making one family, headed by Arthur Pickering, who married the eldest daughter, and manages the property. Three children of hers will keep up that branch of the old Isaac Winslow stock united through the Pickering marriage with that of our Ancestor Joshua.†

The other children of Mrs Chase, all of whom came with her to live in Boston about the year ‡, died unmarried. George Chase a fine generous manly boy, died young,— Frank Waldo, a handsome but wild ungovernable youth died at about

§ years of age: Sam Waldo at about thirty five or forty, — and William at 50 also a

* The term used to distinguish churches that had resisted the tide of Unitarianism.

† Margaret's Aunt Elizabeth, sister of Isaac and descendant of the Joshua who was a son of Edward the Sheriff, married William Pickering, and their son Arthur married Sarah Winslow Howard, daughter of Mrs. Chase, a descendant of Isaac's great uncle Isaac, brother of said Joshua. Thus were the descendants of these two sons of the Sheriff "united."

‡ Blank evidently intended to be filled in later.

§ Blank evidently intended to be filled in later.

daughter Sarah or Sally Waldo who died just after her, in 1828 aged about thirty, a most devoted daughter and Christian. So ends for the present, my account of that branch of the family, and I now return to our own.

**Birth of a
fourth son
Tho's Savage**

In June 1807 my father was presented with a fourth son born as has been said at the Oliver S^t house, and named for an Uncle my father's eldest brother Thomas.— This brother was a favorite with his family in early youth, possessing pleasant manners and an open generous disposition; but unhappily these social qualities led to intemperate habits;*— and after many attempts to get him into business, my Father finally boarded him at Lexington Mass, where he died in Aug 1808 at the age of 36.

36 Marriage of Eliza, Isaac's youngest sister, to William Pickering

**Uncle Tom's
death. 1808**

My Father's letter at the time to his cousin Betsey Winslow says in regard to this event, "He died very suddenly, indeed quite unexpectedly to all around him. His disorder was Cholera Morbus or Inflammation of the Intestines.[†] He had undoubtedly many agreeable qualities, and of him it might be said that he was no one's enemy but his own. As we advance in life, we see numerous instances of our fellow men cut off from among the living, while we are left as spared monuments of mercy. These things ought to teach us "so to number our days as to apply our hearts unto wisdom."[‡]

In the autumn of 1807 was married my Fathers youngest sister Eliza to Mr Pickering an Englishman, brought up for the British Army, but having sold his commission, he and his brother subsisted upon the income of some estates in the Island of Santa Cruz.[§] They came to visit the United States as travellers, and were so well pleased with the vicinity of Boston that they settled down as bachelor housekeepers in Quincy. At this place while on a visit to her friend Mrs Greenleaf, Aunt Pickering first met her future husband. He was handsome, gentlemanly, had a fine voice and sang well, and a mutual attraction resulted between the parties. They were married at my Father's house in Oliver S^t, and were to have passed the winter upon Mr Pickering's estates in Santa Cruz — but being prevented by the famous "Embargo Act",** they commenced their married life in Quincy, Mr Pickering's brother still residing with him. The brothers were strongly attached to each other, but their union was marred by the unfortunate habits of the eldest, Arthur, which carried him off a few years afterward, 1809. For this brother Aunt Pickering named her eldest son Arthur, born at Quincy in Nov 1808.— Her second was called for his father, William, and the third for her brother John. The married pair seemed to be very happy in Quincy, visiting several families there, — and also receiving their friends from town, among whom Aunt Susan Blanchard seemed the chief favorite, though seldom to be spared from home.

* A stronger expression than any thus far applied to Thomas, and the first suggestion that he may have had a drinking problem.

† Gastroenteritis, which could mean non-epidemic cholera or a host of other possibly epidemic intestinal diseases.

‡ Psalm 90: 12: "So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom."

§ St. Croix, in the West Indies.

** Of 1807, designed to keep the U.S. out of the Napoleonic wars and, immensely unpopular, repealed two years later.

In this year Uncle Edward was at home unemployed, an inmate of my Father's family; Uncle Joshua and Uncle John a part of the time abroad;— Uncle Ben and wife, in feeble health. — and Uncle J P Blanchard in my Father's compting room endeavoring to assist his family — Aunt Henrietta still in N Foundland with Mrs Houston prevented by "the Embargo" from returning home, which was not removed until the spring of 1809 by an arrangement with Great Britain, a great relief to all business men, as well as to Americans abroad.*

37	Aunt Pickering's second son. Uncle Edward's marriage to a widow in North Carolina.
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1809 In a letter from my Father to my Mother visiting her Aunt Malbone at Newport Aug 17th 1809, he says, — "The children have behaved pretty well. Henry has been my bedfellow and asks to go to Newport with me — Savage]" (Thomas) ["has had one of his feverish colds, but has been well nursed by his Aunt]" (Susan) probably staying with her) — ["and is now quite recovered and in usual spirits." Aunt Mary was it seems staying for a short time with Aunt Pickering in Quincy — Uncle John had just gone to Halifax, Uncle Edward was going to visit Newport. — Uncle Josh Winslow was expected from Algiers.—

In October of this year Aunt Pickering presented her husband with a second son at a new house in Quincy wither they had now removed with their faithful domestic Ma'am Miller, and Francis a slave boy brought from the West Indies, who afterward ran away.[†]

During this year my Uncle Edward went to Wilmington, N. C. and there married, at the age of 18, a widow of 28, twice married before, and having four children.[‡] He brought them all to the North, (his wife having property) and perhaps intended to settle here; but she did not like Northern ways, being accustomed to slaves, and slavish subserviency, with southern indolence and a southern temper. They stayed a short time at my Father's house, and a long time with my Aunt Pickering then took a house in Quincy, but neither they nor their relations were sorry when winter found all at the South again except one of the boys, Ancrum Berry, who was left here at school. As an instance of the miserable nature of slave property, it may here be mentioned, that Mr Pickering, and Mrs Edward Winslow were each supposed to possess about one hundred thousand dollars.[§] — Both properties dwindled away into almost nothing even during the lifetime of those who seemed to have made such wealthy matches.

In the midst of all these relations coming and going, — my Mother was this year ill for some weeks of a miscarriage, the children had measles, rash, and whooping cough, and "Waddy" was sick, and was obliged to leave for a time. — She also heard sad news from Newfoundland. Mrs Houston was very ill of scarlet fever and had lost two children by the same disorder, and Mr Houston lost his son by a former marriage, a fine young man of 19 a lieutenant in the British navy. He died of yellow fever at Barbados. The other losses were both girls.

* There is a marginal note midway up the page in light pencil: "Maam Miller Francis" which evidently refers to the servants introduced on the following page.

† Slavery in Massachusetts was effectively ended with the adoption of the State Constitution in 1780, but we do not know if Francis came to the States willingly. His running away speaks for itself.

‡ And above, IV, 17.

§ About one and a half million 2008 dollars using the CPI, but many times that using other indicators.

Politics,
Wars, and
public events
from 1800 to
1810.

failures fathers losses – embargo – politics Europe*

During all these years from 1800 onward, after the death of Pres^t Washington, which occurred Dec 14th 1799, and the establishment of the seat of Government at the city named for him, 1800, our young republic, rapidly increasing in wealth, population, and territory, began to take her place as no unimportant member of the, as yet, rather contemptuous older nations of the world; who at this time were plunged into wars and convulsions by the French Revolution, and subsequent career of the selfish and ambitious Bonaparte.[†] Three new states had been added to “the old thirteen” before the commencement of this century, viz^t Vermont in 1791, Kentucky in 1792 and Tennessee in 1796. Ohio came in at the beginning of 1800. Some troublesome internal disturbances had been suppressed, and the border Indian wars brought to a close by Gen Wayne. A threatened war with France, provoked by the tyrannical efforts of the French directory and their minister Genêt[‡] to force the United States into an offensive Alliance against England, had been averted by the firmness and wisdom of Washington and his successor John Adams. A short naval war with the French fleet in the West Indies, however, in which the US frigate “Constellation” gained two victories over vessels of superior force “L’Insurgent” and “La Vengeance,” took place about the year 1796.[§]

In 1801, our infant Navy again distinguished itself in the war against the Algerine pirates who were the scourge of Mediterranean commerce. The “Enterprise”, the “Constellation” and the “Philadelphia” were all engaged at various times with these Corsairs.— The latter ship fell into their hands, but was afterward gallantly recaptured by Decatur.^{**} At length by the bravery of Gen’l Eaton,^{††} peace was concluded, and many barbarously abused American and European prisoners were released. This was a great service to Europe, and raised the United States to considerable importance in her eyes.

But, meanwhile, a greater danger had threatened the young republic from within, by the violent party spirit produced and begun, even during the administration of Washington, by certain leaders of a new Revolution in Politics;— men who had studied the infidel philosophy and imbibed the social democracy of the French Anarchists in 1793. Undeterred by the horrible consequences of those principles or rather lack of principles, in the revolutionary excesses of that nation, these men endeavored, not without success, to excite the more turbulent and licentious spirits of this country to follow the example of France, in throwing off the remaining “slavery”,

* This headline in light pencil.

† The first of several long historical digressions concerning Bonaparte and the War of 1812. It is not at all clear to me what Margaret’s motive was in including these, since they contain much extraneous and tedious detail concerning matters, as she will later confess, “well known to every one” (below, IV, 60). They do tell us something about where her political and cultural sympathies lay, but it is difficult to see how she thought they would add to her descendants’ understanding of the family.

‡ Edmond-Charles Genêt (1763–1834).

§ The *USS Constellation* was built in 1797 and engaged *L’Insurgent* in 1799 and *La Vengeance* the year following.

** Commodore Stephen Decatur, Jr. (1779– 1820). Killed in a duel in 1820. See below, IV, 77.

†† General William Eaton (1764 – 1811).

**Politics
from
1800, to
1810**

so they considered it, of old monarchical habits and prejudices. Some of these “Republicans” so they called themselves, among whom was the celebrated Jefferson, were perhaps sincere in a philosophical and rather Utopian theory of a perfect democracy, and perhaps were of service in balancing the old aristocratic tendencies which had descended from Colonial times to the conservative portion of the American revolutionists. But that part of the community, comprising most of its real worth and respectability, regarding with horror the recent scenes of bloodshed, blasphemy and despotism, exhibited during the French “reign of terror,” dreaded naturally enough, the introduction of such theories among the youth of this country, and were bitterly opposed, under the name of “Federalists,” to the slightest innovation upon the safeguards of society. In addition to this, the “Federalists” retained a good deal of the old attachment to the Mother country; while the Republicans invariably espoused the cause of France in her subsequent contests with England. In feeling, then, if not in fact, our country thus made herself a party to the battles of the old world, an error against which Washington had so earnestly and judiciously warned her; – and, accordingly as Federalism or Republicanism gained the ascendancy, did the Government afterward incline to make war with the one Power or its opponent. We, at this period of more overwhelming interests, can have but little idea of the bitterness with which this political contest was waged from 1792 to 1800, when the “Republicans,” coming into power by the election of Jefferson to the Presidency, obtained such an ascendancy over the popular mind, as finally to alienate it from its old attachment to England, and, aided by the artful concessions of France on the one hand, and the ill judged domineering policy of England on the other, – to succeed under the administration of Madison, in plunging us into a disastrous war with the latter country, which seriously retarded our progress, injured our commerce, and embittered all subsequent intercourse between the only two kindred nations of the world; one in blood, in language, in laws, in literature, in customs, in religion, –and mainly, in theories of government society and morals.

40

Politics 1800-1810 continued.

**Dispute with
France and
England
concerning
“Neutral
Rights.” from
1803**

As the great object of both the French and English governments during their wars all over the world, was to stop the supplies each from the other, which were conveyed by other nations and sometimes by their own subjects under a neutral flag, – the former by the famous “decrees of Berlin and Milan”^{*} in 1806 and 7 – and the latter by the equally famous “Orders in Council”, assumed the right to search the vessels of all other nations, to seize goods which had not been declared contraband by the general laws of war, and even to take possession of neutral ships and persons upon the slightest pretences. By these severe and arbitrary measures, the commerce of the United States was much injured, and spirited remonstrances ere made by her ministers abroad to both Governments. This having little effect, the American Congress on recommendation of Pres^t Jefferson, retaliated by the “Embargo” Act, prohibiting all vessels from leaving for foreign ports except by a “Cartel” or special license from the Authorities. This proving very injurious to our own Merchants, a “non intercourse” agreement was substituted; but on the Revocation of the French decrees, intercourse was

^{*} Proclamations by Napoleon retaliating against trade restrictions imposed by England in the run up to the War of 1812. These were more damaging to the U.S. than to the then warring nations.

resumed with that country, favorably regarded always as it was by Jefferson's party; but, more ready to retain their causes of grievance against England, that party succeeded at length in plunging the nation into a war with her, under Pres^t Madison's subsequent administration, greatly to the discontent of the Federalists, now wholly in the minority.

By the efforts of Mr Jefferson also, the purchase had been made from France in 1803, of the immense territory of Louisiana, securing certainly a great advantage to the United States in the possession of New Orleans, and of the Mississippi navigation to the Gulf of Mexico, but entailing a debt of fifteen millions upon the Nation, and opening a fatal door, as was afterwards proved, to the increase and power of Slavery. Napoleon Buonaparte found his interest in recruiting an exhausted treasury, in conciliating a rising rival of England, and in keeping the latter from making a settlement in those vast regions, without further expense or trouble to France. To this arbitrary transference of allegiance and citizenship, the French inhabitants were very much opposed, and for some time adhered to their ancient language and habits. After the admission of Louisiana as a State however in 1812, they gradually became Americans in fact, as well as in name.

41	The household in Oliver St.
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Chapter*

1810 The beginning of this year found my Father's family still in Oliver S^t, and consisting of his wife and four sons, "Aunt Patty" and his sister Mary. In a letter to his Aunt Malbone of Jan 26th he speaks of having a hurry of business and series of occupation from morning till 8 or 9 oclock every evening at that season of the year. "All friends here," he says,— "are, by the blessing of Providence in usual health. The return of another year cannot but lead to reflections on the goodness of our heavenly Parent in providing for the present life; but far more conspicuous is that goodness in animating us with a lively hope of another, — which alas! we are too ready to lose sight of in the bustle of worldly affairs. It will be happy for us if we are led to set more of our thoughts and affections on things above and less on things here below." He then mentions the departure for S^t Croix of Mr and Mrs Pickering and their two children Arthur and William,— all going out to pass the winter on Mr P's plantation. I have heard my Aunt Pickering say how delighted the poor slaves, long abandoned to the tender mercies of an overseer,— were to see "Massa and Missus," and to "two young Massas," whom the house-slaves almost worshipped. The kind heart of their amiable young Mistress was soon touched by the sufferings of these poor creatures, and she immediately endeavored to soften their lot. She insisted upon having an Indian pudding added once a week to their scanty fare; but the ladies of the neighboring plantations exclaimed that she would "breed an insurrection through the island" by such unheard of indulgences. She rescued a poor slave mother, who was to suffer under the lash merely for nursing her infant in the hours of labor, and persuaded Mr Pickering to discharge the unfeeling overseer. But as none of this class would submit to such interference and Mr Pickering could not manage the estate himself, I suppose that this humanity ultimately did more harm than good, under the abominable system of things then prevailing in the West Indies. Their house in town, and the lovely estates among the mountains of that beautiful island, were all suffered to fall into neglect and dilapidation after Mr Pickering's return to the United States, as they had been

* In light pencil. Margaret apparently decided to consider each decade as constituting a chapter, though she does not number them. See, e.g., below, IV, 74.

before his visit there; and after all their fine prospects of a fortune, they were so duped and cheated by the agent of their property, that my Father had often to advance them monies, which I suspect Mr P was not infrequently unable, although never unwilling to repay.

42 Margaret's recollections (form a later time) of meetings in Charlestown and in Hanover St.

Oliver S^t Boston.

**1810
Religious
meetings.**

I find my Father occupied this year, in addition to his own business with the affairs of various relations, those of Mrs Chase and her sister Betsey, also helping their brother Samuel, and Mr Balfour, a Scotchman of peculiar views, in some measure inclining to Sandamanian tenets, but differing in other respects. I well remember our being years afterward, taken over to Charlestown on Sunday afternoons, to sit on high and hard settees, in a hall hired by the good man and being tired into uncomfortable naps by his seemingly endless "fifteenthly"s and "sixteenthly"s of theological argument, with the ever recurring "tak notice" of the tedious preacher; whose curiously facetious ears, moving up and down in time if not in tune to the heads of his discourse, were the only objects of which we children could "tak notice" with the slightest interest. To my Father, however, it was otherwise; for he writes Mr Balfour, with the present of fifty dollars on occasion of the birth of a child, B being probably in narrow circumstances,— "Though differing decidedly from you in my views of Scripture circumstances, I heartily coincide with your views of scripture doctrine; which to me are so different, nay opposite to the jargon and sophistry of modern preaching, that I have often been surprised and pleased at the difference."— In the forenoons my Father attended, on Sunday, the small Sandemanian meetings held at a school room in Hanover S^t, where afterward in my day, the children went, equally unedified, as at Mr Balfour's discourses, by the dry services of the three old elders who sat round a small table in the midst; but the boys consoled by making fancy articles of a certain kind of wire used in the school room on week days, and of which a quantity lay at the back door of said room, opening into a yard, near which the boys usually seated themselves.— and myself, having a low school-bench at my Mother's feet, beguiled the time with naps upon her knee, in the interval between looking over her Bible during Reading time, and squealing out Old Hundred, All Saints or St Helen to the words of the Old Scotch Psalmody books; the blank leaves of which were covered with pencil sketches of wonderful monstrosity, a portion of the juvenile entertainment. In summer, or June rather, the tedium was lessened by smelling the white and damask roses of which we always made a bouquet "to carry to meeting." And the perfume of these old fashioned roses is now and will ever be associated with Sandemanianism and the old school room in Hanover S^t.

43

Oliver St.

**1810.
Birth of son
Benjamin.**

— — — On the 23rd of June my Father was presented with a fifth son, named for my Mother's maternal Grandfather, Col. Benjamin Pollard, of whom mention has been made in my Father's "Family Memorial" as a distinguished person in "the Colony"; first Colonel of the Boston Cadets, with a commission from the British Governor, and high Sheriff of Suffolk as successor to his Uncle Edward Winslow, whose granddaughter Margaret his second cousin he married. Their only daughter Mrs Blanchard was named for her, as was also Mrs Blanchard's eldest daughter my Mother. Of his own

**Aug 1st Aunt
Henrietta
arrived from
Newfoundland
after an
absence of 4
years.**

name, one grandson only remained who died a bachelor; but his grandson Joshua Blanchard* had the family name of Pollard given to him as an intermediate one. It was intended that this son should be called "Pollard," as the previous one Thomas was to have been known as "Savage," but fearing that both these would be applied as nicknames of ridicule by their future schoolmates, the family names were dropped for the more familiar ones of "Tom" and "Ben". Shy and sensitive from childhood, yet reflective beyond his years, and rather inclined to shun the noisy sports of his brothers, for the indoor society of his mother this child was especially favored by her with a tender watchfulness, which however, did not wholly prevent his being tormented for this sensitiveness by his more hardy companions – He was the only one of my Brothers sent to college – and was intended for a physician; but being mentally unable to bear the necessary training of a medical life, – he entered his Father's counting room and devoted himself to the details of business, never however, shewing so much taste or capacity for business enterprise, as did the brother who came after him.

The winter of 1810-11 was famous for the most tremendous snow storms which had occurred for many years,— filling up the narrower streets of Boston, and obstructing the wider ones for some days. One of these storms occurred the last of January, and the other early in February.

This winter Mrs Chase had arrived from Portland and was settled in Boston with her family, having frequent intercourse with my Father's family, as did the household of Brattle Square, and that of my Uncle Benjamin Winslow who was also keeping house in Boston, I believe in Cornhill, where he also kept a dry goods store, it is thought, in the same building.

44

Oliver S^t Boston.

1811 Letters of this year continue to shew active exertions in behalf of various friends and connections. Uncle Joshua Winslow writes from Algiers of trouble between himself and the American consul there Col Lear,[†]— in consequence of which he threw up all the advantages of business which my Father had endeavored for several years to secure for him abroad. He returned home with small means and no prospects in October 1811 after an absence of five years, to the great chagrin and disappointment of his friends. He was in Algiers the year after the closing of the famous war between the U States and the Barbary powers which extended into the year 1805, as has been before mentioned.

**correspondence
with friends and
relations.**

My Father succeeded in interesting his friend Mr Geo Erving then appointed US minister to Spain, in the affairs of Mr Samuel Winslow, Mr E's Uncle by the maternal side,— and that gentleman settled upon him a comfortable sum for life.

* Coincidentally, it was during this year of 1810 that Joshua prepared the family tree often alluded to in the notes to the Memorial and that was current up to that year, subsequently revised and continued by William Henry Winslow (1834-1909).

† Tobias Lear (1762–1816). He had been George Washington's private secretary 1784 until Washington's death. Jefferson appointed him Consul General to the North African Coast in 1803, and as such he was the chief negotiator of the treaty that ended the first Barbary War in 1805. As Consul he was allowed to conduct private business, so it is likely that the "trouble" alluded to here stemmed from that.

He also interested himself as did my Mother in the family of Mr Jarvis* late Consul at Portugal for the US – sending various comforts to his dying wife, and shewing many acts of kindness and Hospitality to Madam Jarvis and her adopted daughter Harriet Sparhawk. I find also letters and presents of friendship between the brother of Madam Jarvis, Sir W^m Pepperell† of England, his father's old and long tried friend.

Mention is also made in a letter from his cousin Mrs King (daughter of Edward Winslow the Episcopal clergyman) of kind assistance rendered to herself, when in embarrassed circumstances with a large family to maintain and educate.

Extracts from a letter of my Father to his cousins Sam Winslow and Sister Betsey are characteristic of his views and motives.

[“]To Samuel Winslow Norwich Conn.

I have this morning received yours and hasten to reply. On your declining state of health, I truly sympathize with you. The “mens sana in corpore sano”‡ seemed always desirable with the ancients, and it is reasonable should be equally so with the present generation; – without the latter the former can hardly be expected.– It seems to be the peculiar province of the Deity not, according to Pope's maxim, –“to educe certain good from seeming ill,”§– but from the real calamities and evils of life

45 The Pickerings' third son. Uncle Benjamin's first daughter.

Oliver S^t Boston .

Mrs or Aunt Malbone made a visit this year to Boston and staid with my Grandmother Blanchard, her niece, bringing to the house many fashionable callers – Miss Blanchard and son Joshua returned with her to Newport for a visit.

Family movements & births

Aunt Henrietta left again for Newfoundland July 25th 1811

1811 to promote and secure the happiness of those who are disposed to be happy; or rather those who prefer future happiness to the present. The latter alas! we are all but too prone to follow. x x x x – I do not mean to infer that your understanding was affected, but rather that if one's state of health produced that effect, it was truly worthy of sympathy”.

After some reference to the business which he transacted for cousin Betsey Winslow and which had not proved so profitable to her as he had hoped (sister to Mrs Chase and to Sam Winslow) my Father writes her, – “Most true it is that the good which we call so, is in the greater scale of things often far otherwise; and the evil (so called) but part of those light afflictions endured but for a moment, and producing or calculated to produce a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.” – [“]I have frequently felt as if I ought, and certainly it would be agreeable to pay you a visit, but indeed so little is my time my own, that I can hardly take two afternoon rides in the course of a summer to Eliza's.”

“Eliza” with her husband and children had returned from S^t Croix

* William Jarvis (1770-1859), son of Dr. Charles Jarvis (above, III, 92). http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Jarvis_%28merchant%29 . He was a Harvard classmate of the second Sir William Pepperrell.

† Misspelling of “Pepperrell.”

‡ *A healthy mind in a healthy body.*

§ Pope in his *Essay in Man*, Epistle II, speaks of “Th' eternal art educing good from ill.” There is a frequently anthologized but apparently anonymous poem on the benefits of wind that contains the line “Educing certain good from seeming ill.” (See, e.g., *The Entertaining Magazine or Repository of General Knowledge for the Year 1814*, Vol. II (London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1814), 182. But variations on the phrase and thought are common in the nineteenth century.

Ellen Houston born in July at Newfoundland.

Mr Pickering out again alone to S^t Croix.

My Father & Mother with Mrs Chase & son Samuel Waldo took a trip to N York & Connecticut bringing back a daughter of Mrs King before mentioned, to stay with my Mother

and taken a house on Milton Hill, where Aunt Susan Blanchard and Aunt Henrietta^x, who had arrived the previous summer from Newfoundland passed some weeks, and where Aunt Pickering presented her husband with a third son John Winslow, on the very day, Aug 22nd, which witnessed the birth of Uncle Benjamin's first daughter Amory Callahan. His wife ill for a long time afterward. Great Grandmother Pollard also visited Aunt Pickering at Milton, but the disease was already shewing itself, which, two years later, carried that excellent old lady to her grave. Uncle John went out in the fall to S^t Croix for Mr Pickering & My Uncle Joshua Blanchard sailed in May of this year for Cadiz, as supercargo of a vessel to that port & returned home in September – thus were the various members of the family coming and going, in that busy life which is now so like a confused dream, scarcely known by their descendants, whose busy pursuits will soon be the same unremembered scene of life's shifting

drama. All that was real, all that is real now to us upon the stage, or which will be to those who shall come after us is this.* Did they or do we live their busy life to themselves or for God and for their fellow men? That he whom the writer had the happiness to call father, – lived even in his busiest hours with these objects in view, not only by the above letters, but by his whole life of self denying labor for others, is here endeavored to be made manifest, – for the best good of his descendants who may read this memoir hereafter.

46

English correspondents, Sir William Pepperrell and the Jarvises.

1812
War with
England

In the letters of Sir W Pepperrell of the previous year I find the hope expressed that the US Government would not proceed to the extremity of making war with England; and in those of Madam Jarvis, deprecations of the policy of Mr Madison then President of the U States. Nevertheless this policy of the democratic party did finally succeed in producing a rupture between the two countries, and in spite of the retraction by the British Court of its obnoxious "Orders in Council" war was declared by America June 18th of this year 1812. On the 12th of July Gen Hull,[†] Gov^r of Michigan surrendered that territory and his whole army to the British under Gen Brock,[‡] and in November of the same year Gen Van Rensselaer[§] also surrendered to the British at Queenstown his force of about

Uncle John had lost money by the failure of Whitwell & Bond who had his funds in their hands.

one thousand men which had attempted an attack on Canada. To offset these disasters the American Navy obtained several victories which were much talked of and boasted through the United States – The "Constitution" captured the British frigate "Guerriere" The "United States" captured the "Macedonian": The British Brig "Frolic" was taken by the "Wasp" an American sloop, and at the close of the year the "Constitution" captured the "Java." Nearly two hundred and fifty British merchantmen were also made prizes by the American privateersmen on "Letters of marque." England being at this time engaged in war with half of Europe, could spare but a portion of her strength in these conflicts, while the United States

* "this" meaning "life's shifting drama." The idea seems to be the frequent theme in this narrative: the instability of life in this world as opposed to the perfection of the next.

† General William Hull (1753–1825).

‡ Major-General Sir Isaac Brock (1769– 1812).

§ General Stephen Van Rensselaer (1764 -1839).

presented an almost defenseless coast and frontier to her attacks, had the British been able to avail themselves of this weakness. The fear of a descent upon any or all of our Atlantic towns and villages kept their inhabitants in a state of constant uneasiness, and this feeling is manifested in the letters of this year. Business also of course fell off and grew dull. All my Uncles, John, Joshua, and Blanchard, were at this time out of employment, except such as my Father could pick up for them from time to time; and Uncle Ben became much embarrassed in his affairs, and I believe my Father had to close up his business for him in Cornhill a year or two afterward.

Uncle Pickering having been out alone to S^t Croix during the Spring of 1812, returned home and took a house for the summer at Jamaica Plain, having then three little boys. Aunt Pickering

1812

Family
acquaintances.

had during his absence boarded in town with Mrs Scott, the mother in law of Sam Winslow, at the house in Cornhill lately occupied by Uncle Ben, he having moved back to the small house in Beach S^t which he occupied at the time of his marriage. He and his wife were both much pleased at the birth of their daughter, having been married some years without children; but he was absent a good deal in N York and at the South, leaving her much of the time alone. Although greatly attached to him, she was of an entirely different character, grave and conscientious, while he was fond of gayety and excitement. It was about this time that a certain Mrs Auboineau* from Newport, a granddaughter of Aunt Malbone's husband made her appearance in the family, and created quite a stir among its male members. She was a very handsome fascinating young widow, and more than one of my Uncles was said to be influenced by her attractions not altogether limited in their effect by the bonds of matrimony. It is thought that Uncle Joshua Winslow would have seriously sought her in marriage had his circumstances allowed; but they did not permit him to marry till several years afterward.

