Family Memorial

The Winslows of Boston

Isaac Winslow
Margaret Catherine Winslow

In Five Volumes

Volume I

Boston, Massachusetts
1837?-1873?

Transcribed and Edited by Robert Newsom
University of California, Irvine
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A Note on the Manuscript and Transcription

This manuscript was begun by Isaac Winslow of Boston (1774-1856) in 1837 or 1838 and continued by his daughter, Margaret Catherine* Winslow (1816-90), after her father's death.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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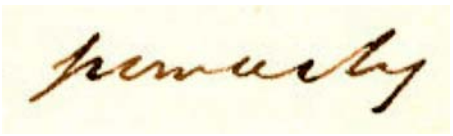
Margaret's pages are in excellent condition, and her bindings are tight, corners are rubbed and one is badly bumped; one leather spine is detached, though the binding itself remains very good.

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

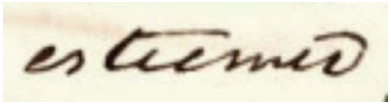
–would be illegible to many readers besides myself without the context of the surrounding sentence. (The word is "result," or at least so I take it to be.) Or this –

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



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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† This example from IV, 96.

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

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

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

ROBERT NEWSOM
NEWPORT BEACH, CALIFORNIA

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Family Memorial

begins Preface Sept 21 1842
pages I to VIII

Vol. 1 12 Chapters 238 Pages

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

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PREFACE

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

[I] Preface

My dear daughter Sept 21 1842

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

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

The first volume of this may be considered as a

[II] Preface

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

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

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

III Preface

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

IV Preface

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

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

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V. Preface

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

VI Preface

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

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

VII Preface

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

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

† Philippians 3:5

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

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

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

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

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

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CHAPTER ONE

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

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

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

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* 1694-1769.

† Born Elizabeth Savage (1704-78).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

†So he would be writing in 1838.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The contemporaries or classmates of my father at College, were

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

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

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

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

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

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

‡ Harvard.

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

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

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[*] 1731-86.

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

[‡] 1735-1816.

[§] 1742-81, married Mary Simpson.

[**] Thomas Alford (1740-65).

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

[‡‡] Again, Harvard College.

[§§] 1737-75.

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

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

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

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

continuation of note [on a new unnumbered page]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ 1802-74, married Abigail Elizabeth Barrell.

** 1812-65.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† About four or five miles north of Salem.

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

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

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

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

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

Oh mortal pleasure what art thou?
The torrents smoothness, ere it dash below – *

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Feebly can the nearest connection sympathize with the afflictions of even the living, much less can these identify themselves with the departed -- Their hopes their fears their joys or sorrows, even their life or death seem matters which do not concern the following generations "Soon dies in human hearts the thoughts of death
"E'en with the tender tear which nature sheds
"oer those we love – we drop it in their grave"*
Man cometh up like a flower and is cut down without any knowledge of the religious principles or hope of this young & beloved wife, we may venture to imagine that in the words of Mrs Abdy she might have thought
"The husband of my fervent love so cherishd and so dear
His heart awhile shall thrill, with grief his home seem drear
But soon his hopes shall be renew'd, his lingering tears be dried
And his deserted halls shall greet, a fair triumphant bride.

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

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

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

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

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

Though fair may be thy earthly home, tho' blest thy earthly love,
How valueless appear such gifts to those dispensed above,
Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor mortal tongue can tell
The joys thy father hath in store for those who love him well
---
Thy friends oh wish not selfishly, to cloud their days on earth
Their minds shall often dwell on thee, in scenes of social mirth,
And when they feel the pains and care, of lifes uncertain track
If they be Christian friends, indeed, they will not wish thee back

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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* John 4:24.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Mary Davis Winslow (1757-1800).

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

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CHAPTER TWO

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

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

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

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

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

† Elizabeth Phillips.

‡ Robert Sandeman (1718–71).

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

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

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

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

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

* Alice Whipple, married 1768.

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

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

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

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

My mother had one elder sister

Vol I Chap 2 29 ½

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

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* Harvard.

† King's Chapel, Boston.

‡ Benjamin Davis (1756-1836).

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

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CHAPTER THREE

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

30 Vol I Chap 3.

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

30 ½ Vol I Chap 3.

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

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

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

31 Chap. 3 (31

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

Vol I Chap 3 – 31 ¼

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

* An archaic or rare sense meaning *revealed*.

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

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

31 ¼* Chap 3.

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

Chap 3. 31 ½

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

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

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

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CHAPTER FOUR

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

Chap 4. 31 ¾

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

Chap 4 – 32

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

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

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

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

Chap 4. 33

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

Chap 4 34

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

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

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

‡ 1591-1643.

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

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

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

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

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

Chap 4 35

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

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

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

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

[‡] Livorno.

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

[**] 1700-86, according to the Joshua Pollard Blanchard family tree, and 1700-1783 according to the Arthur Winslow family tree.

[††] Joshua Pollard Blanchard has "Vrilen"; Arthur Winslow family tree suggests "Vryland."

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

Chap 4 – 36

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

37 Chap 4 37

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

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[*] Sarah Tyng.

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

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

[§] Isaac consistently spells Louisbourg thus.

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

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

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

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

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Chap 4 — 38

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

died in March 1777 Chap 4 — Josh W – back of this[‡] 39

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

(850)[**] (40.)

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

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

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

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

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

[**] In very light pencil.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[*] 1725-1783. Joshua Pollard Blanchard and Arthur Winslow family trees have her married to "Jeffers."

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

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

[§] 1735-1817.

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

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

[‡‡] 1735-1816.

[§§] The before-mentioned Susanna.

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

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

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

* See also below, II, lxxxi ff.

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Chapter Five

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

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

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the religious toleration, permitted and encouraged under the new –

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Again a misspelling of "Moody."

† 1694-1769.

‡ In fact he was fifty.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* I.e., carry off the prize.

† "son" is inserted via caret but before "his."

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

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

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glad to see the bearer who will readily introduce you to my Lord Barrington* &c, if need be, and you can find it worth while to be in the company of such a noble person – " In this letter he speaks of Mr Cutler going over in order to receive episcopal ordination – This gentleman was of Stratford Connecticut and had been chosen resident rector of Yale College in 1719 – At the Commencement in 1722 he declared himself to be an Episcopalian, and as Douglas says obtained orders in England with a Diploma of D.D. and was there about 1750, a missionary in Boston – I had before supposed he was rector of Christ Church Salem Street.
Edward Winslow writes his Son "You will perhaps see Mr. Cutler who has renounced presbyterian ordination, and going over with two others, in order to be installed in the Episcopal. I can't see the gentlemans design but believe and

[Note written sideways at left side of the page bottom to top]
Lord Barrington was brother to Gov Shute,† who came over in 1716 and returned 1723 – The family were at the head of the dissenting interest in England –

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

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

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

† Samuel Shute (1662-1742).

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

§ Lucy Waldo.

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

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

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

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

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

[*] "Evade" makes sense here, but the word reads more like (the nonexistent) "insade."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* John 3:19.

† Misspelling of "Rainford."

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

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

Chap 5 – 57.

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

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

Chap 5 – 58

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

Chap 5 – 59

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

* 1687-1746.

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

Chap 5 60

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

Chap 5 – 61.

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

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

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

[†] Joseph Sewall 1713-1769.

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

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

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

[new unnumbered page]
it should be final. Be this as it may, her family were

*

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

[*] Aunt Martha.

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

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

[§] Possibly an abbreviation for Piscataquog.

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

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

Your affectionate mother" –

no signature

Chap 5 63

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

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

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

64. Chap 5 64

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

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

[*] Mary (b. 1732).

[†] Misspelling of "Pease."

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

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

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

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

Note continued 64 ½
Mr Pease – He left us about 70 dollars the 21 August, and have only Ten left – all gone for eating & drinking and no dainties either, which are not to be had. – There is plenty of Beef & mutton – also wood of the latter we are now lying in 12 Cords – Cellar & Stove room empty and low – money going out for everything.["] mentions common rum ten shillings per

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

[†] or possibly "used."

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

(over)

64 ¾ Note continued

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

Sukey Winslow

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

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

* This parenthesis is never closed.

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

‡ Mary Winslow, later Mrs. Nathaniel Barber.

§ Actually Lamentations 1:15-16.

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

Chap 5 66

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

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

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

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

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CHAPTER SIX

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

67. Chap 6.

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

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

Chap 6 68.

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

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

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

Chap 6 – 68 ½

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

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

Chap 6 —— 69

entirely at a stand.

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

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Chap 6 — 70

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

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

Chap ~~3~~ 6 71 ~~87~~

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

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

Chap ~~3~~ 6 72 ~~88~~

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

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

Chap 6 — 73

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

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

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

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

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

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

Chap6 — 74 –

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

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

Chap 6 – 75.

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

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

[note written sideways at left margin bottom to top]
*****Sister of the Sheriff[†] 3^{d} generation or granddaughter of the first John

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

[†] Susanna.

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Chap 6 — 76.

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

Chap 6. 77.

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

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

Chap 6 78

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

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

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

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

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

† Probably "In order to *do* this" was intended.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

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

Chap 7. 79

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

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

Chap 7 – – – 80

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

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

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

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

Chap 7 – 80 ½

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

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

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

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

* Capt. John Smith (1580-1631).

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

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

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

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

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

Chap 7 83

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

* Bartholomew Gosnold (1572-1607).

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

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

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

Chap 7. 85

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

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

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Chap. 7 – 86.

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

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

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

† No doubt "scriptural" simply was intended.

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

§ That is, a body of elected representatives.

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

Chap 7. 88

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

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

[note written sideways at left margin bottom to top]
*See note on back[*]

Chap 7. 88 ½

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

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

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

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

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

88 ¾

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

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

I Page 1 of <u>note</u> following Page – 88
***** a letter from my father dated November 15 1765 (he being then 22 years old) shows, the

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

† Joseph Dudley (1647-1720).

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

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

II. Note following page 88
always been at swords points with each other. Such materials were wanted for more serious conflicts, than those between contending bodies of citizens; and were in fact powerful allies of the opponents to the established government –

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† Here meaning *offshoots*.

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

Chap 7 – 91.

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

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

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

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

* John Wilkes (1725-97).

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

Chap7— 93.

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

Chap 7 — 94.

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

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

* Sir Edmund Andros (1637-1714).

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

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

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

† The Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770.

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

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

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

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

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CHAPTER EIGHT

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

Chap 8 -- 97.

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

Chap 8 98.[*]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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*The following extracts from a letter written by this uncle Joshua Winslow to his friend in London shows that the Port bill was more injurious to the friends of Government, than the whigs. Oct 25 1774 – He speaks of the opposition which this former class meets with, from the conduct of the people, excited by their leaders, of the hazards, they experience of having their property destroyd and how constantly the merchants and importers are thwarted, insulted, and impeded in their dealings with their customers – thinks that those who openly avowd themselves friends of government, should should be allowed the privileges of British subjects, meaning in regard to a free ingress and egress of their vessells, and if such indulgence is not given, it would be better for us to "have been silent and at the least have fallen in with the many.["]
In another letter to the same friend feby 7 1775 he says "The Port bill so called, has had every evil consequence that was anticipated. The persons chiefly punished are the very ones who should have been excluded from the operation of the act" In this last letter he speaks of the people in New York forcing to sea a vessell which had arrived (probably from England) fears the vessell, thinks there is little security for property and adds "Those whose principles lead them to discharge their just debts are unable to do it, from having their property in the hands of those who take advantage of the times and will not pay.["]

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

In November of this year, my father was married to his first wife Margaret Sparhawk, as has been mention'd in the early part of this work, as well as the particulars accompanying it, her premature death, and my fathers state of mind in consequence of it –
The compulsory measure of nonimportation agreements forced on the merchants, through the influence of the popular leaders began in 1768 – Any one refusing to sign was in danger of the popular resentment, which the leaders knew well how to direct and manage – The purpose of these agreements was; that the signers would not import any goods from England, the new duties on Teas, Glass &c having taken effect 20 Nov^{r} 1767 – and in 1768, this agreement was made still more comprehensive, so that the signers could neither import nor buy of others who did, besides being subjected to very arbitrary and rigid examinations into their business – The agreements were however evaded, tho'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‡ Presumably Mr. Pease.

§ Probably Nova Scotia.

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

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CHAPTER NINE

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

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

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

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

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

† No doubt 1774 was intended.

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

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

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

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

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

* Beverley Robinson (1723–1792).

† Psalm 103: 15-16, slightly misquoted.

‡ Inserted above in light pencil "Concord fight."

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

Chap 9 110

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

Chap 9 111

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

Chap 9 – 112

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

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

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

Chap 9 113

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

Chap 9 114

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

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[*] Should be "consignees."

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

[‡] Actually she was named Hannah Loring.

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

[**] Commodore Joshua Loring (1716–81).

[††] The Battle of Bunker Hill.

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

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

Chap 9 115

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

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

Chap 9 116

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

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

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

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

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

[§] Gage departed for England October 11.

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

Chap 9 117

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

Chap 9 118

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

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

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

Chap 9 119

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

* This is the first instance of Isaac's father's referring to the revolutionaries as "the Americans."

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

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

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

Chap 9 120

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

Chap 9 121

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

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

* This closing quotation mark likely an error.

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Chap 9. 122

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

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

Chap 9 123

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

124 Chap 9. ~~124~~

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

[*] Isaac and Margaret both regularly mispell "Faneuil" thus.

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

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

[§] "fast" undoubtedly meant here.

[**] In the sense of *inmate*?

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in the country be more obnoxious. But our lives are all in his hands who has commanded us to fear Him Those of us whose concerns are not large are doing well – there being much employ for tradesmen["] (meaning those of the society who were such) ["]owing to the numbers gone out, but then every necessary is most exorbitant wood 52/ Sterling per cord Beef 12^{d} Mutton 18^{d} candles 18^{d} Coal 72/ if to be had, West India Rum 9/, Cheese 12^{d} – Both whigs and tories are bent on destroying their country (it should seem). You would not know your own town scarcely – Fences, old houses, and such sort of fuel all greedily caught up, Dr Sewalls meeting house has been gutted of pews, and galleries, to make a riding school for the light horse – Dr Boyles's is a barrack – Fanueil Hall a play house – These are strange metamorphoses which would hardly have been believed some years since" – he repeats in this that the works round the town are very strong, and the citizens

125 Chap 9 – ~~126~~

having become familiar with danger seem to have few apprehensions – some remarks on the gratitude due to God, for various mercies are torn off. – They seem to refer to the publicity of the Scriptures, and their free course allow'd in the British dominions – Founded on the truth of these, he considers is the religious Society, with which he and the correspondent he addresses, were both connected, but for himself, in the doubting or humble style of speaking of themselves which was common in the Society – fears his liability to Self delusion "This["] says he ["]I have more reason to look for than any thing like the honor of being a retainer to the cause for the grand contention["] (meaning of the faith deliver'd to the Saints) – ["]However it may be with me, this honor will have some of the saints, by the mighty weapon of the word, to confound the kingdom of darkness – How far this is to be done we know not. – Societies of the nature of ours, especially in intolerant countries, we may well suppose, would be scarcely known in the places where they are, much less would the bruit* of them come abroad – It is more sober to cherish the thought, that all things are ready for his coming who says, "I come quickly"† May it be given to you and me and all our friends in the faith to say "Amen &c–"

I shall here introduce some of Mr Barrells letters to my father***** after his arrival in England.

***** see notes **A.B.C.D.E.F.G.**

[new unnumbered page]
note **A** following Pa 125

Mr Barrell (Colburn) in his letter to my father dated Gosport feby 11, 1775 mentions his arrival at the place‡ after a "severely rough passage of 30 days from Charlestown," having suffer'd severely from sea sickness, which reduced him very much, but which he says he considers, "a profitable preparation for the small pox for which I intend to be inoculated as soon as I conveniently can" His wife (a Langdon of Portsmouth) and daughter, were with him and he speaks of the favorable character of his ship, in which he was a passenger, and the prospect of Sale (it being the course of trade in New England before the revolution, to build ships here for Sale in England by way of remittances) and adds "I have reason to thank God that I have escaped whole from my native country, where I was hated, not because I

* Report or rumor.

† Revelation 3: 11, and in three other passages in this book.

‡ Gosport is just across Portsmouth Harbor from Portsea and Portsmouth.

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hated that[”] (my country) [“]but because I would obey magistrates. I can’t but be anxious about my friends in Boston, and hope a few days will bring me more letters from you, and ease my anxiety. In hopes of agreeable intelligence from you, and begging salutations to all our dear friends I am my Dear Sir Yours very affectionately –
Colburn Barrell

[new unnumbered page]
note
B following Page 125

From Mr Barrell London Febry 23 1775. [“]I have been in this great city now about three days, and we are hardly fixed in our lodgings so that you may well think, I am not settled enough to write you a long letter – I can only say that as to our friends[”] (he means the Sandemanian Society in London) [“]they are just such sort of folk as usually assemble at our Convent[”] (probably meeting house in Boston) [“]and after so long a separation from such friends I find myself exceedingly happy, in some degree as happy as if I was returned to that, I can say, (but for what reason can’t be so certain) much loved little society. I purpose very soon to let you hear from an American pen more particulars about our British friends[”] (meaning the religious society before mention’d[])]” He speaks of Lord Norths[?] wishes for a pacification with the Colonies. – He adds that he hears from Mr Lyon, that a contribution from the church in Boston to that in London had been received and is glad to find, that notwithstanding the unfavorable circumstances of the town, the Boston church was able so to do – and “join with our British friends in joy and thanks for your Macedonian gift.* We are preparing to be inoculated – In great haste with love to all our friends – Very dear brother – Yours very affectionately Colburn Barrell”

[new unnumbered page]
note
C follows Page 125
Extract of a letter from Mr Colburn Barrell to my father Isaac Winslow dated London may 30 1775 [“]I have just received a letter (a few lines) from J Sparhawk† dated April 15, but how do I wish you had drop’d me a line concerning the news we have received of the action of the 19th (of April)‡ I am at my wits end concerning my friends. I hope life and liberty will have been your privilege, and the next vessell will bring me some account of matters from your own hand.

May the Divine providence, the goodness of which, we have many a time experienced, be still your protection – The accounts which we have here, bode to me the breaking out of a dreadful war, and I must confess I never felt distress before, equal to what I now do, of this or of a similar kind” – He mentions the admission into the church at London of a young girl 13 years old, and another woman about doing so, talking with the elders – [“]I never was in worse spirits for writing, therefore with salutations to all friends, I conclude V D B. Yours affectionately

* In 2 Corinthians, Paul alludes to the fact that despite their own adversity, the Macedonians were able to assist other Christians in need, even though not well known to them.

† Isaac’s father’s brother-in-law from his first marriage.

‡ The battle at Lexington and Concord.

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C.B.

[new unnumbered page]
D follows Page 125
Extract of a letter from the same to the same dated London June 27, 1775 – Mentions his having been occupied in meeting his uncle at Gravesend (suppose Joseph Greene[?]) "and have but just time to say, altho every account in your letter and from other quarters, is fraught with calamitous news, yet such were the terrors of my apprehension before; that the arrival of Callahan* was a sort of mournful relief to me – I can say, Thank God my friends were alive the 17th of May, and the reflection draws from my eyes, tears of mournful joy, while I am writing – we do not cease in the church and in private, in all our prayers, to make supplication for your lives, and from your good deliverance from the horrors of civil war nothing but experience would have convinced me that at 3000 miles distance, I could feel so much as to mar my every pleasure, and to haunt me sleeping and waking. If my pain is so real and so great what must be the terrors and dismay; attending your situation–O my friends, trust ye in the Lord, he can shield your heads in the day of Battle,† if you are called to

[new unnumbered page]
E follows Page 125
it; your situation seems to be such as to leave you‡ alternative, may God then grant your conduct may honor the Christian principles. It is easier for me to talk thus, at this distance, I conclude than it would be for me to act were I on the spot" – –and adds "God grant means may be found for your decampment in due time, rather than be forced to the last extremity. – A word to the wise is sufficient. I reckon you will understand me.***** -- I tremble for my dear and worthy Mr Davis," . . He adds remembrance to his natural brothers and other friends by name, and concludes "with affectionate salutations to all – I am &cr. &cr. Serv[?]Yours affectionately and sympathetically, C Barrell

*****I presume Mr B. here means, that as the Society held it as a matter of conscience to bear arms if called on by the lawful authority, and were yet as conscientiously opposed to revenge or bloodshed, it was highly improper§ in such a state of things, to quit if possible, the field of contention and civil war so as to avoid, compulsory measures.

[new unnumbered page]
F follows Page 125
Mr Barrell writes to my grandfather Benjamin Davis, also one of the Sandemanian Society under date of Aug 30 1775, accompanying a donation of 9 Casks – Peas – Oatmeal – Barley,

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* Probably Capt. John Callahan (1745-1806). His grandaughter Mary Timmins Quincy Hill would marry Isaac's son Benjamin Pollard Winslow.

† Echoing Psalm 140:7: "O God the Lord, the strength of my salvation, thou hast covered my head in the day of battle."

‡ It makes sense to suppose someone has omitted a "no" here.

§ The "im" of "improper" appears to have been struck through, but I cannot be sure about this. The sense of the note does not entirely clear this uncertainty up, but it seems most likely that Barrell is indeed saying he hopes things do not arrive at such an extremity as would require his friends to join the battle.

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raisins, cheese, and 36 doz Portable Soup,* being a donation or as in Mr B's words, "including 5 Guineas from Trowbridge a token of love and sympathy from the church in London for the use and refreshment of their Shut up Christian friends in Boston – the disposal of them, is left to the discretion of David Mitchelson, Isaac Winslow, & yourself. I need say nothing to you on the subject of this distribution, only mentioning by way of my love to that seat of hospitality, Mr Fosters house, that I have no doubt, it will be mutually joyful to allow friends in Boston, that a good share be deposited, where the community of goods is literally observed. It would be in vain for me to describe, the hearty sympathy and tender concern of our dear friends here, for your present distressed situation, let me just

[new unnumbered page]
G following Page 125
say, that this is not the only noble instance wherein I have seen and experienced their readiness to every good work – May God give you abundant joy in this token of their affection, and multiply the seed sown, and increase the fruits of their righteousness.["] – In a PS to my father Mr B gives some particular church news and mentions his design of going to Scotland, adding that he was in great pain on account of a rumor that a contagious disease in the army had spread amongst the inhabitants. "We are in peace,["] (meaning the society) ["]and constantly remember you in our prayers – may God be your health and protection is the prayer and ardent wish of, my dear friends Yours affectionately C B.["]
By a letter from Mr B, dated in London 24 March 1777, he refers to another letter of same date which he had written, which is lost – I infer by the former in which he says he is "on his way to Portsmouth in order to embark", that he was then coming to New York, where I recollect him when a boy – He was not then in the very small Sand.n Society which met there.

Chap 9 . 126

Jany 15, 1776. My father writes his brother in law Mr Peas. "I wrote you lately with 50£ for my mothers supply, but as you must be anxious to know how we are, I cannot but embrace every opportunity to satisfy you at this unhappy time when social life is almost at the last gasp. -–As for news I think if there was freedom to communicate all ones sentiments I could not do it, and if I live to see peace restored to our unhappy country, I shall be indifferent whether I hear any more["] (meaning the news of the day then peculiarly interesting to every individual) ["]we are what remains in our family (all in health) and have passed favorably through the small pox, which has now become so different in its character from what it was, that it quite stole through my family while we were looking for its appearance –
I long to hear from Nantucket when you have an opportunity for that place tell them we are all well. – My brother Joshuas widow with her poor little ones are all well – with love to my Sister – Yours affectionately["] – This letter must have been written when my father was in a depressed state of mind & Spirits.

Chap 9 127

The town of Boston had continued in a state of siege, from the period of the battle of Lexington in April 1775 or soon after to March 1776 when the British army left the place

* A dehydrated product and precursor of bouillon cubes, popular with seamen from the mid-eighteenth century because of its very long shelf life.

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– there was no intercourse permitted with the country, the port however was constantly open, so that most articles of general necessity were to be obtain'd though at high prices – Gardens were then numerous there being one to almost every house and some quite large ones – These probably furnished to the possessors a scanty supply of vegetables – I have heard my mother say, that the common garden purslain* was frequently used as a vegetable and much sought after – as a substitute for the summer vegetables of which there had always heretofore been such an abundant supply at market – On the whole however less inconvenience was experienced by the inhabitants, than might have been expected – Amongst the buildings taken down for fuel during the Siege was the old North Church in North Square which is said to have furnished a large supply of heavy oak Timber

Chap 9 . 128

No correspondence, relating to family details are in my possession after December 1775† – (when the Americans having extended their lines to Dortchester Point, it became necessary for Gen Howe‡ the British commander to leave Boston. – The embarkation took place 17th March 1776***** ["***** see next page" is written sideways at the left margin here]
The army was accompanied by the loyalists and their families Those of the Sandemanian Society, took passage in a vessell principally by themselves – One of their number Doctor McKinstry who had long been an invalid died in the lower harbor, and was buried in one of the islands (Georges) not however without the attendants at the funeral being fired on by the Americans under the supposition, that they were a marauding party, landing for hostile purposes – The hurry of embarkation and the deficient accommodations for such a number of families as were to go in the fleet, prevented their taking only the smallest possible quantity of absolute necessaries with them – about 1500 loyalists are supposed to have been thus hurri'd on ship board, leaving behind them their furniture, and every thing but what could in such haste be taken on board – By a pamphlet published in London in 1779, it appears that Gen Howe was directed to evacuate Boston four months before he actually did, and that he had intended to move the army to New York, but the causes of the change do not appear –

The loyalists were landed at Halifax after a few days passage, in a miserable State, In such a small place, but few could get decent accommodations for themselves or families, and some had to remain on ship board for several months – My Uncle John, and family – Great Uncle Isaac with his family my grandfather Davis and his family were in the Fleet – My uncle Edward the clergyman

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had at first remained with his family and church at Braintree. I have in my possession a letter from him dated Nov 29 1776, in which he says to his Uncle Isaac then at Halifax, speaking of his mother and family "She is in a most pitiable situation having scarcely any exercise of her rational faculties. – The Distill house stock is seized, and none of the family here to apply for it.["] It has been before mentiond that my grandmother with three of her

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* Misspelling of "purslane," edible—indeed, relatively nutritious—as a leaf vegetable, though commonly regarded as a weed.

† But in fact Isaac will quote from such letters in the next few pages.

‡ William Howe, Viscount Howe (1729–1814). He replaced General Gage as commander-in-chief of the British army in October, 1775.

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daughters, had been sent to the island of Nantucket in June 1775, as a safe asylum from the dangers of war. She probably came back to Boston after the evacuation in 1776. The situation and circumstances of this relation have been before referd to. My Aunt Pollard,* (the maternal great grandmother of my children) remained in Boston during the greatest part of the war – her only daughter Peggy, mother of both my wives, having been married to Mr Joshua Blanchard of the popular party – She remained quite unmolested – Her son Jonathan embraced the same side, and was a Colonel in the American Army – her Son Peter in the American Naval Service – Benjamin† obtaind a Commission in the British army – and Joshua‡ was in the British Navy. The latter, after the war went to sea, and was never heard of – Peter,§ I only remember when a boy, at my fathers house in New York, then a prisoner of war – I believe he died young – Benjamin was killed during the revolutionary war, by a bomb shell falling on the house, where he was quarter'd, as I have heard, at the siege of Savannah in Georgia.** My Aunt Hannah, Mrs Jeffries, wife of David Jeffries,

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as well as an Aunt (Mary) who married Nathaniel Barber,†† both especially the latter, of the most zealous partizans of the revolutionary cause in Boston, have been before spoken of. – Mrs Peas remained quiet in Newport – Some more distant connections of the family and name, sided also with the whig party as well as my mothers Uncle, William Davis a very determin'd whig – His brother Edw[d] Davis, a very moderate man, not known to have espoused either side was suffer'd quietly to remain – Thus as in other civil wars from the first, the nearest connections often become political enemies –

In a letter from my father to Mr Barrell then at New York dated in Halifax June 14, 1777, he speaks of his having remained in that place, principally from being the only elder of the Christian Society with which he was connected, and his strong desire, from regard to his family and other obligations, if possible, to get back to Boston, but if that should be impossible, then proposes to go to New York, where some of that Society had preceded him; adding that ["]though at all times my conscience suggests to me much to make me fear my standing as a Christian, yet peculiarly do I feel unfitness for the elders office" speaks of having passed

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a comfortable winter &c –
In a letter of 20 Jany 1777,‡‡ he writes his Sister Sukey "I beg you to believe Dear Sister that I am anxiously concerned for all of you especially my poor mother. I never take one of my

* She was both Isaac's aunt by virtue of being sister to his father, Isaac, and his wife's grandmother. So Isaac married his first cousin once removed (though in the family she was referred to as a second cousin).

† Born 1752. He married Hannah Johnson, whose sister became the mother of Mary Timmins Quincy Hill (1813-1902), who would later marry Isaac's son Benjamin Pollard Winslow (1810-79) in 1832.

‡ Born 1755. According to the Joshua Pollard Blanchard and Arthur Winslow Family Trees, he died a castaway at Egg Harbor.

§ Born 1756. According to the Joshua Pollard Blanchard and Arthur Winslow family trees, he went to Africa and was never heard of.

** And see below, III, 110-11 for Margaret Catherine's comments on this from the perspective of their mother.

†† They were married on December 19, 1776.

‡‡ Note that Isaac is not making use of letters in chronological order.