Another person who made a stir in the family occasionally was Mrs Phillips of Newfoundland, settled in Exeter, and afterward the third Mrs Houston. She was a dashing Englishwoman social and hearty in her manners, of good presence and expensive habits, quite overpowering her meek invalid husband who was a martyr to the gout and rheumatism. Having letters from Mr & Mrs Houston she became quite intimate in Grandmother Blanchard's family at Brattle Square and amused them a good deal, although quite different in taste and habits from them. They had also a Mrs Pollard, daughter in law to Great Grandmother Pollard, and her son Benjamin, an orator and spouter of Shakespeare of some talent,[†] Charles Winslow, and a Captain Knapp as frequent visitors – all of whom, I presume, visited also at My Father's house in Oliver S^t. Uncle Joshua Winslow staid with my Mother during a part of this year, and Uncle & Aunt Pickering went there on breaking up house keeping at Milton, previous to his departure for S^t Croix, where Uncle John was trying to manage his affairs. Catharine King remained there all winter, which was a very cold one,

* Probably "Auboyneau" is the correct spelling. (And see above, IV, 20.)

† 1780-1836. He was like his father a fierce patriot and became Orator and Marshal of Boston and was evidently not popular with Margaret's branch of the family. He was her first cousin once removed.

1812

Public
events, at
home and
abroad.

although but little snow fell. The commencement of this year was marked by the terrible disaster at Richmond the burning of the theatre, in which over 70 persons lost their lives, besides many others who were injured, burned and trampled under foot, in the fright and confusion of the distressing scene. For a time it cast a gloom over not only Richmond but over the whole country.* “This melancholy scene,” writes one at the time, “was the universal talk for a short time here, [”] (in Boston) [“]but soon subsided; and the avidity with which the people flocked to see “Cooke”† who has again been here, plainly proves the slight impression made on them.”

In the spring of this year, the prospect of war with England grew more alarming, and “yet,” says the same writer, (my Aunt Susan Blanchard to her sister Henrietta in Newfoundland) “our people seem for the most part indifferent, and the town has not for many years presented a scene of greater gayety and festivity than it did a few days past.” This was on occasion of the 22nd Anniversary of Washington’s inauguration, celebrated by the Federalists in the hope of reviving their decaying influence. A procession of the Washington benevolent society, with banners, emblems &c, the military and their bands, various other Officers and dignitaries, and the boys of the public schools dressed in Uniform of blue and white, with wreaths and garlands of flowers, and a small volume of Washington’s legacy suspended at the breast by a blue ribbon, marched to the Old South church, where an oration was made by the elder Dr Lathrop; the day being concluded by a dinner, and various festive gatherings. The writer adds “All this might perhaps be considered innocent amusement at another time, but if war is viewed as a punishment for the guilt of a people, perhaps the increasing luxury and of course depravity may be the means of bringing it on, and it becomes us at least to be serious.” “The Ninevites when threatened, repented,—and God spared them, though at the expense of falsifying his prophet’s word.‡

This writer speaks also of a terrible Earthquake in Caraccas§ at which 12000 people were thought to have perished; also a pestilence and famine in the Canary Islands which carried off great numbers of the inhabitants. “Small indeed,” says my Aunt Susan, “do our individual and half fancied troubles appear, when compared

to the great disasters of the world, where thousands suffer in one general ruin.

In May, Catharine King returned home to her family in Connecticut. In July, Mr Pickering returned from S^t Croix, as has been stated, leaving uncle John still there, trying to pick up a little business. The country was involved in war by this time, and communication abroad made more difficult than ever: In a letter of August 1812, Aunt Susan Blanchard writes,— “The declaration of war at first caused a great ferment among the

* Richmond Virginia. The fire actually occurred December 26, 1811.

† The English actor George Frederick Cooke (1756–1812), who died while on tour in New York City where he was stranded by the War.

‡ Jonah 2-3.

§ Caracas, Venezuela. The quake occurred on March 26, killing between fifteen and twenty thousand people.

people, which has however now subsided; but it is curious to observe how universally interested all are in Politics: We had no other conversation, and even the boys in the street and the Negroes are animadverting on the measures of Government. Had the war been popular, it would have been carried on with great enterprise and vigor; but as an unpopular measure, the country unprepared, and the finances low, it must, even in a political view be considered impolitic; but in a Christian one,— with every advantage is highly to be deprecated.”*

Two colored slaves brought from St Croix by Mr Pickering ran away about this time and were never recovered; Aunt Mary was at J Plain & Uncle Joshua W was this summer living with his brother Benⁱ.

^xAug 29th, my Father was presented with a sixth son George, born amid calamities of war, and 52 years afterward, called in the midst of another and more terrible war, to the peace of God, in his departure from this world of turmoil, Feb 5th 1865. My parents, although disappointed in the sex of this child, found afterward great comfort in his steady reliable character, honorable integrity, and business capacity; especially his Father, who lived to see him attain a ripe and vigorous manhood. Singularly enough, the little Newfoundland cousin whose birth was at this very time the year previous, made known to my Mother as that of her sister Catharine’s sixth daughter,— became afterward the wife of her sixth son. The two Mothers had jested with each other upon the prevalence in each family of one sex, and had playfully proposed an exchange. The terrible scarlet fever had however, at this time, reduced my Aunt Catharine Houston’s family to three children, one having died soon after she moved to Newfoundland, and two, more recently.

[on a tipped-in leaf added to the bottom of this page]

^xIn mentioning to a friend this addition to his family my Father says, “You are spared the anxiety which must ever be the inseparable concomitant of a paternal desire for the establishing of a large family and if we consider the various dangers to which their youth is exposed, and, generally speaking, the difficulty of getting children settled in the world,- those who have them not, have every reason to be content: while those who have them ought to be satisfied in the hope that Parental anxiety and care may be repaid in the close of life by filial attention and regard.”

War continued.

1813.

Family
Letters.

In a letter to his cousin Major Joshua L Winslow of England my Father says— “I have lost something by the War about 1000£ 5000 dollars[[†]] (equal to 15 or 20 000 now)[†] [“including 600£ by the burning of Moscow; –but, though that is considerable for me, it was not so bad as the total cessation of business in this country in the mercantile line leaving us little or nothing to do. Nor do I see a

* Margaret does not mention in connection with the war that her uncle Joshua Pollard Blanchard, a lifelong pacifist, had declared himself a conscientious objector, for which he was tried in New York, according to <http://www.swarthmore.edu/library/peace/CDGA.A-L/Blanchard.html> - Swarthmore College Peace Collection . She may have been unaware of the fact, but it is hard to believe that she was not aware of her uncle’s subsequent activities as a pacifist, including his opposition to the Civil War. And see below, V, 183.

[†] In fact, there was very little change on the value of the dollar comparing 1865 dollars with those of 1813. The equivalent amount in 1865 would only have been at most about \$6,000.

Politics

prospect of any favorable change soon. Although all the people of influence this way and many in the southern states were opposed to the War, yet have we been forced to follow the voice of those who preferred the gratification of their own prejudice and selfishness to the good of their country.— I fear we have got to pay dear for this indulgence, before the contest is over; and, if it should continue long,— in a way most distressing to ourselves; for so great is the animosity between the parties here particularly since the War, that it appears to me a small spark applied to such inflammable materials must cause an explosion, and if a civil war should arise, the evils we now suffer would in comparison be light indeed. May God in his mercy avert from us this greatest evil.”

To Mrs Jarvis he writes about the same time April 1813,— “I do not wonder that every body living near the seaboard, should be more or less alarmed for fear of an attack from the British. Yet so far their hostility seems to have been directed against the southern states, and I should think it was not within the scope of their policy to commit any wanton outrages on the inhabitants of the Northern section of the Union The Administration are, no doubt, entitled to their full share of blame for bringing on a war so prejudicial to the best interests of the country, nor can I easily conceive that any enlightened or honest man would have advocated or promoted such a measure had they considered only what course those interests pointed out, unbiassed by external influence. But as it has been the constant endeavor of the[?] (Democratic) [“]party to fan the flames of contention between G Britain and ourselves, and to magnify every trifling misunderstanding into a serious offence, what could be the effect of such excitement, but that, ultimately, the flame which they meant should be confined to a certain extent, blazed into a conflagration beyond their power to control. It has been the fear that such a result would at some time or other follow, which has

1813

Politics

induced me to oppose, so far as I could with propriety, the politics of that party. Still I cannot think that Mr Madison or his predecessor could they have been left to act themselves entirely would of their own choice have declared War, or would now continue it; but when the alternative of losing his election was set before Mr M it is easy to conceive that selfish motives would in his case, as with most other men, preponderate over public good. It is not easy for us in private life to realize the strength of this temptation to an ambitious man, and when we see them give way to it, — it is but a new instance of the readiness with which men choose the evil and refuse the good.

Besides, the Administration were aware of being supported by a majority in the United States, and it was more easy for them to guide the vessel of State along — with the favorable wind of popular favor, even though the course led to rocks and quicksands, than to expose themselves to the furious gale of popular opposition though the ultimate effect should be a safe arrival at the port of national happiness.—So that, -though the Rulers appear the instruments by which War is brought about, yet if we clearly investigate the causes of this as of most other wars, we shall find that they lie deeper than the mere will of the Rulers who declare them, and that the pride, the vainglory, and the various passions of the people by a regular and progressive course become infused into the minds of those Rulers, especially in popular Governments.— Now were each individual to examine how far his own evil passions and prejudices have contributed to bring on this state of affairs, — would it not, my dear Madam, —be more profitable than the too prevalent disposition to throw all the blame upon Government?

With these sentiments it is impossible to follow implicitly either party; – yet so long as every Citizen is allowed by the Constitution to vote according to the dictates of his own private judgement, I do not see how any sentiment but that of disapprobation can follow a system so pregnant with evil as the one which has been pursued in this country for twelve years past.

But while the tendency and effect of measures may, according to our Laws, be fully and publicly discussed, – yet ought we to guard against those vindictive feelings which appear to me

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1813

Family
Events.

equally unscriptural and injudicious. If temperate discussion and argument cannot alter these measures, I think we ought to wait till he who turns the hearts of the children of men,^{*} shall infuse into them a new disposition; while to us it is forbidden to do evil that good may come, to Him it belongs to bring good out of the evil actually existing; – or (to paraphrase Pope,) “to educe from certain Evil real good.”[†] – But my paper warns me to close, and I fear you think I have spun out this subject too long already, – therefore I have only to say that Mrs W and Mary unite in kind regards to yourself and Harriet[?] (Harriet Sparhawk, her niece and adopted daughter) [“]and to subscribe myself, yours &c, Isaac Winslow.”

In a letter to his cousin Betsey Winslow of July 1813 my Father speaks of a visit from John Winslow of N Carolina husband of his favorite cousin Eliza, but now a widower with one daughter Lucy Anne, (since Mrs Ochiltree) This daughter was left with my Mother for some time, while in return her father took my Aunt Mary to stay for the winter in Carolina.

In this and other letters is also mentioned the disorder with which “the old lady” as she was called, Great Grandmother Pollard began to be afflicted. This was a cancer, and finally terminated her life little more than a year afterward. She was attended throughout by her excellent and devoted granddaughter my Aunt Susan Blanchard. with some extracts from her letters, I shall conclude the record of this year.

In April of 1813 she writes to her sister Henrietta in Newfoundland “Mr Phillips[?]” (the first husband of the third Mrs Houston, before mentioned) [“]expired on the 14th of last December. We have passed the winter gloomily. Mother for some weeks was quite ill with a sloe fever,- and Grandmother’s complaint has rapidly increased. But this spring, were things otherwise than they are, would have given more than usual exhilaration to my spirits; it was the commencement of that long looked for season which was to restore you to us; but brings with it scarcely a probability of that event. – To fix a time for the return of a friend seems in some measure to drive away the unpleasant sensations we feel at parting; but we all know and feel that we cannot look forward; – that the time may never arrive to us, or if it does, some unforeseen events may intervene which will entirely frustrate all our hopes and wishes. It is best, I have no doubt,

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^{*} This expression turns up in a number of places, from speeches urging ratification of the U. S. Constitution, to Christian manifestos and prayers and even Brigham Young. But I cannot locate a source.

[†] Above, IV, 44.

**Births
and
Deaths.**

1813 – that sorrow is mixed with our joy; disappointment with our gratifications: We should else be loth to quit this life;— and here we have no abiding place, no resting City”

In another letter of July 1813 she speaks of the departure of her brother Joshua, “our main stay and chief comfort,” for Havannah, where he remained three months. She also mentions the births of a little daughter in Aunt Pickering’s family, and their return to Quincy. “Aunt Malbone,” she says, “is here, paying probably her last visit to Boston; she is very infirm and feeble.”

In October, this writer mentions the birth of a second daughter named Catharine, in Uncle Benjamin’s family; and the intention of Uncle and Aunt Pickering to pass the winter in S^t Croix with their three youngest children, leaving Arthur, the eldest, with her. They went to Providence, and were detained there more than six weeks, waiting for a “Cartel” to pass the British Blockaders. During this period Uncle Joshua Winslow, my Mother, Lucy Anne Winslow, and my brother Edward went to see them on their way to visit Mrs Malbone at Newport, and had a view of the famous Frigate “President” which was afterward under Decatur captured by the British ship Endymion and others of the Br Squadron off L Island.* This loss of one of their finest vessels caused great mortification to the Americans, although no blame was attached to Commodore Decatur who defended her bravely and with great loss to his crew.

**Death of
Uncle
Pickering.**

During my Mother’s absence on this trip, my Father writes her under date of Nov 1st 1813, – [“I hear by a Gentleman from Providence that the Cartels are stopped till “the President” sails. If so, Mr Pickering and family may be detained a long time. This will be unfortunate, as new expenses must be incurred. I should think they had better in such case, go to board, not in Providence which must be dear; but at Newport or some place where the Cartel could stop for them.” In Providence, however, they remained a whole month, and Uncle Josh Winslow with them, my Mother – having returned to Boston. Every week Mr Pickering expected to sail, and still the vessel was delayed, till on the 1st of December, Uncle Joshua conveyed by letter the melancholy news of his death by the rupture of a blood vessel, brought on, it is said, partly by vexation at the Captain of the Cartel for his dilatory proceedings, and partly by the corpulent and plethoric[†] state of his system at the time.

1813.
**Births,
Deaths,
and
Illnesses.**

This sudden bereavement was a terrible shock to Aunt Pickering left a widow at the early age of twenty seven with the sole care of four young children, and her pecuniary affairs in a state of so much embarrassment as the West India property had long been. My Father went immediately on to Providence and brought her with her children to his house, Arthur remaining with Aunt Susan Blanchard for the winter. The ensuing spring, the desolate young Widow removed with her four children to a small but pleasant house in Dorchester where she commenced anew her lonely life with two faithful assistants “Maam Miller” and a girl named Caroline who lived with her many years in the fashion of old time domestics. Aunt Susan Blanchard was exceedingly kind all during

* January 1815.

† *Florid*.

that sad winter in reading to and comforting the bereaved one, and probably assisted her in recommencing housekeeping at Dorchester. She was also called at this time to sympathise with another friend widowed in still earlier youth, Mrs Hill, sister to the wife of My Uncle Benjamin, and afterward wife of my Uncle J P Blanchard. Her husband died at sea at the close of the year 1813, when she was on the eve of her confinement with a daughter Mary Timmins Quincy Hill, afterward the wife of my brother Benjamin. Mr Hill was a very estimable young man, and his beautiful young wife was utterly prostrated for a time by his early death leaving her destitute as well as bereaved. After the birth of her little daughter in December of this year, she rallied a little, supported by the friendship of my Aunt Susan Blanchard, for whom she entertained an enthusiastic love and admiration. Soon however was this affectionate sister, devoted daughter and faithful friend to be herself removed from the circle in which she was so much beloved and so useful, to the great grief of my Mother, of her own family, of her widowed friends, and especially of the absent sister to whom her heart was knit by the tenderest ties which ever bound congenial souls together, in this world. But the relation of this event will come more properly into the record of another year. The afflictive circumstances of this were closed by the illness of "aunt Patty", who fell into a cellar and broke her arm, thus giving my Mother another care in addition to that of her own family, and Aunt Pickering's

1814

Afflictions
among
friends and
connections.

Early in January or February of this year, Aunt Malbone was seized with a dangerous illness which occasioned a visit to Newport by Grandmother Blanchard and my Father; but she wonderfully and unexpectedly recovered. About the same time my father heard of the deaths of two of his correspondents, his cousin Sam Winslow in Norwich Conn, and Madame Jarvis. By the will of the latter he became trustee for her adopted daughter Harriet Sparhawk, for whose

interests he cared during the remainder of his life time. Letters to Sir W^m Pepperell in England mention these deaths, and also an extensive fire in Portsmouth which destroy'd much of the town, and, among other dwellings, that built by the Father of Sir Wm's Cousin John Sparhawk, brother of my Grandfather's first wife. This excellent family was always highly esteemed by my Father, having been connected with his Father not only by marriage, but by the stronger tie of religious communion, both being members of the Sandemanian Society, one branch of which was established in Portsmouth. Mr John Sparhawk, a most estimable man, had died some years previous; but his widow and daughter, Miss Susan Sparhawk, had remained in the family mansion of his Father, until it was destroyed as above stated, with many other of the respectable old fashioned houses of Portsmouth: a great loss to the place as well as to individuals.

Deaths of Great
Gmother Pollard
and Aunt Susan
Blanchard.

The estate in
Brattle Square
was not sold till
after the death of
Aunt Susan .

This year was one of great affliction to my Mother's family in Brattle Square. The old lady Mrs Pollard who had been, for her, unusually well all winter, was seized with hemmorage early in March and expired on the 25th of that month, the income upon which the family had subsisted of course expiring with her. She had long been a great care to her daughter and granddaughter and after her death their own health was much enfeebled particularly as they had also been anxious about that of my Mother who had suffered from a premature confinement with a daughter still born, about this period. My Aunt Susan had attended her during a typhoid fever which was

prevalent, and taking the same disorder, died the 17th of the ensuing August after an illness of three weeks, an irreparable loss to her family at home and sisters abroad.

[sheet tipped in at the top of this page]

Dear Uncle,

Did Aunt Susan die in Brattle Square or Blossom S^t – In other words when was the Brattle Square estate sold?– Do you remember?

Your aff^{te} MCW

Dear Niece*

My Grandmother– Margaret Pollard died March 25th, 1814 & Sister Susan died the same year August 17th, 1814 in Brattle Street. The estate in Brattle Street was sold in the

[verso of tipped-in sheet]

autumn or winter of same year. I cannot now find the month & day

JPB

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1814

Letters on
Bereavement

In the last letter ever written by my Aunt Susan to her beloved sister in Newfoundland, June 1814, she says, “Sufficient time has passed since my last, of silence, for you to anticipate many evils: – Indeed subject as all human beings are to trouble, we have no right to expect an exemption, and I am sorry to say that such anticipations are, in some degree realized. We have, my dear H, been

called to witness one of the most afflicting scenes of life, – that of parting forever in this world from one we have long known and loved. The dear old lady is at rest from all the accumulated infirmities of age and disease which began to press so heavily upon her. Life is no loss to her; but we have all felt it more than I should have imagined. She has been the object of our whole attention and care for so long a period, that when she had departed the house appeared vacant and desolate. Her death was a desirable one; she was uncommonly well all the winter, and dined below five days before her death. During her last illness she slept most of the time, and when awake she expressed regret that her bodily infirmities prevented the thoughts from taking their usual course. She appeared to pray, but would soon fall into sleep. The last night of her life she seemed much distressed; but toward morning fell into a quiet slumber in which she lay breathing shorter and shorter till two o’clock, when she breathed her last sigh and resigned her spirit into the hands of her Creator. How sudden the transition from life to death! One moment breathing and the next nothing. Worse than nothing! An object that must be conveyed from the sight forever.”

Death of
Aunt Susan
Blanchard.
Aug 17th

About six weeks after the date of this letter, the writer was herself stretched lifeless on her bed of recent illness, the worst pangs of which she was spared, by a state much like that described above;– passing through slumber into death, in the same painless and unconscious manner, attended by the brother who she so tenderly loved, as the aged Grandmother

* In another hand and no doubt that of Joshua Pollard Blanchard.

had been by her watchful care and kindness. Happy release! for one who lived ever above the world, while she faithfully performed all the duties and patiently bore the burdens of her appointed lot therein. her age was 29, young for her family to lose; old, in her deep reflection, and experience of life's sorrows, cares, and disappointments.

Some extracts from my Father's letters on this occasion will shew the estimation in which this admirable daughter and sister was held by those who knew her best.

1814

Letters.

To Mary and Lucy Anne Winslow, Fayetteville, N.C. Aug 18th, 1814 “My dear girls, — How grieved am I to communicate, and I am sure you will be equally to receive the sad and afflicting intelligence of the death of our dear and valuable friend Susan Blanchard. She died last evening about ten o'clock, after twenty five days' severe illness of Typhus Fever, which terminated by taken hold of her lungs. She gradually grew weaker and unable to throw anything off, till she finally breathed her last without a groan or a struggle.—Most severe is this stroke to her family: You well know how eminently she was the counsellor and support, and how valuable her assistance and judgement were to all of them. No one feels it more than my dear and afflicted wife with whom she has been so much of late, — particularly when she was so very unwell in the spring doing every thing for her and the children which love and friendship could suggest. I much fear the shock will be too great for her,— being hardly recovered from a long and debilitating illness and far from possessing her usual strength which, at the best, is not great. — Mrs Blanchard and Joshua seem to bear this affliction with as much composure and resignation as could be expected; but it will be some time before they realize the dreadful chasm which Susan's death makes in such a united and contracted circle. My sister Eliza who is in town today, feels the loss very severely, for to her, Susan was a most faithful friend.” She had indeed been most devoted to the young widow, going every evening to read and converse with her upon topics of Christian consolation, during the winter which she passed in Oliver S^t, and one of her last visits was to the country home of “the widow and the fatherless.”* — a long walk thither being the proximate cause of her disorder. Yet one who thus divided her life between thoughts of Heaven and good will to man, felt as if she were useless in the world; so little do Christians know of the influence which shall go forth from and live after them, even unto the third and fourth generation;† — the transmitted blessing of Him whose “righteousness is unto children's children of such as keep His covenant, and to those who remember His commandments to do them.”‡

“How frequently and dreadfully,” —writes my Father to the bereaved sisters in Newfoundland, —[“]are we thus reminded of the uncertainty of human life, and the

* Psalm 146: 9: “The Lord preserveth the strangers; he relieveth the fatherless and widow: but the way of the wicked he turneth upside down.”

† Possibly an echo of Exodus 20: 5: “You shall not bow down to them or worship them; for I, the Lord your God, am a jealous God, punishing the children for the sin of the fathers to the third and fourth generation of those who hate me,” though here it is goodness that travels down the generations.

‡ Psalm 103:17-18: “But the mercy of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting upon them that fear him, and his righteousness unto children's children; To such as keep his covenant, and to those that remember his commandments to do them.”

instability of human blessings, – which we are continually apt to lose sight of, setting our affections on the things of this life to the exclusion of those of another.

1814 “Happy indeed will it be if such events or any others in the course of Providence may turn our attention to the things which concern our immortal peace; if they lead us to a belief in Him who is the resurrection and the life, – and to the acknowledgement of that striking and consolatory Scripture that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners. These are indeed “Tidings of great Joy”^{*} to such as find in their own character a woful deficiency of that perfection which the law of God requires, and may well comfort us under the pressure of all the miseries and calamities of the present life. O that our dear Susan may have had that faith, the reward of which is eternal life.”

Creeds.

The doubt implied in the last sentence was partly from a want of knowledge; so quiet and reserved were her mental emotions from all but the intimate eye of a loved sister, – of my Aunt Susan’s inward religious experience, –and partly from the suspicions entertained very generally at that period, of the new liberal or Unitarian views which then were dividing and agitating the New England churches, and which, under the leadership of Dr Channing,[†] had commended themselves in part at least, to the clear and inquiring minds of Uncle Joshua Blanchard and his intimate intellectual companion, friend, and now departed sister. That these suspicions were painfully shared by the Orthodox sisters in Newfoundland, has been shewn in my account of the Blanchard family;– see “Recollections of a second mother,” appended to this volume,[‡] and the distress thereby caused to the bitterly bereaved youngest, whose heart had been so bound up with that of her beloved Susan. Not till years afterward did these friends realize, some of them will realize only in Eternity,– that the creed of the intellect, not unimportant by any means, and earnestly to be formed by the study of scripture, – is yet in the sight of God far less a test of the true Christian, than faith in the heart acting by a pure, devoted life; a life lived not unto self, but unto Him who died to give us that only true life here, the beginning and pledge of that which shall be hereafter.[§] Such a life Aunt Susan Blanchard evidently did lead, and “whosoever liveth and believeth thus shall never die.”^{**} All others are, in Scripture considered “dead,” even while they seem to live. “Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.”^{††}

* Luke 2: 10: “And the angel said unto them, Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people.”

† Dr. William Ellery Channing (1780–1842). Although liberal in his preaching from early in his career, which began in 1803, it was really not until June 1815 with the publication of *A Letter to the Rev. Samuel C. Thacher on the Aspersions Contained in a Late Number of the Panoplist, on the Ministers of Boston and the Vicinity* that Channing was widely recognized as a liberal spokesman, according to the biography at The Dictionary of Unitarian and Universalist Biography website: <http://www25.uua.org/uuhs/duub/articles/williamellerychanning.html> . His nephew, but brought up by him, William Henry Channing (1810-1884) was Benjamin Pollard Winslow’s classmate at Harvard (class of 1829).

‡ Whether ever appended or not, I do not know.

§ An evolution away from the strict Sandemanianism that her father had subscribed to at least early in his life is apparent here.

** John 11: 26: “And whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die.”

†† Ephesians 5: 14.

Such is the message to us of all those who, having lived unto God in the flesh, – now live unto Him in the spirit, and shall forever more.

**War of
1813 and
1814**

While, after the frantic and fatal attempt of Bonaparte to invade Russia, and his disastrous retreat in the winter of 1812-13 – all Europe was rousing itself, and uniting in arms against that insatiable conqueror, the United States contrived to take advantage of England's distracted attention by frequent attacks upon her naval force and incursions into her frontier provinces.— The evacuation of Ogdensburg by the Americans was revenged by an assault upon the British at York upper Canada in which Gen Pike was mortally wounded,* and the capture of Fort George† then commanded by the British General Vincent. Meanwhile Capt Lawrence‡ of the “Hornet” captured the British sloop of war “Peacock”, but afterward in the “Chesapeake” sustained a bloody defeat by the B frigate “Shannon” cruising off Boston Harbor, and was himself mortally wounded. This latter event caused great exultation in England and corresponding depression in the United States. Some other minor naval actions were fought with various success on either side, but the principal American victory was that of Commodore Perry§ on Lake Erie who after a severe contest captured six British ships of war, remaining complete master of those waters. Other engagements took place on the borders, but with no great result, until the capture of Fort Brie by the Americans, and Genl Brown's** victory at Chippewa July 1814 – A bloody but indecisive battle also occurred about this time at Bridgewater,†† and the N E part of Maine fell into possession for a while of the British forces – they also made frequent attacks upon our undefended seaport towns and shipping; but the great event of the year was the landing of six thousand British troops at Bladensburg‡‡ near Washington and their almost unresisted march to the capital, where they destroyed the Capitol building, the Presidential mansion and several public edifices, besides contemptuously defacing the navy yard, &c, to shew its utterly defenceless condition. The President (Madison)] and the Officers of State fled precipitously from the city taking with them the state papers for preservation from the enemy. A paraphrase of Scott has satirized this flight as follows –
“Fly Armstrong fly! Run, Munro, run!
Were the last words of Madison.”§§

* Brigadier General Zebulon Montgomery Pike (1778–1813) was killed at the Battle of York (later Toronto), April 1813.

† Fort George was at present-day Niagara-on-the Lake, Ontario, and the battle occurred in May 1813.

‡ Captain James Lawrence (1781–1813).

§ Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry (1785–1819).

** Major General Jacob Jennings Brown (1775–1828).

†† Also known as the Battle of Lundy's Lane and the Battle of Niagara. It took place in July 1814 at the present day Niagara Falls, Ontario.

‡‡ Now considered a suburb of the nation's capital, about five or six miles northeast of Capitol Hill on the Anacostia river.

§§ The lines may have originated in a newspaper and take off on Sir Walter Scott's *Marmion*. “ ‘Charge, Chester, charge! on, Stanley, on! / Were the last words of Marmion” (Canto vi. Stanza 32). They most often turn up as “Fly, Monroe fly! Run Armstrong, run! / Were the last words of Madison.” See, e.g., George Morgan, *The Life of James Monroe* (Boston: Small, Maynard and Company, 1921), 336n.

At the same time the British attacked and plundered Alexandria which was in a similarly helpless position. All this was a great blow to the pride of Americans, and although somewhat offset by Prevost's* attack on Plattsburg and the victory on Champlain† under M'Donough,‡ besides another near Fort Erie, and chiefly by the brilliant repulse of the British army at New Orleans under Gen Pakenham§ (one of Wellington's best Officers) by an American force under Gen^l Andrew Jackson, afterward Pres^t of the United States,

1814
15

Peace between
England and
America.