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little ones in my lap, but it makes painfull reflections arise, and yet I know not how I could otherways have done. It is little in these times that mortals can do for one another, when the vengeance of Heaven seems abroad – May Divine Providence bring us to see one another however poor yet in peace enough to do for one another" – speaks of his late brothers family being well – I suppose, this means his brother Joshuas widow and children
In a letter of my father to his brother John dated at Halifax 25 April 1777, the first part of which relates to a vessell of his brothers, then there, he says "I am in a poor way here – Perhaps if I cannot sell your schooner I may come in her to New York, but must first consider how this will serve your interests – it is only a sudden thought, and perhaps no prospect may offer of convoy – I have lost and spent nearly all I brought off, so that it is time to make a move, but see no prospect of doing much better at York – I long to hear from you again – Yours affecy

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In a letter to his Aunt, (widow of Isaac)[*] at New York dated April 15, 1777, he condoles with her on the death of her***** husband. "May that Being who stiles himself the judge of the widow, and father of the fatherless[†] be the support and guide of your distressed family," and mentions his being one of the Executors of the will. "My own share in the distresses of these times would make me gladly excused, but gratitude forbids my refusing at present every office in my power, to alleviate the distress of the family" – presumes Mrs W will decide on going to England with her sister Mrs Deblois,[‡] and purposes – now since the death of his uncle to go to New York, as soon as he can.
To his brother John then at New York under date of July 1777, he writes for advice how to proceed to that place. Having heard of the death of his uncle at New York, the preceeding March, and being one of the executors of his will, he is anxious to proceed there to take the affairs of his estate in his hands, and aid his aunt and her children, all that he could –
In this letter he speaks of his nephew John Winniett having "quite finished his affairs there is a vessell directly from thence and not a line"
This young man

[written sideways at left margin bottom to top]
***** he died at New York Mar 23, 1777

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had gone out I believe from Boston in 1776, in the charge of a small vessell of my fathers to the West Indies – but never returned with either vessell or cargo, and the family never knew what became of him[§] -- This was also the case with three other first cousins, Abel son of my uncle Edward, Josh Pollard son of my Aunt – and Samuel Sparhawk at a later period about 1805 – Son of my mother's Sister Hannah Davis – making four out of the family whose fate was always uncertain –

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[*] Jemima Debuc (1732-90), second wife of Isaac's father's uncle Isaac (1709-77). D. Kenelm Winslow in *Mayflower Heritage* spells the name "Debuke."

[†] Psalm 68:5.

[‡] Probably Mrs. Lewis Deblois, the former Elizabeth Debuke, who had married Deblois December 25, 1770 in Boston.

[§] Mentioned above, I, 40.

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In a letter to Mr Colburn Barrell at New York, 12 March 1778, my father writes that "the house he occupied was sold over his head, and was indebted to a friend Mr Forster for Shelter at the time of my mothers confinement with a Son Ben – (who died soon after in New York,) speaks of the embarrassed situation he is in probably from the loss caused by Winnietts going off &c – "It will be only owing to preventing mercy, if in this situation I may be found acting soberly and honestly –

It is an object of the brotherly prayer here, that we may see again the order

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of Christs house, what we thus pray for should be attempted by you and us – I really doubt if your situation is so convenient for the church as the peaceable state of this place hitherto, and where so many of the brethren have been able to get a living. I know not, what more could be desir'd in such times of confusion – I would fain flatter myself the overturn in the times may justify in some measure the state I am in, but I am anxious still to be doing business to more profit, however my arrears have happen'd, and have ground to fear whether my industry and care have been what a sober man should have had in any situation"

My own earliest recollections are in Halifax. At this place, my mothers sister Hannah Sparhawk* died in the year 1777 or 1778. – I have some faint recollection of this event, but a very distant one of her two children being in my father's family

It was about July 1778, that the family quitted Halifax (I think under convoy of a ship of war)

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for New York, being the year in which the French Admiral Count D'Estaings† fleet was on the Southern Coast, and bound to Newport – The vessell in which the family had embarked was called the Globe, and our passage was through Long Island Sound; stopping a short time at Newport, where I first saw my Aunt Malbone, then Peas. I have heard my father say that had we gone outside Long Island, the probability is, that the vessell might have been captured by the French Squadron –

My Aunt the widow of Joshua (whose death in Boston in March 1775 has been noticed Page 112) with four children was at Halifax and coming to New York, went from thence to England in 1777 or 1778 – one daughter Hannah remaind and was taken by Mr Peas – She died in Newport at the age of 8 or 10 years – My grandfather Davis & family, left Halifax for New York, a year or two before my father – They were captured by an American privateer and carried into Marblehead, from whence he was transferred as a prisoner of war to the Gaol in Boston and there confined for some months in company with Mr Hopestill Capen‡ one of the prisoners on account of his adherence to the royal government – The Loyalists were subject to

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* No doubt an erroneous substitution for Davis. Isaac had an aunt Hannah Davis who was born in 1754.

† Jean Baptiste Charles Henri Hector (1729–94).

‡ See below, II, 171.

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many severe privations in Halifax – The place was small and could hardly afford Shelter to the numerous population suddenly added to it – Some as has been said were obliged with their families to keep their domicile on board the vessells they came in, for a long time – others had to obtain shelter in stores and outbuildings – most were compelled to part with their plate or little valuables in order to furnish the means of subsistence, and all felt as exiles from their dearly beloved New England (their father land for five generations) to which the most of them were never permitted to return – as I have before said, my first recollections are of Halifax – The house where the family lived, its garden, the negro girl Rose owned by my mother – certain playthings of myself and cousins, the highland dress of some Scotch officers, who were occasionally visitors, are incidents as vivid in my mind now as any events of my life – Many incidents on the passage to New York, the name of the Vessell – of one of the sailors, very kind to myself & brother are distinctly recollected, but I think the regular chain of memory did not fully commence, till the landing in New York, in the Spring or Summer of 1778, then being 4 ½ years old from which time the series of events which come under the observation of a child was as regular and connected as more important events have been at any period of my life, since –

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CHAPTER TEN

A chapter about family connections in England during the War of Independence containing extracts from letters from Loyalists exiled in England – First letters to his great uncle Isaac – His good character attested to in *The Revolutionary Adventures of Mr Ebenezer Fox* – Letters to his great uncle Isaac from his brother-in-law Richard Clarke; concerning supplies he will ship to Boston – Letter from Governor Hutchinson urging patience in receiving relief; another from the same concerning the receipt of funds to be invested in stock and hopes for victory – Letters from the same to his great uncle now in Halifax concerning possible grants from Government – Letters to the same from the brother of his first wife, Francis Waldo; on the question whether Isaac should remove his family from Halifax; prospect of compensation now distant; anxious for news of his connections; success of his application to Lord Germain for a grant of £100 to Isaac; amounts of grants to other Loyalists – Letter from Thomas Flucker – Letters to the author's father from England – From his father's sister-in-law Hannah, widow of Joshua Winslow concerning her disappointment in being left out of the estate of Joseph Goldthwaite, upon which she had been relying; another from the same bemoaning the complexities of settling estates in England, where not only attorneys, but judges must be bought – Letter from Samuel Sparhawk concerning his children being sent out to him – Isaac explains various aspects of the Sandemanian Society both in England and New England and quotes letters from Walter Barrell, a Sandemanian in London, on religious and family matters; another from the same concerning the Gordon Riots and the question whether Sandemanians may justly volunteer for militias in defense of Government – Extracts from many letters from Sir William Pepperrell (2nd Baronet) to the author's father; a brief account of his history and connection to the family; Sir William invites Isaac's father to England; secures from Lord Germain a promise of aid in New York through Governor Robertson; hopes for victory; will guaranty £1,000 or more for a shipment of consigned goods to Isaac's father; success in securing a grant from Treasury for Isaac's father of £100; concerning family illnesses; loss of income from his estate in Surinam, but he can live decently on his £500 per annum from Government; letter introducing Benjamin Thompson (afterwards Count Rumford) – Isaac discusses his uncle John Winslow, Commissary of Prisoners at New York and his death from a fever caught on a prison ship – Letters from Sir William; condoling the loss of Isaac's father's brother John and assuring his assistance should his widow remove to England; condoles on Cornwallis's defeat at Yorktown; reflections of Sir William on the war and politics; urges Isaac's father not to worry about the shipment of goods that arrived badly damaged; further reflects upon the prospects for peace with the change of administrations; his family severely handled by Influenza; death of Lord

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Rockingham; peace at last in sight; death of his brother Andrew – Isaac reflects on these letters and their "moderation in language" and love of country under such difficult circumstances.

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Before continuing the family narrative at New York, when my own recollections will enable to shed some light on it I purpose now to look at the State of those connections who had left their own Country for England – The extracts which will be presented, from members of the family in that Country are not indeed necessarily associated with the family biography, but they are not without interest as indicative of the sacrifices, and privations to which the loyalists were compelled to submit – and also as bringing before their successors of the present and succeeding generations the opinions and feelings of those, whom party spirit had stigmatized as enemies to their country, because of their opposition to measures, which whether mistaken or not, they thought were injurious to its best interests – The letters are principally to my fathers uncle who as has been said died in New York – I have no recollection of this relation. He was always spoken of in the family, as, possessing that regard to his connections, which seems to have been a characteristic of the family in all its generations – That his character in Society was good may appear as well from traditionary accounts as from the manner he is spoken of by a plain writer whom I have lately perused (not at all likely to be prejudiced in his favor) in a very humble situation of life – In a little work called the

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Revolutionary Adventures of Mr Ebenezer Fox, the tribute of respect to this connection, may be justly supposd to be an impartial one – Fox whose family resided in Roxbury at the commencement of the revolution, then a boy, in company with another of his own age named Kelley, both animated as he says by the prevalent spirit of insubordination, which even amongst boys led, to the belief that <u>their wrongs</u> as well as those of their elders, ought to be redressed, determined to leave their homes, and set up for themselves "we made[''] says Fox ["]a direct application of the doctrines we heard daily, in relation to the oppression of the mother country, to our own circumstances, and thought that we were more oppressed than our fathers were. I thought that the time had come, when I should liberate myself from the thraldom of others, and set up a government of my own, or in other words do what was right in my own eyes" These two boys as Fox says in his narrative, coming "to the sage conclusion that they were living in a state of servitude, which ought to be scorned by the Sons of freedom, eloped from their parents, found their way to Providence and Fox became engaged as a seaman as well as soldier in many of the scenes of the war of the revolution. "Kelley" says Fox "had lived with a gentleman named Winslow, who was highly esteemed for his benevolence and other virtues, but being a friend to the Royal government, he was stigmatized with the epithet of tory, and considerd an enemy to his country and

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was finally obliged to leave the place when the British government evacuated Boston–Fox adds, that the two had but a dollar between them, "though I might" says Kelley "have taken as much as I wanted from the <u>old tory</u>, but I thought I would not take any more than

* Lightly in pencil and thus through page I, 237.

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belonged to me"[*] – At that period, April 1775, Isaac Winslow my great uncle, resided at his seat in Roxbury but, soon after moved into Boston – This testimony to the general good character of "the old tory," though from a boy is not without its value. – Mr Clark[†] the brother in law of Mr Winslow (having married his youngest sister) had in Dec[r] 1775,[‡] left Boston for England. I find several of his letters to my uncle dated in 1776 from which I shall make a few extracts. In Mr Clarks letter to his brother in law Jany 12 1776 he says "Governor Hutchinson informs me that Mr Amory paid him the proceeds of your plate, which with the other money you sent him he has invested in Bank Stock" "On my arrival here I found that a vessell was designd for Boston to carry provisions and other supplies for the officers and privates of the army, and made an immediate application for leave to put some articles on board, which I designed for you and Son Bromfield, and gave orders to have provided 2 barrells

of beef two firkins of butter Two cheeses about Twenty bushels of potatoes, 100 doz eggs, and 100 [??] [????]" Mr C hopes he shall not be disappointed in being able to get them on board, and adds, "This Ship is burthend 400 tons mounts 16 carriage guns, and will also go out under convoy, she is laded by subscription from the nobility and others and amongst other subscribers I hear there are several of the minority, the sum subscribed at my arrival was as I heard 14,000£, and then going on. What I send must be under the name of some gentleman of the army; at present I think I shall direct them to B. G. Robinson["] (i.e., Brigadier General) ["]I hope your acquaintance with him and your neighborhood, will apologize for that liberty" – ["]I was greatly distressed to hear that no supplies had arrived eleven days after I left you. I have mentiond to Gov Hutchinson and others, and shall continue to do the same, where I think it will have any effect, the necessity of sending out immediately, further supplies of fuel and provisions. If I can't do you and my other friends any further service you will have my most earnest wishes and prayers, that you may be preserved and supported thro' all your difficulties." "If anything material should occur before I put this out of my hands, I shall advise you, please to give my affectionate regards to Sister and your dear children God grant you and them a happy deliverance from your troubles" &c In a PS. dated 24 Jany, Mr Clark adds

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[*] *The Revolutionary Adventures of Mr. Ebenezer Fox of Roxbury, Massachusetts* (Boston: Munroe & Francis, 1838). Isaac quotes generally accurately, though with his usual disregard for punctuation. But he also omits another possible motive for Kelley's scruples:

> Kelley's first question to me was, "How much money have you got?" I replied, "A half a dollar." "That is just what I have got," said Kelley, "though I might have taken as much as I wanted from the old tory; but I thought I would not take any more than what belonged to me."
>
> I know not whether this proceeded from Kelley's principle of honesty, or from a fear of pursuit, in case he had embezzled anything which would render him an object worth pursuing. Kelley had lived with a gentleman named Winslow, who was highly esteemed for his benevolence and other virtues; but, being a friend to the royal government, he was stigmatized with the epithet of "Tory," and considered an enemy to his country, and was finally obliged to leave the place when the British troops evacuated Boston. (20-21)

[†] Richard Clarke (1711–1795), married Isaac's half-sister Elizabeth (1713-65), daughter of Edward the Sheriff's second wife, Elizabeth Pemberton Winslow (1669-1740).

[‡] The date is not quite clear; Isaac appears to have written "1776" and then corrected that to "1775," which is most likely the correct date. It is however sometimes given as 1774.

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"There has been so much ice in the river that I have not been able to get the provisions onboard,["] and after referring to some matters of business he continues, "I am well informed that the exertions of government will be powerfull and speedy. The particulars of what has come to my knowledge I am not at liberty to mention. The American secretary* is universally acknowledged to possess the greatest abilities, and a sufficient degree of spirit.

In a letter of the 12th of March 1776, Mr Clark mentions the shipment of the articles of provisions onboard the Ship Renown for Boston and that he had added to other matters –Sal volatile† and rhubarb, for Mr W's private use – Such very common articles it appears, could not then be obtaind in Boston In another letter from Mr Clark of the same date he says "By what I have seen of England my affection to my native country is not abated – Tis devoutly to be wished that the Americans had known their own peculiar happy situation, and although this may not easily be recoverd again, that they may at least prevent a great accumulation of miseries – You may be assured, that the hopes, that have been greedily nourished

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of raising an opposition to government by a decrease in trade and manufactures, have appeared entirely groundless, I have been assured by all the gentlemen of the city whom I have conversed with, that there was never so great a demand in general for the manufactures of the Kingdom as there is at present, the prices of woolen goods have even advanced within a few months, the commerce of the nation is on the whole in a very flourishing state – The Public funds notwithstanding the heavy change which will accrue from the great exertions which Government are now making, have not fallen, and as to the opposition that is carried on by the great men to Governmental measures (but without any effect) it's well known the contest is for loaves and fishes

I hope this will find you and your family safely and comfortably carried through the difficulties of the winter and that the spring will open on you with a more favorable aspect. I most earnestly wish you and yours the divine protection and guidance. My children here are all well. We send our mutual affectionate regards to you my dear daughter your children and my little boys – I am

Yours faithfully

R C.

Gov H was a frequent corres of the author[?]‡

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Extract of a letter from Governor Hutchinson to Isaac Winslow Esq dated St James Street London 30 Jany 1776, after acknowledging a letter of Dec 4, on business – Gov H adds – "I am never free from anxiety for my friends in Boston and feel a great proportion of your distress. If I could hear of your being secure for the winter, I should hope the great armament gone and going to America, would restore peace and quiet before another winter.

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* George Germain, Viscount Sackville (1716–1785), Secretary of State for America during the American Revolution.

† Used in smelling salts, but also known as "baker's ammonia," a precursor to baking soda and baking powder.

‡ Lightly in pencil.

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It will be to no purpose for any of us who have lost our estates for our fidelity to seek relief at present. we must exercise patience, and hope that in some way, and at some time or other, we shall in a greater or lesser degree be relieved.

It has been a very cold season in England for three weeks past, I would fain hope that there is no reason to infer, it is proportionably cold with you. I am Dear Sir Your faithfull humble servant -- T Hutchinson

In the letter from Gov Hutchinson to Mr Winslow date 16 feby, 1776, acknowledging the receipt of 375£ to be invested with 950£ previously sent in the Stocks

he says "I am glad you are relieved from an Admiral so much complained of ( )* I hope his successor will give better satisfaction, but you will soon have a gentleman with you, Lord Howe, to take command of the navy,† who seems to have the universal voice of all ranks of people in his favor – May the extraordinary armaments now making produce eventually peace and quietness to the most deluded and infatuated people that ever yet existed from the beginning of time – This is the constant wish of Dear Sir Your faithfull humble servant -- T H

In a letter May 6 1776 principally on business – Gov Hutchinson concludes, "My children are not yet come to town – we ought not to despair of the final success of a cause, which I have no doubt appeared to you as it did to me, to be just and righteous Your affectionate friend & humble Servant

TH

July 18 1776. Governor H writes Mr Winslow in regard to the investment of money in England, and adds, "I hope the success at Quebec will make you and my other friends more easy at Halifax and

that it will tend to facilitate our meeting again in America, but this we must leave to the great disposer of all events–"

On the 31 Dec 1776, Gov H writes Mr Winslow at Halifax that he was apprised of his being about to remove to New York, that the ministry declined making any grants to the Mandamus Councillors except to those in England, and in that case only temporary aid, according to their necessity– "What["] says Gov H "will be the settlement of the province, or when it will be, nobody can tell. I am very indifferent about any share I may have in it, or rather my inclination leads me to a private, if it may be, a quiet life, but I am uncertain whether I may chuse for myself – I beg you will forward a letter to my brother, and if it be possible one to Doctor Pemberton of Boston. Tis only a few lines of meer friendship and I care not into whose hands it may fall."

The brother of Mr Winslows first wife, Mr: Francis Waldo, was collector of the customs at Falmouth (now Portland),‡ and had probably quitted his station there about October 1775, at which time, that place was

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* Isaac evidently hoped to be able to supply a name here later on.

† Probably Richard Howe, Earl Howe (1726–1799), the brother of William Howe.

‡ Maine.

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set fire to, by a British force sent to demand a supply of spars and other articles for the for the* navy in Boston – This demand being refused the mariners were landed, and the town burned, according to the order of the commander in chief.

The first letter from Mr Waldo to his brother† is dated in London, Nov 6 1775, he writes, "Untill a few days ago, I was not able to deliver your letter to Miss Halerow who had but just before been writing you – I found her at her brothers, a wine merchant in Mark Lane, he being from home, I desird her to converse with him relative to your son Isaac‡ – Miss H was very polite in repeated invitations to dine &c, but my engagements that day and the distance from Brompton prevents me that pleasure"

"As a resolution is taken to push the war against America it remains for your and Mr Fluckers's§ consideration, whether to remove your families to Halifax or elsewhere before the Spring, but I am willing to hope that the Congress may in the course of this winter discover a disposition to listen to the proposals to terminate the unhappy dispute with this country and that my dear friends and country may feel no further distresses" "I shall be obliged to your opinion of the value of my fifth part of the patent["] – (a large tract on the Kennebeck River[)]

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["]and whether you think I should not accept an annuity of 200£ for life"
On the 1st of March 1776, Mr Waldo writes "I have your favors of 27 & 30 Jany by Capt, Urquhart and the pleasure to learn from him, that you had a valuable acquaintance by means of which your family was well supplied with fuel and all necessary provisions. I hope the same will continue thro the unhappy siege you have had to contend with, my niece Hannah I hear is a great favorite with Gen Robertson** as she has been long of mine, tell her so and that she will always have my best notice and good wishes"

"Compensation to any individuals is very distant, if ever obtainable – The treasury has now more applications, for temporary relief than are attended to."
Mr Waldo writes Brompton Row Oct 16 1775 (should be 1776) "I found no disposition in Mr Wilkins (the wine merchant before referd[)] to take your son Isaac an apprentice Miss Halerow I have not yet seen, therefore cannot say what can be done there"–(meaning through her influence with her brother Mr Wilkins) "It may be best to cover your letters to Govr Hutchinson, the last three weeks I lived at Westminster in the same lodgings with

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Harrison Gray and wife – we are removed here together, to a good air and pleasant situation in neighborhood of Judge Sewalls Commr. Robinson &c, and live in the family way, with as

* The phrase is repeated because Isaac made slight deletions and additions between them and overlooked the need to delete one or the other instances of "for the."

† That is, brother-in-law.

‡ 1765-1806.

§ Thomas Flucker, Mr. Waldo's brother-in-law, also a Loyalist, whose daughter Lucy had married the distinguished revolutionary (then) Colonel, later Major General and U.S. Secretary of War Henry Knox (below, I, 190).

** General James Robertson (1710–1788). The military governor of the Province of New York from 1779 to 1783.

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much economy as decency and comfort will permit, distance about two miles from St James Palace–"

"I am wholly at a loss to write you what future plan will be adopted for America. The meeting of Parliament next week is purposely on American business, nobody that I converse with has any idea that Government can grant an indemnity to individuals – If that is to be the case, he is best circumstanced that has not made himself obnoxious to the peoples With respect to yourself I wish it maybe so, that you may not be under the necessity of making a voyage with your family to this country, at your advanced time of life. Should you and they remove from Boston in case the army does, perhaps Halifax may afford a good retreat"

The preceeding letter is dated in October 1775, but is evidently an error, as Mr Waldo was in America at that time, but this was not noticed

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at the time of transcribing This circumstance has deranged the regular order of dates Mr Waldo writes from Brompton 16 May 1776. "I am very impatient to hear further from you and of my Sister Flucker and family being safe arrived at Halifax – there I hope you will make your families contented and comfortable, instead of submitting to a long voyage to this expensive country upon very uncertain prospects, for Governor H["] (Hutchinson) ["]agrees with me in opinion, that the friends of Government have a better chance to obtain assistance through General Howe than they would have from the Treasury, were they here. Gen Howe has power in all cases to act as he sees fit" "Your letters to me must be directed to the care of some friend, as I never go to the NE Coffeehouse, and am uncertain whether I shall go down to Bristol to pass the summer on a frugal plan with Miss Bon------ Rob---- G. &c In a letter of 25 Aug 1776, Mr Waldo writes to his brother* –"My application through Lord George Germaine† to the Treasury hath obtained you a present grant of 100£ with the satisfaction of your being stiled a Mandamus Councillor – Mr Flucker had a second grant of 300£

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as Secretary,‡ and amongst the crown officers I came in for 200£, many Americans have not yet obtaind any thing and many have not yet applied, others have had 100£ and others 50£ for present support.

"Present my love and regards to my sister Winslow and my neices Hannah & Betsy – I hope it was well judged to send Isaac to Canada, I wish much to have it in my power to invite my neice Hannah to come to England."

I find amongst the letters one from Mr Flucker who was secretary of the province and father of the late Mrs Knox, Mrs Flucker was sister of Francis Waldo and therefore of Mr Winslows first wife – Mr Flucker writes July 28 1776. " . I hope the arrival of Lord Howe, and the forces that are soon to sail for various parts of the continent may give a favorable turn to affairs – Wilkes§ losing (his election in) the choice of Chamberlain yesterday is a very mortifying stroke to him, and his friends; I hope it is an omen for good. You will hear from

* Brother-in-law.

† Misspelling of Germain.

‡ Of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

§ Possibly John Wilkes (1725-97)?

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Governor Hutchinson, Mr. Clarke and Mr. Waldo by by this ship. That you may be able to continue in Boston, and I may return thither the ensuing year is the earnest wish of, Dear Sir, Your affectionate humble servant – Thomas Flucker.

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Mr. Winslow to whom the preceding letters were addressed has been already spoken of, in pss. 37 &38 of this work. He died in New York about March 1777 – The extracts which have been made, are given to shew the situation of the loyalists in England, during the war of the revolution, more especially those who were connected with the family. The communications to my great uncle of course ceased at his death but before closing this part of the subject, I shall fill up the picture, by a few extracts of letters from the more immediate connections of the family in England to my father – In Dec 1779, his sister in law* widow of my uncle Joshua, whose death is mentioned in page 112, writes from Highgate of her surprize at the news of the death of Mr Joseph Goldthwaite† a particular friend of the family "who would have thought, so healthy and jolly a person, would have gone before my old and miserable father" (Commodore Loring then suffering under the loss of both bodily and mental powers.) Mrs W. then states her disappointment, that the promise which had been made her by Mr Goldthwaite, that herself & family should be provided for, in his will, was not complied with. Mrs W. adds, "This neglect hurts me beyond expression, indeed my feeling in regard to my darling children, in addition to every thing else, is more than human nature can describe. If I could barely have enough

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enough to feed and clothe them decently, it is all I ask of heaven–Try to persuade them["] (meaning Mr Apthorp & Mr G– (probably Geyen[?])‡ ["]to pay the other twelve months schooling as he["] (her only son Joshua)§ ["]will then be old enough to think of business – The army and navy are out of his thoughts at present – The Sum will only be about Thirty Pounds – I have got nothing from government yet and yesterday gave warning to give up my house and live with my father["] (Commodore Loring, who I presume was then superannuated) ["]and take my two girls from school and if I get nothing from Government God knows what is to become of me, for my father has but 300£ Per year and that with <u>him</u> in this country always sick, will hardly bring the year about" mentions that she had just

* Hannah Winslow (1742-85).

† (1730-1779). He was Commissary of British Troops in Boston from 1768 and died childless in New York, leaving his entire estate to his nephews and nieces.

‡ Not clear who has introduced the parentheses here, but it may be more than one person.

§ Joshua and Hannah were married in 1763, and Joshua was their oldest child, so he may have been as old as 15 or so in 1777. There are portraits of all three by John Singleton Copley reproduced in *The Winslows: Pilgrims, Patrons and Portraits* (Brunswick, Maine: Bowdoin College Museum of Art, 1974), Pls. 16-19. The Catalogue notes (by Sinclair Hitchings) say of Hannah, "The last decade of her life was tragic, for she found herself a widow, beset by poverty and in exile in London and with six children to try to support" (18). So sad a fate is surprising given the family's tradition of supporting their connections in distress. Her cousin Susanna Farnham Clarke, daughter of Richard and Elizabeth (Winslow) Clarke, who had married Copley in America, was living well with her husband and father (whose letters have been extensively quoted above) in London in 1777 and would be expected to be supportive. And Sir William Pepperrell informs Isaac, Jr. that he has secured an annual pension for her of £100 (I, 169 and see also I, 165).

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

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

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

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

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

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

† Isaac's mother.

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

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good servant to come out with them. I shall not now be at ease till I know of this event from you and Mr Davis, and to hear of their coming; indeed I long for them to be with me. May they be preserved from the hand of the enemy. As to politics I am heart sick of the subject – When we have taken and afterwards evacuated a few more places, we may by & bye get to rights. I think you must have many reasons which lead you to regret leaving Halifax"
In a letter from Mr Sparhawk to my father at London Oct 30 1780 he mentions the safe arrival of his children The second wife of Mr Sparhawk, who was an English or Scottish woman whom he married in London, belonged to the Sandemanian Society – She came to this country about 1792, and died in New York, I believe about 1802 or 1803 as did her husband about the same time By a letter from her to my father dated in London January 1781, I infer that, her husbands brother Mr John Sparhawk, who did not leave the country as did

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most others of the Sandemanian Society, had different views on the subject of submission to the Powers that be from those generally received – probably considering that the obedience of a Christian was due to a government defacto, without going into the consideration of the abstract rights of the government de jure – By the letter of Mrs Sparhawk this seems to have been made a subject of consideration, with the British churches but no decision on the subject is stated – Mr John Sparhawk was a very sensible and worthy man, much engaged and attached to his religious views – in fact almost the pillar of the Society in Portsmouth and possessing great decision of character, it is possible that his continuing to reside amongst his countrymen instead of leaving the country arose from the more restricted and probably more just view he took of the extent and limits of Christian obedience to Government – Yet as such was the case with many [x] A letter from Mr Walter Barrell[*] one of the Sandemanian dated London Oct 31 1780 quotes the opinion of William Sandeman a leading man in the Society at Perth in Scotland

[written sideways bottom to top at the left margin]
[x] others of the Society in Connecticut and Taunton. I am by no means clear that any then thought they owed allegiance to the Whig party till the peace.

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On the marriage of my grandfather Davis to a Mrs Ross his former, a 3[d] wife having deserted him on account of his religious principles, but who was living at the time he became married to Mrs R – "I am not at all disposed to find fault with B Davis's marriage but rather approve of it from the Scripture you quoted 1 Cor 7.15"[†] – Mr Barrell adds – "Your being but few in number should not discourage you in the cause of Christianity for while you are adhering to the New Testament you must expect to appear contemptible in the eyes of your adversaries as Christs Kingdom is ever destined to appear weak and despicable in the world, therefore it may be consider'd as an evidence of the truth being among you – The din of war and the bustle attending it, is so great that politics seem to engross all the attention of men, so much that the concerns of the Kingdom of heaven have become so little interesting as to

[*] Formerly Inspector General at the Custom House.

[†] "But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart. A brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases: but God hath called us to peace."

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appear in danger of being lost sight of altogether – But God knows them that are his, and none of them can be lost There is little or no notice taken of the profession here, it seems like a stale story neglected and set at naught – Indeed there is reason to fear the Laodicean lukewarmness[*] has come upon the churches" –

Mr Barrell congratulates my father on the grant of an allowance from Government, through the agency

of Sir William Pepperell[†] "Sir William is a most friendly humane man as ever lived. I am under particular obligations to him for his endeavours to serve me., and for many instances of his kindness. He is a man without his like among ten thousands" – A letter from Mr Barrell dated Dec 4 1781, encloses a letter to some leading man on the whig side name not mention'd "a great enemy to Great Britain and Americens who has been active in the evil of both countries," which covers a letter from Mr Barrells sister to her husband, as the best means of her letter getting safely to hand – Mr B. regrets the necessity of addressing, a letter to such a decided enemy – he mentions having heard of the death of my uncle John at New York, (about August or September 1781)[‡] – "Knowing" he says "your great attachment to him your only remaining brother I cannot but lament your loss in so grievous a seperation" Mr B. adds – "The great public calamity that has befallen this country in the disaster of the gallant Lord Cornwallis and his brave army, has thrown the friends of government into the greatest consternation, while there are many called Patriots who rejoice at it – for myself it has brought a grievous burden on my spirits

and fills me with apprehension for the consequences["] – His great anxiety on account of his friends in consequence of the tenth article[§] of the capitulation, which he considers fraught with cruelty and evil – "My poor brother Colburn I fear partakes largely of the affliction attending this public misfortune, though with pleasure I see he cannot be involved in the tenth, but come under the ninth,[**] which is not unfavorable to the merchants – The only consolation that can intervene in this time of trouble is that what has taken place is the will of Omnipotence therefore it becomes us to be perfectly resigned, knowing that no event is

[*] Revelation 3:14-22: "And unto the angel of the church of the Laodiceans write; These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God; I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot. So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth."

[†] Not the first Sir William Pepperrell (1696–1759), but his adopted grandson, William Pepperrell Sparhawk (d. 1816), son of Col. Nathaniel Sparhawk. As an exile in London he founded the British and Foreign Bible Society. After Gov. Thomas Hutchinson's death he became the recognized leader of the Loyalists in London.

[‡] Isaac had written 1780 and then corrected that to 1781, it appears.

[§] "Natives or inhabitants of different parts of this country, at present in York or Gloucester, are not to be punished on account of having joined the British army." George Washington refused, however, to accept this article, leaving the loyalists at risk.

[**] "The traders are to preserve their property, and to be allowed three months to dispose of or remove them; and those traders are not to be considered as prisoners of war. The traders will be allowed to dispose of their effects, the allied army having the right of preemption. The traders to be considered as prisoners of war upon parole."

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permitted, but for the grand design of displaying infinite wisdom, power, justice and mercy, and I confess I see no reason to despair, and not to hope that good may come of this great evil, by bringing about a more hearty reconciliation between this country and America, and a more speedy and firm peace, than if our arms had succeeded over the enemies – by sowing or rather maturing the seeds of jealousy and dissension among the rebels and their perfidious allies – You see how easy it is when one ground of hope fails to resort to its

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opposite – This is human nature – and what can come of it? No solid consolation I am sure ofen[?] there is but one point, that that can come, which it is our nature studiously to avoid – even the committing ourselves with all our concerns to Him who only can take care of us, and does <u>everlasting</u> good. – That we may find in this that comfort and joy, that all the good things of this life, will fall infinitely short of affording the possessors ought to be our daily prayer at the throne of grace". In concluding Mr B. congratulates my parents on the birth of a daughter, (my sister Mary that year in 1781. Mr Barrell writes to my father from London June 2^{d} 1781 – This being a long epistle, I can only briefly notice the contents – he is much pleased, to hear that his brother Colburn & his son had arrived safely at New York after the siege (suppose of Yorktown) "The brig of his which you mention as falling into the French fleet at the Chesapeak is indeed, unless he had two" – Hopes he may be able to pay all he owes, but apprehends that such will not be the case – Mr. B. mentions a case of one of the members of the Society in London, having become united in an armed

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association of many of the citizens of London, for the defense of the country and capital, thought necessary at the time by the mob in London which was headed by Lord George Gordon in June 1780 – That members of the religious society should have become united to an armed volunteer force of this description, appears to have been disapproved, by those belonging to the society in America They all admitted that compulsory military duty was allowable to a Christian, nay could not be avoided, if they were liable to the law of the country to be called upon as members of the militia, but by an exception quoted by Mr Barrell from a letter of my father to him, I judge he and others in this country were not satisfied as to propriety of a Christian volunteering on such an occasion – The exception alluded to is, that "if any brother here was to join any association (meaning similar to the one in London) it would not be allowed" This being communicated to the elders in London led to an investigation of the subject, and the result of their consideration was – "That when suffering for the sake of the truth is out of the question, Christ has allowed his people the liberty of self defense, against violence done to their lives and consciences in common

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with other men, and as members of worldly societies to associate with them for that purpose."

They think my fathers view would have the effect to disallow what is allowed by Jesus Christ, and add that if a Christian unites himself to such associations from improper motives, or conducts himself improperly in them," he is subject to the Christian discipline for the abuse of a liberty that the Lord has granted him" I am not clear that the view taken by the society in London is not the Scriptural one, as being only a modification of the

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compulsion which in most human societies is exercised to oblige their members to take up arms – If however the friends are right in considering the taking up of arms contrary to the law of God then they are right in refusing submission to human laws which are opposed, to those of God -- Mr Barrell writes my father, 5 May 1783, and introduces Mr Joseph King a young man recently united to the Society – This he mentions as having encreased* "since the contention for national power had ceased" – Peace had then been concluded–Mr B speaks of his brother Colburn as having been very unfortunate – "Indeed I fear to think where his misfortunes will end"

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These letters from Mr Barrell contain a good deal of information as to the state of the religious society with which we was connected, both in England and Scotland but most of it being of a temporary character I have not thought it necessary to extract – The hand writing of these letters is very fair – the style and composition respectable, and the sentiments they contain are those of a man under the influence the kindest feelings, regulated by a† conspicuous religious principle.

I now purpose, to present, some extracts of letters from a warm and stedfast friend of my fathers, Sir William Peppperell. He was a cousin of my fathers first wife and in the same class with him at Cambridge‡ College, when an intimacy was first formed which continued unabated till death – The character of this gentleman is strongly though briefly portrayed in Mr Barrell's letter page 155 "as one of Ten thousand". I never knew him personally, but have heard a confirmation of Mr B's testimony, from so many various quarters, that I am sure his estimate of Sir William's character

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is not overstated – The mother of Sir William Pepperell was daughter of the first of that name, who was commander in chief of the New England troops at the capture of Louisburg in 1745, in consequence of which he became a very conspicuous person in New England. – He had either no sons or** who lived to adult age and, only one daughter, who was married to Col Sparhawk of Kittery†† near Portsmouth, where her father and family resided -- of‡‡ The issue of this marriage was§§ Two or three Sons, and one daughter at least I

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* "Occurred" would make much more sense here, but "encreased" does appear to be what Isaac has written.

† This "a" may have been struck through.

‡ Isaac had first written "Harvard," but then immediately thought better of it and struck it through. Local practice was commonly to call the College "Cambridge," but here Isaac seems positively averse to calling it "Harvard." Sir William was Harvard class of 1766; Isaac's father was of the class of 1762. So they were not classmates.

§ At the top left and partially over "Vol I" is written in pencil "Another correspondent[?]" then, quite illegible, "who[?] Vol[?] 2"

** Following "or" Isaac had written "none" and struck that word through twice in pencil. Probably he meant to strike through "either" and "or" as well, but omitted to do so.

†† Maine.

‡‡ Added in pencil.

§§ "was" struck through in pencil. Everything from this point on to "The last Sir William must" has been lightly struck through with quasi vertical strokes, but there is no syntactic continuity between the text before and following that striking through, so I regard the cut as provisional. Perhaps Isaac had become aware of the

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never knew any more – The eldest Nathaniel ought of right to have inherited his grandfathers title and estate but did not, why ~~I never knew~~ There descended to the late Sir William a younger grandson I never knew but such was the case. The last Sir William must have come into possession of the estate & title a short time before the revolution – Sir William married a Miss Royal daughter of Col, Royal of Medford, who in 1774 was appointed of the Mandamus

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Council but never served, and I presume* went with his daughter & her husband to England in 1774 or 1775 – Lady Pepperrell I have always understood died a few years after her marriage, but am not certain whether Sir W^m^ was a widower when he left America, or became so afterwards – They had four children, one son and three daughters all of whom might have been born before 1775. Sir William was said to have been so attached to his wife as to decline a second connection, and continued a widower to his death at London in the year †

There was a very active correspondence maintained between Sir William and my father from the year 1775 or 1776, till the death of the latter in 1793, but the letters in my possession do not reach further back, than 1779 – In March of that year after congratulating his friend on being safely situated in New York, he says, "I have a very great satisfaction in any correspondence with you, and I should be extremely sorry that it should fall through by any seeming

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neglect of mine and as you was not agreeably settled when I last, heard from you I have been very anxious for your situation – If merit brought prosperity I should not be concerned about you, but every day furnishes us with proofs to the contrary – I have often told you and I am sure with the greatest truth, that that there is not any thing in my power which I should not be happy to do for you and I must now beg of you if you are not able to get a comfortable provision for your family in New York, to come to this country, where if you do not find an end to your difficulties, it shall not be my fault" –

"There is nobody better entitled to the assistance which many of the loyal Americans have received from Government than yourself, nor anybody who who would be more likely to succeed in applying for it" – "If it should be more convenient to you to come here take your passage in the first ship that offers and I am persuaded you will not repent it" – ["]I cannot help hoping that the late success of his majesty's arms in almost

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every part of his dominions, will finally be productive of a happy reconciliation with America I have no wish nearer my heart than this["] – speaking of the probable stoppage of letters written to his friends in Portsmouth, and Kittery he says, "as these letters recommend peace, I am apprehensive that they never got to hand, though they contained no other political idea, and that was expressed with decency." In a letter of June 24 1779 Sir William writes that

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shakiness of his knowledge of the Pepperrell estate and circumstances and planned to revise his account at some later date.

* "I presume" struck through in pencil.

† A blank left here, evidently to have been filled in later. Sir William died in 1816.

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since his preceeding letter advising my fathers going to England as the only mode of his serving him and adds "Within a short time I had had an opportunity to mention you to Lord George Germain (who feels very sensibly for all the loyalists who have suffer'd in the cause of government) and have had the pleasure to find that you could be assisted in New York if you prefer'd continuing there – His Lordship was so kind as to promise me that Governor Robertson should give you a sum of money on his arrival in New York" – and says that he is satisfied that further relief will be granted in future &c – In a letter of Dec 4 1779 Sir William writes "I do assure you my friend that I have

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been very assiduous in my endeavours not only to save you, but to do it in the way you would like best – I do not wonder that you are desirous of returning to New England, when this unhappy difference shall be at an end which let it terminate how it will, I do not see how your comfort in that country can be insured by the miseries you may undergo, during your exile – I trust if the report of D Estaings fleet, being driven back to the West Indies be true, we may yet hope for a happy reconciliation" In a letter of feby 15 1780, Sir William mentions the signal success of Admiral Rodney* against the Spanish and hopes soon to hear that General Clinton is in possession of Charleston or rather of South & North Carolina"

In a letter of May 3, 1780 – He regrets that the expected grant from Government has been delay'd, not owing he says to ["]want of assiduity in me Governor Robertson promised me he would be attentive to you and I will hope that a good Providence will not let you and your dear family suffer" speaks of his efforts to save Mrs Winslow["] (either the widow of my fathers Uncle Isaac† or of his brother Joshua‡) who had before secured an influential friend in a Mr Thomson. – "Let us hope" says the writer in the conclusion of his letter "for a happy reconciliation with America, It seems impossible that our, unhappy countrymen should much longer reject

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the honorable offers of peace which this country has offerd, and I am persuaded is still desirous of giving them."

In a letter May 24, 1780, Sir William lest his friend should be disappointed in not receiving any relief from the Treasury informs him that he as§ "at last been able to succeed in a plan which" says the writer ["]I flatter myself may be productive of advantage to you, I shall no otherwise be concernd in this matter myself than to be responsible for the amount of your invoice – That must not be less than one Thousand Pounds** if it should be considerably more I have no objection – Should an opportunity offer I shall persuade Mr Lane to lend you out a few things before he hears from you, I would advise you to write them (the house of Lane Son & Frazar)†† immediately" In a letter of July 4, 1780 Sir William still hoping for

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* Admiral George Brydges Rodney, Baron Rodney (1719–1792).

† Jemima, already in England.

‡ Hannah, also already in England. See also below I, 169 where it is discovered that she has received a £100 per annum grant from the Treasury.

§ In error for "has," no doubt.

** Alsmost $200,000 in today's money.

†† Misspelling of "Frazer." More often spelled "Fraser."

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some treasury grant repeats his offer of becoming guaranty for a shipment to New York to the extent of 1000£ stating that he had urged the London house to commence at once notices the successes of the British arms at Charleston "I sincerely wish" says the writer, "it may be productive of that happy event for which we have both been so long, wishing – The news of this success was

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not more complete, than the time of its arrival was fortunate – It found this town in the midst of a most alarming insurrection["] (Lord George Gordons), ["]which had it not been for the spirited and judicious military, would in a little time longer have proved at least he destruction of this city."

"Should a reconciliation later take place with America if I can be instrumental in accomplishing any views which you may have in consequence of such a happy event I shall be very glad of rendering such a service. My little folks are all amusingly grown particularly William who is really almost a man. I am the only invalid in the family and I sometimes fear I shall never be any better I am at present of so much consequence to my dear family that I can't help wishing that I may recover.

~~A letter of Oct 18 informs my father that an annuity of 100£ per ann had been granted from Jany 1 – speaks of Sir Henry Clintons success at the Southward and adds "I am dissatisfied to tell you that Mrs Pepperrell is I fear very near her end, having been in a duse[?] consumption~~

[written sideways bottom to top at bottom left margin]
Andrew P*

Vol I Chap 10– 168.

Nov 21 1780, Sir William informs my father, that he had succeeded in obtaining a grant from the Treasury of 100£† "It was" says he "I confess with some difficulty and a good deal of perseverance that I accomplish'd this matter for you, but I would cheerfully go over all the tedious ground again to do you any service and to receive so much pleasure myself from having done it – I can say with great truth that the services which my situation in this country have enabled me to render my brother loyalists have been in the worst of times a source of real comfort to me, and a very great alleviation to the weight of my own misfortunes – I trust I cannot in any one instance be charged with having neglected to render those very worthy but unfortunate people every service in my power. I claim no merit from a faithfull discharge of this duty. I only mean to convince you that in this instance my duty and inclination have gone hand in hand["] – He speaks in very friendly terms of Mr Blowers[?] and Mr Walter[?] and says "that Mr Royal has had a severe stroke of the palsy but is I hope in a fair way of recovery" He mentions in this letter that he had become responsible to the house

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* Possibly a reference to Andrew Pepperrell, the first Sir William's only son, who died at age 26 in 1751, though why Isaac makes this annotation here is not clear. He had been engaged to Hannah Waldo. Or possibly the reference is to another Andrew, Sir William's brother, whose death is mentioned below, I, 183. It isn't clear to me why the bottom lines have been struck through, since Isaac does not return to this letter of Oct. 18 again.

† Almost $20,000 today.

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of Lane & Frazer for an Invoice of goods directed by my father to the amount of 800£, and would cheerfully increase his liability – In a letter of Sept 29, 1780, Sir William mentions that "through the interest of his friend Mr Thompson who" he writes "I have the pleasure to inform you is appointed under Secretary of State for the American department your Sister Mrs Hannah widow of Joshua has had a 100£ a year granted her from the Treasury." In reply to the desire of my father that he should apply the money coming from the Treasury towards the discharge of debt due him from my father he says "I cannot possibly consent to take any part of your notes till your situation is more eligible I am well paid for the present in the thought, that my exertions in your behalf may have been of some assistance to a worthy family whose welfare I shall always most ardently wish" – In a letter of May 1781, He says that the letter enclosed to him by my father for his Sister at Highgate / widow of my uncle Joshua was immediately forwarded and adds, "I am highly

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flatterd by the affectionate manner in which you address me in all your letters and the anxiety you express for my welfare, and that which I think I feel is much nearer to me than my own, the welfare of my dear and much loved children", speaks of having besides an habitual complaint in the breast just got up from a troublesome slow fever by which he was much reduced in flesh and strength – The former he is apprehensive he shall never get entirely rid of, thought it has been much alleviated by change of air and exercise on horseback and adds – "Though I have met with the most poignant affliction, and have lost the greatest of earthly blessings["] (alluding to the death of his wife which he never seems to have got over) ["]I am sensible that I have a great deal left to make me wish for life, I am very necessary to the happiness of my beloved family and I have a number of dear and very worthy friends, to whom I most ardently wish to render essential service, while these considerations are in force, life cannot be altogether unpleasant

I have the pleasure to inform you that my dear boy is perfectly recovered from his late illness. My anxiety for him was of no service

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to my breast, but I have been amply compensated, for that inconvenience by my joy and I would hope thankfullness on his recovery, but this I had no occasion to have told to a person of your sensibility" He mentions in his letter that he is sorry the goods are not gone, having been shipped a long time and waiting convoy – In a long letter which is principally taken up with an account of the recent illness of all his children, two of whom seem to have been in great danger and on whose account great anxiety is discovered "he says I have now no reason, but that if I am so happy as once more to see them well, I shall very soon be so myself – but that is only a secondary consideration" –

This letter mentions the loss by capture of several Dutch vessells some of which had on board sugar from a plantation which Sir William owned in Surinam On this property he had no insurance which could not be effected at any premium. He speaks of the probability of peace between England and Holland in consequence of a late naval action, adding for though the Dutch had a superior fleet, they were certainly worsted. This circumstance of hostility between the two countries forbad the expectation of being able to get any produce from

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his estate in Surinam the ensuing year, seems to acquiesce in what he considers a providential

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dispensation the privation of his income, and closes by saying "If things came to the worst I can live decently in a retired situation for 500£ per annum, which I am allowed from Government, therefore be under no concern about me"

In a letter dated Oct 2 1781 – he expresses his satisfaction at hearing that the meditated attack on New York by Gen Washington had been abandoned owing as was supposed to the garrison of that city having been reinforced – He introduces by this letter his worthy friend Mr Thompson who is going out to join the regiment of dragoons – "I have recommended you to him as one of my best friends, and "I am sure from the friendship that has ever subsisted between us, he will be desirous of rendering you any service in his power my friends in New York cannot oblige me more than by showing particular attention to this great and worthy man. He has been uniformly the patron of our loyal American brethren – The services he has render'd them, and the ardent zeal which he has constantly shewn in their cause, as well as his amiable disposition and I

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may say, his very uncommon literary merit give him every possible claim to their warmest esteem and affection – He will expect nothing from them but their notice and friendship which I am sure my worthy friends will think him entitled to."

I think this refers to a Mr Benjamin Thompson afterwards Count Rumford[*] who raised a corps of troops I believe cavalry, in New York – about the year 1781. – I remember hearing that he was on intimate terms of friendship with Sir William Pepperrell – I think he was knighted in Great Britain before he got his German title – I recollect his daughter the Countess having brought a letter of introduction to my father from his friend with some expectation of making part of the family.

My fathers brother John Winslow who was acting as commissary of prisoners at New York, died there 26 Sept 1781, at the early age of 39 of the bilious fever. I remember hearing it said, that he took cold from his exposure and over anxiety to alleviate the sufferings of his fellow countrymen the most of whom were confin'd in the Jersey[†] prison Ship, lying at the Wallabout Long Island, the spot which

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has since been selected as the site of the U S Navy yard near New York. Sir William in his

[*] Sir Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford and Fellow of the Royal Society (1753 –1814). Thompson was in addition to his military career an important inventor and scientist who is considered to be a player in the nineteenth-century revolution in thermodynamics. He invented a kitchen range, very much improved fireplaces, and a percolating coffee pot. In later life he married Marie-Anne Lavoisier, widow of the chemist Antoine Lavoisier.

[†] The prison ships at Wallabout were notoriously horrible, and likely thousands of prisoners died in them, although political maneuvering by both sides may have contributed to the miserable conditions on board as much as intentional cruelty. I can find but one reference to John Winslow in material relating to the prison ships, and that doesn't tell us much: "Commissary Winslow came and released Major Winslow on his parole on Long Island." This is from Danske Dandridge, *American Prisoners of the Revolution* (Charlottesville, Virginia: The Michie Company, 1911), 120. For an account that is more balanced than most in its conclusions about the treatment of their prisoners by the British, see Eugene L. Armbruster, *The Wallabout Prison Ships: 1776-1783* (New York: n. pub., 1920). This small book, by a self-published author, has the appearance of being well researched. Another Commissary of Prisoners was Joshua Loring, Jr., son of the Commodore (see above, I, 113) and brother of John's sister-in-law Hannah. He is charged with great cruelty, the starvation of prisoners, and theft of their rations.

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letter Dec 3 1781, says, "I heartily sympathize with you under the heavy affliction you have lately been called to meet with in the loss of your unfortunate brother, and condole with you and the poor unhappy widow on this melancholy occasion" and in the kindest manner of his willingness to aid her all in his power should she proceed to England, or use all the interest which he can make to obtain for her assistance from the Treasury if she prefers to remain in New York and petition for an allowance –

He adds, referring to the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown Virginia "I condole with you on the great national misfortune, that has befallen us in Virginia – It is great and distressing beyond measure, and when I think of the sacrifice made of our dear and worthy brethren I am filled with horror, but I will say no more till I hear the particulars – I am quite in the dark as respecting the measures, Government mean now to pursue in America, but it is generally supposed that we shall not extend our ports, but strengthen those we have and confine our future operations chiefly to the sea – You will believe me I am sure when I

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tell you that I heartily join in your wishes for a peace but I cannot possibly see how that happy event can be brought about till America becomes a little more reasonable. The constitutional dependence of that country for no other is talked of or wished for, seems to be so interwoven with the essential rights and privileges of the mother country, that it is a question whether any ministry could be found in the kingdom that would dare I may say to dissolve a tie on which our very existence as a free people must principally depend. The nation notwithstanding all its weight of misfortunes however heavy it may be is not prepared for a measure so ruinous and disagreeable – It will suffer again and again before it will consent to its own annihilation –

I am sorry to find you have met with so many discouragements in pursuing your business at New York. Our late misfortune in Virginia will I am afraid add to your embarrassments, but be not cast down a brighter day I doubt not will soon appear, and we shall all see better times."

["]You will be pleased to hear that there is much reason to hope that we shall soon be at peace with Holland – The mediation afforded by the Empress of Russia has been accepted by both the contending powers – a cessation of hostilities will

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probably be the result" &c He mentions the pleasure this anticipation gives him as he has received nothing from his Surinam estates, from the commencement of the war with Holland, and adds "I hope soon to be able to communicate to you this pleasing intelligence, and to inform you that this country has one power less to contend with" – He mentions in this letter the death of his father in law Col Royall, on the 16th October preceeding (1781) and that he is informed by Lord George Germain, has desired Sir Henry Clinton to give the widow of Mr John Winslow support out of a fund he is entrusted with for the relief of the loyal American sufferers which he thinks will be more for her interests than she had petitioned the treasury "where there are already upwards of a hundred petitions, the prayers of which I am afraid will never be granted" In this letter Sir Williams begs his friend not to be uneasy, in regard to his liability to Lane & Frazer for the goods, sent to New York
Sir William writes Jany 2d 1782, "I am sorry to find your goods from Mr Lane are so much damaged and more so that you have suffered yourself, at a time when you had so many other troubles

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to distress you, to be so anxious about them on my account – I do assure you I am under no sort of concern about them myself, except that I feel a little mortified, that my expectations respecting them will not be so fully answerd as I could wish. Let the event be what it may, I beg leave to remind you of my being a volunteer in the matter, and that there is not anything for which you can possibly blame yourself – You never made any request to me upon the subject, but the goods were sent in compliance with my wishes. As Mess* Lane & Frazer have not said anything to me about them, I have no doubt they will wait with patience for remittances, more especially as by their not acting in conformity to your orders that the goods were damaged" He thinks the British Government is very desirous for peace, but that the claim for independence is incompatible with the safety of Great Britain. He hopes the Government may be guided by Infinite wisdom "for surely if there was ever a time when it was when it was more devoutly to be wished for than another, it is the present." Referring

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to the deaths in my fathers family – He says in this letter – "The wounds caused by such afflictions I too well know are never to be entirely healed, they will at times bleed afresh, in spite even of the powerfull aid of time and friendship – If I sensibly miss, the high degree in in which you enjoy the consolation of this, I do not envy but heartily rejoice with you" – This has no doubt a reference, to his own case, and, the recollections of a beloved wife, which if in some measure alleviated by, the transfer of affection to his children of whom he speaks very affectionately in all his letters, were as I have always heard fondly cherished, during his life – He never married again – Perhaps, tho my father did take a second wife, and was, one of the best of husbands, yet there was a secret sympathy between the two friends – The feelings of my father at the death of his first wife must have been well known to Sir William who was her cousin. In a letter Feby 6, 1782 he mentions the arrival of my uncle John Winslow's widow at her Uncle Simpsons at Bath, and in this and his next letter promises to render her all the assistance in his power &c, adding in the letter "Several

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questions respecting a peace with America have been agitated of late in the house of commons. You will see by the papers that administration have been outvoted by the opposition, and left in the minority – The former seem desirous of going any reasonable length length for the purpose of obtaining a peace, but cannot see themselves clear in purchasing it at the enormous price of American independence – I have been very long convinced that this country would be very happy to hearken to any reasonable terms of accommodation with America, but her Sovereignty over that country she finds it hard to relinquish" – He doubts whether the administration will be able to keep their ground, though they are as desirous of peace as their opponents, mentions the resignation of Lord Sackville† in which the American Loyalists have sustained a loss–and regrets that his wishes to serve my father in the shipment of goods from Lane & Frazer are likely to involve his friend in loss. – In April 1782 Sir William informs my father of the change of administration and of his hopes that it may produce ["]the

* Presumably "Messrs." is intended here.

† George Germain. After his resignation, King George made him a peer, 1st Viscount Sackville.

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desirable event we have been both so long wishing, and if a peace should also be settled with Holland: I am sure . . that an event in which your friend is so nearly concerned will not be unpleasing to one who wishes him so well, many are sanguine in their expectations, that both these important objects will be attained in consequence of the late revolution["] (change of ministry) ["]should they be right, I shall bless the day in which the change took place."

In his letter of May 1782, he says ["]I have been a good deal hurt by my having embarrassed you by an intended kindness, but had the goods been sent you when I first made the request for them, it would have been otherwise".

["]Nothing new has transpired in the political world since my last a general peace before Christmas almost everybody here is in expectation of" – In Sir Williams letter of June 6 1782, he mentions himself and family having been severely handled by the Influenza "The town has been for a fortnight past a perfect hospital.

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The uncommonly cold and damp weather which we have had for six months past it is thought occasiond this disagreeable complaint" – The 3rd July 1781,* Sir William writes "I am sorry to inform you that the Marquis of Rockingham† died the 1st instant – The public as well as myself sustain a loss by his death, I had much reason to expect from his civil deportment to me that my friends as well as myself would have been patronized by him – The place of Premier is now vacant and no one yet as I can find determind on for that post – You will see by the papers of the day, that Mr Fox‡ has declared for himself and friends that unless the independence of America is immediately acknowledged, they will retire – The result must be known soon"

In Aug 1782. He states that the prospect of peace is not more favorable than it was some months ago, that the object of the ministry was to carry on the war by Sea, in order to cripple the French marine, that Charleston and, Savannah would be evacuated, and New York retained, and "America be let alone by land till she is disposed to

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accept of conditional independence, which even Lord Shelburne§ I think has consented to grant, as soon as she is in a humor to negotiate"

In a very long letter of Dec 8, 1782, Sir William informs my father of the prospect of peace and congratulates him on this event, "I think["] says he ["]that a cessation of hostilities will soon take place between GB and the United States of America and that it

* No doubt a mistake for "1782." See the note following.

† Charles Watson-Wentworth, Marquis of Rockingham, (1730–1782). A Whig, he became Prime Minister in 1782 and began the negotiations that led to the end of the War of Independence.

‡ Charles James Fox (1749–1806). British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs under Rockingham (1782). Fox did indeed resign in July, 1782, but returned as Secretary of State and as co-leader of the so-called Fox-North coalition government in 1783.

§ William Petty-FitzMaurice, Marquis of Lansdowne (1737–1805). Known as The Earl of Shelburne between 1761 and 1784. His brief ministry succeeded Lord Rockingham's.