Events in Europe.

Splendid
reception of the
allied Prince in
England June 1814

Yet the nation inwardly was thoroughly weary of the war, and even the Democratic Government began to cogitate measures of reconciliation between England and America. As early as Jan 1814 a mixed commission of English and American Negotiators were named, and arrived in Ghent on the following August, but a treaty between the powers was not signed till the month of December, and news of Peace reached the United States in February 1815, causing great rejoicing, illuminations &c, all over the country. The year 1814 had also seen peace partially restored in Europe by the dethronement of Bonaparte the occupation of Paris by the allied armies of Russia, Prussia, Austria and England, – and the restoration of the Bourbons in the person of Louis 18th. This peace was, however, soon ruptured, as is well known to every one, by the return of Napoleon from Elba Feb 1815, and his entrance into

Paris on the 26th of March following, which occasioned a reassembling of the European Powers; who, finally, by the prowess of England and Wellington were happily relieved from that ambitious conqueror at the ever memorable field of Waterloo, June 17th & 18th of the same year. Napoleon surrendered to the British July 15th, and thus ended the long and

Character of
Bonaparte

bloody wars, in which, for the gratification of the most intense selfishness, under the disguise of patriotism, he had sacrificed millions of lives, and almost decimated his own country. It was a just award of his career that compelled him

to reflect, in the solitary imprisonment of S^t Helena, – on the miseries which he had inflicted upon France, upon Europe and mankind, might he have had grace to repent of his crimes; but no such repentance to mortal eye appear'd. On the contrary, the whole of his conduct during that imprisonment, betrayed the intrinsic meanness and littleness of his true character: A littleness which must always exist in those, whatever their outward surroundings and seemings, – who live to themselves, instead of unto God and to their neighbor

The character of Napoleon Bonaparte always divided the opinions of mankind, and particularly those of the Federalists and Democrats in the United States – the former like most of the religious and thinking men of Europe especially of England, condemning his unscrupulous ambition; -- the latter, with the French themselves, and many of the younger people throughout the world, dazzled by his genius for command, his brilliant victories, and the apparent glory which he shed upon his country, esteemed and still esteem Napoleon the greatest soldier, ruler and conqueror of modern times.

* Sir George Prévost (1767–1816).

† The Battle of Plattsburgh is also known as the Battle of Lake Champlain. September, 1814.

‡ Captain Thomas MacDonough (1783–1825).

§ Sir Edward Michael Pakenham (1778–1815). He was killed at the Battle of New Orleans.

61	Reflections on the long peace following the War of 1812 and the Napoleonic wars
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1815 Birth of a son to Uncle Benjamin.
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The year which saw Peace restored, witnessed in our circle the birth of a son to my Uncle Benjamin, and this event occurred on the very day of that celebration to which I have referred – Feb 13th, when it was difficult to see the Boston illuminations, so slushy were the streets, as my Father drove the elder boys about in a sleigh to the principal points of display;— some little attempt had been made by the young patriots to adorn the gateway of the house in Devonshire street where my father then lived; but the paper lanterns then exhibited seemed very mean to them after witnessing the more successful efforts elsewhere.

Death of Aunt Pickering's little girl.
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In a letter of the ensuing month from my Father to Sir W Pepperell he says, – “It is with much pleasure I avail myself of the first direct opportunity for London since the Peace to pay my respects, and at the same time to congratulate you on this happy restoration of a good understanding between two countries whose interests are so combined, that it seems almost wonderful the harmony so beneficial to both should ever have been interrupted, were it not for the many instances we daily see in life that the gratification of deep rooted prejudices, as well between individuals as between Nations often leads to the sacrifice of their most important interests. From the indulgence of such feelings this country has suffered so much, that I cannot but hope we may be prevented from embarking again in such an unprofitable contest for a long period to come.”

Arrival of Mr & Mrs Huston and Aunt Henrietta from Newfoundland.
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This hope was amply realized by a Peace throughout the civilized world, of more than thirty years, of course excepting some wars with remote nations, or transient disturbances in more prominent countries of Europe. – But no conflict occurred among the leading Powers, until the writer of the above had advanced nearly to the limit of his prolonged life;— and a whole generation had grown from infancy to manhood in this country, without witnessing more of that fearful scourge, than the mimic play of fancy-soldiership by the parading dress companies on Boston common, and on “training days” throughout the nation. Such an interval, has perhaps never taken place within the memory of man, and may never bless our world again until the last era of Peace shall approach, which, may the Prince of Peace bring, in his own good time and way.

62

Deaths of Mrs Houston her child and Gmother Blanchard.
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In July of this year, after many delayed hopes on the part of my long absent Aunts in Newfoundland, and their friends at home. – Mr Houston and family sailed for Boston, arriving on the * of Aug,– and going at once to Grandmother Blanchard's house in Blossom St. The terrible storm which almost wrecked them on the voyage, may have been the precursor of that “September gale” here, which was one of the most severe ever experienced in Boston, blowing down steeples unroofing houses, and doing immense damage among the

* A blank here evidently meant later to be filled in.

shipping at the wharves, &c. My Father writes to a friend,—“It blew heavier than I ever knew it to do in my life;— almost all the verdure in town and within ten or twelve miles was destroyed by the salt water which blew over the town like rain.” —This happened about the time of another severe private affliction in the family, which the same letter thus mentions “You have no doubt seen in the papers, the death of Mrs Houston,— who after twelve years’ absence arrived here about six weeks ago, and died ten days since, after having been confined with a son a week before her death. She was quite unwell when she landed; but her friends thought that after her confinement she would recruit.* However, it was ordered otherwise by Him who doeth His will amongst the children of men;— Her complaint resulted in spasms of the stomach, from which no relief could be had. The action of that organ could not be restored, and the Doctor thought her constitution had been broken up for nearly a year. She left four children, three little girls, besides the infant; the eldest about twelve to thirteen years of age, the youngest about four.” This distressing event was followed up by the death of Mrs Houston’s infant in little more than a month after the decease of its mother, — and on the 5th of December by that of my Grandmother Blanchard, after only a week’s illness of lung fever.† The desolation of her family is thus described in a letter by my Mother in a subsequent letter to her Aunt Hodge of Philadelphia. “It is indeed, my dear Aunt, a long time since we have received any certain intelligence concerning you, and, as you observe the sweeping desolation which has overwhelmed our family, makes those who remain doubly dear to us. Melancholy indeed has been the state of our family the last three years: Friend after friend has dropped off, and left me to wonder at my own existence. My Grandmother’s death we could scarcely regret for her own sake,

1815 The painful disorder under which she had labored for the last five years of her life, added to her extreme age, made it neither probable nor desirable, that she should continue; but we felt her loss sincerely. She had so few of the infirmities and so little of the peevishness incident to her time of life, and was so fond of her children, that we all felt many regrets. I have no doubt that our dear Susan’s health was much impaired by her close

**My Mother’s
letter to Mrs
Hodge on
Family
Afflictions.**

attention to the old lady. Her stomach was much disordered, and being siezed by a typhus fever then prevalent, her strength was not equal to the conflict, and she left us, I trust for a happy Eternity. Only her intimate friends could know her worth. Affectionate kindness, solid judgement, and firm principles were in her united: Few have lost such a sister.— My own health, at this period was very precarious. A premature confinement had reduced me— to an

extreme state of weakness, and her loss was experienced by me both as companion and nurse, which stations she was eminently qualified to fill.— My Mother’s health you remember was always delicate. She now almost sank under such repeated trials. My Grandmother’s death she felt very much,— and her close attention to my poor sister who was ill more than a month, — anxiety for my brother Joshua’s health, whose lungs being extremely weak and racked with a severe cough, threatened him with consumption, and my own state of feebleness, all conspired to weigh her to the earth.— But the necessity of making

* *Webster’s 3rd Unabridged* gives a transitive sense, *to restore the vigor or health of: invigorate anew*. But *OED* recognizes an intransitive sense, *To return to strength, health, etc.; to recuperate, recover*.

† Pneumonia.

arrangements for, and the hope of embracing her two long absent daughters – soon expected from Newfoundland, where the eldest had resided twelve and the youngest eight years, – appeared to impart a transient glow of health and spirits to her almost exhausted frame. Alas! how transient indeed! for scarcely had our long separated sister Houston been clasped in the arms of her Mother and friends, before she was summoned to bid adieu to those friends for ever in this world, to be received into the arms of her Heavenly Parent.— How hard this trial was you may imagine. I cannot animadvert upon it. Her infant, the first boy she had given birth to, – followed its Mother in about two months. She left three daughters, Eliza, Margaret, and Ellen. Three fine children she lost in Newfoundland, and this made such a deep impression as totally to change her character and views; – She appeared to be a true Believer in our Lord and Savior.— After this unforeseen and melancholy visitation, my Mother’s health and spirits were evidently on the decline, though she tried, like a true Christian to bear up against it, and to submit to the will of divine Providence; but such was the weak state she was in, that a cold caught in assisting her old friend Mrs Dunn

1815 to attend a dying husband caused a lung fever to set in,— and after only one week’s confinement we lost one of the best and most affectionate of Mothers.

I have now endeavored, my dear Aunt, to give you some account of all the troubles and trials we have been called upon to encounter. It is painful to recur to such recent scenes of sorrow, and I cannot at present detail them more particularly. – Our present family are, thanks to a kind Providence, in tolerable health: My Father enjoys his, although his faculties are much impaired, and his memory has nearly failed him. He recollects some past events, but those which daily occur entirely escape him. My dear and only surviving Sister Henrietta keeps house with him and Joshua. The health of the latter is better; but he is still slender and subject to a bad cough whenever he takes the slightest cold. x x x x x x . When we look back on the number in our family who have departed in the short space of four years,[’] (referring to other deaths among the Blanchard connections, and to Aunt Pickering’s bereavements) [“it seems almost incredible;* But the will of Heaven be done! A very short time and we also are no more; May we all meet at the footstool of Jesus.”

**Death of
little Eliza
Pickering.**

My mother’s allusion to the family’s afflictions, leads me to mention as the closing one of the year 1815 the death of Aunt Pickering’s youngest child and only daughter, a lovely little girl of about two and a half years old, very winning and engaging in all her ways. This was a great shock to the young widowed Mother coming so close upon her recent bereavement, and added not a little to the general sadness which so many losses had naturally produced. I have reason to believe that my own Mother’s buoyant character was especially affected at this period, so as to change her whole view of life; a change which was fully confirmed when afterward the arrow of death fell into the very bosom of her own little flock and robbed her of one nearer and dearer yet, than all who had hitherto been taken.

* If we include the death of Aunt Pickering’s little child mentioned in the next paragraph, that brings the total number of deaths narrated just since 1813 to eight.

**Engagement
of Aunt
Mary.**

This year also among its changes witnessed toward its close, the engagement of my Aunt Mary to a young physician of Carolina afterward of N Orleans, whom she met on her way home from the south. This was a Mr Hudgens* – a worthy young man whom however the family of his affianced never became personally acquainted with, as she married him in N Orleans, some years afterward. She was the beauty of the family, but rejecting several admirers in her youth, she remained single much longer than her younger sister had done.

65

Birth of Margaret Catherine Winslow

1816 In January of this year, a daughter was born in the Devonshire S^t House, named “Margaret Catharine,”[†] partly for her mother, Grandmother and great Grandmother, – and partly for her deceased Aunt Mrs Houston, there having been an agreement between the married sisters that a daughter of each should be named for the other. A flock of seven now made up my Father’s household, with poor Aunt Patty, and my Aunt Mary, afterward Hudgens, who remained a permanent resident in the family until her marriage.

**Family
events–**

**St John’s
Newfoundland
destroyed by fire
Feb 18th 1816,
about 6 months
after Mr
Houston left it.**

A letter of Jan 6th mentions the illness of my brother Edward with a severe rheumatic[‡] fever, accompanied with much pain. This confined him to his bed for many weeks, and to the house for many months, during which he became in some sort an assistant tender to the infant sister born during his sickness.[§] My Mother had been attacked with a very distressing cough at the beginning of this winter which was a noted one for influenza, colds, &c– so that, altogether, the year opened gloomily enough as to family affairs, and also in regard to business; for by a letter between my Father and Sir W^m

Pepperell of England, it appears that war prices still kept up, and that although much extravagance prevailed in this country, yet profits were uncertain, and mercantile affairs unstable, as is always the case for some years after a war.

In January also, Mrs Chase and Cousin Betsey Winslow lost their half brother Thomas Winslow who died in England leaving a family of eight children very poor in N York – but by the exertions of a capable and energetic Mother, most of them became distinguished and prosperous men in England, where their families now reside.**

**Removal to
Leverett S^t**

In May 1816 my Father removed his large family to a house at the West End of Boston, the grounds of which extended from Leverett to Chambers S^t, quite an estate for Boston.^{††} He purchased this place partly with the proceeds of my Mother’s share of her Grandmother Pollard’s property, consisting of some houses in Union S^t which had recently burned down, thus necessitating a sale of the land:

* Pleasant Hudgens, whom she married in 1819, when she was almost 40.

† I.e., the writer.

‡ An inflammatory disease that follows such infections as strep throat and scarlet fever and can be damaging to several organs, including the heart. It may cause pain in the joints—whence its name. There were no effective treatments in the nineteenth century, and the disease could last a very long time.

§ He was then 12.

** This is the branch of the family central to the latter chapters of D. Kenelm Winslow, *Mayflower Heritage* (London: George G. Harrap, 1957).

†† We learn at IV, 111 below that the address was 13 Leverett St.

– and intended my Mother to possess a dower interest* therein. The house was a pleasant one, commanding at that time, a back view of Charles River and Cambridge with open pasture lots on Allen S^t, and a beach at its foot very nice for bathing. There was also a large two story end or Woodhouse for the boys’ workshop, museum &c on one side of the paved yard, and a two story brick barn on the other. In front there was a view of Charlestown across “Mill Pond,” and grassy banks trees &c, sloped down to Leverett S^t which

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was on a much lower level than Chambers S^t. I believe, when my Father first moved to Leverett S^t, there were two low banks or terraces in front of the house like those of the next estate on the North, whereon stood an old fashioned house which had been the birth place of my Grandmother Winslow and of her brother Benjamin Davis, having belonged to their Father. When we lived next door it was owned and occupied by a Mr Marston, whose little daughter “Georgiana” was an infantile charmer “over the fence” to my younger brother George. On the South side facing Leverett S^t stood a house still more ancient, black and moss covered, where my said Grandmother and Great Uncle attended a “Dame school” in the days of their childhood, and where my brother George delighted in a neighborly refreshment of brown tie[?][†] (cake, or rather brown bread) with butter on’t.”[‡] – The Chambers S^t boundaries consisted of a brick stable on the North, belonging to a Captain Denny who lived opposite; and on the south, a block of high brick houses quite modern, the nearest of which was occupied by a certain Deacon Kindall in our earliest days; afterward by a Mr Hall, whose youngest daughter “Octavia” was a youthful “flame” of my brother Benjamin’s; and, at a later period, by Mr Sam Doane of the old Boston “sugar-bakery.” But this is anticipatory. At the time of my Father’s first removal to the place, the low banks of which I have spoken, were being altered into one high bank on each side of a flight of steps, which led from a long sloping walk up to the house.— When I remember these banks, they were shaded with weeping willows, which drooped nearly half way down over them, and the sloping grass plat[§] below was adorned with spruce and linden trees, the walk being bordered with flowers on each side. —There was also a very pretty garden above the bank on the North side of the house, in front of the kitchen end there situated. And in front of the main building and on each side of the south passage way which ran around to the back yard, were also, in my day, borders of lilac trees rose bushes, &c. making for town, a very pretty rural looking place much admired by all passers, who often used to stop and linger at the open rail fence which ran along a part of the street, the two ends being higher, and of brick. The house itself was of wood with brick sides, three stories high, except the L^s which were but two stories. One L ran out from the north side and was of brick;— this contained a large kitchen, and over it a nursery chamber of the same size. The west L, adjoining the woodhouse, contained

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* A wife’s interest in her husband’s property upon his death.

† Or possibly brown tic? browntie? browntie?

‡ No matching opening quotation marks.

§ OED considers *plat* and *plot* to be different words, though with the same meaning, *plat* being supposed to be originally a variant of *plot*.

1816 a dining room, back kitchen and store room, with servant's chamber over these, communicating with the nursery. –I have been thus particular in describing the Leverett S^t estate, because it was the scene of all our youthful joys and sorrows, –of many merry gatherings among friends and relatives, of all the experiences, in short, which occur more or less in every residence, inhabited four and twenty years; but especially in one which was, like

**Marriage of
Princess
Charlotte
May 2 1816.
Great
rejoicings
in
England.**

ours, the nucleus of a large circle all gathering there as to a common “Ark”: by which appellation the dear old home was known among its familiar visitors. Never were sports and pranks, say “the boys” now gray haired men, – like those which they carried on within its precincts; – never were family parties so pleasant say “the girls” now Grandmamas, – as those where the young folk sang and danced, and frolicked and flirted. Never was guest or stranger made more welcome or more entirely at home, write sometimes long severed companions of those days at home, –now moving in other circles, with far different interests around them. – Never,

says one who thinks of sorrowful as well as joyous scenes there enacted, – never will hearts beat so lovingly for us at least, never will head and hands care so unweariedly for us, as those whose shadows alone are now connected with that real yet shadowy past. It did its work; not perfectly perhaps, – not even as some homes have performed their holy blessed mission upon earth: but enough, I trust, to have sown precious seed which shall ripen in the Home eternal, where its imperfections shall be forgiven, and its good developed to fruition.

**3^d
marriage
of Mr
Houston**

In May also of this year Mr Houston contracted a third marriage with Mrs Phillips the English lady from Newfoundland who has been before mentioned as intimate with the family on account of Aunt Henrietta's acquaintance with her there before her first husband removed to America. –Mr Houston and his children, except the eldest Eliza, who was placed at a french boarding school kept by Mrs McKeige a Nova Scotia woman educated in France, – had remained with Uncle Blanchard and Aunt Henrietta at the house in Blossom S^t since the death of Aunt Catharine. The widow Phillips also boarded there, and thus the match was made up between her and Mr H.

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Isaac and Margaret reflect on the consequences of War.

1816 Although pleasant enough as an acquaintance, she was a very uncomfortable step Mother to the little girls, whom she took to the house in Hancock S^t, hired by Mr Houston on his marriage. Afterward her sister Miss Thomas arrived from Newfoundland and being refused a home with Mrs Houston, she took refuge with Uncle Blanchard and Aunt Henrietta who assisted her to open a small school for young children among whom I was one. But this was some three years later.

**Death
of
“Aunt
Patty.”**

In the summer of 1816 died poor old Aunt Patty who had so long been an inmate of my Father's family and of his Father's before him. She was a great care to my Mother, but her income had helped to maintain the family for very many years, and it was Providentially continued until, by the inheritance from Grandmother Pollard, and my Father's increasing prosperity, it was no longer needed as it had been in earlier times.

**State of
the
Country.**

In September my Father visited Newport to see his Aunt Malbone, the last survivor of his Father's generation, and perhaps to arrange with her some business relative to the family estates lately vacated. The business of the country at large, continued unsettled and the season cold and unfruitful. “Commercial embarrassments, the fall

of Goods;— Rents and Provisions high,” were still, he writes his friend Sir W Pepperell, the consequences of war, after Peace had been proclaimed for nearly two years. “When things return to a Peace level it will be better for the Country at large,” he says.—“Luxury and a taste for dissipation and extravagance are bad enough in any country, but worse here with us. Where no definite line divides the classes of society and where men are distinguished only by wealth or the appearance of it, a continual emulation is excited to outvie each other. It is to be hoped the time will come when we shall be contented with the advantages which the Providence of God has given us, bountifully dispensed from our own soil, and that a more moderate portion of foreign articles will be consumed.” If this was said in 1816, what would the writer think of 1867, after a far more exhausting War of four years duration. Our imports in 1866 * —Our meanest citizens more luxurious in houses, dress, furniture, than the richest of those days’ — thousands squandered on foreign goods, foreign actresses, Opera singers, and every Amusement in Cities and in watering places at home; thousands, yea millions more by travellers abroad, while the country is † in debts—

And this is nothing to what may be, probably will be in the future. Yet, as in the ancient Republics, luxury was the sure presage of decline, so will it be with American republicanism, however splendid may be its outward shew to the world.

Before closing the year 1816 another birth must be mentioned, that of Lucretia, youngest daughter of my Uncle Benjamin, born in June, at, I believe, a house at the corner of Bowdoin and Court S^{ts}. This daughter grew up a very pretty girl, as did the second daughter Catharine; but they had the misfortune to lose their excellent mother when very young, and the family were dispersed ever afterward being left to grow up as they might without her care and influence. At this period my Uncle Ben’s circumstances were more flourishing, and he lived at one time in quite a handsome house in High S^t, and also had hired a very pretty cottage and garden at Jamaica Plain where he entertained his military friends, and a good deal of other company, being of a much gayer temperament than his wife, and especially fond of military shew and parade, having been made a Major in the Militia service, by which title he was ever afterward familiarly called among his relatives.

I find few letters of this year and those generally on business between my Father and cousin Betsey Winslow, whose sister Mrs Wall of England applied for aid which she with her usual extreme generosity, forwarded through my Father, out of her very limited income. In one of his letters to cousin Betsey, my Father thus speaks of the Presidential visit made to all the principal towns and cities by Mr Munro[‡] inaugurated on the 4th of March

1817

previous

[“]July 5th 1817.

The newspapers will give you a more ample account than I can do, of the parade and ceremonies exhibited on the arrival of the President. In my opinion there has been quite too much of it. It is going as much too far one way, as the Leaders of the party[?] (Federal) [“]went the other during the War. Mr Munroe

* A blank here, probably intended to be filled in with a figure.

† Another blank, also probably intended to be filled in with a figure.

‡ Odd that Margaret should misspell a president’s name, though she does better the next time, and the third time’s a charm.

had been, as secretary of State & afterward of War under Madison, much abused by the Federal opponents of the War with England.) A decent and respectful reception of the President would have been well; but no monarch could have been received with more shew and pageantry. I believe however, it has been forced on him: Yet, no doubt he is gratified by such tokens of popular favor as are all great men,—

not perhaps sufficiently realizing the uncertainty of the popular voice which has ever been to cry “Hosannah” one day, and “Crucify” the next.

There was probably a deeper principle involved, however, in this reaction of the Federalists, and it may be found in the growing passion for extent of territory which so largely and unhappily characterizes this nation, and which Mr Monroe had encouraged or stimulated by the purchase of the immense territory of Louisiana and also by his now famous “doctrine” of the exclusion from this continent* of all European influence so far and so soon as practicable. In one point of view it was wise, as tending to disentangle the Nation from foreign wars and intrigues.

In another, it was a beginning of that annexation spirit which has already cost two wars in this generation, and which promises us apparent greatness at the fearful price of internal weakness and dissension. An overgrown Empire can only be preserved by overgrown Power, probably military and despotic; and this, as all examples shew, is a Government of weakness and decay, in its ultimate tendency, as it is one of corruption and cruelty in its onward progress.† The new States of Indiana and Mississippi were about this time added to the Union, the one set off from Georgia, the other from the new territory just acquired from France under the name of Louisiana.

Public prosperity did not bring private happiness however; as my Father mentions in another letter to the same Cousin several suicides of recent occurrence. “These are striking lessons to the living,” he writes, – of “[t]he constant necessity of controlling the violence of passion and feeling; for I have always thought that the ascendancy of any passion (being what I should call insanity) is the cause of suicide.”

**Marriage
of Uncle
Joshua
Winslow:**

The families connected with us as well as our own seem to have been in good health this year, except Uncle Ben and wife who were ill in the summer. My Uncle Joshua Winslow had married in Oct 1817, a daughter of Major Stark‡ of Dunbarton New Hampshire and had gone to housekeeping at the corner of Myrtle and Belknap Sts Boston. He was in the West India business for a time, probably corresponding with my Uncle John in St Croix. But he was not very successful, and his wife was in feeble health, though a very pretty, gentle and amiable person, she had not much force of character to aid him in his limited means; and I believe they were straitened and uncomfortable in many ways.

* More properly the Americas or the western hemisphere.

† This is the first statement Margaret has made about imperialism. It may be worth mentioning here that Margaret’s nephew Erving (1839-1922), son of her brother Ben, would become very active in the anti-imperialist movement. See the brief biography at [http://www.masshist.org/findingaids/doc.cfm?fa=fa0084 - Erving Winslow Papers MHS](http://www.masshist.org/findingaids/doc.cfm?fa=fa0084-Erving%20Winslow%20Papers%20MHS).

‡ Caleb Stark (1759- 1838), eldest son of the Revolutionary hero General John Stark (1728–1822).

1817.

**Tour of Pres^t
Monroe.**

**Death of
Princess
Charlotte
and infant
Nov 6 1817
Universal
mourning
in
England.**

1817

Death of
Aunt
Malbone.

This year closed with the death of the last member of our family belonging to my Grandfather's generation. This was my Father's Aunt Malbone of Newport R I, who departed this life on the 27th of December, at her residence in that place, where my Father and, I presume, some other of her nephews and nieces went to attend the funeral. She was a complete lady of the Old School, had seen the best society and had a decided taste for it. She was very dignified and courteous, attentive to all her relations, yet rather scandalized if they did not keep up with her ideas of what was due to their birth and position in life. Her particular friend was Mrs Hubbard of Boston, and she never broke her connection with that family, or any others with whom she had once been intimate. When she came to Boston her Aristocratic friends were always expected to hear of the fact, and to call upon the old lady in due form, which brought a good deal of undesirable company to my Grandmother Blanchard's house, and was rather a trial to the family. Besides which, she criticised the manners of her nephews and nieces, and kept them busy shopping, calling, and doing errands for her. In her own house at Newport she was kind and hospitable to them however, and often invited them, especially my Aunt Pickering, to stay with her. Aunt Mary was not so much disposed to go, not liking the old lady's discipline, and interference, besides which, her house was rather dull, compared to that of my Father's family, where relatives and strangers were always coming and going. Aunt Malbone left her property among thirteen nephews and nieces which amounted to only about \$500 each,* and to my Father a quarter of a house in Union S^t, part of her Father's old family estate. Thus the last of that property was finally divided, property which if kept to this day, would be worth millions; but so it was, no doubt, wisely appointed: Providence not designing that the descendants of His servants should have more than a moderate share of this world's goods, which by His goodness they have always been permitted to enjoy themselves, and in some measure to dispose to others; answering for them the wise prayer of Agur "give me neither poverty nor riches; lest I be full and deny thee (by careless selfish indifference) or lest I be poor and steal (or be tempted to dishonest dealings) and take the name of my God in vain." (or murmur against Him)[†]

* \$6,500 (13 x 500) in 1817 dollars would be worth between \$100,000 and \$125,000 in current money using CPI and GDP indices.

† Proverbs 30: 8-9: "give me neither poverty nor riches; feed me with food convenient for me: Lest I be full, and deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord? or lest I be poor, and steal, and take the name of my God in vain."

72 Mrs Chase's decline. Francis, a son born to her Uncle Joshua Winslow and his wife's death.

1818

Family
Affairs.

A letter from my Father mentions in Jan of this year that his friend and cousin Mrs Chase was troubled with a severe cough the beginning probably of her long consumptive illness. She was then residing in Dorchester near my Aunt Pickering. "The latter," – he says – "has a large family having Edward's two young children[""] (the Commodore* and his brother Edward D) [""]and his wife's eldest daughter[""]

(Louisa McAllister) [""]with her." This was very kind in Aunt Pickering, being in straitened circumstances and having a large family of her own. I have always understood that she received no compensation although Mrs EW was so wealthy. "W^m Waldo," my Father says, [""]lives in town for the winter at Henrietta's – he is a fine steady young man, and a most excellent son. That family are all well. Henrietta deserves the good opinion her friends entertain of her. She certainly seems disposed to do all the good she can, and that from apparently, the most disinterested motives. Josh[""] (B) [""]is with me in the store, and he assists her in the charge of the school for the education of the black children. A wealthy gentleman has taken of the boys one who is a very promising youth, with a view to sending him to Scotland for his education as a minister. It is my opinion that Josh and Henrietta were also the principal movers of the subscription for the Newfoundland sufferers," (by the destructive fire which had occurred at S^t John's Feb 18th 1816) [""]which much to

the credit of our townsmen was heartily entered into. I was chosen on the committee, but was obliged to decline serving." _____ "My own family continue to be blessed with a great share of health. Our little M[†] is quite the pet of the family; I hope she may not be spoiled, being one girl among so many boys. Mary remains as usual, has no late news from her N Orleans beau, &c".

In September of this year a son was born to my Uncle Joshua Winslow, in his house at the corner of Belknap and Myrtle Sts.- This son was named Francis, and afterward became an excellent and distinguished Officer in the American Navy.[‡] His mother's health however, rapidly declined from the time of his birth and she died of a rapid consumption on the § Feb 1819.