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will soon be followed by a general peace. If the result should be the happiness of GB and America, which it is beyond the limits of our understanding to say that it will not be, our expected grief will be turned into joy" – This letter is filled with the kindest expressions of regard and most friendly sentiments towards my father, discovering a very deep interest for him and his family, inviting him to England, and suggesting other plans, besides, for his future benefit – In a letter of May 7, 1783 Sir William says, "You must have heard of the peace and the independence of America,"* I wish either

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Country may be as happy as they were when both were united, but I think it is more than can well be expected – I heartily wish both well. In a commercial way they may yet be connected – Our unfortunate brethren, the loyalists I am much concerned for, though I can't entertain a doubt that if the recommendation† of Congress to the different States, should prove ineffectual, that Parliament will do, something towards compensation. Ministry promise very fair, and I really believe if our property is kept back from us by the states, they mean to do something handsome for us; tho' the talk of full compensation is impossible" This letter mentions a general reduction of the grants to the loyalists, and also the death of a dear and admirable brother, (Andrew) attending upon whom had impaired his health, which says the writer "is better than it has been, my unwearied attention to him during an illness of near five months, and my poignant regret upon the very melancholy occasion which succeeded were more than my shatterd frame

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was able to support – You will sympathize with me I am sure under this heavy affliction – You well, know the nature of my distress!"

I have made very copious extract from these letters of Sir William Pepperrell, simply because there remained a large file of these, which have been preserved through the vicissitudes of half a century, – For the sake of making uninterrupted extracts from these according to the successive dates, I have been induced to deviate from the order of time, and anticipate circumstances, which would more properly have been noticed according as they occurred, after the arrival of my fathers family at New York.

All these letters from the loyalists in England, show the strong attachment they had to their native country – the interest they took in its welfare, their hearty desire for a reconciliation, and as it strikes me, great moderation in language towards their opponents, considering their position towards those leaders of the people, by whose means they had lost their property, and were compelled to become exiles from their beloved country – It is to exhibit these feelings towards this country, that these letters

* The Treaty of Paris was not signed until September, but the U. S. Congress of the Confederation had approved preliminary articles in April, so it is probably to this that Sir William is referring.

† The treaty merely directed Congress to urge the States to make reparations to Loyalists. Partly this was because it was the States that individually had confiscated property, but there were many complications in this thorny issue.

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from Loyalists in England, have been extracted from In the following chapter I purpose to take a general view, though imperfect one from the scanty materials in my possession – of the circumstances & position of other members of the family, as well the few who remained in Boston, as those exiled from their country who sought Shelter in Canada and Nova Sotia[*] –

[*] An obvious error for "Scotia." Isaac's hand is notably unsteady on this page.

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Chapter Eleven

Letters from those under British rule to those under American jurisdiction (and vice versa) constrained by fear of interception and therefore fewer in number – Letters from sons of Richard Clarke in Canada to their uncle Isaac on military preparations for attack on Ticonderoga – Letter from Nathaniel Taylor to the same on anxieties in Quebec – Letters concerning the sisters Betsy and Sally Tyng Winslow (great uncle Isaac's daughters) and their cousin, wife of General Knox; his history and the sisters' coming to reside with him – The relatively few letters from the family in Boston; from Isaac's uncle Edward the clergyman on the distressed state of the family; from Isaac's aunt Sukey also full of distress; from Mary Hubbard to his aunt Kate Pease on the death of her husband Simon – Letters from his father to his cousin Betsy at General Knox's – Further distresses of aunt Sukey; mention of Isaac's future first wife, then a small child – Letter from Samuel (son of great uncle Isaac) from Boston – Reflections on the dispersed family – Two aunts who had married Whigs alienated from the family – Reflections on the despotic power seized by the popular branch before the Revolution; confiscation of property, but his grandfather's estate escaped – Notice of a prescient letter by the Marquis of Montcalm – Quaker opposition to the Revolution – an ingenious plan of the Bostonians to obtain a supply of Specie from their enemies.

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In the correspondence between England and New York the latter remaining in possession of the British, during the whole of the revolution, the intercourse was unrestricted, and hence epistolary correspondence sustained its general character of actual and unconstrained communication – not so however when written by residents under the British or American authority to their friends who were under the authority of the adverse party – In such cases the writer felt himself obliged for fear of injury to his friend to adopt a very guarded stile, to be very cautious in his language, and very brief in his communications – In short to consider himself as writing under the inspection of an enemy ready to destroy a letter or injure the party to whom it was addressed when there existed any pretext for so doing – All remarks of a political or general nature were therefore carefully excluded from such letters – Nor could these comprehend confidential communications of a private character, for such can only take place, where the writers are assured, that they are seen only by the friendly

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eye for which they are designed. Hence the letters between the members, of the family during the revolutionary war were few in number and of little interest – I shall begin with those from my fathers cousin Isaac W Clarke of Canada. This gentleman as well as his brother Jonathan Clarke were Sons of Richard Clarke, who has before been spoken of. Both were so fortunate as to obtain the appointment of Commissaries in Canada at a Salary of 365

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£ Stg per annum, soon after the arrival of their fathers family in England, and from thence embarked for Canada I believe in 1776. In October of this year Mr Clarke writes his uncle of his intention to send Isaac the youngest son of the former then under his care to the seminary at Quebec "the expence will be light, 15 livres for his board and schooling per month (equal to 2 ½ dollars) his clothing will be but trifling, as I can always find something or other that will serve him, that I leave off. My attention to this matter shall not be wanting – The prospect of affairs has much alterd since your letter of 27th. – I hope and am persuaded, that the time is not very far off when you will not think of studying frugality

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so much as you then feared would be necessary. I thank you for the important news you sent me of Genl Howes success on Long Island["] &c – Mr Clarke then enters into the details of the preparations making by the army under Gen Carleton,* for the attack of the Americans at Ticonderoga – He mentions also, a recent action between the American and British flotillas at Cumberland Bay on Lake Champlain, in which on a second attack the Americans lost 8 out of 16 of their vessells and adds that "the army with the general in the advanced guard had gone on to Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and I doubt they will soon send us a good account of themselves, There was never an army in better health or spirits .". .– He speaks of the American army as being about five thousand strong, .. besides a few hundreds more at Lake George and Skenesborough, and anticipates, the probability of the communication with New York, being open the ensuing winter, and concludes with remembrances of his father and other connections in England –

Mr Nath Taylor also writes my great uncle Isaac from Quebec under date 31 Augt 1776 in regard to his Son, Isaac, who he says, "arrived in Quebec the 19th inst after a long and I believe not very agreeable passage.["] (I presume from

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Halifax." Mr Taylor speaks of Quebec as "not being a place well adapted to bring up young people in, for there is no business for at least half the year, so much idle time on the hands of youth is very apt to lead them into vice and folly, unless under the inspection of friends who have a, tender regard for them, and can restrain them from company which so often proves ~~to~~ so† fatal to persons entering upon life – Isaac bids fair to escape infection as any lad I know, and he could not be better placed than with his cousin Clarke's provided they could employ him, you may be assured, that no endeavours of mine to promote his interest shall be wanting"

Mr T speaks of the army in the province making preparations to cross the lakes, and that he is persuaded from "Genl Carletons, abilities, prudence, and general good conduct, he will not risque anything which human foresight can prevent" mentions the arrival of a part of the Hesse Hanau troops, ‡ from Portsmouth in 8 weeks passage, that the whole number expected was 2200 men "when these join, the army will

* Guy Carleton, Baron Dorchester (1724–1808). Between 1776 and 1786 known as Sir Guy Carleton. He twice served as Governor of the Province of Quebec, from 1768 to 1778, serving at that same time as Governor General of British North America.

† Inserted in pencil.

‡ A contingent of Hessian soldiers sent by Count William of Hesse-Hanau.

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consist of about 9000 men well furnish'd with everything necessary for a campaign" – speaks of the great anxiety prevailing in Quebec, to receive accounts from Gen

Howe and to ascertain if his reported commanding position over the American army under Gen[l] Washington was likely to be realized –
This Mr Taylor was grandson of the Mrs Taylor before spoken of [*] as dying at an advanced age the last surviving grandchild of the first John Winslow consequently second cousin of my uncle –
Mr Clarke in a letter to his uncle from Quebec Sept 3 1776, mentions the arrival of his cousin Isaac, that Quebec was overstocked with goods of all kinds with very little demand adding "I hope your separation from home will not be so long, as to put you upon thinking of any business" – "I assure you I sufferd very much on your account, when I heard of your moving from Boston I heartily wish you may have soon encouragement to return but I hear of nothing yet which gives me leave to promise it, we are impatiently expecting to hear of Gen[l] Howes motions, nothing which can be depended on from him is known later than the account of his having landed at Staten Island – Speaks of the preparations for, a large army on the lakes, as well as a strong naval force, that the American army at Ticonderoga under the command of Major Gates[†] is only 4000 men. "It is impossible that such a force as that can withstand the army that is going over" The same friend writes to my father from Montreal in a letter dated 19th September 1779 – in this referring to the adjustment of a matter of business, by Mr Nathaniel Taylor also one of the loyalists, which had saved my father so very disagreeable a jaunt as he otherwise would have had to Canada In this he speaks of his brother Jonathan, who was a Commissary as well as I W Clarke, being with the army, (probably Cornwallis's) and adds Mr Clarke, "I am sorry to find, that by the movements of that army, my brother is prevented being of service to our late uncles estate, I

think the return of the young ladies to New England was well judged" These two Mr Clarkes with my father, were joint executors of the will of their uncle Isaac, but he dying in New York, and the other executors absent, my father was left, the sole acting executor. The young ladies referd to were Betsey and Sally Tyng Winslow daughters of the deceased – These I presume after their fathers death,***** got permission to go into the American lines in New Jersey, where they resided some months in the family of their cousin Mrs Knox, wife of General Knox,[‡] then with General Washington's army at Morristown[§] About the date of Mr Clarkes letter, these young ladies probably left their position in New Jersey to return to New England[**] – Mrs Knox was daughter of Thomas Flucker secretary of the province before the revolution, of whom mention has before been made – Gen Knox was originally a

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[*] See above, I, 53.

[†] Horatio Lloyd Gates (c. 1727–1806).

[‡] Henry Knox (1750–1806). He became the chief artillery officer of the Continental Army and later the first United States Secretary of War. He married Lucy Flucker (1756–1824).

[§] And see below, IV, 134 (relating to Betsey's death in 1825).

[**] But the letter to Betsey quoted below (I, 193, verso) indicates the sisters were still at Morristown in March, 1780.

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bookseller and kept a shop in Boston at the corner of Washington and State Street, and is said in his youth, to have been a well looking young man. At this time he was an officer in the militia company called Gridleys artillery, which was then rather celebrated for its skill in gunnery. Miss Flucker as I have heard, used frequently to visit the shop of Mr Knox and is said to have given him much encouragement, in fact rather to have courted him at first – The disparity of the situation and circumstances of the parties in life was very great, Mr Knox's family being in a humble situation in society, and her's of the first rank in the province – The, match was strongly opposed by her friends but finally took place, (whether with, or without the connivance of the family I never heard,) and they were married at the house of her uncle Mr Winslow in Roxbury. I always understood, that he rather favor'd this union, and aided in its favorable issue. For this friendly disposition Gen Knox, as I have been led to think, from the little I know of the circumstances of the case, evinced more grateful feeling's towards Mr Winslows family than his lady, who though not unkind to her cousins, yet when living in a good deal of style, after the peace in Boston, did not much notice her cousins, who were then in quite narrow circumstances – To return from this digression, to other parts of Mr Clarks letter to my father. This gentleman

[written sideways at the left margin bottom to top]
***** They remained with the widow their mother in law[*] till Jany 1779 then went to Gen Knox at Morristown the widow went to England, the August following with her Son Thomas

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mentions his anxiety to hear about the expected fleet, and what movements will be made this year and says "we are alarmed here at hearing of Gen[l]. McLeans[†] situation at Penobscot, our latest advices are that he is blocked up there by a number of armd troops. We hear of a large body of men under the command of Sullivan[‡] on an expedition against our upper country, what will be the event of this we cannot judge – Mr. C mentions in this letter the difficulty of obtaining any correct political information at Montreal – The Penobscot expedition referd to by Mr Clark was undertaken in July 1779 by the Province of Massachusetts, for the purpose of driving off or capturing a British force under a Col[l] McLean stationd at that place, but proved an entire failure – The American force consisted of a land force of 900 men, one frigate of 32 guns, 16 sloops of war and brigs, and 24 transports – . all of which were destroyed, by a fleet under the command of Sir George Collier[§] composed of seven heavy ships of war fitted out at New York – The American vessells were principally burnt by themselves – The troops and seamen sufferd much in their return to Boston through the then unsettled[?][**] province of Maine –

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[*] Isaac's second wife, Jemima, their stepmother.

[†] Francis McLean.

[‡] Probably General John Sullivan (1740–1795).

[§] 1738–1795.

[**] The lower half of this page is written on a pasted-on fragment evidently from an envelope, as it contains small circles of sealing wax. There is a hole at the bottom edge after the word "then" through which a letter, probably "g" and a bit of wax are visible, but this seems to have been intended to be covered up.

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[written on the verso of the preceding page][*]
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~~province under~~ the royal government Mr Winslows[†] eldest daughter Hannah is mentiond in the Gentleman's Magazine of 1778 as having been married to John Wall[?] Esq of his majesty's 45th Regt of foot. They went to Ireland together and never returned to this country

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The other expedition referd to by Mr Clarke under the command of the American general Sullivan against upper Canada was also unsuccessfull.

Having thus got through that part of the family narrative which has been extracted from the letters of its members at a distance from New England, I shall now take up from the few letters in my possession the narrative of those who who remained in Boston or were resident in New York during the war.

During the above period I find only three or four letters from members of the family in Boston – The first of them is from my fathers eldest brother Edward the episcopal clergyman before mentiond, dated at Boston November 29, 1776[‡] – In this he speaks of the distressd state

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of the family in consequence of my fathers leaving Boston, their mother he says ["]is in a most pitiable condition having scarcely any exercise of her rational faculties, and we are extremely perplexed as to the concerns of the estate – the Distill house entirely stoppd since the evacuation of the town, all the stock undoubtedly the property of the family seized, and as yet no prospect of redress, nor any branch of the family to apply for it with any probability of success". ["]The rents of the Estate,["] he says, ["]will go but a very little way towards the maintenance of the family – Most of the houses belonging to the estate are in a miserable condition, But what will be effected or how anything can be is altogether uncertain" This letter was addressed to the uncle of the writer[§] at Halifax and is endorsed "Boston 2nd Dec 1776 opend and permitted Nat. Barber" – The latter was a high whig and either then or afterwards the husband of my fathers sister Mary.[**] How my uncle came in Boston I never knew having been appointed in 1774 Chaplain on board the

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Kings ship Mercury by Admiral Parker then in Boston Bay. it might be thought that on this account he would have been particularly obnoxious to the leaders of the whig party – Perhaps however, this appointment being two years before the commencement of hostilities, and the above letter to his uncle written Eight months after the evacuation, it is probable his character as a clergyman protected him, and that he came into town from his parish in

[*] Except for the fact that Isaac has bothered to number this page (and he misnumbers it at that), the text is discontinuous with the preceding, unclear in itself, and may not have been intended for inclusion here.

[†] The author's great uncle Isaac.

[‡] This letter has already been quoted, above, I, 129.

[§] Isaac's great uncle Isaac.

[**] They were married on December 19, so just days after the letter just quoted.

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Braintree principally with the design of getting a passport for Newport, from whence he might join some of his family in New York – His own family remaind in Braintree –

***** The only letters from the family which remain besides the above are two or three from my Aunt Sukey, to my father in New York, dated in Feb[y] & April 1780 – The winter of that year was one of great severity, probably one of the coldest seasons on record. In her letter of 7 Feby, "[*]speaking of the want of intelligence from her brothers in New York, and of the distressd state of those of the family who were in Boston she says, "I remember my brother Jack used to say that he never lovd any of his poor relations, and though I must now be reckond amongst them, yet it pains me to[†]

***** note I find a letter from my father to his sister Sukey, dated New York Jany 2 1779 which begins "I can only now bid my dear sister the good wishes of the season

So uniformly are mankind impressed, and so agreed that something is presently wanting["] (meaning to complete our happiness) ["]that to this anticipation is this custom to be attributed.["] ("a happy new year) – ["]without falling under the imputation of being grumblers, such have been some of our past years, we may very justly be warranted to hope for a change

Our cousins Betsey & Sally had leave to come out if they went to Boston, Mr Clark and I thought of their living with you – They must cross a disagreeable passage to Elizabeth town[‡] which is thought dangerous now, we have had so much ice, and the weather is now too inclement for them to travel – The first good weather they will come out – Your affect Brother

Sister Jack[§] much better and stands the winter well –

o v e r

[verso of the preceding]

I find amongst the few family letters during the war one from Mrs Mary Hubbard a particular friend of my Aunt then Pease (afterwards Malbone) a letter of condolence on the death of her husband Simon Pease dated Dec 18, 1777 – By this I infer his death must have taken place a short time before – after expressing her sorrow and sympathy with her friend in the loss of one of the best of husbands, Mrs H beseeches her not to sorrow as those without hope, that having experienced as much felicity "as commonly falls to the lot of mortals, the clouds of adversity have descended and life looks dull and insipid without your dear partner,["] and beseeches her ["]to remember that an infinitely wise, gracious and merciful, God, who, presides over the universe, and who cannot err, is able to make our severest trials prove blessings – May the Almighty support comfort and bless you and give you the divine consolations which your present distress requires, and may you be enabled to say "Thy will O Lord be done – my heart my Dear Kate bleeds for you and most sincerely do I wish, it was in my power to be with you to mingle my tears with yours, to pour the balm of Comfort into your wounded souls and take my share of your affliction" Mary Hubbard

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[*] The quotation mark here is premature.

[†] The text here is continued at the beginning of I, 194 below.

[‡] Probably Elizabeth, New Jersey.

[§] Perhaps his brother John's wife.

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Extract of letters from my father dated 18 March 1780 to his cousin Betsy at Gen[l] Knox's Morristown New Jersey mentions his not having written owing to restrictions on letters, "we had many stories about you that you would not be received, but have since heard there was not the least foundation for such a report["] – is glad to find "you have spent your time agreeably with your kind cousins &c.

Aunt Winslow["] (that is their mother in law* ["]is yet here and well – Tommy["] (their half brother ["]improves much. I have got him a good schoolmaster, and think and hope he will not be spoiled.

I am exceedingly pleased with what you say of Miss Tyng.† Indeed Dear Betsy, I believe you and Sally both must be out of the little matters you mention. I hope from what I see in your papers that paper at its nominal value will not be a tender for debts, and then your brother with what you have, will be able to make you comfortable – Here I cannot yet make out to pay your mama, compliments to Mrs Knox & the general, &c. Memo of articles sent. 19 yds silk for gown, cost 2$ pr yd 16 yds ribbon 31 cts yd 6 yds gauze 94 cts y[d] 3 pair Shoes 15[?] pair.

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to be neglected by those I tenderly love, now more than ever. How great this was, I never realized till this cruel separation – we have sufferd much this winter – many a time should I have been glad to have been partaker of the fare in one of your kitchens – The expenses of living are so great and the severity of the winter such, that many have unavoidably suffer'd. How many times have I wish'd to see or be near you all

All we have is sinking fast, and to avoid these gloomy communications write you seldom, but be assured I feel the tender affection for you all, and daily miss your tender care and assistance – This is hard, but I will try not to repine, -- Loss of health and low spirits have reduced me to a mere shadow – Tell my brother Jack he must nor forget me. I am no more weaned from my love to him than when we first parted – He knows I always loved him and had reason once to think he did me. Hannah Orrok‡ is strong in the faith of our all seeing you again. I wish I could join with her. Aunt Alford§ is still with me, has been, at times distressd for want of means, but in good health –" with the usual remembrance to her family, she concludes with a request for "a pair of shoes, a few pins, a little thread, nothing can come amiss, as we are in very great want – Don't forget me" – Your truly affct

SW

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In a letter of 19 April 1780, my aunt writes to her brother "One more attempt will I make my dear brother, to hear from you, though almost discouraged as it is now almost four

* Stepmother, Jemima.

† Sally Tyng Winslow was named after her uncle John's wife, neé Sarah Tyng, who died childless (above, I, 36 and below, IV, 146n.) But she had become Mrs. Winslow about 1760, which makes it unlikely that she is the person being referred to. But we know she much preferred the name Tyng to Winslow, and I suspect there were hopes that she might settle some of her extensive estate on her nieces. The sentence following, concerning "little matters," only deepens the mystery.

‡ Referred to above, I, 72, as Hannah Orrick.

§ Neé Margaret Savage, Mrs. John Alford, sister of Isaac's grandmother Elizabeth Savage Winslow.

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months since we have had any intelligence from our friends in New York except a letter from Brother Jack to his Sister Pease – I seem to be neglected and forgotten by those I tenderly love –" She speaks of the trying separation which this "cruel war" has made between friends – but her affection to them nothing can alienate, and adds "Many lonely hours do I spend in thinking of the happy days we once had together, round our venerable parents hospitable board, but alas what a change, no fond father to indulge, nor kind brother to advise, but left alone in this day of severe trial and adversity. Tell your Polly* if she could have anticipated the changes I have experienced since our parting, our tears at that time would have flowed more freely than they did – Aunt Alford has been remarkably well in her health through this dreadful winter – poor lady she is much broken, and seems almost tired of her long pilgrimage here – The vicissitudes she has sufferd at times are too much for her – Sister Pollard† is well still resides with her daughter has her hands full with the care

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of two little girls of Peggy's,‡ she is amicable as ever and wants much to see uncle Isaac again, Sister Jeffries well and desires her regards["] – These two little girls were Peggy Blanchard my first wife born 1777 and her sister Catherine afterwards Mrs Houston born in 1780. –

another letter from this aunt dated 25 May 1780 is pretty much a recapitulation of the preceding one she speaks of her situation as being more comfortable than the winter before, having her aunts & cousins as boarders, and shewing the extreme scarcity of articles in common use she desires her brother to send her " few pins, a little thread and a gauze handkerchief"

Samuel, eldest son of my great uncle Isaac writes from Boston July 29 1781, that such is the uncertainty of conveyance between that place and New York that 2 years had elapsed since he had a letter – mentions his Sisters Elizabeth & Sarah Tyng, being happily situated with their cousin Sukey, and expresses much anxiety for his brother Isaac lately arrived at New York from Quebec, who was then a lad of 16 or 18, lest he should have left his cousin Isaac Clarke without permission, This young man on his passage from New York to Quebec in the preceding winter was shipwrecked on the coast between the St Lawrence & Halifax, which will be noticed hereafter§ –

The family which for a century before the revolution had been a numerous and flourishing one, were nearly all exiles from the place of their nativity – They were scatterd abroad in Halifax New York, England, and other places. Their departure in 1776, was to most of them a final adieu to their own and their Fatherland –

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Two of my fathers sisters had indeed married Bostonians Mrs Jeffries and Mrs Barber, but their husbands having warmly espoused the popular party, little sympathy existed between them and their relations, whose feelings were all on the other side – Such is always the case in dissensions of a political or religious character. The nearest connections become often

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* Isaac's mother.

† Isaac's aunt Margaret, who had married Benjamin Pollard, and two of whose granddaughters would both become Isaac's wives.

‡ Margaret's daughter Peggy Savage Pollard, who married Joshua Blanchard.

§ Below, I, 236.

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under such unhappy circumstances alienated, and sometimes even hostile to each other – and the bitterness of party feelings, neutralizes the best affections of our nature –

The American revolution was not a sanguinary one nor was there much blood if any shed but in battle – But the power assumed by the leaders of the popular party was despotic enough – These were generally the members of the house of representatives, on which branch the effectual power of government had devolved, long before the revolution, even while the nominal power was with the Kings government – under the names of committees of the town of Boston – of correspondence,

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and of safety, an efficient government was exercised. The mass of people animated by dislike to their opponents then called tories, willingly acquiesced, in the absolute power which the popular branch, a self organized body (the collateral branches of Governor and Council not then existing) thought it necessary to assume – preexisting committees, fortified with the authority of the popular branch in October 1774, at once organized equipd and furnished the militia with arms and stores, under the command of officers tried[?][*] friends to the popular cause – The revolution in Massachusetts and indeed in all New England was then complete – The Government had in fact passed from its former possessors – The new heads of the Government feeling their power, sure of the acquiescence of the people in its vigorous exercise against the Tories, gradually attained the consistence of a regular government – The property of their adversaries who had left the country was confiscated – The few who ventured to remain were imprison'd – certain leading tories were proscribed as conspirators, and all who had left the country were in fact expatriated[†] – The Public treasury benefitted but little by the confiscated property, being sold either for depreciated papers, or eaten up by the expences of[‡]

[a short page, pinned to the bottom of the preceding]

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agency. – The estate of my grandfather which was a large one was preserved from confiscation owing to his widow having a life estate in it, and being an undivided estate – part belonging to the sisters in Boston, and part to the families of the brothers who were absent, it did not share the fate of the loyalists property generally.

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It is not amiss to notice here a singular letter said to have been written by the Marquis of Montcalm[§] the French general who was slain at the capture of Quebec in 1757 or 58 published in the Gentlemans Magazine London July 1777. This was brought forward by Lord Mansfield in a debate in the house of Lords, in Dec 1777, as a proof of the early desire of the Americans for independence, -- Lord Shelburne in reply affirmed that it had been discoverd to be a forgery – Lord M however insisted that the letter was not spurious – The following is the extract "all the English colonies would long since have shaken off the yoke,

[*] As in *tried and true*?

[†] Probably a nonstandard usage meaning they were stripped of their citizenship.

[‡] "of" hidden under the page pinned to this one.

[§] Louis-Joseph de Montcalm-Gozon, Marquis de Saint-Veran (1712–1759).

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if the fear of seeing the French at their door had not been a check upon them – when Canada shall be conquer'd, and the Canadians and these colonists become one people on the first occasion when England, shall seem to strike at their interest will these colonies do you think obey? What will they have to fear from a revolt? Could England send an army of 100 000 or 200,000 men to oppose them at such a distance? It is true she has a fleet, and the towns of North America beside being few in number are all open, without forts or citadels and that a few men of war in their ports would be sufficient to keep them to their duty, but the interior part of the country which forms an object of greater importance, who will undertake to conquer, over rocks, lakes, rivers & mountains, which every where intersect it, and where a handfull of men acquainted with the country, would be sufficient to destroy the largest armies?["][*] From the magazine in question, to shew what were the opinions of the Quakers on the revolution.

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I shall here quote some extracts from an address of that Society dated Jany 1, 1776 an interesting revolutionary document. – The position this society was placed in, was as well as that of the Episcopalians and Sandemanians, (all, from principle supporters of the old government) a very uncomfortable one –

Governments have been generally but too much alike in refusing toleration to dissenters from the dominant or established religion, especially when their tenets, independent of any overt acts, do not coincide with the popular sentiment – The address is signd by John Pemberton dated Jany 1, 1776, beseeching their friends, and fellow subjects to enquire into the State of their own minds and "whether the calamities & difficulties which now surround us are not owing to a neglect of the requirements of the religion of Jesus Christ, whether an upright & impartial desire to prevent the slavery and oppression of our fellow men, and to return them to their natural rights, to true Christian liberty, has been encouraged, or have pride wantonness luxury, profaneness, a partial spirit and forgetfullness of the mercies of God become lamentably prevalent?["] The address recognizes the manifestation of divine regard to their ancestors evinced, when they were a suffering and persecuted people " in that the hearts of the King and rulers under whom they had suffered, were inclined to grant them these fruitfull [cou??s]."[†] This

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And that the benefits advantages and favors which they had experienced from the Kings and governors, under which they had enjoyed this happy state, ought to lead to <u>constant endeavours against every attempt</u> to <u>alter and subvert</u> that dependance and connection – This paper comprehends also part of an ancient address of the Society in 1696 probably to the home Government after the abdication of James 2^{d} – "that the setting up and putting down Kings and governments is Gods peculiar prerogative, that they could not plot or contrive the ruin or overturn of any of them, but to pray for the King and safety of our nation and good of all men, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and

[*] Isaac omits some sentences and phrases and makes some minor mistakes in transcribing this passage.

[†] The last seven words on this page are written on a slip that has been pasted over the final line. The slip ends apparently in the middle of the final word, which appears to begin "Cou" or possibly "coin." at the end, and written on the underlying (pasted over) page is what appears t be an "s." Elsewhere, Pemberton's uses the same language, and the difficult word here proves to be "countries." See, e.g., *The Friend: A Religious and Literary Journal*, 5, No. 10 (1831), 76.

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honesty" – This concludes with a firm intention to observe their just and necessary subordination to the King –
Whether owing to this or the subsequent refusal of the Society to take the oath of allegiance, Congress on the 28 Aug[t] 1777, recommended to the supreme executive of Pennsylvania to apprehend and secure the persons of Joshua Fisher, Abel James James Pemberton & others, Quakers to the number of Twenty one as being disaffected to the American cause, and that they be sent to Staunton in Virginia – The Committee of Congress justify themselves by the proceedings in other states in consequence of the Quakers refusing to take the oath – as well as by the conduct of the freest nations & the authority of judicious civilians.

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[Written in pencil at the top of the page]
Before making one or two selections from the correspondence of the author I [entrust? extract?] from M[?] [????]

As connected with the incidents occurring during the revolutionary war, may be mentioned an ingenious plan of the Bostonians to obtain a supply of Specie from their enemies. The army of Gen Burgoyne* after his surrender, was stationd at Cambridge, and for its supply Gold and Silver was sent from England, as well by the Government as by the friends of the captive officers – with this medium, purchases were made at the high prices consequent on a depreciated currency – In order that the State should profit by this, rather than individuals public agents were appointed, whose duty it was to pay the suppliers of provisions &c to the British army, in paper money, to be deliverd them from the State Treasury, and to deposit in lieu thereof the Specie received from the army thus exchanging specie for depreciated paper – at the same time Oct 30, 1777 the General assembly, in order to secure a supply of fuel from Maine, made a provision that passes for the Coasting vessells should be issued by the commander in chief Gen Heath,† stating that their cargoes of wood were intended for the use of the British prisoners at Cambridge, and if the vessells were captur'd they would be deprived of their supply of wood -- Gent[m] Magazine London Dec 1777.
From these two digressive chapters, imperfectly connected with the family history, yet not uninteresting as memorials of bygone times I resume the family narrative from the end of chapter 9[th] where it terminates with the arrival of my fathers family in New York in 1778.

* General John Burgoyne (1722–1792).

† Major General William Heath (1737–1814).

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Chapter Twelve

Family's arrival in New York – Reflections on Isaac's childhood memories and children's memories more generally – The voyage from Halifax; his brother Tom's throwing items overboard – Landing in Manhattan; separated from his father and attempt to rejoin him (age 4) – Digression about his grandfather Davis being held prisoner of war in Boston for some months after capture by a privateer between Halifax and New York; eventually freed in a prisoner exchange – Family resides first with grandfather Davis; explosion of an ordnance vessel in the East River vividly recollected – His father takes a house in Smith (now William) Street, $400 *per annum*; friends as subtenants to avoid having strangers billeted with them – Attempt by a Hessian forcibly to billet himself; courageous Irish maid servant who prevents this – Isaac schooled at a "woman's school," then at a school run by Mr. Humphreys, a Sandemanian – Recollections of various city locales and how they have changed – The story of the great fire of 1776; believed to be the work of incendiaries – Another fire in 1778 at which his father is wounded by a British soldier, likely believing him not to be a firefighter, but an incendiary – open fields and playing at the Battery – "Canvas Town" – a trip to Bushwick in the country with Mr. Humphreys' son – subsequent fever of months' duration and recovery after treatment with quinine – Another remedy, being dipped in salt water and almost drowning; rescued by the small boat of a Man 'o War – His father's residence in Dock (now Front) Street – The severe winter of 1779-80 and the frozen harbor – Fears of attack by Washington – Major André's execution; his popularity – his uncle and neighbor John, a Commissary of Prisoners; his death from fever – His uncle Edward the clergyman; his death from a fall on the steps of his church – A little slave girl named Rose; her fearless and mischievous nature and the dangers it led her little playfellows into – Isaac's mother's youth and beauty; her tending to her children by herself at first – Word of impending Peace and unfavorable terms for the Loyalists; hard feelings expressed by Boston patriots against the "ingrate" Loyalists (and possible motivations behind these) – Uncle Edward's twin daughters taken in by uncle John's and his father's families respectively; Isabella Catherine a great favorite with Isaac's family; she married an English Sandemanian immigrant – Letters from her father (uncle Edward) to his friend Mr. Deblois in London; political reflections in these; his pitiable situation; hasn't been paid two years' salary; receives an appointment to a regiment of Jersey volunteers; hopes to be appointed to the chaplaincy of King's Chapel Boston after the Peace – After his death, his uncle Edward's widow and children join his son Edward in North Carolina; about their afterlives – Letters from Isaac's cousin Jonathan Pollard to Isaac's father; news of a brother's death – The afterlives of his siblings, especially his brother Isaac and his miraculous recovery after a celebrated shipwreck at Cape Breton Island – Conclusion

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of the first volume and anticipating the next, for which richer materials and recollections exist.

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The family arrived in New York prior to Augt 1778 at which time as has been said Benjamin an infant died in New York. – My recollections from that period are distinct, and generally connected – Indeed, these began at Halifax, and embrace the voyage to New York, stoppage at Newport, then in the hands of the British, many incidents on the passage, such as my brother Tom throwing overboard every thing he could get, once I recollect his committing to the deep a plate and silver spoon, to see how they would vibrate about in the water before they sank. – I presume the memory of children commences at about 3 or 4 years of age, and that the durability of mental recollections in after life, arises from the strength of the impression, which a particular incident, operating strongly on the feelings of the child at the time, renders indelible through life – On our arrival at New York, my father took me on shore with him, leaving the family onboard the Globe, and deposited me at my grandfather Davis's corner of Pearl & Pine,* in the Store. – My father then left me, but watching my opportunity, I got into the street, determining to get back to the vessell in the East River, and the course I had come through Pearl Street

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I traced back right enough, till I got to the junction of Pearl with Cherry Street, now Franklin Square, when unable to find the Street, through which my father had brought me from the vessell lying in the East river, I came to a stand and began to cry – It so happen'd that some person knowing the family name, took me by the hand, led me to the house of my uncle Edward, which happen'd to be in the vicinity, being the dividing point between Pearl & Cherry Streets – Of course, I was soon restored to the family – At this time I was about† four and a half years old –

A word of digression here in regard to my grandfather Davis – at that time, he had lately returned from his captivity in Boston Gaol – He was captured by a Marblehead privateer – I believe on his passage from Halifax to New York, I think in the year 1777. – marched up to Boston from Marblehead as a prisoner of war, and paraded up State Street, with a mob following the escort, who insisted on his taking off his hat as he went along – Being very unpopular with the whig party on account of the very decided stand he, took as a loyalist, he felt afraid, of some very severe treatment by the mob, and as I heard from the family, was never better pleased, than when the Gaolers key was turned on him – He was under confinement I believe some months, and finally exchanged as a prisoner of war)

I do not recollect how long, the family continued at my grandfathers, but I well remember the incident of being in the yard, when a heavy thunder shower had just commenced, and seeing the cellar door suddenly fly off its hinges, and forced with violence against the fence, several feet distant – At the same moment, I heard a rattling on the roof of

* Isaac frequently refers to New York's streets with names that superseded their Colonial names in use during the war.

† The word is split across two lines and "bout" appears to have been struck through, though this is not entirely clear.

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the houes* from the falling of bricks from the chimnies and ran into the house, and from the front windows, saw burning pieces of wood falling in the Street. This as I afterwards heard, arose from the explosion of a vessell, loaded with Gunpowder in the

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206) the East River, which during a severe thunder storm had been struck with lightning The officers and crew on board, aware of their danger from the character of the cargo, had left the vessell as they saw the thunder cloud approaching, but an officer of the vessell returning for some papers which he had left in the cabin, was killed in the explosion which took place before he was able to quit the vessell a second time – This is the version of the story, as I recollect to have heard it when a boy, perhaps not so very correctly heard, or rememb'rd -- ***** see note on the other side –

In 1778, my father took a large house no 499 Smith (now William) Street, belonging to a Major Moncriff[?]† of Flatbush Long Isl[d] – By a letter this gentleman dated Jany 31, 1779, probably in reply to the liability of officers being quarterd in the house he says, "That is the common lot of citizens &c+ -- fixes the rent at 160£ (400 $ per ann), and adds that 15 years before (1764) he had let it from 130 to 160. I found a rec[t] of Major Moncrieff May 7, 1781 for a yrs rent 40£ N.Y.[k]CY[?]‡

When I first recollect, there were several of my fathers New England acquaintances in the house, as sub occupants under him – S S. Blowers, Col Handfield of 22[d] Br. Regt. Mr George Spooner[?] – Gideon white one of the Plymouth loyalists, and I believe a Captain in the army – This was done as I judge, as well as to help pay the rent, as to prevent strangers being billetted on the family.

The Colonel Handfield above mentiond was spoken of as a very amiable man and brother of a Capt Handfield, husband of Peggy, daughter of my Uncle Edward the episcopal minister – I

[verso of the preceding, written on a sheet pasted over the bottom half; the underlying sheet contains struck-through text, evidently an earlier version of Isaac's account of the explosion of the ship in the East River]

In regard to the explosion referd to – Gaines New York Gazette of 10th Aug 1778 – relates this as follows –

["]Last Tuesday about one oClock PM during a heavy rain accompanied with thunder, the lightning struck the ordnance sloop Morning Star lying off the Coffee house in the East river with 248 barrells of gun powder on board – It produced a most tremenduous explosion – A number of houses were unroofed – many windows broken, and some furniture demolish'd by the blast, the effects of which were similar to an earthquake – Happily there was only one in the vessell when the accident happen'd" –

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* A mistake no doubt for "house."

† William S. Hornor, *This Old Monmouth of Ours* (Freehold, NJ: Moreau Bros, 1932; rpt. Clearfield, 2009), lists a Major Moncrieff as among the wealthy Tory inhabitants of Flatbush during the war (33).

‡ Probably an abbreviation for New York Currency. The 40£ is probably a mistake for 400£.

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rather think the plan my father adopted was successful in preventing the quartering of officers on the family – There was indeed one case of an attempt to quarter in the house a Hessian officer, one of Gen[l] Kniphausens[*] army – This was rather a ludicrous scene by the determind courage of an Irish maid servant, first turning the Hessian sergeant out of the room he had taken possession of, and then standing guard at the door, until the return of her master and mistress, who were then out on a visit – .. The room was one where this woman, myself and brother Tom, slept, and we two were actually in bed, when the sergeant gave the order to clear out – She said she would not move for all the Sergeants in the army. – Neither could understand each other – I have no remembrance of any Hessian officer being quartrd in the house and presume, this one did not follow up the proposed plan, and disposed of himself elsewhere, but have no remembrance of the results –

This house was standing either till the new Street called Exchange Street was open'd or the great fire of December 1837, and as long as it existed, I looked upon it with pleasure, as one of my earliest reminiscences, of course connected with many other interesting ones. The family lived in this house 2 or 3 years, and while residing there I went first womans School in a rough cast house, corner of smith and Wall, which was standing as late as 1807, when I was in New York, and if I mistake not, when I was there also in 1827 – At this school it is not probable that I continued a long time, as I see a bill of schooling amongst the old papers, from

Mr Daniel Humphries,[†] one of the religious society to which my father belonged, who had opened a school in New York, "for a quarters schooling of his son Isaac" – To Mr Humphries's school I must have been sent as early or before the date of the bill 20 June 1779 my age being 5 the preceeding February – The bill was *40/. York Currency or 5 dollars Mr Humphries school, was in Little Queen (now Nassau) Street, and in this I remained till the school was broken up by the evacuation in 1783. This house with the neighboring houses, the old Lutheran church north of it – a shop in william Street at the bottom of Nassau, where the boys used to buy Cookies and cock a neery – (Dutch names for Gingerbread toys, and mollasses candy) were all standing as late I think, as 1828. – Strongly were these, associated with the reminiscences of my boyish days. – Indeed when in 1799 after 16 years absence from the city, I first revisited New York, and was landed from the stage in Broadway near St Pauls church, every street and building, and the general localities of the city, especially from Broadway to the east River, every object was quite as

[written sideways bottom to top at the left-hand margin and upper half of the page]
* By Mr H[s] bill June 1782 the rate was £4 = 16 [$? per qtr? annm?]

familiar to me as if I had never left it. It is true that very many improvements had then taken place – and especially a new Street on the East river beyond water Street, our last residence

[*] Wilhelm Reichsfreiherr zu Innhausen und Knyphausen (1716–1800).

[†] A misspelling of "Humphreys" (and thus throughout). His brother David, not a Sandemanian, would be appointed aide-de-camp to Gen. Washington in 1780.

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being in a sort of on Dock now Front[?] Street* Store facing the East river – generally however, the places with which I was most familiar, remained very much the same as I had recollected them many years before – the town guard was at the city hall which from Wall Street projected 15 or 20 feet, with an arcade under it, through which if I recollect right foot passengers might pass – This faced Broad Street and I believe remained standing as much as 30 years after the war – I think that General Washington and the other members of the Federal government were here sworn into office in 1789. The Hessian troops were stationd at the hall as the main guard here, and when off guard used to amuse themselves with singing sacred music or national airs, and as I have heard judges of music say, each choosing his part, the effect was very striking, and agreeable.

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Near to this in front of the ruins of Trinity Church was a line of trees or sort of Park a favorite resort in summer evenings – This was enliven'd by a band of regimental music at one end, of the walk, for the amusement of those who were in the habit of frequenting it – Trinity church as well as many other buildings in Broadway was in ruins when I first remember it, having been involved in a great conflagration which took place in New York the 20 November† 1776 – The fire was caused by incendiaries, of which the following particulars are taken from the Gentlemens magazine of 1776 – On the night between the 20 & 21st of November an attempt was made to burn the city of New York which must have succeeded, but for the activity of the Kings troops, but yet, the destruction is computed at one quarter of the town. Another writer adds, that "all the city from the west of the new exchange along Broad Street top the North river to Kings College[”] (now Columbia) [“]are in ruins. St Pauls Church and the college were saved with difficulty

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Trinity also was set on fire in three different places – The Lutheran church the parsonage and and charity school were destroyed. – Many of the incendiaries were seized with matches in their hands and instantly put to death" –

That this was the work of incendiaries seems not to have been denied at that time,‡ on the contrary it may be infer'd from the manner in which Mr Burke,§ then a conspicuous opponent of Lord Norths administration and consequently a friend to the American cause, speaks of the fire as the effect of design, and the result of political animosity – Mr Burke in the parliamentary debates of that year, January 1777,** endeavouring to shew the individual exasperation which unavoidably followed what he consider'd an unjust war, waged against fellow subjects contending for their rights as Englishmen, speaks of the late fire "which has burnt the noble city of New York" and of "the conduct of one

* "on Dock now Front Street" inserted via caret after "sort of." Probably the caret was misplaced and "in a sort of Store on Dock, now Front Street" was intended.

† In fact, the fire occurred on September 21 and 22.

‡ The evidence that the fire was intentionally set is not conclusive. George Washington is widely quoted as having said while watching the blaze, "Providence, or some good honest fellow, has done more for us than we were disposed to do for ourselves."

§ Edmund Burke (1729-1797).

** In fact the speech was given the previous November.

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woman who averted the progress of British success" "This miserable being" says Mr B. "was found in a cellar with her visage besmeared and smutted over, with every mark of rage

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despair and resolution, and the most exalted heroism, buried in combustibles, in order to fire the city of New York, and perish in its ashes – she was brought forth, and knowing that she would be condemned to die, upon being asked her purpose, said "to fire the city"
This fire having taken place two years before the arrival of my fathers family in New York of course I have no recollection of. –
I have a remembrance however, of an incident related by my father at another great fire which happend in New York, in the summer of 1778. – This began at a place called Crugers Wharf near the old slip and burnt nearly 300 buildings,* situated on that wharf, and in dock street, nearly all the buildings on little dock street, and several on or opposite the old slip, as far as Isaac Lowes house –

The incident I refer to is, that my father according to the old custom in Boston of every inhabitant exerting himself at a fire, either by helping to save and protect furniture, hand water attend the pump assist the engine men, or in any way to stop the progress of the flames, being thus

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actively engaged, was on a sudden struck by a British officer or soldier on the head with a sword and received a considerable wound – This assault I remember to have heard him speak of with great indignation, at the same time however he supposed, that his active exertion for the assistance of the sufferers, was supposed to be but a mask to cover incendiary designs, probably always feared by the garrison in consequence of the successfull attempt in 1776 – I never heard the results whether the offender was punished, or apologized or not.

At that time, to the west of the buildings in Broadway were open fields to the Bank of the North river where the boys raised their kites – The bank of that river appeared to me as a boy, very high and steep, I think as much as 50 to 60 feet above the level of the River – The Battery at that time had bastions of Turf, I remember occasionally going into it and seeing some large mortars and shells near them, but do not recollect seeing guns in the bastions or any soldiers in the battery –

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Perhaps, the period to which I refer, and when boys were sufferd to go into the battery freely, was after the preliminaries of peace were sign'd, when the troops were stationd elsewhere, and the evacuation of New York by the British, was at hand.

Near the battery at the South East part about Whitehall, there was a collection of low buildings, coverd with Canvas, and thence called Canvas town by some, Irish town – These I conjecture were hasty erections put up after the great fire of 1776, for the accommodation of the poorer people – **X**

* The fire, which occurred on August 3rd, destroyed on the order of sixty homes according to most sources.

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In the middle of Wall Street at its intersection with William Street, stood a statue of William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham,* erected in honor of that statesman a few years before the revolution, in consequence of his advocacy of Colonial rights –

To return from this digression as to the localities of New York during the war to the family narrative – while resident in Smith Street, I was permitted to go on a visit to Long Island in company with a boy near my own age, Daniel Humphries, the son of my preceptor – We went to the

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house of a Mr Smith residing I think at Bushwick ~~or Flatbush~~ – As this was the first time we had ever been in the country, within our recollection, it was a very delightfull change – Amongst other enjoyments was that of laying out on the grass, till late in the evening – whether owing to this, or some other cause, both of us were taken with fever and ague, which continued that season with much severity, and visited us both the ensuing summer. We did not get free from it till after taking large quantities of Jesuits bark in powder† – a remedy of which the reminiscence is very strong, as is that of the occasional deliriums which in my case accompanied the disorder.

Another remedy for this was being dipped in Salt Water every morning, for which purpose a man used to take me over the numerous Dutch Pettiangers‡ or market boats, which lay at the Ferry Stairs, to the outside of them and plunge over head and ears in the East River – once after being dressed, I fell into the river, and so was picked up by the boat of a man of war I think the Santa Margaritta frigate§ coming into the spot where I was struggling for life – the man who was

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employed to plunge me, having for some reason, left the boat lying outside of a great number of others – I was then probably six or seven years old and could not swim – At this time my father lived in a house on Dock Street, now Front Street, a few doors South of Maiden Lane The Slip I believe called Market Slip, run up as far as Water Street, to a small fish market, East of the Fly market,** which stood in the middle of Maiden Lane, leaving quite a narrow passage on each side – From dock Street there was a bridge for foot passengers across the Slip – The house above mentiond had been a Store, which my father hired and converted it into a dwelling house keeping the lower part for a shop or store, The Kitchen was in the garrett, and altogether it was but a sory habitation, but my father used to say, it was more comfortable to be in such a house, than where all the apartments but 2 or 3, might be taken by billets for the government officers, or occupied by Sub tenants, and the kitchen filled with officers servants –

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* William Pitt (1708–1778).

† The active ingredient of which is quinine.

‡ Or possibly "pettiauger," a more usual variant of "piragua" Dutch boats of this sort appear to have been manageable by a single person, sometimes by means of a pole. See also below, II, x.

§ A Wikipedia article (*http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_frigate_classes_of_the_Royal_Navy*) lists an ex-Spanish frigate *Santa Margarita* as having been captured by the British in 1779.

** It evolved and moved to become the Fulton Fish Market.

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~~M~~

The winter of 1779, 1780 was one of uncommon Severity, but as a boy, out in the air every day I have no recollection of feeling any remarkable intensity of cold, only, that it used to be mentiond as a remarkable fact that the north river was frozen to Staten Island. I have lately seen a dispatch dated May 27, 1780, from General Kniphausen, commander in chief of the Hessian Army, then in the employ of the British, to the Government, in which he speaks of that winter as the longest and most severe one, ever remember'd – Its severity commenced, the 26 Dec 1779 – Says the letter writer "all the water was continent,* and horses with heavy carriages, could go over the ice into the Jersies from one shore to another. It is only, since the 20th of february that the rivers and straits have been navigable." – Genl Kniphausen also speaks of an attack by Genl Washington on Staten Island – The British general Pattison mentions this winter as follows, "The intense frost, accompanied with great falls of snow which began about the middle of December, shut up the navigation of this port from the Sea – The severity of the weather increased to that degree, that towards the middle of January all communications with this city by water were cut off, and as many new ones opend by the Ice – The passage of the North river to Paulus hook, was about the 19th practicable for the heaviest cannon, an event unknown in the

the memory of man, and very soon after, provisions were transported upon sleighs, and detachments of cavalry marched from New York to Staten Island (11 miles) upon the ice. The East River to Brooklyn, Long Island was also for many days blocked up – Thus circumstanced the city was laid open on many sides to an attack from an enterprizing enemy, and notwithstanding the unsuccessfull attempt they made on Staten Island the 14 Jan'y, it was nevertheless strongly reported that Gen Washington was meditating a great stroke on New York." – Gen Pattison then speaks of an offer of the inhabitants to arm in defense of the city, and 2660 men had in consequence become embodied, and adds that "the frost having abated, and a thaw anticipated, all ideas of an attack are now at an end –"
Amongst my early reminiscences is that of the grief and regret which prevailed in New York, at the capture and execution of Major Andrè,† the 3rd of October at Tappan near West Point 1780. – I have an impression that he lodged in an old Dutch built house, corner of William and Beaver not far from my fathers – He was particularly lamented by the female part of the community – My fathers brother John of whom mention is made before as having been

in New York in 1777, lived in Water Street a little South of Maiden Lane, so that the back windows of his house were nearly opposite the back windows of my fathers in Dock Street – This Uncle was commissary of prisoners, and died in New York, as has been mentiond in the summer of 1782.‡* ~~of what was then called a bilious fever, supposed to have been caused by exposure in visiting the American prisoners on long island~~ – His widow went to her uncle Simpsons in England, soon after as is mentd in letters of Sir Wm Pepperrell and returnd to

* In the sense of being *connected* or *continuous* as a frozen body.

† Major John André (1750–1780). He conspired with Benedict Arnold to effect the surrender of West Point.

‡ Other family records indicate he died in 1781, though that would make less probable Isaac's remembering him as well as he says he does.

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Boston about the year 1784 – This relation I well remember, as a frank openhearted man and very fond of myself and my brothers – His only son died a boy of 6 or 7 years old, about the time we arrived in New York.

My Uncle Edward the eldest brother of my father, resided also in New York, at a house the junction of Pearl and Cherry Streets He had been chaplain on board several of the Kings ships, but I believe at the time of his death officiated at an Episcopal church [*] Street. He had a large family (4 Sons and, six daughters) and died in New York in 1781, in consequence as I have always heard of a fall from the stone steps of this church

[written sideways bottom to top at left margin, evidently the note referenced by the * on this page]
~~I rather think 1780~~

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of this relation and his family I may be able to add more hereafter.

A Black girl named Rose, two or three years older than myself had been given my mother, by her father before the family left Boston, for, at that time Slavery was allowed in New England – This girl was of a most intrepid, as well as mischievous disposition, and always getting, as well as leading others, into danger by her daring temperament – I recollect when at Halifax, her jumping from a chamber window over a narrow alley way onto a shed, probably not many feet lower than the window, and persuading myself and my cousin Eliza Sparhawk then only 4 years old, to follow her, which we did and all landed safely – but had we have fallen in the alley way we must in all probability have been killed – The father and sister of this girl remain'd in Boston and she used often to expect them or to visit her – Once when there was general salutes from the ships of war and batteries

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for the occasion of some British victory, I believe Rodneys action[†] with Count de Grasse April 12 1782, -- Rose came in delighted to my mother saying "Oh Missis, the guns are firing – father's a coming" – Innumerable were the wild pranks in which this fearless and mischievous creature continually embarked. My mother was glad enough to get rid of her, on the return of the family to Boston in 1784 – The freedom then allowed to the blacks who had been slaves, if welcome to Rose was, still more so to my mother –

My mother was, when we arrived in New York, about 21 years old, and 26 when we left – a fine healthy, and very handsome woman, and so young looking that when I was 8 or 10 years old strangers used often to mistake me for her brother – at that time she had the children under her personal care, washing combing and dressing them herself, till her family had become too numerous for personal

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[*] A blank here Isaac evidently hoped to be able to fill in later.

[†] The "Battle of the Saintes" in the West Indies.

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attention – an early reminiscence was the difference between her washing, when she was confind and the servant performing that office – by the care of the former preventing the Soap Suds getting into our eyes, which often smarted under the lavations of the latter –

It was in Aug[t] 1782 that communications were received at New York by Sir Guy Carleton[*] who was then British commander in chief that the British Government had offerd to the negotiators for peace at Paris, the acknowledgement of the independence of the United States. This news overwhelmed the loyalists, who were then numerous in New York with dismay, they saw no prospect of obtaining asylum anywheres[†] A letter writer of the days says speaking of this event and of the British "what must the world think of a nation, that sacrifices so many of its friends, without any apparent necessity," and adds, "the distress at Savannah is but a faint resemblance

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

anon letter Gent Mag Aug & Sept 1782

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of what must be exhibited by an evacuation of this place["] (New York), ["]if independency is granted. I am under the truth I verily believe, when I tell you, there are 20 000 refugees of all descriptions within these lines, besides the inhabitants to whom nine parts in ten of the property belongs, very few of these can stay but at the manifest hazard of their lives – Figure to yourself therefore their situation, when New York is evacuated" –

The writer speaks of having expected a different result from recent successes of the British arms in the East, and West Indies and in the channell, and the deranged state of the finances and trade in America, combin'd with the discontent of the people of this country tired of the contrivance of war, &c and thinks that all the people wished was to be plac'd in the same situation as in 1763

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The gloomy anticipations of the loyalists, of the unhappy position, which they were like to be placed in at the Peace, were in some measure realized, by the preliminary treaty of 30 November 1782. By the fifth article of this; Congress was only holden to recommend to the several States, that the latter should provide for the restitution of all the confiscated estates, rights, and properties, belonging to the British subjects, who had not borne arms against America – This being the best terms which could be obtained in behalf of the loyalists – other descriptions of persons, were restricted to the residence a year in the country, in order to settle their affairs.

The opposition in Parliament had asserted that the minister Lord Shelburne had abandoned "the unhappy loyalists to their implacable enemies" such assertions from high authority could not but make them feel, that their own sentiments on being thus abandoned, were well founded; and their view of their case was confirmed, by the attempts of partizan leaders, to continue amongst Americans, the feelings of enmity, which

[*] See above, I, 187.

[†] The final "s" may be an attempt at a period.

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had so powerfully, and successfully been made use of, to produce and terminate the revolution.

An instance of this appears by a Boston town meeting March 17, 1783, in which it was resolved, that those "ingrates" who have been refugees, and declared traitors to their country, "ought never to be sufferd to return." How much of this patriotism was inspired by those who yet held by an uncertain tenure the former possessions of these "ingrates" may be imagind[?][*]

In face of the unfavorable treaty provisions, and excited popular prejudice, the loyalists might anticipate receiving a cold if not hostile, reception on their return to their Fatherland, when the most influential men in the leading state of Massachusetts, thus endeavour'd to continue the popular excitement, which, encouraged and kept alive from 1765 by the terrible machinery of mobs, had operated so powerfully against them. In such a state of things, the wonder is that any should have returned to a home which was not to them, the home it had been. – But partly from necessity and partly from the love of country, the past was forgotten in the enjoyment to them, of what was still their natale solum.[†]

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After the death of my uncle Edward, two of the daughters left their mothers family and became inmates the one Catherine Isabella in the family of her and my Uncle John, and the Twin Sister Isabella Catherine in that of my father – This cousin was of a very amiable disposition, and taking a great interest in the family, (the children being under her charge, and thus becoming much attached to her) she became very dear to us all – There are few of the earlier Connections of my life whom I call to mind, with more satisfaction, than this cousin. Shortly after the peace of 1783, she was married to a Mr King, a young Englishman, who came to New York at the peace – He had just before his embarkation for America become connected with the Sandemanian Society in London, and set up the shoe business in New York Mr King was an honest open hearted man, but rough and unpolished,[‡] and in the latter part of his life giving way to a love of company, became dissipated, & quitted the religious society, became partially insane and died in that state and in very reduced circumstances – His wife

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was, of a totally different character & being of a very mild and amiable disposition, polished manners and more than all a busting[?][§] humble Christian. I recollect in a conversation with her on some religious practice in which we both agreed, but which I advocated as a matter of duty to God – "Ah cousin" said she, "Duty is a cold motive of action compared with love" – A few letters from the father of Mrs King my uncle Edward Winslow to his friend Mr Deblois in London having come into my possession I shall make some extracts from them as throwing light on the family history. The first of these is dated at New York November 11 1777 & explains the cause of his having been in Boston then in possession of the Americans in 1776 He says, "I have in former letters given you details of the occasion and

[*] This difficult to decipher sentence written in pencil in an upright hand.

[†] One's native land.

[‡] A small dot opens the possibility that "impolished" is intended.

[§] Possibly "bustling" is intended, though that doesn't consort very well with "mild."

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circumstances of my being obliged after having so long maintained my post["] (at Braintree) ["]and almost alone, to quit the field and to leave my church, country, family, and friends, you will therefore gladly excuse a recapitulation" My uncle speaks of the encouraging prospect of public affairs in consequence

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of General Howes success in Pennsylvania and hopes notwithstanding the surrender of Burgoyne, that "another year may bring us possession of our wishes not withstanding all adverse incidents" Jany 1, 1778 he repeats the same "hopes that the now opening year will terminate 'ere it finishes its course, our unhappy and destructive contest on this continent and be crowned with the divine goodness in the restoration of peace and establishd government. To this event it is thought the majority of numbers on both sides are now more seriously directed than ever. God grant the desired effect" – In another letter of the same date to Mr Deblois he speaks, of being desirous to get some employment in the navy or army so as to "enable him* to sustain his exile with decency and comfort." That as his brother refugees had partaken of the favors of government he hoped not to be neglected, adding "God enable me to a proper submission and deportment under the allotments of his Providence, and graciously vouchsafe these succours my pitiable

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~~x~~

situation stands in need of from his fatherly goodness, and the benevolent offices of my fellow creatures". He speaks of his grateful feelings to his friend, and his wishes to repay, the many obligations he is under to him – (Mr Deblois) His wife and family he says, "have by the advice and assistance of our friends, been enabled to endure the pain of our separation, with more, composure and under less pinching extremities of want than I could have expected" – He expresses his wishes for the restoration of an established government "which alone can render both countries happy in being inseparably united. God so bring them together that they may never more be put asunder"

My uncle in his letter to Mr Deblois, speaks of his situation in New York as being truly melancholy, asks Mr D's assistance to

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~~y~~

endeavor to obtain the arrears of salary due him as Chaplain in the service for two years amounting to over 100£ Sterling, and says he is promised the intervention of Capt Montagu whose ship the Mercury had been sunk by accident in the Hudson as well as that of his father, Admiral Montagu,† in England, and hopes Mr Deblois may get into his possession "such a portion of the money "as may" says my uncle "lessen my obligations to your friendship in the pecuniary way, tho impossible to satisfy the debt of gratitude" His necessities, being without provision or appointment of any kind from Government he says be very pressing – He speaks of his friend "Billy Coffin having lately removed his bed to my very mean apartment, so that we now encamp and spend most of our time together,

* It appears the opening quotation mark is misplaced and should appear here.