Uncle Joshua became also an invalid from this period and was supposed to have taken a disease of the lungs from his wife. –

73 Uncle Josh's invalidism and failure in business. First signs of Margaret's mother's consumption.

1819 In the spring of 1819 he broke up housekeeping and took his little Motherless infant to Aunt Pickering's home in Dorchester, and Major Stark its maternal Grandfather refusing to receive it, the child was ultimately brought up in her family as one of her sons, – a most kind

* John Ancrum Winslow.

† The writer.

‡ Commander Francis Winslow (1818–1862). He fought in the Civil War and died of yellow fever in 1862 while in command of the USS R. R. *Cuyler*.

§ A blank evidently intended to be filled in later.

and motherly act, which, as it was very delicate in health occasioned her a good deal of care as well as expense. Uncle Josh Winslow also failed in business about this time, involving my Father to some extent, but not ruinously. “You have probably heard,” he writes to a friend, “that my brother Josh has been unfortunate in business;- He owes Ben, Mr N* and myself principally, and his affairs are pretty bad owing to heavy losses in Europe.”

Mention is also made in this letter of my Mother’s cough as having become “habitual”; therefore her consumptive tendency had even then begun to manifest itself, although she lived for more than ten years afterward. In June she took a little journey to Mr Sam Sparhawk in N Hampshire with her son Thomas and her little daughter.

My Father also speaks of the continued ill health of Mrs Chase, and says that his Brother Ben’s wife was a great sufferer from Neuralgia in the head[†] and face. Her husband passed the winter at the South in Virginia and the Carolinas and she felt his absence severely, especially as he was so much in gay society there, and she lived a very retired life with her children at home; but he took her to Saratoga[‡] in the summer of this year.

Uncle John appears to have been boarding in Boston and is mentioned as being threatened with a lung fever. Aunt Mary passed a part of the winter with Aunt Pickering in Dorchester, being yet unmarried; Mr Hudgens was unable to leave N Orleans and come North to meet her; so she finally concluded to go to him, which she did in November of this year, and was there married, my father giving her an outfit, – on the 20th December 1819, continuing in N Orleans till her husband’s death.

Prevalent sickness

Among other persons he assisted at much loss to himself, was the son of his friend Mrs Chase, William Waldo in a voyage to Lisbon which proved unfortunate, as this was a bad business year for Bostonians.

In one of the letters a prevalent Typhus fever is spoken of as prevalent in Boston during the summer of 1819. My brothers Edward & George were mildly attacked by it; but in some families it proved terribly malignant. “The principal cases of the latter type seem to have been pretty clearly traced to a ship from Africa and Martinique; ten or twelve persons and perhaps more who had been on board have died. The Cotton family have been much afflicted: The Mother and two sons all died within six days, and a daughter now lies sick. The fever has principally prevailed near Fort Hill, and many people have moved from

1819 that quarter.” The daughter[§] of Mrs Cotton, here alluded to, afterward became wife to my Uncle Blanchard, and is at this date 1868 still living at the advanced age of eighty one. She well remembers the afflicting scenes which she and her family then passed through. Her own life was spared to be a blessing to all who have ever known her.

Death of George Chase.

In October of this year the dangerous illness of Mrs Chase’s stepson, George Chase, is mentioned, and he died at Portland in November or the early part of December 1819: a great loss to his sister Elizabeth, as he gave promise

* Unidentified.

† Might be “hand,” but that it is singular (as well as the complaint’s involving facial neuralgia) makes “head” the most likely reading.

‡ Probably Saratoga Springs, NY, already a tourist spot at the period.

§ Mary Cotton.

of being a fine young man, and a protector and guardian to her, which she afterward much needed. She inherited from him about twenty thousand dollars* in addition to her own share of her father's property, and this added to much personal attraction when she grew up, and was left almost alone and without a home, made her position a peculiar one, calling for a Brother's care and watchfulness. Her half sister Sally Waldo was an excellent, disinterested, Christian woman, but chiefly taken up with the care of her invalid Mother, whom she survived but a very short time; and, of the Waldo brothers, two died before Mrs Chase, and the third, William, although a clever well meaning man of irreproachable character, was not the sort of person to guide a young and fascinating heiress into society, or to direct her amid the perplexities of her situation in a choice among her various suitors. But this is rather an anticipation of events which occurred years afterward, than the regular course of family history.

The chief public events of 1819 were the purchase of Florida from Spain for five millions of Dollars, and the admission of Alabama into the Union. In May of this year, the first steam ship sailed from America to Europe; and this event, introducing a new era in the whole condition of this country and of the world, may serve as a fit conclusion to this chapter, which embraces the second ten years of a Century more wonderful in its developments than any in the whole History of Man hitherto. On this side of the Atlantic, a handful of seacoast Colonies had already spread far into the Western wilds, with double the population of 1805 now amounting to nearly ten millions. Every where new States, cities, and towns were springing into existence, new arts, sciences and discoveries combining to people, to educate, and civilize them. _____

75 Public events of 1820. The British Regency and a crisis in religion. Letter of Isaac to Mrs. Hodge.

Chapter

1820 This year opened Politically by the accession of George the fourth to the throne of Great Britain, upon the decease of his Father George 3rd, after a reign of 60 years, interrupted only by a mental disorder, during which his eldest son governed as "Prince Regent." The character of the latter was excessively corrupt and dissipated, as everyone knows. Nevertheless, during his rule as Regent and afterward, appeared some of the most talented and brilliant men in Parliament and at Court, whom England has ever known, and about this very time began many of those philanthropic and religious reforms which raised England to her highest pitch of moral influence throughout the world. A reaction, perhaps from the French Revolutionary Atheism which had spread to poison over not only the Continent, but also in a large degree over England, and in some measure even America! This country from her religious origin, soon, however, recovered her tone; and although particularly in New England, she enlarged and liberalized her theological views, yet the old leaven of simple faith prevented these from being carried to an extreme. But unfortunately while the religious movement in England proceeded to develop itself in a grand National Emancipation from the Crime and Evil of Slavery, the United States, by the rapid acquisitions of Southern territory were fast riveting the closest chains upon her own neck; thus strangling into formalism and worldliness her new religious impulses, and making her very churches the upholders of iniquity, wherewith to corrupt and degrade the Government and the Nation. In March of this year was passed the fatal Missouri Compromise.—

* A substantial sum, about three hundred fifty to more than four hundred thousand of today's dollars.

The condition of religious and in some degree family affairs at this time, may be partly gathered from a letter of my Father's to Mrs Hodge* concerning her eldest son† an Orthodox Clergyman, since quite celebrated as a writer and as theological Professor at Princeton University, N Jersey.

[“]Boston April 13th, 1820.

My dear Madam,

My wife being such an indifferent correspondent, I take your letter, handed her in Sept last by your dear Son, to state in her behalf the satisfaction it gave her to hear of a friend whom, although long separated from, she yet remembers with gratitude and affection, and also her pleasure in seeing the Son of that friend in Boston. Be assured it would have increased that pleasure both to her and to me, to have had your son an inmate of our house during his stay.— But I found him domiciliated with a respectable and worthy

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1820

Letter
to Aunt
Hodge.

family attached to the Society over which his friend has since been called to preside.— So that, though it would have gratified all of us to have had him among your friends, yet we could hardly expect it. I can only say that your niece and myself would be very glad to see you or him, should any circumstances bring either of you here again. If a difference of views would forbid the kind of religious attentions usually paid to

Gentlemen of his Profession, they would not prevent all the friendly attentions which the feelings of friendship and relationship inspire: Besides which his own merit and manners would secure him a cordial reception with almost every one. He is quite modest and unassuming;— and his public performances which from the above stated cause I did not attend,‡ were considered by those whom I heard speak on the subject, indicative of future successes in his Profession, should his life and health be spared. —

Religion
in Boston

You are no doubt aware that this town is much divided on the subject of Religion,— and that the Unitarian system is fast getting into fashion.— To those of such sentiments, of course your Son's tenets would not be acceptable. But to me who have been led to look upon true Religion as being the last thing likely to attract and secure the favor of mankind, this would be of little weight.— Yet, on the other hand, those of the opposite tenets have been but too prone to place their religion in the favor of the multitude. Perhaps the collision may elicit something more of the simple Religion of the Gospel, which is more intent on the Hope of a life beyond the grave, as the one thing needful, than on metaphysical and disputed points which interest the head, without much affecting the heart.

* Mary Blanchard Hodge, a younger sister of Joshua Blanchard (1752-1826 and Margaret's maternal grandfather). She married Dr. Hugh Hodge.

† Charles Hodge (1797–1878). A very prolific author and productive teacher. He supported conservative Calvinism, saw no scriptural reason to oppose slavery, and late in life wrote a book arguing that Darwinism, by rejecting the theory of intelligent design, was inherently atheistic, whatever Darwin's personal beliefs may have been. But at this date he was in only the first year of his career as a minister.

‡ Evidently while not a member of the Sandemanian church, Isaac is at this point still abiding by its proscription against attending any religious services of other churches or sects. But see above, IV, 42, where Isaac does Attend Mr. Balfour's sermons, and he is said to have had some differences with Sandemanianism.

Family
affairs.

Our own family have always been blest with a great share of health, and although Mrs Winslow has but a slender constitution, she is tolerably well in general, except occasionally having a bad cough. My Father Blanchard* has boarded out of town for about eighteen months, and appears much more contented than when he resided in town. He is very much broken, and has almost entirely lost his memory. Josh and Henrietta are at board near my house, and enjoy a tolerable share of health.— Mr Houston's family reside in town; but as the sisters did not approve the match,[†]— little intercourse has hitherto been had with them, though lately it has been partially renewed: It was confessedly

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Letter to Mrs. Hodge's concluded. A scrap of family journal.

a match for money only: but to do Mrs H justice, she pays great attention to the education of the children, especially in their accomplishments. Mr H is now supposed to be pretty wealthy.”— Note by the writer. Eliza the eldest daughter, was a pretty girl of seventeen, and had just returned home from a French boarding school kept by Mrs McKeige at Jamaica Plain. Her determination to visit the relatives of her late mother, and the warm attachment of her Aunts to that dear sister's children, was probably the cause of the renewed intercourse of the families, here referred to. The two younger girls were kept under much restraint, and allowed little intercourse with their near friends; but to this, the eldest would no longer submit. —

“Our own family,” continues my Father, — [“]consists of six sons, and one daughter. My eldest son is with me in the Compting room, and the one whose birth you witnessed, I propose to take also into business.— I had put him into that of the Distillery, but it was not sufficient to give him employment.— The younger ones are yet at school.

We shall be glad to hear that your son's health is in any degree recruited, and hope some tidings to that effect may be received from you. Accept, my dear Madam, the best wishes for you and yours

of, very truly &c &c, I Winslow.[”]

The younger son of Mrs Hodge, since a Physician in Philadelphia was here in October of this year.

By a scrap of family journal, written March 1820, the season seems to have been cold and backward,[‡] except one or two very warm days in March. Much snow fell on the 7th of April, and continued in the country till quite late in the Month. The great subject of public interest was the duel between Commodore Decatur, America's favorite naval hero, and Captain Barron, in which the latter was badly wounded, and the former lost his life, to the great grief of the Nation. This event probably had a considerable influence in bringing about the abolition, at least in the Northern states, of the abominable Duelling system, which had been so much in vogue, especially among Army and Navy Officers. On the other hand a striking instance of the rarity of unauthorized murder in those days, is found in the fact of one being mentioned in this Journal as a great event, and the apprehension and trial of the murderer having been so prompt in comparison to the judicial proceedings of the present

* Father-in-law, Joshua Blanchard, Mrs. Hodge's older brother.

† Above, IV, 67.

‡ “cold and backward” is quite a common phrase in the nineteenth century, though its meaning never found its way into *OED* or *Webster's*. Since it most often, as here, refers to spring, I surmise it means a cold spring that looks backwards to winter.

time. A fire in Cornhill is also recorded as quite an event, two Stores being burned down there on the 7th of March “a very stormy night.”

78 A premature infant of Isaac and Margaret's dies. New York fashions. A boyish letter.

Family Journeys.

1820 Some interesting letters from Uncle Ben's wife to him shew that he was again away— at the South in the Spring of this year, visiting in N York, Philadelphia, Norfolk, &c partly for business, and partly on account of his health; but distressing for her by his frequent absences which, indeed, continued through the summer, autumn, and winter of this year. She mentions my Father and Uncle Davis as being very attentive in their visits to her at this time, during which her little Lucretia was attacked with a serious illness, and she herself was in very feeble health.

On the 12th of July 1820 a seventh son was prematurely born to my Parents in Leverett S^t. It died on the following morning;— and this was the last child my Mother had, making nine births in all, within about 18 years. I have some remembrance of seeing the body of this little brother laid upon the bed in my Mother's chamber, on my return from school; for I had been a pupil of Miss Charlotte Thomas for more than a year. Since the breaking up of the Blossom S^t establishment, she had kept school in Lynde S^t at the house of a Mrs Smith where she boarded. Uncle Blanchard and Aunt Henrieitta at first boarded there also; but afterward they went to the house of a Miss Dunn in Poplar S^t, and then to that of a Mrs Lakeman in Federal S^t.

At or about this time my brother Isaac took a journey to the South making some stay in N York, and there visiting the families of some correspondents of my Father. He writes to my Mother that “Broadway was a moving sea of Hats and Bonnets, ribands and plumes:”— the bonnets he says, “are huge masses, absolutely like portable milliners' shops: an open umbrella is nothing to some of them. Nothing but practical skill in moving along, prevents continual encounters.[’]” — He speaks of the families of Messr's Markoe* & Masters of Mr Barrell's and Mr Grant's,— and of dining with Dr Bartlett, Editor of the N York “Albion”.† Uncle John Winslow appears also to have been in N York at that time. The following amusing specimen of boyish correspondence occurs about this period, though it might have been written a year or two later.

From George Winslow to his elder brother at Washington.

[“]Dear Brother,

I take this opportunity to let you know that Father has a new pump put down. Mr Frost is married[’] (Our Grocer next door) [“]They are pulling down at the end of Bowdoin Square. Charles[’] (our servant boy) [“]has caught a Bat.

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Ben and Margaret and me are going to Mr Park's dancing school. They are pulling down a great many houses in this city now.— Tom is now about raising a balloon, he is only waiting for a calm evening. He is as funny as ever. Father is a going to have our Museum divided into two parts: one is to be a library, the other a Museum.

* <http://38.115.62.80/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=1&db=local&BBID=29664> - Hagley Library, Masters & Markoe Record

† Dr. John Sherran Bartlett (1790-1863). *The Albion's* audience was largely made up of British emigrants.

I remain &c, Yours respectfully
Geo Winslow[']

In July or August of this summer 1820, we all had a family Pic Nic at Savin Hill Dorchester in common with Aunt Pickering's family Mrs Chase's and Mr Houston's, who all assembled at that then wild and romantic spot on several successive years, for the amusement of the children who enjoyed the occasion as only children do. It was to this annual Holyday, the last celebration of which occurred in 1821 that my Father referred in his lines on the death of my Brother Henry, which event put an end to those pleasant gatherings just as I had begun to be a sharer in them, my Mother feeling her loss too keenly, ever to renew the festivity.

**Home
Circle.**

And this brings me to the most memorable year of our immediate family History, before which, the household circle had remained unbroken, although, as before related, many near and dear connections had been removed. But the little flock which had joyously hailed the new Home,* almost countrylike in its facilities for unrestrained out of door enjoyment, — the playmates of winter forts, and summer kite raising, of football and marbles, and rural excursions, and seaside swim or sail, — the fellow laborers of the mimic workshop,† the joint owners of the wonderful Museum, the Co Students of the weary Latin Grammar, and puzzling Arithmetical problems, the eager Combatants of Chess and Chequer boards, the rapt Artists of the Scenic Theatre, all had together performed their parts of Actor or Spectator as age and ability permitted. Especially had two of the brothers united themselves in every pursuit with a oneness of taste and purpose not so characteristic of the others. Especially also had one of these two distinguished himself from all, by a womanly gentleness and sweetness of disposition, united to a manly courage, and almost manly thoughtfulness, discretion, and self discipline.— — Into the very midst of this flock leaped the wolf to bear off its fairest lamb of promise. Nay, rather into this fold came the loving Shepherd to rescue his perhaps dearest youngling, lest, straying from his care, it might have fallen a prey to the Destroyer.

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1821

**Death of
Aunt
Amory
Winslow**

This year was ushered in by the increasing illness of my Uncle Benjamin's wife of whose feebleness mention has been made in the foregoing pages;— and on the 5th of April 1821 this estimable wife, devoted Mother and sincere Christian was taken from her family, to whom her watchful care seemed so peculiarly needful. she was the first deceased person whom I ever saw.‡ I well remember being taken by my father to look upon the still, cold, marble face. and the judicious manner in which he spoke of her recent suffering and her present happy release from it, with the hope of a blessed immortality. Death would have few terrors to a child, if such an impression were generally given of it. My sympathies were moved, however, for my Motherless Cousins; and

* When the family moved to Leverett Street, the boys were between the ages of 4 and 14, and Margaret was about a year old. So the timing of the move into such an idyllic place was just right for a family full of young boys.

† Meaning probably that it was a workshop intended for play and the children instead of one for adult work.

‡ Either Margaret has forgotten seeing the body of her infant prematurely-born and almost still-born brother (above, IV, 74) or by *person* she means something more restrictive than the dictionaries recognize — or perhaps the statement just registers that she could not *recognize* a person in the body of her infant brother.

indeed they deserved it; for from that time forward they had no settled home, or permanent guidance. The little girls were at first taken to the house of Mrs Callahan, their Maternal Grandmother,— and there received the kindest attention from her youngest unmarried daughter their Aunt Willard, who devoted herself to them with great disinterestedness and care for their personal welfare. But, afterward, when removed by their Father, — they became inmates of a boarding school and then of a boarding house,— with little opportunity of acquiring the domestic habits and religious principles which their departed Mother would have inculcated, the son Benjamin and, a part of the time, the youngest daughter Lucretia were with their Father at his boarding place, under the care of a Miss Ayers their instructor at school. He was much depressed after the death of his wife and in delicate health. His affairs also, as a partner of Winslow Channing & Co, were in a state of much embarrassment. Uncle Blanchard was employed to assist in settling them. By this business also, my Father was a heavy loser, as usual.

**Acquaintance
with Mrs
Hill**

On the same day of Aunt Amory Winslow's death, Uncle Blanchard and Aunt Henrietta went with her sister Timmins, Mrs Hill, to a place called Wilton in N Hampshire, where she was sent for her health of mind and body, both having been much affected since the death of her husband. While there, a very heavy snow storm occurred on the 12th of April, followed by another on the 17th. On the 18th Aunt Henrietta returned from N Hampshire, and Miss Mary Cotton took her place as companion to Mrs Hill; both afterward were my Uncle Blanchard's wives.

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1821

**Death of
my
Brother
Henry.**

On the 29th of July 1821 occurred the event in our family circle, of which I have already spoken. My third Brother W^m Henry had been for a year or more in my Father's compting room, but was about being apprenticed to Mr Edward Tuckerman a prominent Boston Merchant. Henry was just completing his sixteenth year, and was a handsome, florid healthy-looking lad, the last of the family whom any one would have supposed to be near his end. But it was supposed that the disease which carried him off after an illness of only three days, and which was afterward known to be yellow fever was taken from a vessel laden with decayed fish or something of the kind, — on board which, he was thought to have gone, a day or two previous to his illness, the weather being very sultry, and his system probably predisposed to some bilious disorder. A letter from his younger brother Benjamin addressed to his cousin William Pickering at Dorchester upon this event, will best give the particulars as a child understood them at the time. Ben was eleven years of age when this letter was written.

Boston July 30th, 1821.

"Dear Cousin,

**Letter
from
BPW to
his
cousin.**

"With the utmost sorrow, I take up my pen to inform you of Br Henry's death: On Wednesday morning he went to the Store as well as ever. About eleven o'clock he had a shivering fit and headache. When he came home about two, and could not eat any dinner, he laid down and was very unwell the whole afternoon, and restless in the night. The next morning as the Doctor said, he was much worse. Friday he said it was a scarlet fever and he"] (H) ["vomited a kind of black stuff. Saturday he had two more discharges and he looked as if he was almost gone in each of them: He recovered however, and was pretty well the rest of the day. In the night Father

found him pretty well and asleep. The next morning he was still asleep, but so torpid that they could not wake him. A little while after he woke himself, and was quite crazy. He never spoke a word but when he heard Father speak, and then he said, "I know your voice dear Father." These were the last words he spoke, and then falling into a torpid insensibility he continued in that state till quarter after seven, when with a few convulsions and groans he expired."

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1821

Henry's
illness
and
death

My Mother's account of Henry's illness and death has been partially copied by my Father in his little Memoir entitled "Recollections of a Mother." It is too long for insertion here. But some particulars differ from the foregoing narrative. It seems Henry was not so ill on the first afternoon after the attack, but that he was able to receive an excellent and attached young friend, Thomas Sparhawk of Concord N Hampshire, son of Samuel Sparhawk, who has been mentioned as one of my Father's early Sandemanian and also family connections. This lad had recently come to Boston as fellow apprentice with my brother Thomas, at the Hardware business, in the firm of "Fairbanks and Loring," although afterward, he entered Dartmouth College and became a Physician. He was two or three years younger than Henry, but nevertheless seemed to like the companionship with him. After playing chess for a short time, the two boys lay down together upon Henry's bed and slept. It is wonderful that the fever then already burning in the veins of its speedy victim, should not have communicated itself to the form so close beside him.* But so it was. "One was taken and the other left."† In fact it was wonderful that the disease; – generally at that time considered so contagious as to create serious alarm, and often the removal of many from Boston, whenever it appeared there, – should not have been taken by any other members of the family, all of whom were unsuspectingly exposed – to contact with it. I well remember going to Henry's chamber just before dinner on the first day of his illness, and requesting him to give me a certain little China Image of Plenty with her Cornucopia as a remembrance of him; all unconscious that it was the generous boy's last earthly gift. After the lapse of nearly forty seven years it is yet in my possession, a precious memorial of the Giver. – I also remember being sent up the next morning to my Mother's room, whither Henry had been removed, to inquire if he would take any breakfast; – and again the same day after dinner, I saw him assisted into the spare room wrapped in a blanket, although the weather was hot, and seated in the old, stuffed, high backed chair, then called an "Easy Chair," which we still have. This was on Thursday afternoon, and I never saw him again. A mild form of delirium came on at intervals, during which he talked of the scenes so familiar to him,

83

1821 the appearance of vessels, and of his favorite Newfoundland Dog "Bose" which was owned by himself and his brother Edward jointly, – frequently addressing this brother as if

* As noted above (II, 180), yellow fever is transmitted by the bite of a mosquito, though this was not known until much later in the century and was not known to Margaret. Henry's symptoms are consistent with the disease.

† Luke 17: 34: "I tell you, in that night there shall be two men in one bed; the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left."

present. At other times he seemed to recognise those around him, regretting that his Aunt Henrietta should trouble herself to watch with him, smiling when he heard his Father's voice, and answering inquiries about his health. All this time the Physician Dr. Shattuck treated the disorder as an ordinary feverish turn, although on Friday morning he thought it might be the scarlet fever. The black discharge of Friday afternoon, always fatally symptomatic of Yellow Fever, ought, one would think, to have opened the eyes of an experienced Medical man; but Dr S did not appear to realize the situation of his patient until Saturday^{*} morning an hour before Henry's death. After a restless afternoon and evening, he had fallen into a very heavy sleep on the night preceeding his departure. This alarmed his Mother, who sent for the Dr at 6 oclock on Sunday morning:— He then began to breathe spasmodically she says and “at times drew up his face as if in pain.” “We could not rouse him, nor get him to swallow any thing.— The Dr said he was going and soon after quitted him. He opened his eyes once or twice, but did not seem to know any body or any thing, — threw himself over on his side and expired.” My Aunt Henrietta who, with Henry's early nurse Mrs Warren, had watched by him through the night, said that about half an hour before his death a yellow veil or mask appeared to be drawn over his whole countenance; — this, I presume gives the name to that disease of which he died, as I believe, it is never perceived in any other fever.[†] “Such,” continues my Mother in her mournful relation of this event, more than two years afterward,— such was the sudden departure of one of the sweetest and finest lads who ever graced this world of trial and affliction. He, I trust, is removed to a happier state: But Oh! the irreparable loss that we his parents have sustained. Never shall we here again behold that lovely face, that sweet smile, that graceful animated form. In the midst of cares, and pleasures, and every scene of life, that ever to be regretted child is still present to my mind, and the thrilling heartache which attends the remembrance of him no one can know.”—“No one” but He who sent this bitter stroke; as it truly was to that devoted Mother. But in infinite Mercy was it sent; The throbbing heart of flesh received then and there a mortal wound which finally stilled its beatings in the grave. But the spiritual heart was lifted in pure singleness unto God, and so it proved and will hereafter prove “That He, to save the Mother, took the Child”.[‡]

Lines on my dear son Henry who died July 1821.[§]

“All flesh is grass.”**

* This must be an error, and Sunday surely was intended. That was the day of Henry's death, and in the next sentence we are told that his mother summoned the Doctor on Sunday morning.

† Margaret is correct about the naming of the disease, of which jaundice is a common symptom, but there are other fevers associated with infections that can produce jaundice, notably hepatitis.

‡ Thomas Parnell (1679-1718), *The Hermit*: “But God, to save the father, took the son.” And see above, III, 80, where Margaret turns to the same verse in reflecting upon her grandfather Winslow's suicide and its effect upon her father.

§ Margaret's hand here for the duration of the poem reverts to the larger and rounder one she had earlier used when transcribing letters.

** Isaiah 40: 6-8: “The voice said, Cry. And he said, What shall I cry? All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field: The grass withereth, the flower fadeth: because the spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it: surely the people is grass. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth: but the word of our God shall stand for ever.”

“The new mown grass, low on its parent earth
 Lies parched beneath the noon tide’s fervent heat;
 Not as at early morn it gently waved,
 In graceful undulations to the breeze.—
 Now prostrate, wither’d, lost its lovely hue,
 No more to elevate its fragile form,
 Nor taste the morning air or evening dew,
 Nor sport with Zephyrs as they skim along
 In frolic gambols, oer its bending head.
 But, when the traveller at Eve’s calm hour,
 Musing, beholds the shorn and dreary field,
 Imagines what it was, sees what it is —
 (Fit emblem of man’s transitory state,)
 Sudden the fragrant exhalations rise
 In balmy odours to their native skies
 He inhales the scented air with ev’ry breath;
 The lifeless herb is beautiful in death. —
 So thou my Son scorched by the fiery breath
 Of fever swiftest messenger of God;
 Liest lifeless on the bed which gave thee birth.
 How changed from him who on the verdant lawn
 Few suns before, with ruddy flush of youth
 And limb elastic, bounded oer the plain,
 Or joyful climid* the neighboring mountains height
 With loud voice shouting to the troop below;
 Or him who, plunging in the cooling flood,
 With fav’rite brother sported on the wave,
 And gamboled with his faithful water dog
 In all th’ exuberance of life and youth;
 Or him who, darting on the polishd skate,
 With healthful glow defied stern winter’s power;
 Or, from the busy long extended quay,
 Watched the tall ship approaching to her port,

1821
 My
 Father’s
 lines upon
 Henry’s
 death.

Or, more retired at home, with mind intent
 Th’ historic page perused, or eager strove
 At Persian game, with equal eager friend,
 To Check the King, or snatch th’unguarded queen,
 Wan, lifeless, mute, unconscious now he lies;—
 Nor shall the verdant lawn, nor cooling flood,
 Nor slippery surface of hoar winter’s ice,
 Nor busy hum of trade, nor histrys[?] voice,

* Possibly “climed” or “clim’d” was intended.

Nor magic power[?] of chess, nor brother's love
 Call him from this his deep, his long repose –
 Shall fond regret our throbbing bosoms fill?
 That this, our fav'rite flower, was, but is not?
 And shall he die, because in death he sleeps?
 He shall not. — — — — —
 In faithful mem'ry ever fresh he lives;
 To us exist the sportive smile; to us
 The gentle answer, and the kind regard,
 Ready obedience, love unconstrain'd,
 Candor, and truth, and industry, and Zeal;
 These, like the odors of the scented field,
 Rise fragrant to the recollection fond,
 Embalm his memory, mitigate our grief.—
 Oh! May we meet in that millennial morn
 When ransom'd millions, from the sleep of death,
 Upspringing from their graves in joyful haste
 On wings of love shall fly to meet their Lord,
 Hymning in notes of heavenly harmony
 The praise of Him who saved them by his blood:
 When the rais'd body, pure, ethereal, bright
 On this Changed Earth enjoys th'eternal light,
 When all that man conceives of bright & fair,
 Of good and glorious shall be central there;

When pride and av'rice, hate, flood, fire, & plague,—
 The war of matter and the war of mind
 Shall cease, and in their stead shall rise
 Love, peace, & joy, and calm unclouded skies,
 And all that God, as once in Eden's land
 To sinless sense bestow'd with bounteous hand;
 O! then, may thou and we, and all we love,
 And all on earth below, in Heaven above,
 Feel, see, and realise, that God is love.