† Admiral John Montagu (1719–1795) naval officer and also colonial governor of Newfoundland, 1776-1782.

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supporting each other as we are able under our similar mortifications and difficulties, in our separation from our families and friends, and endeavouring to sustain all the hope which circumstances will admit, of a restoration of those blessings, we so impatiently

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languish for – You could not but smile to look into our cabin of an evening and hear the reciprocal moans, and lamentations of two old fellows retird into an obscure corner"

He says quiet and plenty are enjoyed at New York, and hopes the preparations making for the next campaign may be final and decisive –

The next letter is a very long one, to Mr Deblois expressive of his gratefull sense of his friends continued kindness, his gratification at learning that the bills he had remitted had been paid, and his pecuniary obligations in a measure discharged, "tho" he says "the debt of gratitude no acknowledgements or offices of mine can satisfy" -- . He mentions in this letter having written for his wife and family, who would have been in New York before that but Newport was in possession of the French and Americans – He informs his friend of his appointment to a regiment of Jersey volunteers commanded by Gen[l] Skinner, which his salary allowance from his pay as Chaplain of the Lark, and allowance from

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the Society[*] in England is now his whole dependence –

He comments with warmth on the disappointment of the loyalists in consequence of the unfavorable reception by Congress, of the conciliatory bills passed by Parliament which he says "at once dashed all our hopes, obscured our prospects, and drove us almost to despair of ever returning. The commissioners arrived safe, but have met with only disappointment insults and contempt from the haughty congress, and their infatuated adherents, who instead of being softend by the humiliating and disagreeable terms, submitted to be tenderd by Parliament, have only grown more averse to accommodation, especially since the unnatural alliance with France – whether our commanders in chief have been too much restricted by their instructions, or whether they deserve the censures so liberally bestowd for their inattention, I am not to decide but we know and feel that we are reduced to a deplorable state." He states his own apprehensions that the final issue of the contest would be the "colonies would be sent from the parent State, the Church["] (Episcopal)

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["]exterminated root and branch in the New England provinces, and the friends of the national constitution, who have suffer'd so much for their conscientious zeal and affection, recompensed by desertion, and exposed to persecution indignity and contempt." – Yet however in the hope that Great Britain will preserve her dominion, and the church her establishment in this, or some other part of the Continent, he solicits his friend to make application, for one of the vacant missions in the country still preferring if possible, in the hopes of a reconciliation with Great Britain and America taking place, and with the love of country so strong a feeling with New Englanders, to obtain the chaplaincy of the King's Chapel in Boston, his preponderating wish being as he says "to pass the few remaining days

[*] Probably the Anglican Church. Isaac does use the term "society" for churches of all denominations.

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of my pilgrimage, among my own connections, and in my native country. I suppose Mr Troutbeck* will scarcely think of resuming that station, and I have no reason to suppose, that either he, or good Doctor Caner† will be averse to my enjoying it – To God's will and Providence will I submit myself." My uncle adds "our last accounts from Boston

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B

were not very late – The Town swarmed with French vermin, and the harbor with French Streamers‡ – much confusion and discussion between these new allies and the inhabitants – These have given the former some specimens of North end mob discipline. My aged mother died in August – our small family property of course at the mercy of the malignants, my two brothers and their families are here – we have none of the family connections left in Boston, who would be otherwise carefull of the estate than to obtain the possession themselves and exclude us., But it does not become us to repine, when so many more respectable friends and neighbours have in a much larger degree, shared in the same kind of injustice and injuries from the rage of the times–" Concluding with his regards to their mutual friends in England he adds "I cannot but hope as well as wish that we may yet be preserved to meet and rejoice together in the goodly land of our heritage" This letter he says goes by his brother Joshuas widow, who will be happy to be noticed by you or any of her New England friends.

In a letter of October 9

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1778 he informs his friend Mr Deblois, that the commissioners who had been sent from England in order to bring about a reconciliation between the two countries, having failed in this attempt, had notified the respective provinces, as well as Congress, of their determination to return to England, and finish their endeavors to adjust the controversy. He sends to his friend the manifesto of the commissioners and seems bitterly to deplore the unhappy result – It appears to have been the general feeling and hopes of all the loyalists from the beginning of the contest, and in every year succeeding, that a reconciliation between the mother and daughter, was continually to be expected – a consumation by them devoutly wished for – In this period, 1778, my uncle Edward was 56 years old.§

The death of my uncle in New York has been mentiond elsewhere – Soon after which, his widow and family returnd to Braintree, and soon after the Peace they joined their son and brother Edward in North Carolina. He had gone to that state before the breaking out of the war, and had become established in business, at or near Fayetteville, and I have always supposed in circumstances which enabled him to assist his widowed mother, and family – They all settled in that place, except Mary (Mrs Wyatt) the eldest, she

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* Rev. John Troutbeck, minister of the chapel 1755-75.

† Dr. Henry Caner, rector of the chapel for many years.

‡ I. e., pennants.

§ Twenty years older than his brother Isaac, it may be noted.

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was the mother of Mr W^m^ E^d^ * Wyatt at present (1842) the Episcopal Clergyman in Baltimore, Peggy Mrs Handfield, wife of Col Handfield, who after the peace went to England, These with a large family of children were settled in Dublin The Colonel having there employ in some stationary military department – - Mrs King (Isabella), resided principally in New York, where or in Connecticut she died many years ago – Their brother Edward, who was I believe a Colonel in the North Carolina militia after the peace, was accidentally shot on a review day by the carelessness of one of the soldiers – some 3 or 5 years after the Peace of 1783.

Amongst other letters from the relations of the family, I see two from my cousin Joshua Pollard† to my father dated in September 1780, from on board the Kings ship Yarmouth, in which he was a petty officer – In one of these he speaks of having heard of the death of his brother Benjamin, a Captain or Lieutenant in the British Army, whose death at the siege of Savannah has been before mention'd‡ – In this letter he also speaks of disagreeable news in regard to his brother Peter (what is here refer'd to, is not known) This cousin was in the American Naval Service during the war – perhaps the disagreeable news was that of his death – Joshua after the peace went into the merchant service, and was one of the four cousins, elsewhere mentiond, whose ultimate fate has never been ascertain'd. I shall now notice some of the other branches of the family.

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Isaac the son of my fathers uncle Isaac arrived in New York in the year 1782. – He is the one who as has been before mentiond, his father desired to get placed in a counting house in England, through the medium of his brother in law Mr Waldo – Failing in this§ he was sent by his father from Halifax, to Montreal, and being quite a boy placed under the care of his cousins Jonathan and Isaac Clarke both commissaries in the army, with these relations he continued some time, I believe near three years, but in 1780, either with or without their consent,** he took passage in mid winter in a vessell from Quebec to New York. This vessell was wrecked on the island of Cape Breton. A narrative of the shipwreck, was published some time after by a Captain Perntiss†† (I think this was the name,) bearer of dispatches from Gov Haldiman of Canada, to Sir Henry Clinton New York – this shipwreck took place in Dec~ 1780, on a desolate part of the Coast, five out of 19 were so frozen, that they died within a few days. – They erected a hut with the Boards of which the cargo was composed, and getting a small supply of provisions from the wreck remained there 14 days, after which fitting up their boat which had saved six went into it, to coast along the shore, in order to find a settlement, after the most incredible sufferings from, Cold, Ice, tempest and hunger, they landed at a place

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* "E^d^" inserted in pencil via caret.

† See above, I, 129.

‡ Above, I, 129.

§ Above, I, 145.

** Above, I, 196.

†† Isaac meant "Prentiss," as he spells it below, but the actual name was Prenties. See S. W. Prenties, *Narrative of a Shipwreck on the Island of Cape Breton, in a Voyage from Quebec, 1780* (London: Richardson, 1782). There are at least two modern editions.

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where were 2 or 3 Indian wigwams – Isaac Winslow was one of the eight left in the hut. Capt Prentiss, engaged the Indians to go by land, about 100 miles, to look after these and bring them to the place where they were, giving them 50 guineas – Only, 3,, however survived – of which Winslow was one – He finally as I have heard, got to Halifax, with no covering but a blanket, here he obtained relief from persons who knew his father or the family. – mention has been made

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of the other children brothers and sisters of this relation and more will be added in its proper place – The eldest son of Mr Winslow (Samuel) brother of Isaac having been placed by his father at Harvard college, was at Cambridge when the family left Boston. Both of these brothers coming forward, during the stormy period of the revolution, and having no director or guardian, were not brought up to any occupation. It was one of the sad effects of the revolution, that the missing generation, could not be placed in positions, by which when of an age to act for themselves, they would be fitted to make their way in life – . Thus these two young men coming into active life, during and after the revolutionary war, when almost all business, even to the most expert, was unsafe or unprofitable, and with no profession which would enable them to earn a living, were as it were compelled to live on their inheritance, receive depreciated paper for the bonds due the estate, and thus soon run through their paternal property. Both were died* in very embarrassed circumstances – Samuel married Martha Scott daughter of Joseph Scott merchant, a loyalist, and had a large family of children, his widow yet living – Isaac married married Mary daughter of Joseph Russell by whom he had one daughter Mary who married Mr Charles Bradford – a very amiable and praise worthy woman† --- Mrs Samuel Winslow is yet living (1842) at a very advanced age.

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238. This narrative has hitherto been derived either from written or traditional materials being at periods, when these only, were the available materials – Some of my own early recollections at New York have indeed been stated, but these are few, compared to the reminiscences of youth and adult age, which aided by more copious materials, especially family letters, in my hands, will make the further part of this work a biography of my father as well as an autobiography – at the peace of 1783, my fathers family left New York for Connecticut, and having got through with the extracts I had purposed to make from the family letters before and during the revolutionary war, I shall here terminate this volume, beginning a second one from that epoch.

* After "were," "in" was written and struck through, and "died" is written over a few illegible letters. Probably Isaac meant to strike through "were" as well.

† According to the Joshua Pollard Blanchard and Arthur Winslow family trees, she died in 1899 at the age of 106.

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Family Memorial

The Winslows of Boston

Isaac Winslow
Margaret Catherine Winslow

In Five Volumes

Volume II

Boston, Massachusetts
1837?-1873?

Transcribed and Edited by Robert Newsom
University of California, Irvine
2009-10

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Chapter Thirteen (Volume Two, Chapter One)

Biographies more interesting than works of Fiction – Digressive style inevitable when writing the biography of a whole family, and Isaac proposes to carry on in the same style – Further recollections of New York – The house in William Street – Numerous connections in the city; uncles Edward and John and families; Grandfather and uncle Davis; Capt. Handfield – Children of his great uncle Isaac's first wife, Lucy Waldo, move from General Knox's to aunt Sukey's in Beacon St., Boston; letters from his father to these – Relatives and friends in England – Isaac's carefree childhood amid the turmoil of his elders – Prince William Henry trying to ice skate – Much to amuse children in the city – Dutch farmers and their produce – House in Dock St. – The nine o'clock signal gun and watching the King's ships put out their lights at night – learning Chess – a French dentist on his father's difficulties with the language – The Peace of Paris at last and its stipulations about Loyalists – The family decamps to Newtown, Connecticut as a stepping stone towards Boston – Almost shipwrecked at Hell Gate – The children's delight in the Country – Their mother's dismay at their rude house – His father's more relaxed life in the country, which suits his unambitious temperament – Further adventures with little Rose – Attempts to go without shoes – Rose's musical entertainments – A misadventure with a nail – Schooled (poorly) by a Frenchman – Watching overnight a small sick friend – Travel by horseback – Isaac's first play – A misadventure riding with his mother – His father's trip to Boston – Letters between his father and mother; his father visits family in Newport; news from his mother; his farther arrives in Boston and is received by Governor Hancock "beyond his greatest expectation"; applying for permission to return from the Governor and Assembly; reconnecting with family in Boston; financial worries; his mother growing tired of keeping house without her husband; still no word from the Assembly on permissions; more visits with family in Boston; more about his civil reception by the citizens and leaders; an exchange of gloomy letters; his father discouraged about business prospects – Removal from Newtown to Boston of the whole family at last – Renewed family connections – Aunt Sukey's big Beacon St. house – His sister Mary a pretty and precocious but alas a spoiled child.

I Vol 2 Chap 1

It has before been said, that after at my daughters request I first began this work, intended at first as an autobiography, it gradually assumed the character of a family biography or memorial – and in many cases has become, a sort of reminiscence of the "olden time" –

This has been done to avoid a dry genealogical detail which to the descendants of ancestors, we have never known but by name, is little interesting, but if connected with circumstances even of a public character, in which they as members of the community, were associated – especially with circumstances more immediately relating to themselves, an interest is naturally created in the actors – Indeed detailed biographical Sketches

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corresponding to an account of the opinions, sayings, and doings of almost any individual, such as Boswells life of Johnson, would be more interesting, than a work of fiction could possibly be, and almost as much so to strangers as to connections, such details however are rarely preserved in any family, only any fidus achates* like Boswell – In [l]ieu† of this, most biographers of late years, have [c]ompiled their books from letters, which though not to [be] compared with the personal notices of character by a judicious observer, are yet the best materials which can be obtained, after a lapse of years. But these, referring to persons and events of the day, almost unavoidably, lead the biographer, from his main objects, to collateral ones – as the learned judge Marshall, has made his biography of Washington, in fact – a history of the revolutiona[ry] war – If such is the case in regard to the biogr[apher of]

II. Vol 2 Chap 1

an individual, much more will be digressive style be slid into, in a family biography or memorial, and had I been possessed of letters of my two first American Progenitors, John and Edward of which I have none, the digressions would have been more and greater – nor do I regret having fallen into this digressive style of writing, as the readers of it, may be thus be led to take an interest in those parts of it which have now become New England history, which otherwise, would not have attracted attention – and though the history, has now approached a period, when my own recollections comm[ence] it will be carried on in the same style, comprehending not only family events, within my own recollection, whether of near, or distant connections, but also as heretofore but also events of a more general character, associated with early or later recollections. I have already mentiond, that [my] fathers family on our first arrival at New Yo[rk] August 17[78] went to my grandfather Davis house co[rner Pearl] and Pine Streets – While residing he[re]

III Vol 2 Chap 1.

the death of an infant, Benjamin, the 3^{d} son of my parents, took place as I believe has been noticed. Having no recollection at all of this event, though more trivial circumstances at and before August 1778, (when this little brother died, I infer that my brother Thomas and myself, being then the only two children of the family were, if the disorder was infectious, purposely kept away from the scene of sickness, and death – While residing in William Street which was rather a large house, with much chamber room, my father maintained his family by keeping a grocery shop, in the room fronting on the street, and I presume was able to pay the rent by, letting out the unoccupied chambers, to the persons of his acquaintance loyalists before mentiond, who generally or occasionally within my recollection were co-occupants of that house with him – My brother John was born in this house in June 1779, and it was here that the incident recorded in the last

IV Vol 2 Chap 1.

volume of a Hessian Soldier taking possession of a chamber in which myself and brother slept, in the evening when my father and mother had gone out, took place‡ – The liability to

* Faithful friend (after Aeneas' trusty companion).

† As the top leaves in the second half of Isaac's portion of the ms., this page and the next have received more damage than most and are slightly chipped. Fortunately the missing text is easy to infer.

‡ Above, I, 207.

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having officers and their servants billeted out on the inhabitants, is an evil incident to all garrison towns. This combined with the natural desire every head of a family has to have his family to himself, led to his taking rather a singular habitation in the Spring of 1781 – by hiring a Store in a street called Dock Street, fitting up the upper part as a house – Kitchen in the Garrett, and residing there till the family left New York in 1783. – . There were some houses in the same Street which faced the East River – I presume it was difficult to get dwellings at that time, and in fact during the whole of the war, as well from the

V Vol 2 Chap 1

diminished buildings in the city by the great fires formerly spoken of, as from the encreased number of inhabitants which the army and attendants, and other non residents, occasion'd –

The connections of the family in New York during the war were numerous. – There was the widow of my father's uncle Isaac with her son Thomas, a boy two years older than myself – My uncle Edward, the minister with his wife and family of 7 or 8 children my uncle John, wife & Son (about my age, the latter of whom died I think before my father's family arrived) my grandfather Davis and wife, and my uncle Benjamin Davis* – a Capt^{n} Handfield of the army, who had married a daughter of my uncle Edward (or uncle parson, as he was generally called by the children) – all these were householders in New York, so that there was society enough without going out of the family – Besides the widow

VI Vol. 2 Chap 1.

of my fathers uncle Isaac (who it will be recollected died in New York, before my fathers arrival) there, were the children by his first wife, Mrs Waldo who went to Ireland with her husbands regiment. Elizabeth to whom this letter is written, had with Sister Sally Tyng, returned from their Cousin Mrs Knox residence (at the headquarters of the American army at Morristown as has been said) and from thence in the year 1779, went to my aunt Sukeys house in Beacon Street. I find the following letter from my father to Betsy the eldest sister dated May 19, 1783 "Your brother† not being of age must have only so much of it["] (referring to a bond then sent on) ["]as at a future day may be justified. I am exceedingly mortified to hear he is in no way of business – It was my earnest request to him to put himself a year or two to some merchant. It seems there are obstacles in the way of our returning, so that nothing can be determin'd on when we can come, if ever. This grieves me on your account – I am sorry I have no letter from your brother – The time I now have is exceeding short, expecting to have all the week to write but Mr Davis["] suppose W^{m} Davis son of my mothers uncle W^{m} ["]tells me he goes in three hours, Do my Dear Betsy write me now, that <u>sealed letters</u> may go with the greatest confidence – Love to your brothers &c

I am Dear Betsy Yours affectly.

VII Vol. 2 Chap 1

Few of the elders of the family returned after the peace to their native country – My great uncle Isaac, and my Two Uncles Edward & John as has been mentiond, died in New York Two of the children of the former, went to England where they settled – the widow of my Uncle Joshua and her six children save one were also domiciliated‡ in England. Mr Richard

* Evidently an error. Isaac had no uncle Benjamin Davis. His grandfather Davis was Benjamin.

† Probably Isaac (1763-1806), whose difficulties in entering business have already been described.

‡ Recognized by both *OED* and *Webster's 3rd Unabridged* from the late eighteenth century onwards.

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Clark also, and all his children except one or two settled themselves in England or Canada – Sir William Pepperrell (a cousin by marriage of my father did the same – The Simpson's cousins of my mother, were also in England, but one however came back (Mr Jonathan Simpson as did his sister widow of my uncle John, who returned to Boston and resided with her brother at Cambridge where she died in October 1786 – but by far the greatest part of the loyalists were destined to a final separation from their beloved Father Land.

But in these troubled times, lightly passed the days of uncaring childhood – while the anxious cares of parents and friends, for present subsistence in a strange land, clouded their horizon that of the children was cloudless and serene – chagrined indeed by the accidents belonging to the state of childhood – of these with me was as I have stated, being when dipp'd for the fever and ague, let fall into the deep water of the East River by the man who had charge of me

VIII Vol 2 Chap 1

and saved by the Boathook of a sailor, who was near – a fall on the ice from which I was taken up and carried home senseless – the measles and scarlet fever, in the latter of which I remember the amusement which peeling of the old skin gave me when a boy –

Little thought I then of the solicitude of the preceding generation for the present as well as the future, of the often disappointed longings of the expatriated, for a return to their beloved native land, little of the hope deferd, which makes the heart sick – as bright shone the sun on the beautifull Hudson and its adjacent heights and islands, as verdant was the grass: back of Trinity Church where the boys raised their kites, and as gaily twitter'd the Katy dids their evening songs on the trees as if all was peace and union and harmony instead of civil war, discord, and opposition – unknown and unfelt by the child, the hopes and

IX Vol 2 Chap 2*

fears – the joys or the sorrows of parental hearts, to him the present is all – the past and future as nothing. Not that I think childhood and youth to the possessors as more happy than other states of life, less so indeed than that of adult life, where a steady and well founded hope of the life which is in and by Jesus exists in healthy action –-but to those who have felt the pressure of worldly care, and the solicitudes of disappointed worldly expectations, the retrospective view of our childhood, seems in imagination a picture of lights without shades, of pleasure without pain, of Joy untinctur'd by sorrow.

I remember seeing in New York the late King William the 4th – then called Prince William Henry – 3d Son of George the 3d – He was at that time a well grown lad of 16 or 18. – appearing to me a boy quite a man – was a mid

X Vol 2 C 1. –

shipman on board one of the Kings Ships – When I saw him he was endeavouring to skate, on a piece of water formerly called the Colic† but made an awkward enough hand at it. In a garrison town there is always amusement enough for Children‡ -- The parade reviews the marchings about, the embarcations and debarkations of troops, military funerals, the military band which in summer playd in front of Trinity Church broadway – all these were constant

* An obvious error. We are still in Chapter 1.

† The Collect, sometimes called the Calck.

‡ Isaac had first written "boys," then struck that through.

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sources of interest and amusement to children – and tories who lived near the water, another amusement was to watch the boats landing from the men of war, the bustle of Ships of war in the harbor, the numerous little boats or pettiangers as they were called, which daily brought over supplies of provision from Long Island, then in possession of the British, for

XI Vol 2 C 1

the use of the inhabitants – These were rowed over by Dutch women generally, for at that time the Dutch was so generally the language of the farmers on Long Island and many in New York, that some did not understand English at all – Amongst other articles brought to market by the Dutch women was Buttermilk in their clean white Churns & Piggins.* – This was sold at 2 or 3 cents a quart, and very generally drank by the inhabitants – It was totally different from our buttermilk, being of a slight subacid taste, something like whey – It was recommended to me for the fever and ague, and I got to like it very much – I understand the Dutch formerly and perhaps now, churn the milk into butter, not waiting for the cream to rise as we do – and that hence the buttermilk is left palatable – There was always a man of war as guard ship lying at anchor in the East River, about a mile from the line of houses where

XII Vol 2 Chap 1

my father lived in Dock Street, as a sort of receiving ship, whose 9 oClock signal gun fired every night, was also the signal for the two elder children, for there were then but four in all, to retire to bed – we used to watch at the windows, with great interest, the lights moving about deck, and through the Port holes, preparatory to this signal. This when fired was succeeded by total darkness – I presume all the lights aboard were then extinguished, and the men on board like us boys in the house all retired to our nests. The Kings birth day June 4, was always a day of great shew and festivity – grand military parades &c, and of course interesting to young as well as old children.

In New York it was that I first learnt Chess, how this was introduced into the family I do not well recollect, but, my impression is, that it was first taught to Mr Humphries and our families, in which it was practised as well by the children as their parents, when the former were very young, by a

XIII Vol. 2. C. 1.

French man of the name of Le Mayeur, who was by profession a dentist. I recollect this person very well, because my father sent to me him (then a boy of 7 or 8 years old,) to have several teeth drawn, (for my teeth were always very crowded). One day while he was operating on me, he said to me in the course of conversation "Your fader he speak more worse French, than any man I ever was know, but, he speak so bold, as if he spoke de good French –" I told this to my father when I got home, who laughed heartily, observing that however true was the Doctors remark, it was not a striking instance of French politesse. Whether of him or some other Frenchman, Mr Humphries then I should think 45 years old set about learning French, and having a great aptitude and love for Philology, he soon acquired a competent knowledge of it – It was from him I learnt the rudiments of French and Latin from the age of six to nine –

* A wooden pail often having one extra-long stave serving as a handle.

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XIV Vol. 2. Page.* 1.
But the long desired peace at length arrived, and each one was now at liberty to sit down under his own vine, and his own fig tree,† if he could find a sitting place. – Alas for the loyalists, none such was provided. – the treaty of peace merely stipulating, that Congress should recommend to the respective States, that those who had not borne arms against the country, might be permitted to return and remain for the year allowed in the treaty to settle their affairs, but obnoxious as they were to their successful, fellow country men hardly dare they expect that their old homes would be homes to them – Some therefore at the peace of 1783, took one direction, and some another – many went to Halifax and Shelburne a new settlement, 30 miles west of Halifax where they hoped to build up a town by commerce and fisheries – My grandfather Davis left New York for the latter place, a month or two before my father left New York for Newtown‡ in Connecticut – Here there being a Sandemanian Society, and the inhabitants being reputed to

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be less violent whigs, than many other country towns in New England, he determined to take his family, as a sort of stepping stone to his return to Boston, to which without permission from the State authority (not easy to be obtained) he could not, even under the treaty stipulation, venture to return. Our five years residence in New York being ended, the family embarked for Norwalk in Connecticut, about the middle of September 1783§ – then consisting of my father & mother five children (my brother Ben the youngest) and Rose the black girl heretofore spoken of – My father took with him his furniture, what articles were left unsold in the Shop, and I presume some further supplies for a country store which he open'd in Newtown, his

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XVI) destind place of residence, to which Norwalk now Bridgeport** was the nearest seaport and all of us left New York, with what feelings on the part of my parents I cannot tell, but on the part of myself and brother with great delight, at the prospect of a change, and that to the country, of which we had seen scarcely any thing during our stay in New York – We sailed in a little Continental Sloop about X 50 Tons, commanded by a downright Yankey Captain Hubbell, whose first maneuver was to run us into the Pot,†† in Hellgate – This had been always thought by the boys an awful place to get into, their story being that whatever

* Another obvious error.

† Micah 4:4: "But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree; and none shall make them afraid: for the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it." Said of the last days.

‡ A crossroads in the eighteenth century and of Tory leanings in the early days of the Revolution.

§ After preliminary articles were approved in mid-April, the final Peace of Paris was signed September 3rd (though not ratified by Congress until the following January). So the family had timed their exit from New York well. The earliest definitive word of the treaty's being signed at Paris does not appear to have arrived in America until the latter part of November. The Library of Congress has a broadside printed at Philadelphia November 26 that announces itself as having just received the word of the signing and definitive text.

http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/rbpebib:@field%28NUMBER+@band%28rbpe+14601800%29%29

** They were then and always have been separate cities about ten miles apart, so it is not clear why Isaac makes this claim.

†† Perhaps Pot Cove, adjacent to Hell Gate.

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boat or vessell got into it was sucked to the bottom of its vortex – The Captain coming into the Cabin for the sounding line where the passengers were, looking quite pale and agitated

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XVII did not tend to reassure the passengers in this dilemma – However it terminated by our being whirled out of the pot, and carried by a strong tide running to the long island shore, where after lying one tide we got under way and arrived safely at Norwalk I believe the next day –

The bustle and animation of the scene, the loading up of waggons with furniture &c – the anticipation of being settled in a new place, and that place the country of which the boys when in New York had had scarcely a glimpse, all combin'd[?] to make this removal to Newtown though a scene of trouble and care to our parents, one of interest and pleasure to the children –

In due season the family bag and baggage arrived at Newtown to a plain unpainted country house, with 2 stories on the road, but one on the other side, the roof on that

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XVIII) side running down from the ridge pole so as to leave, the back side only one story high – not a room in the house was plaster'd, the floors single boards, and the room intended for a parlor with a great brick fire place, nearly as large as one of still greater dimensions in the kitchen. I remember my mother when she got into the house, after our arrival sitting down and having a hearty cry – why I know not, whether disappointed at the rude appearance of every thing around her, or having no female friend with whom she could participate* her troubles, and help her arrangements, must be left to conjecture; Perhaps the latter, for having had my Cousin Bella† with her for 2 or 3 years, and become much attached to her, she missed a companion & friend to whom she had got habituated and attached – The latter just before the departure of the family from New York, was married to Mr Joseph King, the young man

XIX Vol. 2. C 1.

before mentiond, who came out from England introduced to my father – Either before or after the marriage she fell in with his religious opinions, and became one of the Sandemanian Society, in which she continued till her death. Her husband Mr King accompanied the family from New York to Newtown‡ –

When the family had got settled down, every thing went on smoothly & harmoniously, my mother was in the enjoyment of perfect health, and seemed after getting a little used to her new situation, circumstances, and connections, to be cheerfull and contented – likewise my father both from temperament, and principle, unambitious, and unaspiring, appeared happier, than I ever recollect to have seen him – The burthen of care, which had from his father's death pressed

* An obsolete sense of the verb meaning *to impart a share of.*

† Isabella Catherine, daughter of his deceased uncle John.

‡ Perhaps simply to assist with the heavy work involved in the move. As of a letter from Isaac's father to his mother in April of the following year (below, II, xxviii), Mr. King was back in New York.

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heavily upon him was here for a time relieved – From the charge of several families beside his own, which had before been his lot he found himself at once disburthen'd of all but one – his religious friends principally farmers were very kind & serviceable to himself & family – The union of religious views with these, a few of whom were educated men, the absence of the pride and envy and competition, which if existing in a greater or less degree in every society, yet are certainly less called into action in the village than the city – all these, combined with the occupation furnished by a little country shop which he opend in Newtown – the cultivation of a small garden, for the supply of vegetables and the care of a poultry yard, tended to make the years residence in Newtown, the happiest, (because the most free from care) era of my fathers life at least since his marriage to my mother.

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To the children too, with Black Rose, nothing was more delightful, than the contrast between the rural scenery of the country to which they had come and that of the crowded city which they had left – every thing was new – They had never seen any rural occupations whatever – ploughing, and mowing and reaping were all new – milking and brewing and baking had been unknown in the city – The sitting and hatching of Geese and ducks and poultry, were to us phenomena – In imitation of the country boys near us, we attempted to go without shoes, over the rocky roads and closely mown grass, but soon found that the soft town soles could hardly bear what the indurated* feet of the country boys, was comfortable walking, and had to resume our shoes again –

Our Girl Rose continued her wild pranks in the country – She had taken

XXII Vol 2 C 1.

up from New York, a number of Jews harps on which instrument she had a knack of bringing out really very tolerable music – some of these and other little matters, she had picked up she would barter with the country boys for, Squirrells, nuts berries &c – They got an old Crate and fitted it up in the Garden with Evergreens and vines and made quite a respectable arbor, where the boys gatherd round in an evening to hear her Jews harp and her stories, very often lies, of what she had been in New York. – Sometimes she would take a country mans horse who had stopd at the house on business, and mounting it a straddle, would ride a mile or two for amusement – Once she sent me into the Shop to get gunpowder from the Cannister, in order to have fire works, on some occasion, by which I nearly lost an eye, having slipped, when reaching for it on a shelf, and I fell against a cask which stood under; from this a large nail projected, which the violence of the fall forced some distance into the eyebrow, or just above it -- This disclosed Rose's mischief. I soon got over the injury –

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While in Newtown my father sent me to a School kept by a young Frenchman for a short time, but I did not learn much there, as he did not mind at all leaving his school to go off gunning, if he saw a flock of birds in corn, or chase snakes, if he saw these in the field – Amongst the Sandemanians was a Mr Daniel Brewer who had been a minister, and a Doctor

* *Hardened* and *hardy*.

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Shephard, both worthy excellent men – The former had a son about my age, who was quite sick, so as to require watchers, and the young woman who lived at my fathers being about to go, I asked him to let me go and watch with young Brewer too – To this my father, always pleased to see, and put his children in the way of usefulness, and promoting any disposition on their part to help others, agreed – so off I set about 8 oClock in the evening, with the young woman to Mr Brewers house, and

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when I got there, and went to the sick room there was a little bed spread on the floor for me when I felt tired of sitting up – So when a few minutes after all had left the chamber, my companion told me I had better lie down, and she would call me if wanted – I followed her advice, and made one nap of it till 6 oClock in the morning and this was my first essay in watching – The society met in the town hall It was not numerous, but its members much united, and even the children seemed to form one family, but living miles apart saw each other only on Sundays – or now and then Sunday evenings, when it was the custom to meet for Singing, at each other's houses –

The general mode of travel was on horseback, women rode on pillows behind the man, and to almost every house there was

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a horse block on which the woman alighted, and had one or two steps cut in it so as to make an easy descent – There might have been a chaise or two in the village, but I do not recollect it –

The first play I ever was present at was at Newtown, "The Revenge" in which Lieut[t] Jonas Summers a blacksmith, our near neighbor, was Zanga[*] – the children were as much entertaind as if they had witness'd a performance by Garrick and Mrs Siddons. – It was said by the elder people to have been, all things considerd, very respectably represented – My Father who habit it was to make his boys useful as early as possible made me take the horse, and go to mill, a mile or two from the house, but being such a little chap – the miller was always obliged to take the bag of corn and put on the meal, which was quite beyond my strength.

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I once undertook to take my mother behind me on a pillow to go and see some person she wished to visit 2 or 3 miles distant from the house, we jogged on pretty well, till we came to a pretty steep hill, when the pressure of my mother on such a little body, gradually pushed me off the mans saddle into the horse's neck, and then on to the ground, how we got along I do not remember but suppose, that I led the horse which was a gentle one to the place where she was going.

In the winter there was plenty of sleighing for as every farmer had one or more horses, and a one horse sleigh or pung[†] the boys had continually chances to get sleigh rides without cost.

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[*] Edward Young's *The Revenge* (1721) includes the character Zanga, a captive Moor.

[†] According to *Webster's* 3rd *Unabridged*: "[by shortening fr. earlier *tom-pong, tow-pong*, of Algonquian origin; akin to Micmac *tobâgun* drag made of skin] New Eng: a rude oblong box on runners: a sleigh with a box-shaped body."

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But quitting these few reminiscences of a years residence in Newtown let us return to the more interesting movements of the

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family – In the year 1784, the main object of my fathers sojourn in Connecticut, being mainly as a stepping stone to getting to Boston a remove thither began to occupy his thoughts – Accordingly in April of that year having made the necessary preparations for the journey, he set out by himself to revisit his native place. His first letter is dated at Newport April 28 1784, (having gone it seems to Providence and Taunton and thence to Newport) and says he has letters from Boston "telling me I may come unmolested, but it must depend on the General assembly afterward, whether I may stay – Isaac Winslow* is come to Providence to accompany me down, I think to go to Providence on Monday, and from thence to Boston. I want to hear from you my dearest, and of the dear children I'll own to you I have tried to think as little of you as I could, but with all that effort, it has been a great deal that my mind has been

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occupied about you and them – You must write per Hartford Post, and also, to New York care of Mr King. – It is at present likely to me that I may remove to Boston, but you know, we are so much enured to disappointment that we must not promise too much on it. – Kiss all the children for me and believe me my dear Polly Your affectionate husband – IW Don't neglect the garden, write me a longer letter than I wrote you, for you have more leisure. Extracts of a letter from my dear mother to her husband dated Newtown 29 April 1784 – "I hope you was not disappointed at my not writing by the post as you know it is very expensive – I hope by this you have had the pleasure once more of seeing the few remaining branches of your family and think it must give you great joy after so long a separation, to judge by myself I think your sisters must be very happy at the sight of an only

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XXIX) brother, they have so long been wishing to see" –

She speaks of having been unable to get the goods for the shop up owing to disappointments &c. ["]but think it is of no great consequence, I do not think we have taken more than Seven dollars since you have been gone, Mr Curtis gets all the custom, he is getting goods up every day. I think there will be a poor chance for you to do business here, if you should not get leave to live in Boston – Mr King writes me very encouragingly that all are to return, but those who have borne arms if so hope that we shall be amongst the number that may return –

The French master has given up his school and gone to New York. So you see I have the boys at home and have enough on my hands, and have been very busy since you left me, with tayloring, making soap &c &c – Do give my love to Sister Sukey,† tell her I hope it will not be long before we shall meet, would write her but have no time – The children are all well and send love and duty to you and their aunts

* Undoubtedly the young cousin who had survived the Cape Breton shipwreck.

† Susannah Winslow, Polly's sister-in-law.

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XXX . they are in great expectation of seeing Boston this summer, but I fear they will be disappointed – I own for myself I have very little hopes – you will hardly make out half of this; my pen & Ink so bad, can hardly make, a stroke so must bid you good night my friend & companion give my kind love to your sister Pollard,* Sister Patty† – Aunt Minot,‡ Aunt Davis and all enquiring friends, and believe your very affectionate and dutiful wife – MW

Letter of my father to my mother May 5 1784 My dearest Polly –

This I date after nine years absence from Boston, where I arrived last night and lodged at Sookey's, who with Patty received me with the greatest affection–I immediately waited on the Governor,§ who was civil beyond my greatest expectation, and directed me to apply to the Governor and Council as Mr Amory and Mr Spooner had done before me for leave to reside till the assembly met, when final order will be taken of those who

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XXXI have applied – I made my petition accordingly to the Governor and Council this morning, and just now had my permission brought me – Having presented my petition, I then walked all about, found every body who knew me civil and glad to see me. I visited wharves and houses, met some people who owed me and some whom I owed – Sister Winslow for the first time since coming visited us today[”] (probably his brother Edwards widow) [“]desired love to you – I have visited Aunt Minot, Uncle Davis, & Uncle Ned** – Aunt Davis has been sick seemed exceedingly glad to see me, spoke with great affection. – He was of opinion your papa would get leave by & bye – This surprized me[?] from him[”] (William Davis the uncle of my mother is here refer'd to, who had taken a decided part with the whigs and is said to have, been very bitter against the tories even his own brother) [“]Aunt Minot and all the little cousins, you may be sure were very glad to see me and hear from you – as she had some letters from your papa very clever and giving

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clearer account of his situation, I got her leave to enclose them, to you promising you will bring them on with you – Sookey and Patty are sitting by. – Cousin Sally Winslow, Sally Tyng and Col Pollard,†† all chattering. Now as to coming for you and the luggage, I intend to

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* Margaret, Mrs. Benjamin Pollard (and later grandmother of Isaac's wives).

† Martha, the woman whose intellect had been seriously impaired after a childhood illness.

‡ Polly's great aunt Elizabeth neé Davis, who had married Samuel Minot. See above, I, 29.

§ John Hancock (1737-93). Like Isaac's father, a graduate of Boston Latin and Harvard (though he graduated from the former the year before Isaac's father entered it). As a very successful Boston merchant trading in many of the same goods as the Winslows (he exported rum, for example), he was undoubtedly familiar with the family and very probably had known Isaac's father, grandfather, and great uncle before the war. He had more the personal tastes of a Tory than a Whig (J. S. Copley painted him at least twice before the war). His being more moderate in his politics than his mentor, Samuel Adams, as well as recollections of the days when the Winslows were such highly esteemed fellow merchants, may have contributed to his warmer than expected reception of Isaac's father once the Peace was finally established.

** Isaac's mother's uncle Edward Davis.

†† Jonathan Pollard, son of Aunt Pollard, who had been a Colonel in the Continental Army. See above, I, 129.

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take advice whether the assembly will finally grant leave so as to encourage coming for you, and if so I intend to come speedily, mind and take care of the garden, Sookey wants some garden stuff and cyder. Give my love to Isaac, Tom, Jack, Polly and kiss Benj^{n} –

My debts which you know lay heavy are the weight without which I should feel encouraged with present prospects, but I must rub through* them if possible – I hope Bella["] (Mrs Jos. King) ["]her mama says Betsy & Katy† are pretty well, this for her if she is with you, or if you with her. I expect a letter, from you by to morrows post, and notwithstanding what you say I will think it worth paying postage for – Every thing here is balloon, balloon Caps, aprons

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handkerchiefs &c – These are the machines["] (balloons) ["]with which they take a trip in the air.‡

I have not seen Cesar["] (father of the Black Rose before spoken of owned by my grandfather Davis) ["]Aunt Minot says he seldom comes there – Remember me to all my friends who will I know be kind to you –

Yours affectionately
IW

This moment as my letter was closing came your kind affectionate letter 29 April – You have indeed dear Girl enough on your hands – You will see I am somewhat encouraged about going to Boston (who am not apt to be very much encouraged) Sally Tyng who is the same lively little girl§ says she hopes your soap came without difficulty["] From my mother dated Newtown 20 May, 1784 ["]I received yours of the 13th["] – She then speaks

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of having written by a Mr Booth and by post, "this is the fourth letter I have written you, and hope you will not think I have been negligent –

I am very glad to find by your letter, that you have been so kindly received in Boston. I do not know what to think of your wishing me to get things in readiness to move, as you, seem uncertain yet, whether you will get leave to live in Boston, however I will do all I can, and that you know is very little, till you return, as I would not undertake to do any thing with the goods – I have as you desired got your friends to see and get in your debts. Doctor Shepard has been kind enough to undertake that business, he has put up an advertisement desiring all persons indebted to you to call and make speedy payment as you intend leaving the town very soon. I fear whether many will call till your return. Your friends have been very kind and attentive to me ever since you have

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* An old figurative use of the verb, meaning, according to the *OED*, "To continue in a certain course with more or less difficulty or restraint; to contrive, or make shift, to get on." Used with such prepositions as *off, along, through, on.*

† Isabella Catherine's sisters Elizabeth and (Bella's twin) Catherine Isabella.

‡ A Wikipedia article on the history of ballooning says the first manned balloon flight in Europe occurred in November, 1783, and that the first manned flight in America did not occur until January, 1793, so the balloon articles Isaac's father mentions probably celebrate (and commercially exploit) the first European flights.

§ She was born March 22, 1765, so just turned 19 at this date.

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been gone, which hope I shall ever remember with gratitude.

I am much obliged to you my dear friend for your kind intelligence of my friends and relations please remember me kindly to them all, tell them I hope to have the pleasure of seeing and talking with them before long, believe me I enjoy the anticipation was it not for the thoughts of moving

Now I must tell you my dear friend, I begin to be quite tired of the thoughts of keeping house without you, believe if you don't return soon, I shall pack up and follow you and now I must bid you good night Believe me your affectionate wife – MW["] In PS. apologizes for ["]this hasty scrawl – Polly says I want to see papa very much – Jacky says I wonder when papa will come home to see my jacket and breeches["] – From my father to my mother Boston 26 May 1784.

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["]My dearest Polly Boston May 26 1784["]

first speaks of having missed an opportunity of sending a letter by a Mr Booth, to Newtown

"The Assembly meets tomorrow, and it is thought will not be long 'ere our matters are taken up. At present every thing looks favorable – But as to my own private business there is abundance to mortify me. This with so long an absence from you and the children have made me sometimes quite low spirited – I yet see no prospect of a house for you. they would have me take that I left but I do not see how I can afford the rent, for it will be more than will come to my share. Aunt Alford* is coming here to live, which will render Sukey too full, for me to take part of her house – However she is kind enough to offer us to come at present –

When I know what the assembly do, I shall, come home soon["] (after) – ["]You saw your fathers very kind letter, how happy would it be for us, if he would be allowed to come – I want his advice in many instances I think I am dull being away from you, but hope when we get here we shall find some way["] (to make out) ["]Living is very extravagant

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but believe my dear Polly will bear her part, by striving to remedy this by industry and economy" –. Sends the letter which miss'd going by Mr Booth, speaks of his Sisters Sookey & Patty – "adieu dear Polly, may a merciful providence keep you and the dear children" –

Your affect husband, IW

Boston May 28 1784
Has just time to answer his wifes last letter "It rejoiced me to hear, that you and the children, are well; tell Jack I want to see his Jacket & breeches, and Polly that I got a new Tom Tucker book for her – My dearest girl I only wanted you should get in readiness to move, I see nothing to discourage our getting in["] (leave to reside in Boston ["] – though the assembly met yesterday, our matters cannot be expected to be taken up the first thing – what discourages me is what I shall do for business in this expensive place – The estate is in debt to the administrators, they say for repairs, and I owe

* See above, I, 194.

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a good deal as you know, – As to your packing up I have been telling Sookey, that if I stay longer I shall have a woman come from Connecticut and lay five children to me" – explains again the cause of the miscarriage of a letter by Mr Booth – ["]I am to dine today at uncle Ned's["] (my mother's uncle Edward Davis) ["]with a gentleman who left your father at Port Roseway* well a few days ago – I just met Uncle Minot["] (husband of my mother's Aunt Elizabeth Davis) ["]and three girls all well – my brother Johns widow is expected["] (from England) ["]every day. – So you may all meet. I am low spirited, I want your company, and want to see a way you should be comfortable. You gratify me by telling me the kindness of my friends["] (of - the Sandemanian Society) – ["]I have found them so all the way on here["] – Concludes ["]in haste with love to Mr Brewer, Mr Judson, the kind doctor and all the folks, &c -- Yours affectionately IW["]

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A kind of duplicate of the above transcribed letter from my father to my mother follows in which he says ["]I see nothing discouraging yet as to my staying here, but only the trifling matter how I am to do for business – This once was trifling and hope it may be now – I fear I think too much about it – You know when I was separated from you I was always dull – and sometimes ill natured – You will say so I am when with you – I have got no house yet. Sookey says she can accommodate us for the present, but having Aunt Alford["] (my fathers mother's sister Margt Savage) ["]now come here, it is not in her power to do it conveniently – The old lady seems really as glad to see me as if I was her child, wishes I had a house for her, tho' she says she don't know my wife –

I expect you have managed in your mind all our moves – The goods if I come I believe I shall bring most of them – yet sell all you can and don't stand for price, I regret

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dear its so far. Mr Atkinson and wife have been in town["] (the latter sister of my fathers first wife a Miss Sparhawk) ["]were very glad to see me and tell me if they will not let me stay here, to come there["] (Portsmouth N.H.) ["]and I shall be protected.

You cannot imagine the revolution in peoples minds, Some scowl and the language of their looks is "I don't like you but you may e'en come" – I have not one nights thought of a mob –" (.These were so common, from 1770 to 1776, and the dire effects of mob law had been so exhibited, to the inhabitants of Boston, that no doubt all the witnesses to these terrible exhibitions of popular violence, as usual, directed by influential partizan leaders dreaded their recurrence)

"I have seen the Governor, Lieutenant Governor† and some of the council, speaker of the house of assembly and several other great folks they are all civil and glad to see me here.

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* Located on the southwestern shore of Nova Scotia, Port Roseway was refuge for over 12,000 Loyalist refugees of the American Revolution after the Peace.

† Thomas Cushing III (1725–1788). Like Hancock's, his family were prominent Boston merchants and most likely acquainted with the Winslows. He was, moreover, slow to take up the call for Independence.

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Aunt Minot was here today tells me Polly[”] (his brother Johns widow) [“]may be looked for in a few days, and is to stay with her. Aunt M is in fine spirits, about seeing so many of the friends – . .

Aunt Ned is a woman of clever appearance[”] (wife of my mothers uncle, Edward Davis) [“]full as good as the first wife – the children clever – One looks very like Tom. Tell Jacky, I will come soon to see his new dress. Your pet kiss for me[”] (I suppose my sister Mary, then the only girl). [“]Give my love to Isaac, tell him I hope and don't doubt he helps mama all he can . – As soon my dear Polly as I have a certainty of admittance, I shall hasten home. I hope you destroy all my letters, they are like words – which spoken vanish, whilst the affection which dictates them, remains – You improve my dear in writing and I am proud of reading your letters – Good night most 11 oClock

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kiss all the little folks for me

Yours with tender affection – IW

Love from Sookey &c[”]

From my mother to my Father, Newtown June 8 1784 My dear Mr Winslow – I received your very melancholy letter, which put me in the glooms, so much so that I could not read it without shedding tears, but you know how I soon get over troubles –

You surprize me by saying that you are advised not to petition the assembly, and that the expenses are so high in Boston, and in short your whole letter is so[”] (torn off suppose [“]discouraging[”]) “that I am at a loss what to advise you – Indeed my dear friend[”] (torn off suppose I do not think* it will be possible for you to get a living in this place as[”] (torn off suppose Mr Curtis) [“]and Mr Booth run away with all the custom, be assured you will not be able (torn suppose [“]to carry on[”]) business here without a very considerable capital, and not only that but you will not be able to go through the fatigue

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that the traders in this place do. : They are continually on the jaunt to this place or Boston.

I am, much surprized to hear that Jacky's Polly[”] – (my uncle Johns widow) [“]is expected from England, and fear it is as you say, that her uncle has turned avaricious in his old age – poor girl, I pity her very much, if she has arrived, do give my kind love to her

You say your Clothes grow very shabby. I hope you will not stay much longer, if so it may be necessary to send you some summer ones –

I am quite tired of keeping house without you – I am so little used to paying for things in the family, that it appears to me, I spend as much again as when you are at home. If you should not get an answer from the assembly, I hope you will come home very soon, as I should think it will answer no purpose for you to stay any longer[”] – She refers to a certificate from General Chandler that all are well. “Tom says he believes you will never come home[”] – . concludes [“]with regards to all our friends in Boston[”] &c In a P S

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[“]The letter was intended for Mr White but now goes by Post with the certificate referd to, I hope I have done right in so sending it – “I repeat my wish that you would not stay any

* Unclear where the quotation begins again as there is no closing paren.

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longer, for be assured I am quite tired of being alone, for all that I used to say, hat* we don't know how much we love our friends till we are separated from them

I sincerely wish that we were settled in some way, that the children could have two or three years schooling, for they learn very little at home, but I must not think – it makes me quite discouraged –

Adieu, my friend, I wish you a good journey home – Your friends here all well and desire their love to you["]

Letter from my father to my mother dated 9 June 1784 –

"I am yet here my dearest Polly.["] had expected from her letter ["]that Mr White was coming but now find, that he is not expected –

Remaining here I get more and more

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involved in accounts in which I can do very little, and find I must, break away to my dear friend and companion. I intend at present to sett off next week for Providence, thence to Taunton for my horse, and from Newport to New haven, and thence home.

There is nothing done yet by the Court, and I do not think any thing decisive will be – It is thought it will rise soon.

I do not see any present way of getting a livelihood here, but defer thinking of coming here till I see and consult with you, after telling you the encouragements and discouragements I have met with – This I will say that I do not think but that we might reside here, under many disadvantages – This I think I foresaw whilst with you. – I am pleased with your writing me so steadily, and more at your manner of doing it – I am proud of your letters and shew or read them to all my friends["]

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He speaks of having had no letters from England by, two or three vessells arrived from London and thinks his friends imagine he is on the way to there, hears nothing from Port Roseway (Shelburne) "I want to hear from your father, that if he was to come to New England, we might form some plan together, I fear it will not do for him to think of it for some time – If he was to come to Newtown, you would be contented there" speaks of being yet undetermind as to his future course – He speaks of his having met in the street, Cinna the sister of Rose, and known her from her likeness to her sister – is writing at, Mr Winnietts["] (his brother in law, who had married his sister Elizabeth and was then a widower) – sends his love to his religious friends in Newtown and Danbury, and begs her to get all she wants to make herself comfortable &c "Your tender & affect husb[d] IW

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["]My dear Mr Winslow Newtown Jun 16 1784

I received yours of the 9th of June I am very sorry you write so discouragingly about getting to Boston – From what I can collect† of your letters I have very little hopes of ever seeing my native place again, but as it will do no good to be low spirited, I will endeavour to keep up my spirits as well as I can

* No doubt "that" was intended.

† In the sense of *gather* or *infer*.

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I am much pleased with the country, it is very pleasant. The children are very much amused with going a Strawberrying, they just brought me in a very large basket full: I wished you was here to help me eat them – The Garden is in a very promising way – As I suppose we shall not move till towards fall, I have endeavour'd to keep it in as good order as I could. Believe me I grow quite impatient for your return – If the assembly does not give you an answer I hope you will not, think of staying another week – Your last letters are quite in the gloomy style – They make me very dull

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to read them – I cant but hope, the next will be more encouraging["] –. She speaks of, the payment of an excise bill, being deferd till her husbands return – sends her particular regards, to Sally Tyng – her Sister Betsy, and love to Sister Sookey whose letters she promises to answer if she will write –

"Adieu my friend and companion that you may return soon to your family is the sincere wish of Your affect wife MW. Rose sends her love to her father & mother & Cinna"

Here ends the correspondence between my parents during my fathers absence in Boston to obtain leave to return, whether, the General assembly did grant leave to him, and the other loyalists; Or whether they remained on sufferance I do not know, but as the family did come to Boston the summer of 1784 – I think in August, I shall, resume, my recollections from our leaving Newtown probably in July of that year – I have not a distinct recollection

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of the circumstances, accompanying this move, only, that the bustle and animation of the scene combined with the anticipations of going to the always talked of Boston, was, to, my brother Tom and myself the former 9 years and myself 10 ½ years old a source of satisfaction, little realizing the trouble and anxiety of our parents who had, to transport their family and furniture 25 miles to a seaport a second time within a year – . I well remember however that on our arrival at, Norwalk, the sight of salt water and smell of the sea air, having been always used to a seaport, was peculiarly agreeable. we embarked on board a small American sloop commanded by Capt Summers which traded constantly to Boston. On our way, we stopped two or three times to anchor at the ports in the sound, and passing by Point Judith, I presume with a head wind, put into Newport, where my father carried me ashore to his sister then

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Malbone formerly Peas;[*] who had married again – Here we got some fresh bread – vegetables and milk, which proved highly acceptable to my mother, and the young fry left on board – Embarking again the same night, the sloop made a harbor the next day at New London, and there the boat went ashore for milk and other refreshments. The remainder of the voyage over the Shoals and on to Boston, I have no recollection of, except that my brother Tom and myself both lost our hats overboard in a flaw[†] of wind, and when we

[*] Catherine. Isaac continues to misspell "Pease."

[†] According to *Webster's 3rd Unabridged*, "a sudden burst of wind of short duration with or without rain or snow." So "of wind" here is redundant.

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landed, I was indebted to my cousin Mrs Blanchard for the loan of her daughter Peggy's beaver bonnet (my later wife) to walk up to my Aunt Sukey's where the family first went, having 3 or 4 rooms, in the house she lived in (belonging to the family) in Beacon St. This had two large gardens, one bounding on the Common burying place,* and the other on Beacon Street, extending down

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that street, about half way to the corner of Tremont Street, or what is now (1842) the Tremont House† – The Estate made the western part of the present Tremont Place , ‡ and another estate of my grandfathers§ comprising a very good brick house, stable &c made the South East corner of the Tremont house.

My Aunt received us all very kindly, took particular notice of the children, especially my sister Mary, who was then about four years old, and as I believe I have before observed, not only an uncommonly beautiful child, but a very smart and precocious one – the pet of my mother and family; alas that maternal partiality, should have so entirely yielded to the natural impulses, which so often lead the mother and not unfrequently fathers too, delighting in the personal advantages of their children to foster, rather than check, the unavoidable tendency of beautiful and sprightly children of either sex, to pride, vanity and self conceit. How fatal is this early indulgence, and how often

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do its effects fall most heavily on these very parents, who unhappily so mistake, as to lose sight of the great element of education, that of subduing the will, at the earliest age. The child thus accustomed to parental control, thus and thus only, can acquire in after life the habit of self control, without which Beauty – Talents, fortune, become snares to their possessors – The incidents, or my reminiscences of them, after the arrival of the family in Boston will be continued in the next chapter.

* Isaac certainly is in error here and means the Granary Burying Ground in Tremont St. and *not* the burying ground in the Common.

† A Dickens scholar cannot help but notice it was here that Dickens and his wife stayed that very year, from January 22 to February 5.

‡ Blank spaces perhaps meant to be filled in later.

§ Most probably his grandfather Joshua Winslow.

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Chapter Fourteen (Volume Two, Chapter Two)

Residing with Aunt Sukey and numerous relations – Letter from Mrs. Alford – Changes in Boston – His father's want of Boston friends after the War – Boston localities; shops and storefronts in most all dwelling houses in the central part of the town; Vernon's Head Tavern; bridges, dams, streams, and rope walks; Mount "Horam"; a house in which Isaac was tutored; the powder and pest houses; the Leverett Street neighborhood; the streets how paved; Beacon Hill, its history and how it came to be developed, the splendid views from atop it; the old alms house, work house and Granary; little new building till after 1789; new houses of the prosperous – Isaac sent to Boston Latin; Mr. Hunt and his failings; dwindling numbers of his pupils; Isaac delivers the English Oration – Family moves to the very large old family house in Dock Square; resident relatives and alienated ones; the numerous female relations; the house again becomes a family center, as it had been in the days of Isaac's grandfather Joshua – The Capt. Stanhope fracas; an exchange of letters recently published – His uncle Davis and brother Tom go to Shelburne with Stanhope – Isaac's father's trip to Shelburne and Halifax to petition for War losses; news from there; death of John Sparhawk – A fire at Dock Square that might have been disastrous but for a lucky accident – A fishing expedition and an unlucky and mortifying accident – Births and Aunt Sukey's death; Cato her Aunt Alfrod's slave and Chance her dog; anecdotes of these; how slaves estimated their masters and Cato's disappointment in Isaac's father – Dividing grandfather Winslow's estate and how the slaves complicated this – His father full of business, but with little profit – Why Isaac didn't go to Harvard; religious and financial reasons – Isaac, age 13 ½ escorts his Aunt Malbone and three young ladies to Newport; seeing the sights there; compass confusions; an amusing malapropism by the French Vice Consul of France on the return voyage – Isaac works temporarily in the front store at the Dock Square house – The Dock Square house sold; real estate prices; Isaac apprenticed to Mr. William Payne; the practice then as compared with now; the nature of Isaac's work; no regrets at not being at Harvard, but a little envy.

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After Eight and half years absence from the native place of my parents as well as that of my brother Tom and myself, the family returnd under the circumstances as before described. – (My brothers John and Benjamin and Sister Mary were as has been said all born in New York)

My Aunt Sukey or Susanna Winslow under whose roof my fathers family were at first domicilated, had then a large family viz< her Aunt Alford, her sister Patty, her two cousins Betsy and Sally Tyng Winslow – This establishment was encreased by the addition of our family, then with black Rose, making eight – My aunt Alford had also in the house her own slaves – Cato – Dinah and a son of the latter, but my

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father only took the rooms she could spare, providing for his own family – My great aunt Alford whom I well recollect was a most respectable venerable lady like woman of the old School She seemed much attached to my father and his family, and the children were permitted occasionally to visit her in her chamber, from which she never departed, being then at the advanced age of 83 or 84 – She was said to have received the best education which was at that time to be had, and wrote a very fair Italian hand, which was, a century ago, the fashionable style of writing for young females – Her husband Col Alford, as I have understood from some dispute with the town authorities, quitted Boston and bought or built a house on Charlestown Neck, near the Canal Bridge, some time before the year 1752 – I find only one letter from her dated Feby 17 of that year to her sister Winslow (my grandmother) dissuading the latter from her purpose of having four of her children inoculated at once – thinks it will be too great an undertaking to attend them all &c – and adds "I do really pity you, and desire to commit you and yours to the God of all grace and mercy, for his pity and help who is the Lord of life, and full of compassion – Neither does he willingly afflict, nor grieve* the children of men, and as you are properly led into the thought of Abraham's offering his son Isaac when called thereto, so if he shall call for you all, may you do also, and so God

gave him back again. If it be his will, may he preserve yours, and continue them for a blessing – but if otherwise, may we and all concern'd be prepared for the event, and may all tend to promote his glory, and our growing conformity to his will, which is our highest attainment here – I remain my dear Sister – Your loving Sister Margaret Alford" ["]Mr Alford sends love to you all["] &c This relation died I think in 1784 or 85, at an advanced age, and having never had children, she left a small paternal estate to her neices and nephews – She was buried in the Savage Tomb Chapel† burying ground.