Letter from my Mother to her Aunt Hodge of Philadelphia, upon Henry's death.

[“I now sit down to address you, my dear Aunt, with all the agonising feelings of a Mother lately deprived by the will of an Almighty Power of a dear, a lovely son. Ah, my dear Aunt, the Almighty in His all wise Providence has thought proper to call to himself my dear, my much loved Henry our third son, – by a violent bilious fever, – at the age of sixteen; – a child of the most amiable and affectionate disposition and pleasing manners; – one who joined to an affectionate heart, rectitude of principles and judgement of Mind seldom witnessed at his age.— He was in the Store with his Father, and his activity, judgment, and attention to business promised every thing the fondest Parents could wish; –

but he is taken from us, and every fibre of our hearts is rent with anguish; but it is the will of Almighty God and we must submit. O! how hard to feel resigned to such a deprivation! – Our sinful and stubborn hearts need this correction from a wise and most merciful Father; for it is only in depriving us of such dear and precious blessings, that we are led to see the uncertainty of all sublunary enjoyments, and to feel our entire dependence on that Power who bestows such blessings and who has a right to recall them when He chooses: And who shall say ‘Why doest thou thus?’ – O! my dear Aunt, – if I could be willing to resign all my earthly comforts and blessings into the

87 Margaret’s thoughts on the effects of Henry’s loss on her mother, which were lifelong.

1821

**My Mother’s
letter to Mrs
Hodge.**

hand that gave them without one murmur or wish to withhold them, – then indeed, I should experience the only comfort and consolation which, on this distressing occasion, I could be capable of receiving.

The selfish regret which a fond Mother feels at the loss of a beloved child surely cannot be very wrong; but it is a regret that is agonising. You who have been bereft of Husband and children can feel for your unhappy suffering Niece. Unhappy notwithstanding the bright example before me of a beloved friend and husband who, in this trying dispensation, and with all the feelings of a fond doting Father, still can say to his Heavenly Parent, “Thy will be done.” “Thou afflictest in thy wisdom and mercy for our good”: “Thou chastisest in Thy love”: “Thou takest the young, the good, the lovely, from all earthly snares and afflictions to thy blessed habitation, there to dwell with Thyself in love and peace.” – – – All this can he say and feel. –But my rebellious heart regrets its lost happiness; –regrets that it cannot again enfold its lost treasure. Do, my dear Aunt, write me and give me all the consolation in your power. I wish to hear of your family. Your dear son seemed not in good health when with us, but I trust is better. I should have written by him, but his sudden unexpected return prevented. Remember me to him affectionately. I wish you could be induced to visit us; It would give great comfort at this trying season to your affectionate niece,

MW.[’]

My mother never wholly recovered from this blow, although in time she came to experience the Christian submission and felt the Christian consolation for which, in the letter above, she expresses so sincere a desire. Outwardly she mingled as usual in the pleasures of her remaining children and cheerfully dispensed the Hospitality of my Father’s house to relatives, friends, and strangers. Often she laughed with her former buoyancy of spirits, at the jokes and tricks of her mischievous Tom, and often exerted herself to get up little parties and pleasant soirees for her elder sons and their young lady friends, or their military and musical associates of the other sex. She welcomed the college friends of her fourth son and entered warmly into all his Cambridge experience, as she did also into the nearer and dearer interests of all her sons. But beyond and deeper than all this, lay the unspoken but sacred remembrance of her lost treasure, and by it her whole mental and bodily existence was thenceforth moulded.

88 Public events of 1821. Uncle Joshua’s engagement. Selling the last of Grandmother Pollard’s estate.

1821 The great public event of this year was the death of Napoleon Buonaparte at S^t Helena May 5th after a weak and ignominious behavior throughout his exile which shewed the littleness and selfishness of his real character. A war of short duration occurred between the Austrians and Neapolitans in Europe ended by the supremacy of Austria. The coronation of Geo 4th of England took place on the 19th of July, and on the 11th of August died Queen Caroline his much injured consort, it was said of grief at his attempt to divorce her, and her exclusion from the coronation.

In March President Monro was peaceably reelected, almost without opposition, and this country prospered and increased greatly in wealth and population. In August there was a celebration of welcome to the West Point Cadets, visiting Boston for a few days.

The chief private event next to the death of my brother Henry, was the engagement of my Uncle J P Blanchard to Mrs Hill then convalescent and residing at Newton. He also entered into business with a partner but did not succeed in it, and was therefore obliged to defer his marriage till another year, meanwhile frequently visiting Mrs Hill at Newton, where her friend Miss Cotton often stayed with her. My Uncle Blanchard, conjointly with my Father on behalf of Aunt Henrietta, my Mother, and Mr Houston's children, this year (1821) sold the last of Grandmother Pollard's estate, some land in Union S^t, the houses on which were burnt down July 14th. Three of these lots were sold to Henry Andrews Esq for \$5500 (fifty five hundred dollars cash) What would they be worth in 1868? My Father liberally gave each of us one sixth of our Mother's share as we came of age.[†] Aunt Henrietta's was afterward invested in our estate of "Woodside" and was left by will to the writer. The Houston share was absorbed in their Father's property, but of course came to them in the inheritance of his estate, with the rest of his effects. Of all this, the only part which remains distinct is MCW's share from her mother \$500 and, by Uncle Blanchard's care, the legacy from her second beloved Mother through the sale of "Woodside," Roxbury. At the time of investment, this property was valued at less than \$5000. —(1842).— At the period of sale to Mr Chadwick (1860) it produced for MCW's share \$12000.[‡]—\$2500 of this was afterward paid to my Father's heirs as compensation for his outlay on the estate, and a little over \$500 sunk in improvements on the house after his death and that of my 2nd Mother.[§] Thus much for old family property! Most of it becomes settled; but in the Providence of God through all generations, a little seems to be left in hands where one would least expect it, for the benefit of others who have spent or lost all beside.

89 Mrs. Chase's illness. Boston becomes a city. The City Jail and Isaac's house's neighborhood.
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In January of this year Mrs Chase had a severe attack of illness from which it was thought she would not recover, and my Father who was strongly attached to her, felt quite anxious. But, she slowly returned to her usual state which was feeble, and lived, although much of the time confined to her bed, four years longer.

* According to CPI and GDP indices, \$5,500 in 1821 dollars would equal something between seven and eight thousand 1868 dollars, and between one hundred and one hundred twenty five thousand dollars in today's money.

† Presumably because under then current law her money legally was his.

‡ More than \$300,000 today using the CPI.

§ Margaret's Aunt Harriet, who married Isaac after her mother's death.

In March, greatly to my Father's dissatisfaction, who approved the simple, republican, and comparatively unexpensive form of town Government,— Boston was voted a city:— for it, voted 2,297 — against it, 1,881 — The measure was carried by a majority of 216. Total vote of Boston on this important step — 4,678.* There was then not a Police Officer in the town, only a few Constables, one of whom, Constable Reed, was sometimes seen taking a criminal by the arm and marching down Leverett S^t to the jail[†] just below our house, with a mob of boys at his heels. Sometimes the culprit was a drunken woman and then much excitement was manifested. That old Jail was a solemn and mysterious place to us children, with its sunken buildings on which you could look down from the sidewalk across a low yard, and the grated windows behind which waved imploring hands of signal to the street passengers. Burley Mr Badlam too, the corpulent jailer, in the little Office adjoining his stately stone mansion in front of the Jail Yard, was an object of mingled awe and admiration; while the terrible Gallows known to exist in the furthest corner of the yard next the wood wharf was a thing spoken of in whispers only. The old Almshouse also existed at the lower part of Leverett S^t about up to this period, when the little poor children used put their dirty hands through the fence for a cent from the passers by. Behind this building stretched a portion of waste land, wood wharves, &c, reaching down to Craigie's Bridge,[‡] where now stands the great Depot of the Lowell Railroad and all its busy surroundings. The poor banished Charles now scarcely allowed a narrow channel beneath its many bridges, then spread itself at high water quite up to the Northerly End of the present Depot, and presented a very pretty prospect with its constantly passing vessels and boats, its green opposite shores of Leechmere[§] Point and East Cambridge, with Charlestown on the NE, and the quiet grazing hills of what is now called Somerville, dotted with cows and sheep on the Northerly side of the horizon. It was very

1822 pleasant to walk over Craigie's bridge and see the Navy Yard and almost the harbor on one side and quite to Roxbury up the river on the other. And on warm summer evenings it was a favorite recreation with us to go down and sit on one of the side wharves of the bridge

* The population of Boston in 1820 was a bit over 40,000. Women of course could not vote. Isaac may not have liked the fact that Boston became a city, but his obituary in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* (above, IV, 6n) has told us that "When the city charter was granted, he was chosen a member of the first Common Council under Mayor Phillips, in 1822, and was reelected the following year."

† According to [http://www.cityofboston.gov/archivesandrecords/Guide to the Charles Street Jail records.xml](http://www.cityofboston.gov/archivesandrecords/Guide%20to%20the%20Charles%20Street%20Jail%20records.xml) : "The North Jail on Leverett Street (the Leverett Street Jail) was built in the 1820s and served as the lock-up for the City of Boston and Suffolk County. The Leverett Street Jail also served as the House of Correction for Suffolk County until 1833 when a new House of Correction was built in South Boston. As the City and County lock-up the Leverett Street Jail held inmates who were awaiting trial and also those who had been sentenced to the House of Correction and were waiting for transport there. The Leverett Street Jail continued in its roles as the city lock-up and the county lock-up until 1851 when it was finally replaced by a new jail on Charles Street known as the Charles Street Jail (aka: the Suffolk County Jail.) The Charles Street Jail continued to serve as the lock-up for both the City of Boston and Suffolk County until it was replaced in 1991 by the new Suffolk County Jail on Nashua Street. The Suffolk County Sheriff operated both the North Jail and Charles Street Jail."

‡ Also known as the Canal Bridge. The current bridge on this site is officially still known as the Craigie Bridge but is more generally known as the Charles River Dam Bridge, over which runs the Monsignor O'Brien Highway.

§ Also known and spelled as Lechmere or Lechmere's Point.

and refresh ourselves with the cool river or sea breeze. - The floating baths then, little frequented except at certain hours, were a special luxury, and at high water, gave us a very good taste of sea bathing. One would get little of pure salt water there now, and more of dust and railroad smoke than of sea or country air. Charlestown bridge was never very pleasant except for its nearer view of the harbor; but Cambridge bridge and the Mill Dam afforded agreeable and generally quiet & secluded [walks on which all the?]^{*} streets leading from Chambers S^t toward the Mass^{ts} Gen' Hospital[†] mostly macadamised and kept clean and quiet for the sake of the Patients. The whole, in fact, of West Boston, except for the purlieus of Nigger[‡] Hill or the westerly side of Beacon Hill, given up to Vice and Poverty, filth and degradation, – was a respectable, though not a fashionable part of the town. Several very nice houses had been built on Bowdoin Square by the Booths, Shaws, Parkmans, Coolidge's &c. Dr Shattuck had a good house and owned others on Cambridge S^t. The Boardman family owned a fine house in Hancock S^t, and some handsome blocks went up on Green, Staniford, Chambers, McLean, Allen Sts. &c, as at one time it promised to be the "Court End" of the town; until the Common being fenced with Iron, and the streets around it M^cAdamised, the sidewalks widened, and the Malls improved, the wealthier citizens were attracted to Beacon S^t and its vicinity, and West Boston rapidly declined in fashion and Aristocracy. At the time of our residence there, Green and Leverett Sts were becoming quite Plebeian, though far better than they now are, and my Fathers friends R D Tucker, Mr Joseph Tilden, William Foster and others used to complain of his fixing his residence in such a neighborhood. He in return jokingly assured them that he could, in case of need, extend to them the Hospitality of the "Debtor's limits;" a certain distance from the Jail allowed them to reside in, within which our house was situated; This actually occurred to some persons of quite high standing, who had failed in business

91 Uncle Joshua W. to St. Croix. Uncle J. P. Blanchard's wife violently deranged and hospitalized.

and whom my Father had known in their prosperity. Strangers visiting us were almost always taken to see the Jail and the Hospital,[§] two cheerful abodes quite familiar to me in childhood and youth. An Egyptian Mummy kept in the dissecting room of the Mass^{ts} Hospital was a favorite object of contemplation with me on these visits, while the strangers went around the rest of the building. But enough of digressions except to remark that Harrison Gray Otis and Josiah Quincy were the rival candidates for Boston's 1st Mayoralty, and that the latter was elected Ap 1823, after a long & close contest.^{**}

^{*} These words corrected, but not quite legibly. And if my reading is right, there's a problem with the syntax of this sentence.

[†] Founded 1811.

[‡] Already a word often used with an intention to be offensive in the early nineteenth century, but not always nor necessarily deployed with such intention. Margaret here uses the common Boston designation for the neighborhood. It is not a word she ever deploys on its own, as it were. But compare her brothers, below, IV, 118.

[§] Originally dedicated to serving the poor. The wealthy, as we have seen, were cared for at home, but it did not take long for the hospital to care for more prosperous patients. See below, IV, 102.

^{**} It was a bit more complicated than that. According to [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Josiah_Quincy_III - Wikipedia article on Josiah Quincy III](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Josiah_Quincy_III_-_Wikipedia_article_on_Josiah_Quincy_III) "On April 8, 1822 Quincy was a candidate for Mayor in Boston's first election under a city charter. After the first ballot the votes of this first election were split between Quincy and Harrison Gray Otis. Because neither had a majority of the electorate neither was elected. After the first vote

X
Aunt
Henrietta
came to live
at my
Father's
house soon
afterward.

In the spring of this year Uncle J P Blanchard became a book keeper at the Eagle[?] Bank and on Sept 18th he was married ^x to Mrs Hill at her Mother (Mrs Callahan's) house in Boston, going to board immediately with Miss Mary Cotton in Pearl S^t.

In September of this year Uncle Joshua Winslow whose health was fast failing took a little journey with Aunt Pickering to N Hampshire leaving his son Frank at our house. But as his consumptive cough was not relieved, he returned to my Father's, and finally sailed for S^t Croix Dec 5th where he passed the rest of his life – which by the influence of that climate was prolonged till June 1842, nearly 20 years, to the astonishment of his relatives who thought he would scarcely survive the voyage out. He resided most of this time in a town house of S^t Croix owned by Uncle Pickering and belonging to his estate, picking up a little business consigned to him by my Father and others from this country, and also, I suppose something from Aunt Pickering's estate on the island.

1823 In June of this year, Uncle Blanchard was obliged to place his wife in the M^cLean Asylum,^{*} she having become violently deranged. He continued to board at Miss Cotton's in Pearl S^t. In Nov died his Aunt Pollard, and my Father's "Aunt Minot" in December

My Mother's health now became very delicate, her cough having confined her for a long time in the house during the previous winter, and Aunt Henrietta became a great assistance to her. She occupied the upper S^t chamber of our house in Leverett S^t, and I shared it with her from this time till her marriage to my Father in 1831. It had two windows East looking over toward Charlestown, and two West with a view across the water to Cambridge port. –

92 Margaret's mother's health delicate. Margaret sharing her chamber with Aunt Henrietta.
Childhood impressions and recollections of the family house.

1823 The winds used to rattle these windows, and thrash the topmost branches of the willow trees against the front ones in stormy winter nights, so as to make me almost afraid to go up there in the third story all alone to bed; and then came the first sense of Divine Protection which lulled me soon to rest. The room was bitter cold too in winter, never having a fire in it, and furnaces were then unknown. It was also quite hot in summer, with a broad blaze of Western sunshine in the afternoons; but pleasant in the spring and fall, and on cool days in summer. I can see it now, with its ancient but well preserved Wilton[‡] carpet of green and

resulted in neither man receiving a majority of the votes they both withdrew their candidacies and John Phillips was elected Boston's first mayor. In 1823 Quincy was elected as the second mayor of Boston, he would serve 6 one year terms from 1823 to 1828."

^{*} Maclean Hospital, founded in 1811 (the same year as Mass General) simply as Asylum for the Insane in Somerville, and later renamed in honor of John Maclean, a principal donor. It moved in the late nineteenth century to Belmont. Like Mass General, it was originally dedicated to serving the poor and especially the homeless mentally ill, but like Mass General, it evidently soon began to care for patients from the upper classes. It has since seen many celebrated artists as patients, including Robert Lowell, a great-great-great-grandson of Margaret's grandfather Isaac Winslow (the suicide). Joshua Pollard Blanchard's wife Timmins (formerly Mrs. Hill) got better as we hear more of her below, V, 79.

[†] Probably abbreviation for *South*.

[‡] She probably means a carpet woven in Wilton, Wiltshire, England, known for its carpets since the middle of the eighteenth century, but she might also mean more broadly a carpet woven in the style of such a carpet, one woven on a particular sort of loom as developed in Wilton.

wood-colored tints, the figure almost obliterated in places by long wear, and the mahogany bureau whose lowest drawer held my whole juvenile wardrobe, which I was with great difficulty induced to keep in order;— the little satin wood work table whereon lay my delight, a large pictured Bible from which Aunt Henrietta sometimes drew deep spiritual converse for my thirsting ears; and the old “easy chair”, in which I curled myself up to con my weary weary Grammar lessons under her patient instruction. I see the four-post bedstead also, with its puffy eider down coverlet, and the little cricket* beside it, where I used to sit, and suffer a pet mouse to run over my unshodden and unhosen† feet in the frosty winter mornings, when I “never would get dressed” to practice my music lesson before breakfast. What ineradicable impressions are those of childhood! And how perfectly daguerreotyped are all its scenes upon the memory! I see now as if before me, the dear old home of our youth as it was at about this period, with its green banks, and drooping willows, and flower borders in front, the damask roses which I always carried to “meeting,” and the old fashioned white ones, salmon-tinged as they opened, from the tall bush which I was allowed to call my own;— I see the thin Walnut (a real English Walnut) tree which stretched itself up to catch the sunshine above our kitchen end, and the Butternut, whose fruit, always eaten green by us children, too impatient to wait for its ripening, was disputed‡ by hordes of golden beetles; — I see the forbidden§ Quince tree, overhanging our neighbor Marston’s wall; and how familiar is the paved “back yard” with “Dobbin’s” stable on the one hand, and the “Woodhouse” on the other, where black “Shem[?]” is polishing his boots, and “Bose” lies stretched in the sunshine: It streams in at the broad open door where the great loads of wood are landed

93 Recollections of the Leverett St. house continued. Intimations of Margaret’s mother’s mortality. A letter from George Winslow to his cousin John Pickering.

1823 for the wide mouthed hungry kitchen fireplace, and the brick oven large enough to be a hiding nook for at least two boys at a time, filled at Thanksgiving season with whole dozens of pies, apple, cranberry and Pumpkin. How present is the old “back parlor” where the said “boys” carried on their mimic battles with small brass cannon emitting a horrible smell of gunpowder, their puppet theatres, their bullet-running in wooden moulds,** and candy making to the confusion of all and every species of kitchen utensil which could be seized or purloined from the frantic cook, and the unspeakable confusion, stickiness, and litter of said back parlor and its adjacent premise. How pleasant to retreat from that Pandemonium to the dear snug homish “Mother room” with its blooming flowers in the overarched old “window seats”, its sunshine and wood fire, or its evening lullaby in Mother’s lap, hearing the sweet simple old traditional ballads sung by her sweet voice, in the twilight blaze, before which swayed the rocking chair in measured time to the tune and words. —Yet not for worlds would I live over those dear hours;— for if we may be “found worthy” how much better are those beyond!! Dear dear Mother! I used even then to hear the quick throbbing of the heart on which I leaned my head, and watched with undefined terror the blue veins on the sunken

* Webster’s 3rd Unabridged: a low wooden footstool.

† Not hosed, without socks or stockings.

‡ OED: To contend or compete for the possession of; to contest a prize, victory, etc.

§ Perhaps forbidden if it was actually in their neighbor’s yard and its branches overhung the Winslows’ estate.

** Possibly running or racing bullets down wooden chutes?

temples, the hollow eye, the lovely but varying hectic* of her fair cheek. Now it is long since over, all the sorrow!—all the joy is as I humbly hope, to come, without alloy or fear.

And amid these reminiscences of childhood, may be fitly introduced a boyish letter from my brother George to his cousin “Mr John Pickering Dorchester – Boston March 31st 1824.[†]

“[‡]Dear Cousin,— I hope you are well. We are all well here except my eye which happened to get hit with an arrow from Ben’s bow gun. I have been obliged to keep from school two days. This is the reason I did not come out Fast day. Remember our gun after election. I have got a new way of making fireworks. I take some power[§] et steel filings, salt petre et charcoal et brimstone, and pound them up together fine, and wet them with a little vinegar, put it into a case and touch it off, and it will go superb. I remain your most affectionate cousin^{**}

George Winslow.[”]

These playmates now lie near each other at Forest Hills —(1868)^{††}

1823

Mrs Tom Winslow’s family.

Mention has, I believe, been made in an earlier part of this Memoir – certainly in that written by my Father, of a Mrs Thomas Winslow, half sister in law to Mrs Chase, Cousin Betsey, Charles Winslow’s father Sam W, and also to the father of Mrs Bradford.^{‡‡} After the death of her husband, this widow, as I think I have mentioned, struggled hard in N York^{§§} to bring up a numerous family of sons, and my Father felt much for her situation. – She professed to be extremely religious,

* Consumptive (tubercular) fever.

† When George was 11.

‡ Margaret begins each line with an opening quotation mark throughout the letter.

§ Most probably a mistake for *powder*.

** The two syllables of “cousin” are separated by what appears to be a drawing of a firecracker exploding:



†† The Roxbury or Jamaica Plain cemetery where Isaac and many others of the family are buried. George died in 1865.

‡‡ Above, II, 214 and IV, 65. See also above, I, 25n.

§§ Isaac (the great-uncle of Margaret’s’ father), it may be recalled, had died in New York in 1777, and while his children by his first wife (including the future Mrs. Chase and cousin Betsey) remained there and came under the care of Margaret’s grandfather Isaac, his second wife, Jemima, and her infant sons (including Thomas) fled to England, where they remained. Thomas grew up, became a British army officer and in Bermuda married Mary Forbes of that place. As is detailed in D. Kenelm Winslow, *Mayflower Heritage* (London: George G. Harrap, 1957), after leaving the army, Tom’s health and luck ran out, and the family, now with eleven living children, fell on very hard times. Mary decided they would do better in America, which is why she wound up in New York, with the expectation that her husband would later join them. But he died in England in 1815, effectively stranding Mary in New York with her numerous brood and no money. As Kenelm Winslow tells it, “She had the youngsters out on the streets of New York selling matches and newspapers as soon as they were old enough for such tasks.” (155)

and a most exalted Memoir has been published of her by one of her sons in England,^{*} which is the reason I insert this letter; for at this very time she sent on her younger son George to Boston, with the view, as was supposed, of making a match between him and Elizabeth Chase, then just coming out as a beauty and an heiress, the latter no objection in the eyes of Mrs Tom Winslow, where religious principles did not prevent the advancement of her son in worldly prospects at every opportunity. Perhaps she persuaded herself that this was a religious duty, as so many persons do in every sect, who are striving at once to serve God & Mammon.[†] Her son Robert was the only one who ultimately remained in this county; – the rest, by the influence of Lord Lyndhurst,[‡] with whom she secured a secretaryship for her son Edward, all became well settled in England; – three of them clergymen, and one a physician of considerable eminence;[§] some are Authors of works well received in England; but only two of them, Octavius a Baptist clergyman, and I think Edward, refused to share the Erving^{**} property to which they were not entitled by the will of that relative, who disliked Mrs Winslow and the whole family.

Letter
from
Mrs
TW.

Letter of Mrs Tom Winslow to my Father,

N York Dec 29th 1823.

“††My dear Sir,

I received your kind letter in answer to Robert’s for which accept my grateful acknowledgements and for all its interesting contents. I have been sick from time to time, which together with much upon my mind and hands

has prevented me from writing you before. But I often think of your kindness to me and mine with feelings I cannot express. I rejoice at the prosperity of your family, and can enter

^{*} *Life in Jesus: a Memoir of Mrs. Mary Winslow, Arranged from her Correspondence, Diary, and Thoughts. Arranged by her Son Octavius Winslow, D.D.* (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1862).

[†] Margaret, as we shall see, has numerous axes to grind, but comparing her account with that in *Mayflower Heritage*, it is evident that both branches of the family regarded Mary as a woman at once highly admirable and highly difficult. Kenelm Winslow writes of her at this period that “family tradition has it—perhaps somewhat unkindly—that American Winslows of that day were rather careful to steer clear of the forceful Mary, who would not hesitate to make demands on their good nature for the benefit of her brood” (157). It is difficult to know exactly what position he is taking here, though he certainly is striving to be balanced.

[‡] The son of John Singleton Copley, born in Boston, the grandson of Richard Clarke (above, I, 34, 138 *et. seq.*), the great-grandson of Edward the Sheriff and therefore a descendant of Anne Hutchinson. According to *Mayflower Heritage*, he and his cousin Tom Winslow attended school together (141). The Dickens scholar cannot help but note the delicious irony that this High Tory and future Lord Chancellor (whom Dickens had witnessed on the bench and was, if not *the* man he had in mind when imagining the Chancellor in his novel *Bleak House*, certainly prominent among his models) was a descendant of a famously rebellious woman who has been called an “American Jezebel” and proto-feminist. In his biography of Lyndhurst, John (Lord) Campbell notes that he has heard Lyndhurst “express himself in terms of affection for his native land, and speak proudly of distinguished Americans as his countrymen. In early life, when there seemed so little prospect of his burning ambition ever being gratified, he must have regretted that he had lost the chance of becoming President of the United States.” *Lives of Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Brougham* (London: John Murray, 1869), 7n.

[§] The “alienist” Forbes Benignus Winslow (1810–1874), and above, I, 25n.

^{**} Above, II, 133 and IV, 44. George Erving had died in 1850, so these disputes about his estate did not occur for more than twenty-five years after the period now under discussion.

^{††} Again, all lines of this letter as transcribed by Margaret begin with opening quotation marks.

into all your feelings at your heavy loss in the death of your son. But what an unspeakable mercy to know when we part with our dear relatives who die in the Lord, that it is but a little season and we shall meet with them again in far happier circumstances to part no more. This from what you write has been your case and O! God in mercy grant it may be the happy case of us all! A few years more, and we shall all pass on to a blessed Eternity. More than half our journey is over and we are called to hold fast our confidence till the end in the glorious expectation of a never fading crown of glory. I often stand astonished at myself that with such a hope and such a prospect before me I can ever permit the cares, trials, and prospects of this world to distress me on the one hand, or allure me for a moment on the other. But alas! I am still in the body, and I am not able at all times ^xto have such a clear view of the things that are not seen, and that are eternal, though it is my constant aim and ardent desire.

X "If thine
eye be
single thy
whole body
shall be full
of light."

* "My eldest son is settled for the present at the Isle of Man, where I hope he is preaching the Gospel with some little success. He has three children and has been to his dear Father's family a second Joseph.[†] His income at present was not much over two hundred a year. He has educated and is still at considerable expense for his two brothers one for physic^[?] (this was Dr Forbes Winslow author of some noted medical works) [^{["}the other for the law^{"]}] (Robert I presume, of N York but perhaps one of the brothers) [^{["}and is affording us here all the assistance he can. He gets nothing for preaching the Gospel, as it is among the poor that the Lord has cast his lot. He is an excellent young man and justly beloved by his family and all that know him.——

My son Isaac has married in Bermuda a pious young lady to whom he was tenderly attached; but

they are both without money. He is now with us, looking out for a situation, and will be glad to accept of one in a Compting house until he can get goods from England on commission". (I dare say this hint made my Father want to add his name to that of the many young men whom he received into his Compting room merely to give them something to do, or to give them a lift in the world.) "—The Lord has done great things for his soul, and given him more durable riches; so he sees it his duty more than ever to be diligent in business.

My son Edward who was in college here is now studying the law under Mr Hephens[?] of London who is a connection of mine and one of the first lawyers there. Edward is very clever industrious and ambitious and, I dare say, with God's blessing will make his way through the world." He was afterward private secretary to Lord Lyndhurst.

"George has taken his degree in Glasgow as Surgeon and arrived in this country about three months ago. He is nineteen and a dear good obedient child, and I am in hopes will in time get on in his profession. He is clever and studious and does not lack exertion; He is wishing to pay you all a visit in Boston, and has been once or twice on the eve of starting; but when we came to count the cost, we found our finances rather too low, and the thing has been put by for the present;" (Of course my Father after this, asked him to his house, probably sending the wherewith[‡] and he came). He does not like to give it up, and perhaps during the Holydays he may come if it should not be inconvenient to you, my dear,

* Matthew 6: 22.

† Genesis 45: 1-20 is probably referred to.

‡ Both *Webster's 3rd Unabridged* and *OED* attest to this as a later variant of *wherewithal*.

Friend, as you were so kind as to mention your house as a home for any of us who came that way. If it is at this time inconvenient to you, do not scruple to say so, as perhaps some future period would do as well. George is giving lectures in Chemistry and Animal Economy which gives him a little employment until he can get into practice.” (George, I believe, was rated in the family as an undesirable, especially by his sparkling cousin Elizabeth Chase and her many admirers,)

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“Henry with whom I have had more trouble than with all the rest, is at present with a copperplate printer: He is seventeen and, poor fellow, has not half the understanding of a boy of ten. – Robert is going on very well with Mr Phelps: He is very smart and clever, and I hope will do well. He is rather too much like a Sailor in his disposition generous and a little too careless, but as he grows older, I am in hopes will get over these difficulties. He does not forget your kindness, and I believe never will.” Yet Robert was the one who made the greatest objection to compromising the difficulty about Mr Erving’s property, and insisted, as did none of the others upon a full legal share about \$10,000* which he actually received in spite of the will and of Mr Erving’s especial aversion to him. He bore in N York the character of a sharp tricky lawyer, very different from that ascribed to him by his Mother. “Octavius is with a Dr at present and bids fair to be a fine young man. He is very much like his dear Father”. Octavius afterward became a Baptist clergyman, and is one of the best in the family. “Forbes is at home but I am looking for out for a situation for him.” Now a celebrated Physician and Medical writer in England. “Emma my only girl is eleven and at school.” She, I believe, is a fine woman but has always been an invalid.

“I have given you an account of all my family and I am afraid may have tried your patience. If George should pay you a visit he will tell you more minutely of our situation, and if you could spare the time to drop a line I should be glad to hear from you. With love to Mrs Winslow and all the family, believe me

affly yours – M W.”

Mrs Winslow commenced her widowed life by keeping a little tobacco shop in an obscure street of N York living at the back of her store in very humble rooms, and thus maintained this large family. A woman of wonderful pluck and energy she was indeed, to raise herself and them to such high consideration in England! She and her sons were very polite and attentive to my brother George when he first visited England in 18[†] – but after the Erving difficulty, the families held no further intercourse, as my Father and brothers thought it not honorable in the parties excluded under the will, to claim through a legal quibble, or oversight of the Testator.

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A home journal commenced

* Worth from fifteen to eighteen thousand of Margaret’s dollars (in 1868) and about a quarter of a million in today’s dollars—so a sum well worth becoming upset over.

† A blank here evidently meant to be filled in later. Mary Winslow made her last transatlantic crossing, from New York to England, in 1834 (*Mayflower Heritage*, 157), when George would have been about twenty-two, and it seems likely that his trip would have been made at about this time.

1823 In this year a Home Journal was commenced partly in my Mother's writing sometimes in that of the children, but mostly kept by my Father. I shall make extracts from time to time to shew the general goings on of the family.

January seems to have been very mild. Father for a wonder went to the theatre and took Ben to see Matthews the celebrated Comedian.* My Father did not much approve of plays especially tragedies; but he now and then would go "to have a laugh" as he said when a good Comedy was performed, and thought it better to take his boys with him than to let them go alone or with less judicious companions. On the 29th little M[†] had a birth day party – perhaps 4 or 5 little girls coming at 3 P M and departing at 7 or 8 – such were the only children's parties then allowed; dolls and games the amusement, with perhaps some oranges or a few sugar plums for the afternoon treat, shared nominally with the dolls;- and a simple tea of bread and butter, plain home made cake, and perhaps a little Quince or Apple sauce. Do the little old belles of modern balls with their frippery dresses, premature flirtations, late hours and unwholesome variety of "refreshments," enjoy themselves half as well?

Jan 30th "Bought a small silver cup for Mrs Hudgens' child"–. This was Augustus lately born in N Orleans.

31st "Snow storm, 6 inches high"- Child's hand.

Feb 1st Very cold, good sleighing

3rd Smart snow storm. Letter from Josh Winslow in S^t Croix, rather better.

4th, 5th, 6th., & 7th very cold, Harbor frozen to Long Island. Mrs Pickering in town from Dorchester.

8th more moderate - Mr Theodore Barrel[‡] (afterward Isaac's father in law, how little he then dreamed of it!) ["and Mr Sheafe[§] of Portsmouth dined here, **9th** Major Stark of Dunbarton."] On the 12th ["snow fell 4 to 5 inches deep,"] and on the 13th my Father writes "Went out in the sleigh" (probably drawn by old "Dobbin") ["with Elizth Chase and daughter Margaret to Brighton; called on old Mr King and, on the return, on Mrs Bradford."] On the 14th ["a still more severe snow storm from S E, 6 to 7 inches on a level, Gale, evening"] On the 19th ["dined & tea'd** the two rival family belles Eliza Houston and Elizth Chase, Isaac treated with sugar plums on occasion of his 21st birthday, postponed from the previous day."] On the 21st is mentioned the death of Mrs Henderson Inches as news of the day. Sam Waldo was the visitor of the previous evening Uncle Ben and a Mr MacKay his correspondent from Scotland: for not only all my Father's stranger

* Charles Mathews (1776-1835), the celebrated English comedian who went on a tour of America in 1822. The young Charles Dickens saw and admired Mathews, did impersonations of him when a child, and recalled his manner when developing his own technique as an actor.

† Margaret, the writer. Her actual birthday (her seventh) had been two days previous, a Monday in 1823.

‡ I continue my practice of inserting quotation marks in brackets to clarify what is actual quotation and what is Margaret's editorial insertion, but this is much less certain in this journal than in the case of letters.

§ Perhaps James Sheafe (1755-1829), who had been both a U. S. Representative and Senator from New Hampshire. He was a lifelong resident of Portsmouth.

** An early instance of the colloquial use of *tea* as a verb.

acquaintances were received at his house, but those of all his relations; friends, and friends' friends, and even acquaintance of the friends' friends. On the 22nd Mother says "Mr Houston's family and ours went on a sleighing frolic to Mrs Pickering's in Dorchester and Mr Daniel Greenleaf's at Quincy.[?]" I think I remember hearing that poor Aunt P had to go out in her kitchen with the hired coachman and make the mulled wine expected on such occasions – The woman who lived with her, old "Maam Miller" being absent as it happened. These little surprises of a living inundation bursting into a quiet country household, snuggled into one winter room, before perhaps an economical fire burning low with the intention of early retirement, "as nobody could drop in, on such a night, through deep snow, &c", were better borne by our hospitable forbears than they would now be; although, instead of the handy register, a fire had to be kindled - and coaxed to burn in the very chilly spare or best parlor, and extempore refreshments got up smoking hot, servants or no servants. True, the materials were usually brought along with the party, and every body was good natured, and the fire was bright after a while, and no one expected to be very warm or cared what they eat off of, if they only got something, and enjoyed themselves, which they always did.

Another severe snow storm occurred with a gale from the NE on the 24th and 25th of February, followed by severe cold *thirty** below 0 so that the winter of 22-23 might be called an "old fashioned[?]" one if weather ever has any fashions. On the 25th "Uncle Ben and Mr Mackay again dined here" Mother says, "on Venison," having also been with Mr Stark on evening of the 23rd. Meanwhile frequent mention is made of small sums paid to Mr Stubbins the cobbler in the old black house next to us, for mending sundry little shoes. Inserted midway in the February record in a clear boyish hand is "an Evening Ode" in verse composed by B–, written by Geo Winslow 1823. "Hymn for Thanksgiving" by the same. "A miscellaneous Hymn" by BPW and a portion of the Poem on Death of Gen Wolfe[?][†] with a very small but remarkable pen sketch of that hero. Also in an older hand probably Tom's or Edward's a poem called "voyage of Life" Nov 18th 1822.

Journal

Feb 27th
1823

["Isaac went out with Mr Waldo to see Cousin Betsey at Dedham and George had a fall from which he had much recovered the next day[?]" – These accidents were of frequent occurrence. On March 1st ["Uncle Davis dined at the house, Mrs McKeige and daughter drank tea there.[?]" Mrs McKeige was our French Instructress – I think she has been mentioned[‡] as a Nova Scotia lady for whom my Father interested himself very much as a widow with a family to maintain by her own exertions. Eliza had been with her at Jamaica Plains, but she afterward kept a French boarding and day school in Beacon S^t Boston, where the Athenaeum now stands.[§] She was not unlike Mrs Tom Winslow, quite religious, but keeping an energetic look out for her children's temporals as well as spirituals .

["March 4th Still very cold – Went to see Mrs Chase.[?]" (Mother's hand)

* No doubt *thirty* was intended.

† Probably General James Wolfe (1727–1759), whose death at the Battle of Quebec was well known and the subject of a famous 1771 painting by Benjamin West.

‡ Indeed, twice: above, II, 67 and 77.

§ 10 Beacon St.

[“ ”* 5th [“]Very warm, a great thaw. Took the last of the sleighing to see Cousin Betsey at Dedham—. Found Isaac sick when we got home. Eliza H and Elizth C at our house, “former staid all night.

6th “Wind S and violent rain. 7th clear & cool – Eliza Houston went home to their new house in Bedford S^t, a very handsome one for these times.

8th “A Mr Frazer,[”] probably the Duxbury Shipbuilder, [“]dined at the house – fine weather for some days.

Father’s hand 9th “Two Liverpool Ships arrived bringing news of the Embassadors of the allied Powers being about to leave Madrid.

10th “News of expected war between France & Spain.[”]

12th In Mother’s hand – April weather – “walked out to see Aunts Minot and Pollard.—” Both aged relatives of the family.

On the 14th [“]winter set in again– three inches of snow . –a Mr & Mrs Ford from Halifax and Uncle Ben dined at the house –, and Miss Thomas took tea there. Evening of the 16th Mrs Newell and John Stark came in for a call. In the Stark family there were unhappy divisions but both parties liked my Father & Mother as was the case in several other similar instances.

20th Another severe snow storm fall of 6 to 8 inches.[”]

In Mother’s hand “Henrietta Blanchard, Charlotte, Thomas, Eliza Houston the children and myself took a sleigh ride in all the Storm to see Mrs Pickering at Dorchester”. A good load for old Dobbin. [“]H B and EH staid there all night,” and it seems some days, for on the 25th Mother says “Eliza Pickering H B and EH walked in from Dorchester.

Journal

1823 “We went to see Harding’s Pictures.” Chester Harding who painted a Portrait of my Father.[†] He raised himself by his talent from an obscure origin to quite an eminence among Portrait painters –

26th [“]Smart NE snow storm 5 or 6 inches, too damp for sleighing.

27th A Capt Patterson called – “I went,[”] Mother says, “to see Mrs Chase.”

28th “Betsey Lecain[‡] here” – She was tailoress for the boys at that time afterward kept a fashionable first class boarding house, and her sister was the wife of Samuel Appleton living in one of the most splendid Beacon S^t houses. Betsey knew every thing and every body in Boston. I suppose it was she who mentioned what is recorded in connection with her name in Mother’s hand “A great revival in Religion among the Calvinists of Old and Park S^t churches.[”] Betsey did not think much of revivals – she believed in common sense, and used to say that Fools had no business to marry, there were too many fools in the world already. She was a character and an oddity.

On the 30th occurred “the most violent NE Snow Storm this year” my Father says,—“or perhaps of any other” from y[§] PM to to PM of the 31st, “snow much drifted on the North

* The ditto symbol.

† Chester Harding (1792-1866). The portrait is now at the Massachusetts Historical Society: Portraits Rm. 401.

‡ Most likely *Le Cain*.

§ Probably a shortened form of y⁶ and archaic abbreviation for *the*. According to *OED*, “In manuscript (e.g. in letter-writing) y^e lasted well into the 19th century.” So the meaning hear is probably *from the p.m. of the 30th to the p.m. of the 31st*.

side of State S^t & Court S^t 5 to 6 feet, probably on an average 3 feet. The Southern mail with a light sleigh and several men could get no further than Brighton and returned, as did all the mails; a circumstance not known here before for many years. Two or three vessels parted their fastenings .” “This is the 3rd snow storm in March” My Mother says “Capt Patterson and Miss Thomas spent the evening here and went home in all the storm.[”]

April came in very mildly with a thaw – calls are mentioned on the neighbors. A Miss Bartlett of Cambridge called, sister of my Mother’s old friend Mrs Bartlett, formerly Becky Deblois., – of Marblehead, My brother Ben afterward boarded with the Miss Bartlett’s when at College.

3rd [“]Fast day was quite warm. Eliza Houston called. Her sister’s picture just arrived from England.[”]* –this was Mrs M^cGregor, Mr Houston’s daughter by his first marriage. She had been adopted by an English lady Mrs Balfour[†] while yet a child.

6th Sunday They all go over to hear Mr Balfour at Charlestown. John Stark calls in the afternoon My Father goes to see one Henry Blanchard

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1823

Journal

My Mother’s cousin sick at the Hospital. “My son Ben went to see Aunt Minot and Aunt Pollard; brought from the latter a Brocade waistcoat worn by Grandfather Pollard on his presentation to the Pope[‡] during his travels in Italy.[”] He was one of the first Americans who made the tour of Europe.[§]

Ap 7th Voting for Governor in the new Court House Leverett S^t

Mr Otis and Dr Eustis candidates.**

On the 9th Mrs Pickering, Mrs Josh Blanchard, John Winslow Sen^{††} and Eliza Pickering called – The latter and her brother Ben dined at the house. Mr Houston tea’d. Eustis elected Governor. On April 10th occurred the 34th snow of the winter. – The death of a certain Mary Blanchard took place this year. She was a cousin of my Mother’s and had been an inmate of Grandmother Blanchard’s family. She died of Jaundice and I shall never forget the yellow appearance of her face in the coffin. Mother took me to the funeral the first one I ever attended.

April 16th Mother has a neighbor’s tea drinking; “Mrs Hall and daughter” (Octavia Hall was Ben’s early love over the fence) “Mrs Doane[?] and sister Mrs Coffin and cousin Mrs Thatcher^{‡‡} and sister Mrs Newell, Miss Thomas and Elizabeth Chase.” How well I remember the coming on on these occasions of the best gilt edged china tea cups, the shining tea pot, and gilt lined cream & sugar pots, the thin bread & butter, the delicate tea

* Probably meaning Mrs. McGregor was the very picture of her sister Eliza.

† Probably Margaret has mistaken the name, which is inserted here via caret, since in the very next line is reported a trip to hear Mr. Balfour preach at Charlestown, a man we have met before (above, IV, 42). He was a Scot living in the U.S. Perhaps the name Margaret meant to insert resembled *Balfour*.

‡ Above, III, 109.

§ My surmise is that this last sentence is Margaret’s editorial insertion, but there is no way to know this for sure.

** Dr. William Eustis and Harrison Gray Otis.

†† No doubt *Sr.* and it is Margaret’s uncle John Winslow who is referred to.

‡‡ Possibly a misspelling of *Thacher*, as that appears to be the more usually spelling of the family in Maine. (Below, IV, 164).

cakes all “handed round” as was the custom, to test the skill, I believe, of ladies in using two hands for the business of four, without spilling anything.

On the 18th some strangers called- A Mr Mrs & Miss [More? Nou? Rose?] from Trieste, and two Misses Peters from S^t John N Brunswick friends of the Houstons.

Mother’s hand – 19th [“]Took a long walk with little Margaret and bought her a hat[”] – this was an “open work straw” lined and trimmed with straw colored ribbon, rather smart for a child who from dread of the taste for dress which had much injured one of my Aunts in her youth, was usually dressed plainly even to shabbiness. I remember well the satisfaction with which I first put on this hat to visit “Waddy” who then lived at a short distance from us “keeping room” for herself.– A new cook arrived cousin to “Nabby Tower” another of our old domestics.

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1823

Journal

April 21st My Father having disposed of old Dobbin to draw a hearse as the easiest work for his old age and infirmities, began the alteration of our brick two story barn on Chambers S^t into a shop and dwelling house – an operation which afforded great entertainment to us children – Ben, George and John Pickering (Aunt P had then moved into town) afterward set up shop there with a few old watches and things – This was either before it was leased, or in the interval of some vacancy among the tenants. Men also at work mending banks in front, digging gardens and putting up new fence. There was always something doing on the old Leverett S^t place, and a great bill of expense it was.

April 25th Mother says – “Large party to dine” – I suppose strangers & others. “my birth day, but, I forgot it.” She was then 34 still young in appearance if she had dressed as people do now at that age, but thin and worn when closely observed not by time, but by ill health and her sore bereavement. Yet was she outwardly cheerful, bright and animated to all the wide circle of which her house was the centre. “I did love your Mother” said one of the visitors long afterward. “She always made her house so pleasant to every body.”

Mother’s hand– 26th Went to see Miss Thomas who had met with a fall, and to see Miss Chase who was quite unwell. On Sunday to Mr Balfour’s meeting at Charlestown Mr B at my Father’s the next evening.

27th “We went up to Mr Houston’s to tea. Splendid time! Mrs Newell Mrs Chapman and daughters, Misses Phillips and Simpsons, Miss Thomas, Henrietta and myself, Mr W, Ben W, and our Edward, with the Gentlemen belonging to the other ladies.” – I do not think that Aunt Henrietta enjoyed these tea drinkings much. She – was not of so buoyant a disposition as my Mother; but Mrs Houston could make her house very pleasant when she chose. She had a good deal of the English Hospitality and heartiness of manner and herself enjoyed making a display of her best plate and china, her good cheer, of which she partook as heartily as anybody and the general style and comfort of her well furnished house–. It had a furnace (then quite novel in Boston) and seemed to my eyes very grand with its Brussels carpets, Mirrors, Hangings, and stuffed sofas and Easy chairs, all very different from our plain doings at home.

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Visits. Billy Pitts.

May came in as usual in our climate then and now, chilly and disagreeable with a N E wind. “Henrietta and I walked to the Milliners to get my leghorn fixed–” How well I remember those big substantial leghorn bonnets, thought so much of in that day, and pressed over by

the Milliners year after year with perhaps a fresh Ribbon trimming; for few people thought of buying a new bonnet more than once In two or three years – some kept them five or six. “Called to see Mr & Mrs Ford in Pitts’ Lane”; afterward Pitts Street. I think Mr Ford was a Scotch minister, a sort of assistant to Mr Balfour but it is an indistinct remembrance. They were a kind of comeouters from the Scotch Kirk.

3rd Fine clear day – “Took a walk with H B walked to Dorchester,— I took little Mag and went to see Aunt Minot. Mr W had a vessel in from Africa – Capt, Mate, and many of the people on board died of fever. I feel rather anxious for our own folks.” No wonder, for it was supposed that brother Henry took the yellow fever from a vessel on board of which were some decayed hides or something of that sort confined in the hold.

Sun 4th. Warm – “Had one of my dizzy turns and did not go to meeting. John Stark here in the evening, said there had been a great disturbance at Cambridge– Almost the whole of the Senior Class expelled Two of them are quartered on us for a short time. Robert Burton and Caleb Stark.” This young Burton afterward at Mr Sam Sparhawk’s house Concord NH.

5th cold “H B returned from Dorchester. Mrs Pitts came to see me.” This was one of the odd relations of the family, sister of a certain Billy Pitts not very wise, who being one day accosted rather uncivilly by an acquaintance with the remark “What a pity, Billy, for your Father to have had only one son and he a fool promptly lisped forth, “What a pity for your Father to have had thix thons and they all fools.” This was one of the family stories.

6th quite cold, hard frost, ice an inch thick. Mr Harding the Painter called to take leave of us and of his picture of Mr Winslow, he is going to England for improvement (in his art) Capt George Humphreys called – “A very fine young man son of Daniel Humphreys of Portsmouth Uncle Davis and Ben Winslow here in the evening. H Blanchard gone as Bridesmaid to Miss Cotton married to George Hunt.

1823
May

7th H B returned from the wedding with some cake. Mrs Houston called pleased with our garden. Eliza Pickering in from Dorchester went with me to see Mrs Ben Willis and Mrs Chase.[?]]

After this, there is nothing special except visits of those before mentioned till the 16th when two strangers dined at the house. “In the evening two gentlemen here to get Mr Winslow to stand for Representative”^{*} I remember the children talking over this matter, and wondering whether Father would have “Honorable” affixed to his name, and whether we should be “honorable” also. But Father would not stand and so our “honorable” eggs never hatched.

17th A stranger lady called upon – Two Sea Captains to dine Uncle – Davis Major Stark & son John in the evening, also Uncle Ben Winslow.

19th The stranger lady a Mrs Glidding and Eliza Houston to tea.

20th & 21st H B & self made calls on Welsh Lakeman Tucker, the Bride, Mrs Hunt, Mrs Charles Winslow, Simpson, Houston Callahan’s — Mrs Dr Spoonce[?] called in the afternoon.

On Friday 23rd the same Mrs Glidding, and Mr Barrell dine at the house. A party in the even’g Simpsons, McKeiges, Priors, Mrs Hunt, E Houston & E Chase.”

^{*} The *Boston Daily Advertiser* obituary quoted above (IV, 6n) says Isaac was “repeatedly solicited to become a candidate for the offices of Mayor and of Representative to Congress,” so it is likely that it is Federal office that is in question here.

This was probably the beginning of those Friday evening “sociables” which, to this day, are remembered with so much pleasure by those who shared them. The Friday dinner parties for strangers had become very burdensome to my Mother, whose health was now extremely delicate, and it was settled that strangers would be better entertained by meeting the lady acquaintances of the family and the relations who chose to come, in an informal way, to have music or games, to chat or dance as they inclined, with some light refreshment of cake, fruit and lemonade. Accordingly on Friday evenings my Mother and Aunt Henrietta were home, and sometimes many, sometimes few came to the sociables without form or ceremony, and always enjoyed themselves in an easy unrestrained way, any strangers who had letters to my Father being asked at the same time. Sometimes they dined and staid in the evening too. This arrangement did not however prevent the occasional dinner parties given to special strangers nor the constant “dropping in” at all times and seasons at that hospitable old house of kith, kin & acquaintance.

1823
May

The 28th was Election day – This was a great day for the children of those times. So important was the election of Governor, or rather his taking his seat upon the Common, that a vacation of two weeks was given in all the schools, called Election vacation, and the day itself was celebrated by the erection of a tent containing a table in imitation of those upon the common, where the boys concocted eggpop* and displayed buns, candy &c.–. Then there was popping off of fire crackers through the day, and of rockets in the evening, for all which expenditures, the two cents per week paid them for house jobs, and any other small monies presented by the relatives, were saved up during many months. Then there was Artillery Election or “Nigger Llection”† on which the poor colored people of Boston paraded in honor of their Emancipation, but they were accompanied by a mob of boys always who were shamefully allowed to hoot at and insult them, as is now done in the Southern states where the populace is not overawed by the Military.— My brother Isaac was a member of the Cadets the Governor’s Guard and the most aristocratic Company in Boston‡ – He “turned out” with them on this occasion, and I well remember my admiration at the white and red Uniform, and the tall Cap laced and Plumed like a French Lancer’s. – The Uniform was showy, but wholly unfit for service, or even for civil duty, as the white Kersimere§ pants striped with scarlet got terribly bespattered and bemired on every rainy or muddy day, the white gloves could be worn but once or twice, before being ruined, the white coats faced with scarlet and trimmed with gilt buttons were hard to keep from dust and [g???],** and the tall caps, heavy and ungainly often shewed tarnished gold lace and rumpled feathers, if not very carefully guarded; – On the Governor’s Election of this year, it seems that our boys went out to Dorchester and had their celebration

* Possibly a soda pop made with eggs. (The well known New York *egg cream* developed in the late nineteenth century contains no eggs (nor cream, for that matter), but this poor person’s drink may have derived its name from the fact that there were costlier sodas containing eggs.

† See above, IV, 90n.

‡ The First Corps of Cadets, founded 1741.

§ Misspelling of “kerseymere,” a fine woolen fabric with a close nap made in fancy twill weaves.

** If the intended word is *grime*, Margaret has left off the final *e*.

I suppose with the Pickerings. On Artillery Election the latter returned the compliments, for Mother writes, “The Houston girls, Elizth Chase, and Miss Thomas here. Boys in plenty.” On the 3rd of June occurred the funeral of Jonⁿ Phillips* first Mayor of Boston. Eliza Pickering, Mr Jarvis and old Mr Harris dined at the house, and a Mr Austin called in the even’g.
4th Mrs Houston dangerously ill. HB and Miss Thomas called to see her.

1823
June
5th

“H B at Widow’s Society—[”] (Aunt Henrietta belonged to this society for many years)[†] [“]Capt Patterson called to take leave of us. I went to see Mrs Chase. Cousin Betsey Winslow in town and dined here. Betsey Lecain working here. Misses Humphreys in town went to see them at Mrs Newell’s Charlestown. 6th they dined at our house with a Mr Colman, a Major Briant[‡] and John Winslow[”] (Uncle John”) On the 6th of this month Mother records that there was no meeting of the Sandemanians – consequently it seems we had attended there in the mornings up to this time; and Mr Balfour’s in the afternoon. “Sandemanians broke up” she says – “All the church dead or gone except two[”] (of the elders she meant) [“]Mrs Harris and Mr Butler who are too old and infirm to go out. Mr Balfour has also given up preaching, turned Universalist, and so turned us all off.[§] Young Mr Colman from the West Indies called. Mr Winslow went with him to see the Prisons.”

The foregoing is a sufficient specimen of the daily household life. Henceforth I shall extract only the unusual occurrences recorded in the Diary.

July 22nd There was a total eclipse of the moon. “Total about 10 PM and continued so, “my Father says,” till ¼ past 12. The disc of the moon was very distinct during the total eclipse, but she gave no light, the night being quite as dark as if there was no moon.” 23rd he reports a slight shock of an Earthquake at 7 A.M.

Nov Nov 5th Mrs Jonathan Pollard died, my Mother’s Aunt by marriage –.

Dec Dec 9th – 3 or 4 inches snow – good sleighing. 16th 12 inches –

1824 14th Old Mrs Minot died. She was my Father’s Aunt by the Davis side.

Feb Mild winter till February 5th & 6th very cold tho varied in different parts of the country from 10 to 40 below 0 – in Boston 4 to 6 below.

11th Great thaw, violent gale from SE & much damage from wind freshets** &c. –all the bridges on the Connecticut River carried away.

16th NE snow storm 4 inches fall. “Dr George Winslow son of Mrs Tom Winslow of N York left us to day for that city.”

* John Phillips (1770–1823).

[†] Not, of course, because she was a widow, for she was at this period still unmarried. “The Widows’ Society in Boston was founded in 1816 by Mehitable (Mrs. Jonathan) Amory, with a sum of \$850.63, and incorporated on June 12, 1828. The purpose of the Society was to aid “poor, infirm, aged widows and single women of good character.” http://my.simmons.edu/library/collections/college_archives/charities/char_coll_020.pdf.

[‡] Probably a misspelling of *Bryant*.

[§] Meaning of course *led us to leave his church* as opposed to the colloquial late twentieth-century *dampened our enthusiasm*.

** Probably the sense of *a great rise or a flood or overflowing of a stream caused by heavy rains or melted snow : a sudden inundation* (*Webster’s 3rd Unabridged*).

April “Son Isaac set off in company with David Lewis Jr of Philadelphia on a tour to the South. New Pump put down by Mr Duper”.

May 5th & 6th Heavy frost. Ice thick as a dollar. Again on the 26th much damage to fruit & vegetables. Old, dry, blustering month, NW winds mostly.

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Character of Isaac Jr.

1824
June 11th

Characters of
the young
people.

Some very hot weather, but generally good –

“Son, Isaac returned from the South 20th Great fire in Franklin S^t–[”]

I shall now introduce some family letters from those members who were travelling, as well as from those at home during this and the preceeding year, or rather extracts from those letters such as bear upon the family History of this period. Premising however by a brief description of the characters now coming forward upon the active stage of life. My oldest brother Isaac, called by the family abbreviations of Ike, & Iky Boo, from a Parental attempt to teach us the respectful address of “Brother Isaac” corrupted by juvenile lips into quite the reverse of a dignified appellation, – or known as Shimee [Shimie?]^{*} from some incident between himself and my second brother Edward who in return was nicknamed Levi, – had now attained the rights and privileges of manhood, and of a partnership in his Father’s business under the firm of I Winslow & Son. Had he been so disposed he might have exercised a great and beneficent influence over his younger brothers, and have proved a welcome aid to my Father’s overburdened head and hands. But, being of a reserved temperament, and of a timid undecided will, rather overawed by my Father’s energy of character, than instructed and won by his parental care and kindness, his disinterested benevolence to all around, and his conscientious fidelity to every duty, he shrank from free filial intercourse both with him and even with our most devotedly attached and indulgent Mother. He also held aloof from his younger brothers, and from the family connections and acquaintances, delighting apparently, in the reputation of oddity, and in repulsing rather than in attracting the love and esteem of those around him. Yet there were instances of great kindness shewn by him to persons whom he considered neglected or undervalued, and once particularly, I remember my Mother being much pleased on discovering by a note opened through mistake, that he had secretly bestowed benefactions upon certain distant connections then poor and rather

^{*} Margaret perhaps means *Sheeny*, then not so entirely offensive a slang term for a Jew as it is today. If the nickname was adopted by the family generally, as seems to have been the case, it is hard to imagine that it was meant derogatorily, especially if his younger siblings called him by it. It may also be significant that Margaret gets the word not quite right. The term is of unknown origin and often is intended to evoke stereotypes of Jewish businessmen or tradespeople as overly concerned with money matters. *Levi* is not, so far as I can discover, a similarly disparaging label in common use then (or now), and it would evoke the role of the Levites in Jewish religious or political life. The Winslow boys no doubt understood such connotations, and perhaps the “incident” involved money and devolved into legalisms: if *I* am too concerned about money, *you* are too concerned with rules. Mention is made below (IV, 156) of a New Yorker named Levi who is characterized parenthetically as “the rich Jew” and perhaps did business with Isaac; he knew the family well enough to call upon them when they visited New York in 1827. So there may have been additional associations with him. There is mention of “a Collegiate youth named ‘Lazarus’ from the south who was in some sort under my Father’s [Isaac’s] care. I believe he was of Jewish descent, and bore the characteristic look of his race,” Margaret adds (below, IV, 164). A Mr. Heilbron, a Jewish merchant from London visited the Winslows at home several times (e.g., below, V, 46) and also appears to have been involved with Margaret’s brothers Edward and Isaac in business (e.g., below, V, 109). Isaac has always spoken respectfully of the Jewish religion and people, so it is hard to gauge the family’s anti-Semitism, if that’s what it was.

ignored by the other young men of the family. From his boyhood he concealed rather than displayed all tokens of approbation from his School Teachers, and afterward cultivated with equal secrecy a very fair scholastic capacity, and considerable skill in naval architecture.*

109	Edward, the next brother's character. Tom, Ben, and the cousins.
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The character of his next brother Edward was exactly the reverse of all this; rash and daring to a fault, eager, impetuous and uncalculating of quick unguarded temper and expression, yet open and affectionate in disposition, more prone to active physical sports in boyhood than to study or serious thoughtfulness, – such were the traits which had harmonized so much better with those of the younger brother whom he had so early lost, than with the elder companion who shared his room but unhappily, not his sympathies or his pursuits. The appearance of the young men were as opposite as their character. The elder wore an appearance of age much in advance of his actual years, was pallid in complexion, with features not irregular, but wanting the nobility and animation usual to youth, losing his hair and teeth at an earlier period of life than was then common at least in our family, – and far from being anxious to set off his person by any fastidiousness of dress, although scrupulous in personal ablutions. The younger inherited the fair and florid skin of his paternal Ancestors with the sanguineous temperament which imparts animation even to irregular features. As he grew into life the desire of pleasing, especially in the society of ladies, led him to lay more stress upon outward appearance though never inclining to foppery, and while his enterprise enabled him to gain more than his brother, he was more easily tempted to lavish & to lose.

Thomas Savage, known by the familiar abbreviation of “Tom,[]” was at this time about seventeen, and began to be called the beauty of the family; afterward however rivalled in some respects by his next brother Benjamin Pollard, and outshone by his magnificent cousin William, second son of my Aunt Pickering. Both however were then awkward schoolboys not “come out” in society. Arthur Pickering was nearer the age of my brother Tom, but made no pretensions to rival the latter in personal appearance. He was an intelligent lad, of gentlemanly figure, and nice habits; more fitted for a scholarly profession, had his Mother's means allowed it, than for practical labor; superior in capacity to his deceased father, yet inheriting much of his indolent insouciance, together with the English pride of birth and refined taste amounting to fastidiousness, for which Mr Pickering had been noted. The other male cousins, my brother George, my Uncle Edward's two sons, and John Pickering were at this time too young for much present description.

110	The cousins, continued. The Goddesses E.C. and E.H. A caricature.
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1824 Of the female Cousins, Elizabeth Chase and Eliza Houston were the only ones then grown up to womanhood; Margaret and Ellen Houston,) Amory and Catharine, daughter of my Uncle Ben, and Mary Quincy Hill, step daughter of my Uncle Blanchard, were all school girls. – Uncle Ben's son Benjamin, his youngest daughter Lucretia, myself and Little Frank, Uncle Josh Winslow's boy, and now Aunt Pickering's adopted son, were the children of the family – Augustus Hudgens, the youngest of all the cousins, had not then been brought from N Orleans. There were nineteen cousins in all;– twenty if Quincy Hill were included, a kind of cousin by marriage through her mother's connection with our family, although given up

* Meaning the design of boats and ships and more a branch of engineering than of architecture.

by her to Miss W Callahan, her Aunt. And as the younger ones came forward, a merry set of cousins they were, all resorting to our house as to a common centre of attraction, a sort of general home for all. At the time of which I am now writing, Elizabeth Chase was, as I have said the principal attraction in the family; pretty and fascinating, with a perfectly naive and childlike animation of look and manner, an heiress withal in her own right, yet having been brought up in the most severe seclusion and simplicity, she charmed all eyes and drew all hearts save a few which were only gained by more solid traits of character. These few rather turned toward Eliza Houston also pretty and agreeable less brilliant, but better educated, and thought to be more steadfast in her feelings and attachments. The latter was a favorite with my brother Isaac and I remember one of his caricature sketches as representing the two youthful Goddesses on separate Pedestals; E C as the Goddess of Fortune surrounded by numerous Adorers, among whom were my brother Edward, and Uncle Ben, (as youthful in his feelings and conduct as any of his nephews,) while EH as Minerva,* received only the cool philosophical homage of one figure reclining against her column and looking contemptuously at the worshippers of Fortune. This cynical individual represented the Caricaturist himself. From the same hand proceeded the following absurd epistle or Journal, addressed to my Mother probably at the commencement of that very tour to the South of which I have before spoken. If this is so, the letter although not dated, must have been written the previous year last of March 1823† – but nevertheless may be inserted here.

9 O'clock AM – Left No 13 Leverett S^t .- in the stage which drove round for passengers Passed Mr Stebbins extensive warehouse; reached the corner of Green Street without accident or injury: Observed a man coming out of Mr Coolidge's shop[?] (the Grocer round the corner) [“]with a new broom; Of course the old adage occurred to me, “a new broom sweeps clean.” Saw Miss Wilby[?] (neighbors in Green S^t) [“]exit from the door – Mem‡ I owe a call. Tell EH[?] (Eliza Houston) [“]I authorise her to make one in my behalf.—Saw Mr SB Doane[?] (another Green S^t neighbor) [“]walking most curiously, putting one foot forward and then the other – Mem wondered which was “the best foot”. After various small adventures of this kind, arrived without any material accident at the Stage House.[?] (The general Stage House for all the out of town stages where they always stopped last after taking in passengers at their residences, where letters, bundles, paper and packages were left, and friends took their farewell was situated at the lower part of Brattle S^t,— and was the Rendevous of all the four in hand “Jehus,”§ a remarkable and original set of men, now as a race nearly extinct. It was an honor and a privilege to ride on the Driver's seat. He was like the Captain of a Man of War, or at least of a Merchant Ship; rough but kindly; full of anecdote and dry jests, —proud of and generally humane to his “team,” but a perfect

* The Roman version of the Greek virgin goddess Athena, the wise and crafty companion of heroes and associated with wisdom the arts, and justice – therefore the opposite in many ways of Fortune, who represents luck and the capriciousness of fate.

† When Isaac would just have turned twenty-one.

‡ I.e., a reminder to himself that he owes her a call.

§ According to *Webster's 3rd Unabridged*: “[fr. *Jehu* ab 816 B.C. king of Israel who was noted for his furious attacks in a chariot (2 Kings 9:20)]; a driver esp. of a cab or coach specif : one who drives fast or recklessly.” *OED* has the word from the late seventeenth century, and there the first meaning is *a fast or furious driver*.

7 to 8^x
hours
ride by
Stage

Autocrat over his passengers; – the oracle of Wayside taverns, the daily expectation and centre of interest to wayside farmhouses, especially those who came out to catch from the Driver on his brief pause, a package, a letter or a bundle, or those expecting a friend to be dropped or one to be taken up: – Many a face peered from window or door of solitary dwellings as the “Boston Stage” drove by; many a group of school girls or rustic barefooted boys stopped to make their little curtsey or pull the forelock to Boston passengers; and when, with a grand flourish, the four in hand were driven in a wide semicircle up to the tavern door, what a sensation was the event of the day to all the idlers who hung about that invisible centre of the village, next in importance to the modest

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Post Office where the Leather Mail Bag was handed up or down to or from the Stageman’s seat. But to resume the Journal.

“Saw Father, Uncle D.[’]” (Davis) [“]and “Levi.” (Edward) [“]Thought the latter looked extremely dolorous. After the “quant su^{*}” of detention proceeded to the Bank[’]” (to take specie or bills I suppose for some Country Banks) [“]–passing on our way 10 men, 3 women, 8 boys, 2 loads of Hogs; 5 vegetable carts, 3 dogs and one stray hen. Passed John Simpson’s store; saw a damsel going in. Of course occurred to me if he should be married whether his neck would be as stiff as at present. Stopped at State Bank took in \$10 000 specie and one passenger.[†] While stopping saw a big dog followed by a little one; After ruminating sufficiently I thought from this it could be seen how prone little folks were to follow the great. Took a passenger at the Exchange[’]” (The Exchange Coffee House in Exchange S^t or Lane as it was then called was thought the most genteel Hotel in Boston – would be now a sixth rate eating house.) [“]Entered the Main Street[’]” (Washington S^t always called the Main S^t then) [“]and after meeting with many most venturesome adventures crossed the line into Roxbury. Proceeded without demur to Dedham; — “changed ’orses” as a passenger said, — and passing through divers villages, seeing sundry rail and stone fences, and having a rational proportion of jolts and jumbles,— reached the noosing town of Pawtucket.[’]” (Persons who wished to be speedily or secretly married without being previously “published,” that is having the “banns” or intentions of the parties read out in a church for three successive Sundays, usually eloped to Rhode Island, the laws of that State being less rigid than those of Massachusetts:) “Seed a factory; the “gals” were “nation pretty”[‡]— drove to the P Office exchanged an empty mail bag for one that had nothing in it, and soon entered^x Providence.[’]” (Those said leather-mail bags were indeed very limp compared to the present ones: correspondence was rare, and most letters were sent by private hand or on bundles to save postage.)^o “Why should I expend my powers of oratory in relating how we stopped at a tavern, how I jumped from the Stage, how I walked all over the town, met Lewis and Delius and other interesting occurrences

^{*} I.e., *quantity sufficient or just enough for the present need.*

[†] A joke? This was a huge sum (about \$200,000 in today’s dollars) that seems unlikely to have been transported on an unprotected stage. It also seems unlikely that the passengers would have been told the amount of money the coach had taken on.

[‡] Is Isaac imitating the dialect of fellow travelers or just playing the fool? “Nation” would be a more acceptable shortened form of *damnation*.

[written sideways bottom to top at left margin]

^o It was a common occurrence for every one to send letters by persons travelling. Perfect strangers would come up to the Stage very openly and address the passengers with a question where they were going, and request to take letters for them to their friends.

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1824
Letters of IWJ^r from
the South

which, for want of a faithful Historian will be sunk in oblivion. Suffice it to say that at 7 P.M., I was strutting on board the good Steam boat Fulton 350 tons,* with a great variety of humanities[†] both masculine and feminine. I could relate how we plowed the yielding billows; how “the cloud capped towers and gorgeous palaces”[‡] of Providence lessened in the distance”. (Providence was then an insignificant town of perhaps 15000 inhabitants with one of the now sixth rate taverns for its principal house of entertainment.) “How the azure concave spread out above us sprinkled with its ten thousand diamond stars, planets, and constellations! I could relate how a pig fell overboard uttering plaintive and heart rending cries; how a boat behind us grabbed him, and how — but enough. We arrived off Newport at 11 o’clock, stopped half an hour for passengers, passed Point Judith “exposed to the rude embraces of the Ocean waves,” — as Mc Fingal[§] has it,—walked and talked, jumped and bumped, played chequers, smoked, sang, — passed Stonington, N London, N Haven, slept another night on board, and came in sight of Wouter

Van Twiller’s** city about day light on the 1st of April”. (about 36 hours the fast steamer Fulton then made between Providence and N York.) “Myself and another young man were the only passengers up and stirring — This latter, a wag, goes to the gangway and cries out “fire in the city.” Friend Lewis was the first to make his appearance on deck in dishabille, the rest followed ditto and found themselves a batch of ‘April fools’ ”: (This silly and childish custom is now fast disappearing.) “It was all taken in good part. —We were, on arrival immediately surrounded by a host of Porters &c, who were “infernally polite”^{††} as the Psalmist quaintly expresseth it; Having selected the least scampish among them, we landed without leave, and in the course of an hour, I was most comfortably settled in a private boarding house kept by a Mrs Keele on Broadway. Having given you a sketch of my travels, I have only to request my love to all — only time to write yrs aff ly — IWJ^r

* Steam boats had been in commercial use for several years, but the first transatlantic crossing had been accomplished only recently, in 1819. While the trip from Boston to Providence was far less dangerous, still it required an ocean-going vessel.

† The usual expression would be *variety of humanity* meaning variety of people. Since *humanity* here is used in the sense of human beings collectively, its being cast in the plural makes no sense, which is probably Isaac’s intention.

‡ A line in Prospero’s most celebrated speech (“Our revels now are ended,” *The Tempest*, IV, i).

§ Probably the satirical *McFingal: a modern epic poem. Or, The town-meeting* (1775-82), by John Trumbull (1750–1831).

** Wouter van Twiller (1606-1654). An employee of the Dutch West India Company and the Director-General of New Netherland (New York) from 1633 until 1638, succeeding the much better known Peter Minuit, who had famously purchased Manhattan from the Indians. Van Twiller is the subject of a chapter in Washington Irving’s *A History of New York* (1809).

†† A very common expression later in the century, this seems an early use.

PS “Ask Father to make inquiries about N York Whiskey – Price here 24 to 25 cts.”

(Suppose per Gallon)

Now 1868, – 4 to 5 dollars, and every thing else in proportion.*

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1824 My brother Isaac continued his letters from Philadelphia Washington, Baltimore, Richmond, and Wilmington NC. In the former city he saw my Mother’s Aunt Hodge whom he describes as[†] “an elderly, spare thin gentlewoman of pleasing countenance, not at all resembling the Blanchard family. She was dressed in black with a mob cap.” (meaning a widow’s cap of the old style) “She was very glad and even happy to see me and gave me two tolerably urgent invitations to stay with her. I spent last evening there, and found her a pleasant, sensible quiet sort of woman, and her son the Doctor a good natured pleasant sensible man of about 27. They are staunch Orthodox, and rolled their eyes upon hearing that Aunt H was a Channing-ite;[‡] but said nothing.” (The New England Unitarians were deemed absolute infidels at that time in the Southern parts of our country, and their doctrine has to this day never obtained much favor in those conservative and uninquiring regions whose people are so different from the reforming and searching spirits of the North, ever ready for change and progress both in ideas and practice.) –Isaac also saw in Phil’a an old friend of my Father’s Mrs Ruggles and her daughters. This lady had been Mrs Pearce and received considerable property from her first husband, of which my Father in some way had the care; and he received her only son Charles Pearce, afterward of Baltimore, into his counting room, manifesting much interest in him and his sisters, for which they seemed always very grateful. Another family in Phil’a, that of a quaker merchant named David Lewis, an esteemed correspondent of my Father’s, paid Isaac much attention. His son had been in Boston, and accompanied my brother from that city to Philadelphia. In Washington Isaac made but a brief sojourn, sailing thence for Norfolk – 30 hours by steamboat. In Richmond he stayed with the family of a Mr Brown (also I presume one of Father’s correspondents;) They were probably of Scotch descent, as two of the sons were then in Edinburgh, and seven other children at home. He thinks them a very pleasant family, and likes to stay there

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[This loose page had been pinned to the page following (now numbered 117)]

The letter to which this[§] was a reply runs as follows.

My dear Son, _____ Boston Ap 27th 1824.

I have this day received your third letter, and although pleased with your attention in writing, – should have been much more so, had they contained a little more rational intelligence. I wished to hear a little more about our friends

* As usual, Margaret’s beliefs about the relative value of the dollar seem much inflated. Or perhaps Isaac had a lesser quantity in mind?

† Margaret resumes her practice of beginning every line of a quoted letter with a quotation mark.

‡ I.e., a Unitarian.

§ Presumably the letter from her brother Isaac on which she has been reporting.

Mrs Tom Winslows family in N York, Mrs Wyatt's in Baltimore, and any others who have been attentive to you. I am quite concerned to find you have such repeated colds; you must take care of yourself.—” Here follows some Motherly advice as to flannels, medicine, &c.—

“We go on much in the old way. Mrs Houston is to have a large tea party tomorrow evening; she regrets your absence so much as to say that she would defer it till your return if there were any speedy prospect of that; such is her distress for “Beaux”. — You have also an invitation to a Cotillion party at Mrs Cornelius Coolidge.* Sarah C[†] was here last week. The Misses Hurd[?] have also called. The eldest, Susan, is very handsome. We are all at present taken up with spring occupations. Edward is busy gardening. I am preparing Ben, George and Margaret for dancing school.— The latter is about leaving Miss Thomas for Miss Thuring's[?] day school in Hancock S[†]. She received the dolls safe, and was highly pleased. Tom is engaged making an Electrical machine with which he has frightened Eliza Houston almost out of her wits. She says she shall not pay any visits for you. You must do your own drudgery. x x x x x[‡]

You have now, my dear Son, been carried so far in your tour in health and safety. I hope you feel grateful to a kind Providence for all his care and the numerous blessings bestowed upon you. Remember that your life is in his hands, and that you have now arrived at that age when the knowledge of right and wrong makes you awfully responsible. You know not how anxious I feel for your future fate. The late event in our family” (death of Henry) “ought to impress our minds with the uncertainty of

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[verso of the preceding]

all human blessings. We know not how soon we may be called before that Holy Being of whose care and kindness we have been so unmindful. To see you deeply impressed with a sense of the importance of applying to Him for all benefits,— and of looking upon Him as a kind Father who is able to do more for you than any earthly friend, — would convey more heartfelt happiness than you can possibly imagine to your aff^{te} Mother,

M W.

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1824 “I notice the last part of your letter”[§] he writes;— probably some religious advice: — “but keep those subjects like most others indeed, to myself, thinking, however, frequently upon them.” Wilmington NC Isaac thinks a very poor place in itself: but as Uncle Edward, his wife and many connections of the family lived there, he had a very pleasant time, excepting the hearing of some difficulties between Uncle Edward and his wife, which, as both

* Wife of Cornelius Coolidge (1778–1843), who constructed many homes in Beacon Hill, some of which survive: 33 Beacon Street (the George Parkman house) and 50 Chestnut Street (the Francis Parkman house).

† Probably Chase.

‡ Again, probably to denote an ellipsis.

§ Probably the letter on the preceding loose page that had been pinned to this and which does indeed end with “religious advice.”

**Letters of Edw
W from
N Brunswick**

possessed quick tempers, afterward caused a separation though not amounting to a divorce. It was besides not easy for the three different sets of children,* and the young Winslows, Edward, John, and James:- the latter afterward died just before an intended visit to the North. – I think it probable that my brother Isaac went as far as Charleston SC, while on this tour, but I find no letter from that place: He returned, as has been before stated June 11th 1824.– Whether the trip was productive of business profit, or personal improvement, for both which my Father probably encouraged and promoted it, – does not appear in the family records.

In July of this year my brother Edward took a tour to New Brunswick with Mr Houston's family, who all went to visit their friends the family of Judge Peters whose daughters had been staying in Boston the previous winter. It was said that young Mr Peters the Judge's son was quite fascinated with Eliza Houston but the affair never came to an engagement. The following letters were written home during this journey, by Edward.

S^t John's[†] July 9th 1824.

Dear Father,

We arrived here yesterday after a very uncomfortable passage from Eastport[‡] in a small schooner of about 45 tons – a cold NW wind blowing, and considerable swell. I am staying in the same House with Mr Houston at the farthest end of the town, but in a very pleasant situation, and Eliza H is staying with the Peters. St John is a larger place than I thought, but there are not more than 4 or 5 handsome houses here. The streets are wide but are not yet paved, and are very muddy in

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**1824
Letters
from EW
Jr–**

rainy weather.[§] There are 50 or 60 ships loading with lumber, beside Coasters^{**} – which makes the city very busy – more so I think than Boston was when I left, though a great many vessels have left here lately, and the business has fallen off very much. I have been introduced to several of Mr Houston's acquaintances, and dined with one of them yesterday, a Mr Hugh Johnson, and should probably be obliged to dine out every day I stayed.[[¶]] (The "Provincials" were very hospitable and fond of good fellowship always.) ["I think however, I shall leave for Digby^{††} tomorrow, as Mr H has no idea of going."

"Dear Mother,

July 10th

According to orders to write as often as possible,– I now scratch a few lines, – which we all find rather a difficult matter as we are engaged every day and evening. We are all well so far, and I think the Houstons have improved very much. Eliza has got rid of the scorching she had on board the Brig, and has now come out with a new skin, and looks quite "killing." We have had very comfortable weather since we arrived and they say it is seldom warmer here than today – I can wear thick clothes very well. I dined

* Above, IV, 17 and 37.

† Saint John (New Brunswick), not to be confused with St. John's (Newfoundland).

‡ No doubt Eastport, Me, the easternmost city in the U.S.

§ Margaret recommences her beginning-of-line quotation marks here.

** Webster's 3rd Unabridged: a vessel employed in sailing along a coast or engaged in the coasting trade.

†† Across the Bay of Fundy from Saint John, in Nova Scotia.

with Mr Woodward yesterday, and we dine out again today. St John's is not a very desirable place to live in, though the society is good for those who like company. I like Portland far better. There is a great variety of animals running at large in the wide muddy unpaved streets of this place & I think IWJ[†] ought to travel this way. I met yesterday Indians, stray horses and cows, pigs dogs, goats & sheep, turkeys, ducks, geese, & hens, – but no “Niggers” as IW hath it.* The Indians are very plenty both here, and in Eastport, and some of the men are very good looking: they have a great variety of costume and dress so much like the Squaws that it is difficult to distinguish them. I shall leave for Windsor[†] tomorrow if the vessel goes through. Tell Tom I hope his Engine flourishes, and Ben that I hope Miss CH[[‡]] (Cornelia Hall) [“]is well, and George that he improves in drawing, and Peg[‡] that her sampler is finished, tell her also that E and M H both send their love. Hoping to hear from home in Halifax, I remain Yr affte son Edw Winslow.”

In the latter place Edward was treated by Father's friends with great Hospitality and enjoyed himself very much. He returned

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in a sailing vessel August 3rd, having been absent from home about a month, and feeling as if he had quite a knowledge of the world and “foreign parts”. My Father, although opposed to extensive and costly tours of pleasure merely, was ever ready to afford his sons even by personal self denial, the means of seeing a little of life both for their improvement and enjoyment: Always endeavoring however, to combine with the latter some little business commission or employment, that they might feel themselves still in the path of usefulness

August.

La Fayette
visit.

while seeking recreation. His well known character and Hospitality to strangers, ensured his children when abroad a large measure of attention, and not a little enhanced the pleasures of a foreign trip to them, both on this continent and afterward in Europe.

On the 23rd of this month the whole city of Boston was on foot as had indeed been almost the entire nation to receive the visit of Lafayette “The Nation's Guest,” as was everywhere inscribed upon banners and decorated Arches, and in every possible form throughout his journey. All the country towns sent delegations to meet him, and among others Mr Samuel Sparhawk, as the N Hampshire Secretary of State, arrived with a committee from Concord to invite him into that town, and dined with him in a Mammoth tent upon the common, The school children turned out with flowers and badges, the brilliantly dressed military (with their bands of music)] and the revolutionary Veterans, the civic authorities and state dignitaries, societies with their badges &c, &c.— I remember being held up above the heads of the multitude on some steps in Park S^t to see the benevolent looking old gentleman, bareheaded in his gaily ornamented barouche & four bowing hat in hand to all the people right and left, when shouts and huzzas rent the air as they ran along the route of the procession. Never before and never since was a foreigner received with such

* Compare above, IV, 90n. The implication here may be that Edward wouldn't use the term, though his brother Isaac would. (It's doubtful he means his father, whom he would not be likely to identify as “IW.”) But then he *does* deploy the word, even if in quotation marks and identifying it as his brother's chosen term.

† Still in Nova Scotia.

‡ Presumably little Margaret.

enthusiasm! An enthusiasm manifested in our History for 3 men only. Washington, Lafayette, & Lincoln.

[written sideways bottom to top in left margin]

[top half of page:]

In July occurred a terrible fire in Beacon & Charles S^{ts} 15 houses burned – a young lady staying in one of them ran into the street much frightened, & was brought by Isaac to our house.

[bottom half:]

Lafayette returned to Boston after visiting N Hampshire and then went to the South. He was present at Commencement in Cambridge Sept 25th

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Journal by IW Sen

1824 – Oct 7th “My brother Edward left for the South. He had brought on his sons and left them here at school.

“* William Pickering went as salesman to Mr Pray.

Oct 15th “Heard of death of Capt George Humphreys at Norfolk Va” – “He was a fine young man, son of Daniel Humphreys of Portsmouth, and had joined the Sandemanian Society there when about 15 years of age. In November, some very mild pleasant weather, but the first part of December quite cold.”

Dec 24th “Went to Salem to attend the funeral of an old friend John[?] (or J) [“]Sparhawk Appleton, aged 49” (.A relative of the Portsmouth Sparhawks). Latter part of December mild & pleasant.[?]”

Uncle E
Win-
slow's
Sons.

The first entry of this page relative to my Uncle Edward of Carolina, reminds me of an early childish impression in regard to Southerners. – I was at Nahant with my Mother and two youngest brothers toward the close of our “Commencement vacation” about the 3rd of September, when we were informed that out Southern cousins had arrived in Boston and were at our house in Leverett S^t. My Father drove to Nahant for us in a Carryall[†] a day or two afterward and on stopping at our gate, I was all impatience to see these “elegant scions of Southern chivalry”, but no where could they be found. At length when we were about to sit down to tea, two wild looking heads, with almost negro or Indian swarthinness of skin and glancing dark eyes, appeared for a moment at the window, and on being summoned to the meal, shewed their appendages, 2 pair of thin coats & short legged pantaloons or trousers, and very dirty bare feet, rapidly disappearing through the twilight into their hiding places around the purlieus of the Stable or the Woodhouse. Such was my first glimpse of the since distinguished “Commodore John Ancrum Winslow” of “Kearsage”[‡] celebrity, and his elder brother. It was some time before they grew civilized enough to appear in the family circle their favorite occupation was fighting each other with all the ferocity of a couple of young tigers. Such was

* Ditto symbol.

† By folk etymology from *cariole*: *Webster's 3rd Unabridged*: a light covered carriage having four wheels and seats for four or more persons and usu. drawn by one horse.

‡ We have met John Ancrum previously. In 1824 he was about thirteen. As commanding officer of the USS *Kearsarge* (here misspelled) at the Battle of Cherbourg in 1864, he sank the Confederate CSS *Alabama* in what was indeed a highly celebrated Union naval victory.

“education” among slaves. These boys had been taken, just as they were, from Wilmington NC and brought without their Mother’s knowledge or consent, to be schooled and “fitted up” at the North.— The latter task fell mostly to the lot of poor Aunt Pickering, as has, I believe, been previously mentioned. They were about the ages of my youngest brothers. A third son, James, who was to have come on afterward, died quite young in Carolina, and was never known to his Northern relatives. There was also a little daughter Margaretta who died in infancy.— These four were all the children born of my Uncle Edward’s unhappy marriage.

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1825

**Funeral
of Gov
Eustis—**

The winter of this year seems to have been mild and open till February 2nd when a severe NE snow storm occurred with much damage from the unusually high tide. The streets of Boston were in a very bad condition on the 11th when the grand military funeral of Governor Eustis* took place. I think that my brothers Isaac and Edward were out in their respective companies wading through the melted snow and mud; the former among the Cadets whose white uniforms must have presented a forlorn appearance; and the latter with the N England guards in blue, who, I believe, were on duty all night. He[†] then describes the scene from his own recollection[‡] — [“]The cadets to which my Brother were detailed on the afternoon of the 10th to escort the body of the Governor to the new State house and to guard it during the night but it was reported next day that they were not very seriously impressed by their melancholy duty or else that they considered it a duty to drive away melancholy for if they did not actually play cards upon the coffin they did so not far from it —

The 11th was pleasant overhead, but ankle deep in slosh & mud under foot, of course it was not pleasant marching for at that time[§] soaked feet was the order for day or night, rubbers & ** were unknown, it was said that a number of his escort followed the Gov^r within a few weeks after his burial, so great was the expense Orders were issued by the State to some of the Companies from the neighboring towns who of course sufferd strictures[?]†† (-All the Companies except the New Eng^d Guards who had a neat uniform of dark blue) appeared with white pants, but of course with woolen, underneath, but the Guards of which I was a member in consequence of their comfortable appearance were detaild to guard

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what was left of the commissary stores issued by the State, until they could be removed, which was not accomplished untill past 11 o’clock at night, good use was made of the ration[?] of wood that was left, for large fires were kept up & the men not on

**1825.
Military
experience
of my
brothers.**

William Kyle Eustis (1753–1825).

[†] Edward, the “latter.”

[‡] And Margaret reverts to her larger and far less legible rounded hand.

[§] It appears that Margaret is still quoting Edward’s account, which therefore also appears to have been written several years after the event.

** Galoshes. *Webster’s 3rd Unabridged: fabric-lined rubber overshoe reaching to the ankle or above and having a fastening device (as a buckle or zipper).*

†† If the reading is right, then *strictures* is being used in the sense of *censure*.

**Elected X
Vice Pres't**

duty as sentinels formed circles and danced around them, Indian fashion, - a cold NW Wind sprung up, & slosh & feet began to freeze at same time, the sentries, when relieved were glad to join the fire dance, though they had the best opportunity to witness the fanciful capering of legs around the fires, the whole of this expense[?] was a useless bit of military discipline, for the rations were not worth stealing & any thief of sufficient enterprise in such weather ought to have been rewarded & there was no precautions to prevent the cartmen from taking their loads to there* own houses if they saw fit to do so -[?]

Politics

Thus closed the solom & serious services of burying a Democratic Governor – In February of this year after a severe contest which in the November elections had resulted in no choice of US President, – John Quincy Adams was elected by the House of Representatives against Gen Jackson and Mr Crawford of Georgia who represented the rising Whig party intermediate between the Federalists and Democrats. This party, supported by Clay Calhoun and Webster, although ^xCalhoun afterward opposed the Protectionist or manufacturing interest which he at first espoused, became some years later the dominant party in the Government, the Northern Manufacturers making a tacit compact to wink at the encroachments of the Slave interest, in order to silence the Southern free trade doctrines which were upheld by Calhoun and S Carolina nearly causing her secession in 1831-3

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**1825
Family
Situation.**

During the autumn of 1824 my Aunt Pickering had moved into town to make a home for her sons all three apprenticed in business to different gentlemen in Boston, and she had taken an old fashioned house nearly opposite ours, at the corner of Leverett and Causeway S^{ts}. Of course her family and ours were in constant daily intercourse. Uncle Ben had been and still was shut up in his boarding house (a Mrs Bacon's in Suffolk Court) with a severe and tedious Rheumatic fever. Uncle John was also boarding in Boston this year, I believe in Summer S^t. Uncle Josh Winslow remained in S^t Croix Uncle

**Letter
from
Aunt
Hudgens.**

Edward in Carolina: Aunt Hudgens in N Orleans. The latter writes to my Father under date of Feb 1825 – [“Dearest Brother– “I had written you a long letter which was nearly finished when my child was seized with the epidemic (yellow fever or bilious fever when mild in form) and for some time remained in a very dangerous state.” Little Augustus however recovered, and she continues some time afterward – “My husband desires his respects to you and the family: –he is well but at this season very much engaged and I fear will not have time to write.[?]” (He was in the N Orleans custom house at this period, although educated as a Physician:– [“]His chief relaxation is a frolic with his boy when he comes home, and Augustus will not easily forego his accustomed romp in favor of business.” Capt George Humphreys the son of Daniel Humphreys of Portsmouth had been in N Orleans about a year previous and thus described Uncle Hudgens and his family. This account was the more interesting as Mr Hudgens had never been seen, and was not ever personally known by any of his wife's relatives. Capt Humphreys writes[†] – “After being here about a week I heard a gentleman I was acquainted with address another by the name of

* No doubt Edward or Margaret's mistake for *their*.

† Margaret resumes her quotation marks at the beginnings of lines in this quoted letter.

Hudgens. I immediately concluded it must be the person who married M Winslow. I accordingly introduced myself to him, and found it*

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Mr Hudgens

was the same. He is a decent young man and was very civil and invited me to call. He came the next day and repeated the invitations, saying that his wife as well as himself would be very glad to see me. I went two days afterward and found Mrs H with a pretty little boy about 18 months old, she looking almost as handsome as some ten years since.[†] They live in a one story house very handsomely furnished, and are, I believe, happily situated. He is a good looking man, much younger than his wife.” Before the close of that year Capt Humphreys had died of fever in Norfolk Va, and in the July following Mr Hudgens also was taken off while attending as a matter of benevolence some poor persons ill with yellow fever in N Orleans a disorder which he himself contracted in this humane and noble work, dying at the early age of 31 the death of a Martyr and a Hero.

The following rather “priggish” epistle was indicted at this time by “Little Margaret” at the age of nine years, to her Aunt in N Orleans.— It is inserted here to give an idea of the family doings at this period.[‡]

Letter
of
MCW.

“My dear Aunt, — — Boston, July 1825.

“I was very sorry to hear[”] (of) [“]the death of Uncle Hudgens. But we are all in the power of God. All of us must die; But at the resurrection we shall rise again, and this consolation ought not only to comfort us but also to make us thankfull to Jesus Christ for all his suffering to procure this happiness.

His death.

I hope little Augustus is well. Give my love to him and tell him that I hope he will be a good boy.

Aunt Houston has moved into Bedford S^t, and Aunt Pickering has moved opposite our house. Aunt Chase continues an invalid, and Uncle Benjamin is very sick with a Rheumatic fever. My Brother Benjamin has just entered Colledge, and I have begun to learn to play on the piano. George has begun to paint in oil colours. You must excuse my mistakes, — because

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I have just begun to write Joining.[§] — I first thought of writing because Mr Caldwell dined at our house on Wednesday.—

Adieu— Your affectionate niece

M.C. Winslow:”

In this year’s file of letters I find acknowledgements of my Father’s communications with his Sandemanian friends Mr Samuel Sparhawk of N Hampshire, Mr Humphreys on the

* Slipped in between pages 122 and 123 is a long newspaper account of the election by the House of President Adams. It includes a tally of the votes for each candidate broken down by state and a letter from the president-elect to the House. It is not here transcribed.

† She would have been about forty-three when her son was born.

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

§ Cursive.

death of his son, and Mr John Howe* of Halifax on the death of a daughter under very distressing circumstances. Also a letter from Mr Willkings† of N Carolina announcing the death of his wife a daughter of “Parson” Edw Winslow and sister of Mrs. King, to both of whom my Father was much attached, keeping up the family ties as well as those of the church to which his beloved Father had belonged – “True to the kindred points

Of Heaven and Home”.[‡]

He interested himself much in the establishment of Aunt Pickering’s sons, as the following note from Arthur will shew. This young man was proud and ambitious, and has since become a prosperous§ merchant (or comparatively so) But had his Mother’s circumstances allowed he would have chosen the law as a profession. He was at this time about 16 years of age.—**

Arthur
Pickering

“Dear Aunt,

I should be guilty of the basest ingratitude did I not express to you my sincere and heartfelt acknowledgements for your kindness while under your hospitable roof.”— (This was before his Mother’s removal to town)

“My obligations to my Uncle Winslow are such as I can never repay; and perhaps there is nothing so humiliating to a proud spirit as to feel itself placed in such a situation – at least I feel it so.

Allow me to tender to you my ardent wishes for your happiness and that of those in whom your affections are centered –

Your affectionate nephew

Arthur Pickering”.

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Mr. and Mrs. Bethune of New York

To Mrs Hudgens my Father wrote with kindest sympathy,^{††} and my Mother united with him, forgetting many past grievances,^{‡‡} inviting her to come North with her infant son, and take up her residence, at least for a time, again beneath their roof. Which accordingly she did the ensuing year.

To the widow of a much esteemed business friend, David Bethune of N York, father of Dr Bethune Episcopal clergyman in that city, my Father had also shewn the sympathy which he never failed to feel, so deeply for “the widow and the fatherless.”^{§§} Mrs Bethune was the daughter of the celebrated “Isabella Graham” whose “Memoirs” were published by

* There is an interesting discussion of the Howes in John Howard Smith, *The Perfect Rule of the Christian Religion: A History of Sandemanianism in the Eighteenth Century* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2008), 178-79. This is almost certainly *not* the Mr. Howe who waited on Isaac’s father on the day of his death (Memorial, II, 157 ff.), but possibly a brother or son. See also Memorial, IV, 168.

† Possibly a misspelling of *Wilkins*.

‡ Though presented here as two lines, this is the final line of Wordsworth’s “To a Skylark.”

§ Margaret first wrote “wealthy,” then crossed that out and inserted “prosperous” above.

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

†† The letter is quoted at length below, IV, 142.

‡‡ This is the first we have heard of such.

§§ Malachi 3: 5 is but one of several possible biblical sources for this.

the Orthodox tract society.* She was a very religious woman, and her son-in-law Mr Bethune had the best kind of religious principle which shewed itself in the dealings of business as well as in the devotions of the church and the home, in strict integrity, as well as in benevolence and social religious effort for every good object. This class of revival Orthodox Christians were a powerful and effective body at that time in our principal cities; but they soon grew wealthy and luxurious, and their religion became pharasaic[†] and worldly. Mr Bethune, however, deserved all which his widow says of him. He was an unaffected, sincere Christian merchant. “Dear Sir[‡] “Accept my thanks for your kind sympathy for me and mine. Our loss is indeed irreparable. Never was there a more affectionate husband or more faithful father. – Twenty nine years we walked together in love, and never had a thought unknown to each other. But those happy years are gone like a tale that has been told,[§] and I am left to pursue my journey through the wilderness alone. What would become of me did I sorrow as those without hope? Could I not with the eye of faith view my departed husband seated at the feet of the Savior whom he loved, I think I should lose my reason. I have every consolation in his death that I could desire, and trust I shall have all needful grace to follow him as he followed Christ.

With kind respects to Mrs W & family very truly yours

Joanna Bethune.

127	A Father’s advice to a son about conducting himself in the world of business.
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1865** About this time occurs among my Father’s papers the following “Sketch of hints” to one of his sons about to leave home in the hope of some business advantages, and likely to be thrown among many different circles in various places, and under new circumstances.^{††}

“1st Never allow yourself to relate any thing of a person which is disgraceful or unfortunate to him. The hearers always impute malignant motives to the Narrator.

2nd Say nothing of a person unless in his favor, unless a friend for some important reason desires information, in which case the truth can be told in confidence.

The unguarded habit of saying about others even what you think is true, soon becomes equally offensive to good taste, good manners, and good principles. Instead of this, the wise man will learn by the errors of others to correct his own – Or, in the language of Scriptures, “To cast first the beam out of his own eye before he can clearly discern the mote in his brother’s eye.”^{‡‡}

3rd It is a littleness of mind for a man to regulate his conduct and manner to others by what he supposes are their feelings or opinions in regard to him. A person of common wisdom

* For a discussion of this and similar memoirs, see Joanna Bowen Gillespie, “‘The Clear Leadings of Providence’: Pious Memoirs and the Problems of Self-Realization for Women in the Early Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of the Early Republic*, 5, No. 2, (Summer, 1985), 197-221, esp. 200-02.

† *Pharisaic*, connoting, in addition to worldliness, hypocrisy.

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

§ Psalm 90: 6: “For all our days are passed away in thy wrath: we spend our years as a tale that is told.” Variations on this verse are everywhere in the nineteenth century.

** An error for 1825.

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

‡‡ Matthew 7: 5 and Luke 6: 42.

will appear not to know this,* – and will treat others whom he thinks prejudiced against him with the same polite attention which he shews to others. This he does from self respect and a regard to those rules of forbearance established in Society without which it could not exist. If however this dislike is so open and marked as to shew a personal disrespect, an entire separation is undoubtedly the best thing which can take place.

4th Avoid in your intercourse with others anything like contempt in manners or speech. It is most offensive. Nothing shews a superior mind more than the patience with which such an one will listen to the stale remarks, the trite observations and the oft repeated tales of others. With what ease such an one will put up with contradiction, not suffering himself to be disconcerted that an opinion which he thinks well founded is of no weight with his antagonist! How forbearing will he be with the sins & follies

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Margaret's' reflection on her father's advice.

1825

Maxims
and
advice to
Sons.

of others! How tenderly and unwillingly when compelled to do so, – he comments on their faults and vices, knowing that he has a fruitful crop within himself! And though he may pity that weakness of human nature which is exhibited in various offensive ways, yet he cannot feel contempt for any one who bears the likeness of man.”

What a pity it is that these sound maxims, – equally dictated by worldly policy and Christian principle should not have been better heeded by those to whom they were addressed! Should not be followed by all who wish to please either God or man! I may say in passing, that my Father was remarkably free from ill natured remarks upon the character of others in their absence; and that he endeavored prayerfully and conscientiously to bear with the faults of those who often tried him very severely, though perhaps unwittingly. And if the natural impatience for which he blamed himself and which he candidly admitted, – would sometimes break out to their faces, it was in view of the injuries sustained in life by those who indulged these unwise foibles, rather than of any thereby inflicted upon himself, serious and heavy as these returns for his well meant exertions often were. Warmly desirous to promote both the present and eternal welfare of all around him, active and selfdenying in his endeavors to aid them, it was hard for him to see these endeavors frustrated by wilful obstinacy – self conceit, want of tact, of self knowledge and knowledge of the world. Yet such is the lot of all Benefactors from the great All Bountiful downward. Aware of this, although not at all times able to bear it as a man of more equable nature might have done, my Father's maxim and inward consolation was, “He who does good for the sake of gratitude will often lamentably miss his aim.–

He who does it out of his own gratitude to God will never miss it.”

And truly his was a grateful heart to God, as all his words, his prayers, his conduct through his life testified, seldom has man a more filial spirit than his was.

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* Meaning perhaps that he will appear not to know what others think of him.

Some extracts of letters written at this time by Mr Samuel Sparhawk the excellent and truly Christian father of my sister Elizabeth,* – in a correspondence with my Father on the state of departed believers, may not be uninteresting to those who incline to the usual view advocated by Mr Sparhawk, or those who embrace the opinion of my Father, which was strengthened by thorough Scriptural examination every succeeding year of his life, that true believers “fall asleep” at the moment of giving their last breath; the ensuing moment to them being that of the resurrection, or their reception by Christ into his kingdom upon earth. Mr S maintains, as do most Christians, the separate existence of a conscious being, to be reunited at the resurrection with some material substance called “the spiritual body.” It is not easy to see why a being who has had a conscious happy existence for ages perhaps, exercising all the highest faculties, and enjoying the highest pleasures, should need or desire to be again encumbered with a perfectly useless materiality; but such is the inconsistency to which those are driven who cannot quite throw off the strong Scriptural expressions concerning a resurrection of something.

[“]Concord NH, May 3rd 1825.

Dear Sir, _____ I have received your favor of 18 ult[†] and thank you for your attention and trouble about the matter of the acceptance. The case of Mr Howe’s daughter was indeed a melancholy one.[‡] I saw when at Portsmouth lately the letter of my Uncle[“] (Mr Humphreys) [“]to Mr Howe which you mention. No doubt it will be a comfort to him in his affliction.

With regard to the inquiry which you mention as suggested to your mind by the Scripture expression of “falling asleep”[§] viz, whether it conveys to us the sleep of the body only, or of the whole man and whether the “resurrection of the dead” conveys the idea that only a component part of the person once living is raised, or that the whole compound is raised, – if we attend to the current language of the Scripture on the subject, shall we not find that as man is constituted of flesh and spirit, or body and soul, so he is addressed and spoken of, sometimes with particular reference to the one, and sometimes to the other of these constituent parts?

We are told that “God made man of the dust of the ground”.^{**} So the Psalmist says “He knoweth our frame, He remembereth that we are dust”.^{††} And the Apostle “The first man is of the earth, earthy”.^{‡‡} – and

* Sister-in-law. Margaret’s older brother Edward had married Elizabeth Sparhawk.

† Abbreviation for *ultimo* meaning the last month.

‡ Above, IV, 125.

§ Perhaps 1 Thessalonians 4: 13-15: “But I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him. For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep.” Or possibly 2 Peter 3: 3-4: “Knowing this first, that there shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts, And saying, Where is the promise of his coming? for since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation.”

** Genesis 2: 7.

†† Psalm 103: 14.

‡‡ I Corinthians 15: 47.

agreeably to this, the sentence pronounced on Adam for his disobedience concluded thus, – “till thou return unto the ground, for out of it wast thou taken; for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.”* – But we are told also that man became a living soul after God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life[†] (or lives) It is true that the living soul denotes sometimes mere animal life, as Gen 1, 20th, “The moving creature that hath life or soul:” and v 30th to every beast and to every fowl, &c, wherein there is a living soul,” but something more than mere animal life seems to be denoted by that remarkable expression respecting man, “God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life.” Something was hereby super added to the Animal frame whereby man became what he was not before. He became a living soul in a different sense and manner from the beast and moving creature having soul which the earth and the waters brought forth at God’s command. A spirit which God formed within him (Zec 12, 1st)[‡] was united to his frame of clay, whereby he became, in a manner peculiar to himself and different from all other animals, a living soul. This soul or spirit is by death separated from the earthy part with which, united, – it constituted the living man or living soul: Then, agreeably to the sentence of his maker, man returns to dust: or in the words of the preacher, the dust returns to the earth as it was, and the spirit to God who gave it Those words therefore, “dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return though addressed to the man as he was after becoming a living soul have reference exclusively to the mortal or animal part, as do those of the Psalmist “He remembereth that we are dust.”

On the other hand when Paul says (2 Cor 5th) “we that are in this tabernacle” _____ “knowing that while we live we are at home in the body we are absent from the Lord” – “willing rather to be absent from the body and to be present with the Lord” &c – again “I know a man — whether in the body or out of the body” – and also Peter says “knowing that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle”[§] it is plain that the personal pronouns I and we and the word man in these passages refer exclusively to the spirit that inhabits

Letter
from Mr
Sparhawk

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1825

Letter from
Mr
Sparhawk.

and animates the mortal body, and without which the body is dead. So when Jesus says to the dying criminal “To day shalt thou be with me in Paradise,”** we understand by the pronoun thou, not the object of sense, the corporeal man, nor yet the whole compound soul and body, –but the soul or spirit exclusively; – the inhabitant of the earthly tabernacle, the essential man who was received into paradise among the spirits of just men made perfect (Heb 12, 23rd) Paul & Peter with those who obtained like precious faith with them, lived in the confident hope of being so received whenever they should cease to live in the flesh; – when their earthly house should be dissolved. They hoped with like confidence also for the resurrection of their body that it

* Genesis 3: 19.

† Genesis 2: 7.

‡ Zechariah 12: 1: “The burden of the word of the Lord for Israel, saith the Lord, which stretcheth forth the heavens, and layeth the foundation of the earth, and formeth the spirit of man within him.”

§ 2 Peter 1: 14.

** Luke 23: 43.

should be redeemed from corruption (Rom 8th chap 21st & 22nd verses, also I Cor 15th chap, 42nd to 54th verses) and become like that of their Lord a body of glory. (Phil 3rd, 21)— Not that the body sown is that which shall be; the former is a natural body, the latter a spiritual. But as the plant springs from the seed by a power and in a way incomprehensible to man, so the body of a glory springs from that of corruption by the operation of his power who is able to subdue all things unto himself.

With kind remembrances to Mrs Winslow whose health (as you do not mention the contrary) I hope is restored, to Miss Blanchard and the rest of your family, Mrs Sparhawk uniting,

I am dear Sir, your friend

S Sparhawk.[?]

In a second letter Mr Sparhawk says “When at Portsmouth about three weeks ago I heard with regret the death of your brother in law Mr Hudgens. Your sister will I suppose, of course return to N England. Your letter to my uncle hinted at a visit to Portsmouth with Mrs Winslow who I was sorry to hear was again troubled with her cough. Would it not be as well when you get away from home to make a circuit, and take Concord in your way? Thank you for the invitation to Elizabeth and Thomas to visit you, to accept of which they will not need much urging when circumstances permit. We are mercifully preserved in health though it has been and is still quite sickly around us.”

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**1825
Journals**

Both our Home Journal for 1825, and that kept by my Uncle J P Blanchard record the occurrence of a very serious fire on the 7th 8th & 9th of April (8th Fast day) commencing in Doane S^t and communicating to State, Central, and Kilby S^{ts}. 53 buildings were destroyed at a loss of only \$300 000 (by tax evaluation) in the very heart of the city. What would it be now? The fire was stopped on State S^t by a massive brick wall, two bricks & a half thick, built by mason Blaney. Compare our present buildings with this. The Occupants of the Buildings are worth naming, as a curious reminiscence of old Boston firms, &c.

State S^t W India goods – Francis Whitney

**Great
Boston
Fire.**

- “ Chambers over – Johnson & Sewell
- “ Paints & Dye Stuffs – Hastings & Marsh
- “ Mathematical Ins^t makers Sam’ Thaxter & Son. & Gedney King
- Iron Store Payson, Perrin & Co.
- “ Dry Goods Asa Ward

Liberty Square

- “ Hard ware Scudder & Park
- “ Auctioneers Ephraim Lock – J L Cunningham.
- “ Glazin[?] Roulston, Haverlin[?] Oyster Shop Barrister Tinman[?]
- “ Smallidge Painter, Evans Grocer, Horton[?] Sail loft – Clark pump & block
“ Carpenter maker
besides several dwelling houses.

Kilby S^t Dry Goods Clark & Sears – C & C F Adams – Fox & Bixby –
“ Thomas Dennie, Skinner & Dunn, Joseph Leeds & Co –
“ Richards & Seaver, Benjamin Dow – Daniel Stone

& S A Walker & Co had chambers in these buildings
 Hardware, Stephen Thayer – Auctioneers Jacob Peabody & Co –
 Broad S^t Dry Goods Sewall Williams & Co. S H[?] Nonis[?], L P Grosvenor
 Daniel Appleton
 Crockery ware Mitchell & Freeman.
 Central S^t Dry Goods W^m Whitney – Ward & Snelling J Snelling J^r
 Richard Ward J^r – Dexter & Almy, Phineas Foster – Bean & Blake
 S R Miller & Co, George & T Searle – Josiah Dow – John Rodgers,
 Brigham Waldo & Shaw, B B Grant (chambers) W^m H Ward & Co
 Fessenden Clark Geo P & W Bangs & Co – (Parks & Child, Hubbard and
 Grenough, Lyman Tiffany Dwight F Faulkner (chambers–

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Doane S^t – Wells & Bassett, Henry Purkett Inspectors –Buttrick & Patch – Spun[?] &
 Bancroft Compting rooms.
 Coopers – Little & Edes – Carpenter Ulman & Hay, Loring W Gross – Blacksmith Sylvan
 du Bowker – & several other buildings besides poor tenements in “Bangs[?] & Brimmers
 Alleys”–
 Owners of the Property – Israel Thorndike – Andrew Brimmer – Ward Boyslton, Sam^l
 Gore, John T Loring, Benj Bussey, David Hinkley (one of the blocks was called Hinkley’s
 buildings) Charles R Cochran John Don[?] – John Brazee[?], Sam^l Appleton, Dan^l D
 Rogerts, W^m Brown, – Sam R Miller, Sam Parkman, John Swett, Dan^l Parkman, Edw
 Blanchard, Sam^l Wheelwright, Enoch Cook, Joshua Hamlin, Sam^l Bridge, David W Child,
 David S Grenough, Elisha Doane, Benj Adams, Elisha Parker, Sam^l Brown, John w Boot,
 John Davis and the heirs of John Gray James Lamb & William Clough.

It is worthy of notice that all these are American^{*} names, both lessees & lessors – so
 different from those now frequent on the sign boards in that vicinity – Many other names
 were probably not recorded in the Boston Gazette of 1825 which gave a full account of this
 fire and from which I have culled the above. It was said to “have been more destructive than
 any fire in Boston for 60 years, and perhaps since its first settlement” – The insurance claims
 were \$350,000, an enormous drain for that day. A lesser fire occurred Nov 10th in Court S^t –
 April 15th Peach trees in blossom, then 72 to 74

19th Ice ½ inch thick then 20 to 30

Spring very hot & dry till a NE rain came June 2nd & 3rd – July also very hot, (these 2 days –
 100. 90 for a week or fortnight at a time) the whole summer dry, though cooler in Aug &
 September, October very warm – several kind of trees & shrubs blossomed a second time as
 if it were spring, till the last of the month when there came a severe frost Oct 21st & 22nd had
 Ice made in the tubs &c out of doors. After this, the autumn became again mild & pleasant.

* When Isaac was discussing and quoting from documents of his father’s generation, this term often meant
 Revolutionaries—as opposed to the Loyalists. Then after the War and after the family had been accepted back
 into Boston it meant the citizenry, including the family. By the late sixties, when Margaret is writing, it has
 come to mean people chiefly of English and Scottish descent and who have lived in the States for a long time,
 as opposed to recent (and implicitly “foreign”) immigrants. We are on the edge of the invidious notion of “real
 Americans.” And see below, V, 71.

Total Population, protestant in U States 9.990 000 – Catholic about 200 000. Protestant population then increasing much faster than the Catholic.

[written on a loose slip inserted between pages 132 and 133:]

In this fire almost the entire male population of Boston turned out, as was usual at that time, many helping to save the goods &c from the Stores. Among these my brother Edward nearly met with a serious if not fatal accident, as it might have been. In coming across a loft with his arms full of packages of silk, piled up so high that he could not see where he was going, he fell through two scuttle doors in the lower story, where, however, he was caught

Sept
Coz
Betsey

between two hogsheads, the packages of silk making a sort of cushion which broke his fall, and thus providentially saved perhaps his life.

[inserted between pages 132 and 133 is a newspaper story on population that Margaret has just summarized with the inked annotation “1825.” It begins “The *Journal des Debats* of Saturday last contains an interesting statistical statement, furnished by the celebrated M. de Humboldt to Mr Coquerel, a clergyman at Amsterdam [...] respecting the population of America and the numerical amounts of the Catholics, compared with that of the Protestants.” The figures in the article are broken down also by race: out of a total U.S. population of 34,284,000, there were, according to Humboldt, Whites 38%, Indians 25%, Negroes 18% and Mixed Race 19%.*

134 Laying the cornerstone of the Bunker Hill Monument – Lafayette and Daniel Webster.

On the 17th of June 1825, there was a great celebration in Charlestown on occasion of laying the corner stone of Bunker Hill[†] Monument which Gen Lafayette attended.— Uncle Blanchard’s journal says – “A procession was formed at the State House consisting of a Uniformed military escort, the Bunker Hill Monument Association, the General Court, or members of the Legislature Governor & Council, the free Masons, &c. Lafayette’s carriage was drawn by four white horses. The Oration was made on Breeds’ Hill by Hon Daniel Webster,” containing a great deal of flourish about the revolutionary patriots, liberty, independence &c, while the South meantime were busy forging far worse chains for us than were worn by our Fathers, and which Webster himself afterward ignominiously consented to wear.[‡]

1825
June

Bunker
Hill

Sept 25th

Father’s Journal. “This day Miss Betsey Winslow[?]” (sister of Mrs

* These figures would be about right for the mid 1860’s, but are way off for 1825, when the total U.S. population was more like ten or eleven million. The table lists a population of just over 5 million slaves (which is about a million more than U.S. Census figures for 1860 and 3 ½ million more than the figures for 1820).

† We may recall that some of Margaret’s ancestors had witnessed the battle from “the old mansion in Dock Square” (above, I, 31¼).

‡ An abridged transcript of the oration is at <http://www.bartleby.com/268/9/2.html> - txt4 . Much of Webster’s “flourish” was addressed to veterans in attendance, all of whom would have to have been in their late sixties at least. As U.S. Senator and later as U. S. Secretary of State, Webster supported the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, which earned him the enmity of New England abolitionists.

Chase) [“]died at Mr Wakefield’s house Newbury S^t, now the S part of Washington S^t.^{*} 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 S^t, now the S part of Washington S^t” 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 Debuque.

^{††} 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 St— 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
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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 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 19th – 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

* 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
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Mother's Journal	<p>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–.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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</p>
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* 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,

152	Doings at “the Ark.” Alderman Bailey, a “most absurd person.”
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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 St 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

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

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'Augierian 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 JP Blanchard 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 competed 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 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

Journal.

S Waldo’s
death.

* 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 Greenlief 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 Monthly 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 McKeige’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.

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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 “contretemps”^{††} 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.

<p>165b Margaret's mother's declining health amid continued comings and goings. Little M.'s 12th birthday party.</p>
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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 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

**Letters
of and
to my
Father.**

* 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 [P]

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~~."