I do not recollect any particular impression which was made on my mind as a boy in regard to Boston, as compared with New York but at the age of Ten children are not given to generalize or compare, or reflect – Details or facts are what interests them – Men too might be wiser, was their attention more drawn to these than generalities. I often used to hear my father remark, the difference of Boston to him in 1784 and afterwards, to his recollections of it Ten years before In the latter case, with his numerous relations of mother, uncles, Brothers, cousins, and their connections, he was emphatically at home – In the former case he felt like an alien – The men in power, and men of business had totally changed – The localities of the town remained the same, except that the buildings were shabby and out of repair – but the face of society had totally changed – It was then that the last were first, and the first last‡ -- But being unambitious, and though a loyalist, extremely attached to his country, the change in the social system did not so much affect him, as the want of near and judicious friends, in whose counsel and regard he could rely – In 1774 he had many such around him; in 1784, not one – To a man of his temperament, who required the support and encouragement of a judicious friend, such a privation was very great – often and often as I grew up have I heard lament that he had no brother or near friend to whom he could resort for counsel and assistance.

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* *Webster's 3rd Unabridged* has this as an archaic sense: *to injure, harm, or hurt esp. with disease.*

† King's Chapel burying ground.

‡ Alluding to Matthew 20:16: "So the last shall be first, and the first last: for many be called, but few chosen."

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LIII Vol 2 Chap 2

It is not amiss here to notice some of the localities of Boston at the time of the arrival of the family – These though not impressed on my mind much at the time, yet as Boston continued very much the same till about 1790, at or about which period some few handsome houses were put up at the West part of the town, subsequent recollections at the age of 14 to 20 enable me to state perfectly the general circumstances of the town, some years earlier.

The most remarkable change in the circumstances of the town has been the conversion of dwelling houses, on their sites into places of business – For a period of ten or fifteen years after our arrival from 1793 to 1798,* the shops and stores occupied the front part of the dwelling houses – In State Street to merchants row, all the buildings in whole or in part were dwellings – . all through merchants row on the coast[?] side, esp by the South Side of Fanueil Hall were so improved – Dock Square on both sides – the north side of Fanueil Hall, all Union Street – all Washington Street to the neck.– Scarcely a shop or store was to be seen in Milk Street, and very few in Liberty Square – Congress Street, (then Quaker Lane, a narrow lane not over 12 or 15 feet) was composed entirely of dwelling houses, except here and there a shop in front Court Street the same – Broad Street and India Street with the cross Streets were not built till about 1803 or 4 or thereabouts, but on the site of these were numerous small

[the following slip is no doubt a misplaced fragment from a discarded draft, perhaps inserted here simply as a bookmark]

Pa: 50.

1798-1799. Loss by Peace of Amiens 1801 -- & Aunt Patty

sufferer, in proportion to my limited means, for having undertaken a voyage to Leghorn for the sake of getting my brother Tom a berth as supercargo – with part of a Cargo on my account, bought at war prices – which arrived to peace markets I lost the little I had scraped together, and became insolvent $2000 or 3000$ – but I anticipate my narrative – more of this

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houses towards Purchase Street – though to be sure, there were several short wharves and a large Ship yard called Hallowells, taken for India Street – I have often seen the bowsprits of vessells built at this yard project over Battery march,† Street, and even the low houses on the other side of the street. At the Corner of merchants row and State Street, stood an old fashion wooden building occupied as a tavern, and call'd the Admiral Vernon head‡ -- Merchants row at this point was a narrow and very dangerous passage of 10 or 12 feet, where only one, Cart could go abreast. – There was a dock, which ran from town dock west, on the north side of Fanueil hall nearly to dock square, over which to pass through to Ann

* This is a bit confusing. "from 1793 to 1798" is inserted via caret. Isaac means to identify a period of about ten to fifteen years after the family returned to Boston, hence the period *starting* in 1784 and *ending* anywhere from 1794 to 1798.

† It should be one word, "Batterymarch." The street no longer hugs the edge of the harbor.

‡ Vernon's Head Tavern (or "Vernon^{s} Hedd" as its sign had it) was named after Admiral Edward Vernon (1684–1757), as was the Washington estate of Mount Vernon.

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Street was a swing bridge – This I do not recollect the dock must have been filled up, and the bridge about, or before the time we came to town – Boston was then two islands, or a peninsula, and

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the stream making which ran from the mill Pond, by the town dock to back of long wharf A crooked dam was originally carried across from near our house in Leverett Street* to near Charlestown bridge, enclosing about 40 acres of land – and making at the turn of tide three streams one near said bridge, another near Leverett Street, and a third in Middle (now Hanover) Street – The mills were built for grinding corn perhaps 100 years ago, in case of war, but were little used when I was young – but there was then a bridge over the channel in Hanover Street near Marshall Street, and another in Ann Street near its entrance – These were taken away when Blackstone Street was laid out (in which about 1835† direction the Canal run to the harbor). The North part of the town was then pretty closely built and populous, and in the lower parts of Hanover Ann – Bennett, Charter Street and some others

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the appearance is more like the Boston of 1775 to 1785, than any other part – though to be sure that also is much changed – The wharves were then built on the East side of the town and except a few scattering ones elsewhere the harbor was bounded by a marshy or sandy shore, on the South west parts now South Boston free bridge Railway depot and buildings &c – The Causeway extended half or three quarters of a mile on the north – but west of that Bartons Point now Lowell rail road depot, and Stores, with the beach with some marsh, extended from thence to the bottom of the Common, now Charles Street – . Here were 3 or 4 Rope walks built I think about 1795 to 1797, but burnt down 10 or 12 years afterward, these run all the length of Charles Street To the west of these was a fine beach, and here the school boys living at that part of the town bathed, as they had opportunity

Where Mount Vernon now is was a large hill called by the boys mount Horam‡ sloping to the beach on its S. W. & west sides.

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On this was a growth of small Savins or Cedars and of Barberry bushes: a wild desolate place as any in the country – This hill was dug down I should think about 1797 or 8 to fill up Charles Street – When I was at School from 1784 to 1787 and for many years after, there but§ 3 houses from Beacon Street to the water – one now (1844) standing, (Gov^r Hancocks)– one in which a judge Cushing[?] lived, and one occupied by a Mr John Vinal, one of the

* The Winslows did not move into this house until 1816 (below, IV, 65ff.), and they resided there until about 1840—that is, a few years before the time at which Isaac is now writing (1844). His having to sell the house in the wake of the financial crises of 1837 and years following will be central to the nostalgic and even melancholy close of Margaret's portion of the Memorial. Leverett St. is long gone. the house stood on a large plot of land almost at what was then the water's edge, about a hundred yards northeast of the Shriner's Hospital for Children.

† "about 1835" inserted via caret. Probably "was laid out about 1835 (in which direction…" was intended.

‡ It was better known as Mount Whoredom and is labeled as such on a 1775 map of Boston available at http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/36/Boston%2C_1775bsmall1.png .

§ No doubt "there *were* but" was intended.

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town writing masters – to whom I went at what was called, private hours[?] that is when the Latin School was let out at 11 O Clock.

Near this mount, or making part of its north Western descent was a small deep, almost Circular, dell perhaps 80 or 100 feet in diameter – In this was placed the powder house, for then every town of consequence

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was compelled by law, to maintain such an establishment – The rim or edge of the dell was if I recollect right about as high as the roof of the building – From this to Cambridge bridge were open fields, except, one or two ropewalks belonging to the Austin family, where is now Myrtle & Pinckney Street, near that bridge was the Pest house as it was called, entirely isolated with no building within half a mile, (an establishment, for the reception of small pox patients, or others having infectious disorders)– the boys always kept at a most respectful distance from this. This building was standing I think as late as 1815 or 1820: where Parkmans market Cambridge Street stands, and the Street before it – Blossom Street – North Russell Street, and all the Streets North, built on flat made land was a marsh, which was filled up, when Cambridge bridge was built or building about 1795 to 1798

LIX Vol2 C 2

From Chambers Street west, was all open ground except a few scattering houses, down to the line of shore from Cambridge Street to Bottom of Leverett Street formerly Bartons Point – Leverett Street is a very old street, and had always scattering houses, down to Cragies bridge – My mother and uncle Davis were born in the home north of us, (now having fourteen or fifteen homes on the land attached to the former – My grandfather Davis owned and lived in the House about 1756 and some time afterwards – My uncle & mother went to School in the old[x] house now standing next south of our old house Leverett Street – Where Poplar Street is were 2 or 3 ropewalks, running in the direction of that Street to the water – These were burnt down about 1795 or 1796

The principle Streets of Boston were then paved as now with round stones, which running up to the houses, made a very disagreeable and dangerous sidewalk in winter – Hence people to avoid the ice which could not be cleared of from these generally in winter walked in the middle of the street.

[written sideways bottom to top at left margin]
[x] taken down 1843 and 2 brick houses built there

LX. Vol. 2 C 2

When I was in Philadelphia in 1798, it was said that a Bostonian was known there by choosing the middle of the Street to walk in Brick side walks I should think, were not introduced till near the year 1800 – nor did they become general till many years after – The going in the smaller, and unpaved streets, was in Spring and fall very bad –

The most interesting feature of Boston at that time, was Beacon Hill, a high eminence about 200 yards north of the new State house sloping gently to he land on which that is built, and on the South down to Park Street – On the north it was much more steep, and there terminated in a long flight of timber steps to Temple Street – the ground on the declivity of the hill on all sides was quite open – It had a long pole, and an Iron frame to receive a Tar barrell which was set fire to in case of need to, as a signal for the country inhabitants

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to flush* in to the assistance of their town brethren in Case of need. – This it seems had always been used as a signal post,† for Hutchinson mentions when Sir Edmund Andros was deposed by the inhabitants of Boston in 1689 – "a pair of colors was set up at Beacon hill, for notice to some thousand soldiers on the Charlestown side." It was no doubt, considerd very useful, before and during the revolutionary war – Soon after which it became useless, and a handsome brick Pillar surmounted by a gilt eagle, with inscriptions on the four sides of the base, commemorative of revolutionary events, was erected, which stood there many years – These inscriptions are now in the new State house (1843).‡

It being ascertained by a suit at law of the Hancock heirs against the town that the slopes of the hill were private property and that only a [?ank?]§ of land of ten thousand square feet belonged to the public, it was sold to the proprietors of the adjoining land I should think about 1810 – a grievous

LXII Vol. 2 Chap 2

affair to the inhabitants of Boston, but unavoidable, as it would have been very expensive, if not impossible to have secured the four sides by walls – which also would have destroyed the beauty of the hill – I was one of the town committee to sell the hill for which I think we got a dollar a foot or 10 000$

The prospect from the summit of Beacon hill at high water was very beautiful, the wide expanse of water in Cambridge bay quite to the neck. – the width of Charles River unobstructed by avenues or bridges – Boston harbor with its numerous islands – Blue Hill in Milton and, most of the neighboring towns, within a circumference of Eight or ten miles – The common then only partially enclosed, cover'd with Cows feeding – the town of Boston embowerd with trees, for almost every house had its garden, besides many fine elms in the Streets, altogether presented a combination of fine and interesting scenery – Charlestown bridge was built

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about the year 1787., but this by no means diminished the interesting character of the Scenery. – It was not till many years after this, that both banks of the river being wharfed out, and built upon – it lost its pristine appearance of a spacious river –

The old alms house, work house and Granary, were all on Park Street, the land on which the former was sold at a high rate, when rich people began to look out for eligible situations, on which to build – I should think about 1800. The Granary was on the site where Park Street is, and was a large, wooden building constructed long before the revolution – intended for the deposit of grain when plenty and low, for the supply of the poor, when scarce and dear, and not easily to be had.

As has been said there very few new buildings, going up in the town prior to the adoption of the federal constitution in 1789 by

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* According to *Webster's 3rd Unabridged*, an obsolete sense used of persons, meaning *to rush abroad or swarm together like a flock of birds*.

† Which is of course why it was called "Beacon Hill."

‡ Above, II, lvii, Isaac indicates he is writing in 1844.

§ Possibly "shank" is intended. Or "hank"? Or "bank"?

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LXIV Vol 2 C 2

which the thirteen united* States became conjoined under one general government, about this time there were several large houses erecting in various parts of the town – Governor Gore† corner of Bowdwoin‡ & Chardon St – Mr Parkmans the other corner – Mr Sam[?] Gore further North – Mr Joseph Coolidge in Bowdwoin Street – our house in Leverett Street, were all put up about this time***** -- There was also considerable building to supply the edifices carried off by a great fire in Washington Street in 1787 – This began in Beach Street and extended beyond Hollis Street, burning Dr Byles meeting house on the Site where the Brick meeting now stands and a vast many buildings besides – But a disposition for improvement in this way, was not prevalent till after the war between England and France in April 1793, nor then to any great extent, till the flourishing state of trade and the assumption by the general government of

[written sideways bottom to top at left margin in the middle of the page]
***** I believe not till 1790 or 1791

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the revolutionary debt, threw a large capital into the country, and thus raised threefold (in some cases, eight fold) the value of real Estate in Boston – Before this the buildings in town were much dilapidated, and generally in a shabby condition –

I now return from this digression as to the localities of the town (about the time the family returnd) to my narrative –

I rather think my father sent me to Latin School,§ soon after my arrival – but my brother Tom having no taste for classical knowledge, went to a Mr Nathan Davies,** who kept a town school in Middle, now Hanover Street – There were in the Latin grammar school at that period, as there always had been, Seven classes. – the first being the lowest, and the Seventh the highest – I was enterd on the fifth, which shews, that having lost a years schooling in Connecticut Mr Humphries, my New York preceptor, had very faithfully, taught me the elements of Latin. Mr Hunt was the successor of James Lovell, who was a loyalist, and with his brethren of the same principles, fled to Halifax in 1776, while his son James was a most determind whig – My father had this elder Mr Lovell as his instructor, and always mentiond his system as one of great severity, yet being steady in his discipline he seems to have been popular with his scholars after they grew up, as well as with the citizens generally. Mr Hunt kept up his system, but having very little self command, would often get into a tremendous passion, and punished the boys, rather to indulge his own feelings, than for the benefit of the child – many instances of his unrestrained temper, I witnessd when at school, where he seemed more like a madman, than a preceptor, yet the

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* The word is very difficult to read, and the phrase "became conjoined" makes it redundant, or vice versa, but this seems the most likely reading.

† Christopher Gore (1758-1827) did not become Governor until 1809. But likely Isaac gives him that title prospectively. After the Revolution, Gore was a successful lawyer who had made a good match and could well have owned a large house.

‡ Still misspelling "Bowdoin."

§ Boston Latin.

** Should be "Davis."

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passion subsiding as suddenly as it rose, he would often call the boy up to his desk after a most severe and cruel correction, and really shed tears in endeavouring to convince him that he had done wrong, generally with no success; but making the boy feel he had been overpunished, and that his preceptor was aware of it

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and repented of it – But personally I had no reason to complain of my treatment, at, this seminary, for excepting now and then what was called a clap with a ferule, I do not recollect to have ever encounterd the terrors of this passionate preceptor, when in an excited state, But my brother John, Mr Tilden and others I have known, even when arrived at adult age, seem always to have retained a resentment against this passionate and weak – yet, really, in an excited state, tender hearted old man, which I could never realize –

Many of the parents took away their children and sent them to private seminaries in the country – Some were sent to France for their education and the School – (always one of the highest reputation in the country), gradually dwindled, till the town authorities some years after I left school were obliged to dismiss Mr Hunt and employ a more popular substitute. I

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was at this school three years, at the same time going two hours a day to a private school for writing and arithmetic – When I left School the upper or seventh class had dwindled from 15 or 20, when I first joined the fifth form, to three or four, neither of whom were good scholars – It was no doubt owing to this that I had the honor of having the English oration assigned me – This was Master Hunts composition, and was in reference to the prospects of our Country. It was very favorably received as I afterwards found, by being called upon to repeat it, as well at home as in Newport, before all companies where I happend to be – I was Thirteen and a half years, when I left Latin School .– (The usage generally was for boys to enter at seven, and leave at fourteen years old)–

Leaving this portion of autobiography I shall now return to the general

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narrative of family affairs.

The next move of my father was to the old family house in Dock Square (now standing 1842)* – This must have been in the winter of 1784-5. The house was a very large one, 4 rooms on a floor – 10 or 12 chambers, and soon got to be a nucleus, for the assemblage of the various branches of the family, near and remote –

In this house my fathers cousins Betsy and Sarah Tyng daughters of his uncle Isaac, became residents in the family – Betsy did not if I recollect remain long with us, but the younger sister was an inmate till the period of her marriage with her first husband Samuel Waldo in 1789.

The only males of the family in Boston at my fathers arrival, were his cousins Samuel & Isaac, the former of whom was at college during the war, the latter in Canada as has been said,

* Once again, Isaac appears to be writing earlier than he has previously claimed. At II, lvii he indicated he was writing n 1844; at II, lxi, 1843.

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but neither had been brought up to any business, owing to the derangements of the revolutionary war. Besides these, he had three brothers in law – Deacon Jeffries a rigid Calvinistic Congregationalist, and a zealous whig, as were all of that party – This gentleman had married my fathers Sister Hannah for his second wife, but had no children by her – Nath Barber, whose second wife was, Mary Winslow also sister of the former – she had no children – Mr Barber was an ultra whig, and one of the most active in the violent party measures which preceded the revolution – Little or no sympathy or community of feeling could or did exist, between these and my father and the other relations of his wife – another brother in law was John Winniett husband of Elizabeth, a very friendly well disposed, but inefficient man. I should judge over 60 years old when the family arrived back. he then supported himself by keeping a boarding house – None of these male relations, could at all compensate for the want of the brothers, and near relations by whom he was surrounded in Boston before

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the war – I often used to hear him lament this deficiency – his anxious temperament leading him always to avail himself of the counsel and assistance of judicious friends when ever he could obtain that desirable cooperation

Of female relatives, there was in 1784, a very considerable, number, as well on my fathers side, as mothers – Besides all those which have been mentiond as part of the family of my aunt Susanna, there was my fathers eldest sister Mrs Pollard and her, daughter – a first cousin of my fathers Sally Winslow (unmarried) a very zealous and religious woman, in the orthodox way – and really a kind hearted and I should think sincere Christian – My mothers uncles William & Edward Davis, had together nearly a dozen of grownup children – Her Aunt Minot, about eight, all coming into life .– The old family mansion in Dock Square thus became in some measure, what it had been in the days of my grandfather in 1769 – who was then head of the family in Boston,

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a sort of centre, to which the connections under its new head resorted. While here in the year 1785, my mothers brother, Benj[a] Davis came up on a visit from Shelburne, and on his return took my brother Tom with him, to remain – and he was there nearly eight years.

At that time there was in the harbor a British frigate, the Mercury Capt. Stanhope (whose wife was a Miss Malbone of Newport)– This gentleman I believe for some alleged ill treatment to American prisoners during the revolutionary war, was on a Sunday evening assaulted by a mob, led on by some of the former actors in popular movements in and before the revolution – This led to a correspondence with the Governor, in which Capt Stanhope, who perhaps was justly entitled to the public protection, yet in his correspondence with Gov[r] Bowdwoin, displayd an undignified and passionate temper which injured him in the Governors opinion and that of many others, –This having been recently published, I annex it to the back of this page by way of note[*] – Whether in the above mentioned assault

[**] This incident was of more moment than Isaac indicates, though he may well not have known the extent to which it reverberated in diplomatic quarters. He also downplays the role that the "alleged mistreatment" had in leading to the assault. Mistreatment of American prisoners was no doubt a sensitive issue, given that Isaac's uncle John had, as we have seen, been Commissary of Prisoners among the notorious prison ships at New

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or afterwards, I know not, but one of the citizens (a Son of a zealous whig James Lovell – and grandson of a zealous tory of the same name formerly master of the grammar school) interfered in behalf of Capt[n] Stanhope and being a bold powerful young man, kept off the most forward of the mob, and extricated him and his officers. I think this took place on a second assault, just before Capt S. went onboard his frigate. He was to have dined **over**

[verso of the preceding]
at my fathers, the day he sailed, but suppose the treatment he met with in Boston, hasten'd his departure – In person he was very small – very proud of his family always a distinguish'd one in England – His wife was daughter of Mr. Malbone, my aunts second husband and thus became known to my father and my aunts connections here.

[Two columns of printed text here pasted in:]

> It is stated in the Centinel that Capt. Stanhope, with one of his officers, was walking in the mall, when he was met by an American sailor, who had, during the war, been a prisoner on board his ship; and that, in passing, the American went *too near the captain.* This was the insult of which he complains to the Governor. It may be inferred from another paragraph in the Centinel, that Capt. Stanhope published the correspondence with the Governor in a Halifax paper, after he left Boston, with some variations, – which induced the editors to procure and publish copies of the originals.
>
> *Mercury, Off Boston Harbour, }*

York. Bowdoin, it may be recalled (above I,37) was the son of a man connected in business with Isaac's great uncle. Governor Bowdoin, alarmed that Americans at sea and abroad might suffer from retaliation, sent an account of the affair to Congress; a report was made; Congress accepted it and directed copies to be sent to Governors of all the States. See *Secret Journals of the Acts and Proceedings of Congress* (Boston: Thomas B. Wait, 1821), III, 575-84. Thomas Jefferson gave a concise account of the incident in a letter of November 4, 1785 from Paris to William Carmichael. He writes:

> A fracas, which has lately happened in Boston, becoming a serious matter, I will give you the details of it, as transmitted to Mr. [John] Adams in depositions. A Captain Stanhope, commanding the frigate Mercury, was sent with a convoy of vessels from Nova Scotia to Boston, to get a supply of provisions for that colony. It had happened, that two persons living near Boston, of the names of Dunbar and Lowthorp, had been taken prisoners during the war, and transferred from one vessel to another, till they were placed on board Stanhope's ship. He treated them most cruelly, whipping them frequently, in order to make them do duty against their country, as sailors, on board his ship. The ship going to Antigua to refit, he put all his prisoners into jail, first giving Dunbar twenty-four lashes. Peace took place, and the prisoners got home under the general liberation. These men were quietly pursuing their occupations at home, when they heard that Stanhope was in Boston. Their indignation was kindled. They immediately went there, and meeting Stanhope walking in the mall, Dunbar stepped up to him, and asked him if he recollected him, and the whipping him on board his ship. Having no weapon in his hand, he struck at Stanhope with his fist. Stanhope stepped back, and drew his sword. The people interposed, and guarded him to the door of a Mr. Morton, to which he retreated. There Dunbar again attempted to seize him; but the high-sheriff had by this time arrived, who interposed and protected him. The assailants withdrew, and here ended all appearance of force. But Captain Stanhope thought proper to write to the Governor, which brought on the correspondence published in the papers of Europe. Lest you should not have seen it, I enclose it, as cut from a London paper; though not perfectly exact, it is substantially so. You will doubtless judge, that Governor Bowdoin referred him properly to the laws for redress, as he was obliged to do, and as would have been done in England, in a like case. Had he applied to the courts, the question would have been whether they would have punished Dunbar. This must be answered now by conjecture only; and, to form that conjecture, every man must ask himself, whether he would not have done as Dunbar did; and whether the people should not have permitted him to return to Stanhope the twenty-four lashes. This affair has been stated in the London papers, without mixing with it one circumstance of truth. (*Memoirs, Correspondence, and Private Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1829) I, 352-53.

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August 1, 1785}

Sir – I am sorry to be obliged to represent to your Excellency the continued insults and disgraceful indignities offered by hundreds in this town to me and my officers, which hitherto we have winked at, as well as the most illiberal and indecent language, with which the newspapers have been filled; nor should I have troubled you now, had I not been pursued, and my life, as well as that of my officers, been endangered, by the violent rage of a mob, yesterday evening, without provocation of any sort.*

I trust it needless to recommend to your Excellency to adopt such measures as may discover the ringleaders of the party that assassinated† me, and bring them to public justice, as well as to protect us from further insult.

I have the honour to be, your Excellency's

most obedient and humble servant.

To his Excellency Governour BOWDOIN.

—

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Boston, August 1, 1785.

Sir – Your letter of this date is now before me. It is a great misfortune, that the subjects or citizens of different countries, which have been at enmity, cannot easily recover that degree of good humour which should induce them to treat each other with proper decorum, when the governments, to which they respectively belong, have entered into a treaty of amity, and sheathed the sword. But you must have observed, that disturbances arising from this source too frequently happen, especially in populous seaport towns,

If you have been insulted and your life has been endangered in manner as you have represented to me, I must inform you that our laws afford you ample satisfaction. Foreigners are entitled to the protection of the law, as well as amenable to it, equally with any citizen of the United States, while they continue within the jurisdiction of this commonwealth.

Any learned practitioner in the law, if applied to, will direct you to the mode of legal process in the obtaining a redress of injury, if you have been injured; and the judiciary courts will cause due inquiry to be made, touching rioutous and unlawful assemblies and their misdemeanours; and inflict legal punishment on such as by the verdict of a jury may be found guilty.

I have the honour to be, sir, Your most obedient, humble servant

To Captain STANHOPE.

—

Mercury, Boston Harbour,}

August 2, 1785. }

Sir – When I had the honour of applying to your Excellency, to discountenance the disgraceful attacks made upon me and the officers of his Britannick Majesty's ship Mercury under my command, and to afford us your protection, it was upon your positive assurance to that effect, in their presence, I rested my hope. How much your conduct contradicts both that and my expectations, is too obvious either to satisfy me, or even do credit to yourself, for your Excellency must excuse me when I remark, that I never received a letter so insulting to my senses, as your answer to my requisition of yesterday. I am,

* I have not been able to determine Stanhope's parentage, but he was no doubt a relative, among other Stanhopes, of Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield (1694–1773), famous as the author of letters to his son and the worldly, often cynical wisdom, they so eloquently express. (Lord Chesterfield is said to have remarked of them himself that "they teach the morals of a whore, and the manners of a dancing-master.") Capt. Stanhope also relishes his own words.

† An obsolete sense, meaning (following *OED*), *To endeavour to kill by treacherous violence.*

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however, pleased in finding a much better disposition in the first class of inhabitants, whose assistance I am happy to acknowledge,* as the more acceptable, after your apparent evasion from the substance of my letter; and however well informed your Excellency may believe yourself upon the laws and customs of nations in similar cases, allow me to assure you there is not one, no, not even the Ally of these States, that would not most severely reprobate either the want of energy in government, or disinclination of the governour, to correct such notorious insults to publick characters, in which light we can only desire to be received.

I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient, humble servant.

To his Excellency Governour BOWDOIN.

—

Captain Stanhope, – Your letter, bearing date the 2d instant, was delivered to me by your Lieutenant, Mr. Nash, at four o'clock this afternoon.

I hereby let you know, that as the letter is conceived in terms of insolence and abuse altogether unprovoked, I shall take such measures concerning it, as the dignity of my station, and a just regard to the honour of this Commonwealth, connected with the honour of the United States in general, shall require.

Boston, August 3, 1785–6 o'clock, P. M.

—

Mercury, Nantasket Roads,† }
August 4, 1785, half-past 12, A. M. }

Sir,–I am to acknowledge the honour of your Excellency's letter, this moment received, and have to assure you, I shall most cheerfully submit to the worst consequences, that can arise from our correspondence, which I do not conceive, on my part, to have been couched in terms of either insolence or abuse, which is more than I can venture to say of yours; and however exalted your Excellency's station is, I know not of any more respectable than that I have the honour to fill.

I have the honor to be, sir,
your very humble servant.

To his Excellency Governour BOWDOIN.

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peace–‡My Uncle, Davis, who was then about 28 years old, and had from his earliest recollections witnessed the destructive effects of mob law in Boston,§ was excessively alarmed, and I have heard him say, never felt more happy, than when he got on board the frigate in which Capt Stanhope offerd him a passage to Shelburne. I do not recollect that my

* Stanhope here no doubt is alluding to his Loyalist friends, including Isaac's father. It would be interesting to know just what manner of "assistance" they had offered. It would be interesting too to know if when Isaac writes that the Captain reveals "an undignified and passionate temper which injured him in the Governors opinion and that of many others," he would have included his father among those "many others."

† An anchorage in outer Boston Harbor near the point of what is today the Hull Peninsula.

‡ This page is much shorter than most and slightly narrower. Perhaps "peace" belongs to portion that has been cut off or, less likely, is a continuation of text on the previous page that was struck out and over which the printed columns of text have been pasted.

§ As a boy of thirteen, he had testified at the trials of the soldiers at the Boston Massacre. Richard Archer, *As If an Enemy's Country: The British Occupation and the Origins of Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 194.

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brother Tom was a passenger in the frigate – It might be that he did not go, with his uncle, but was sent on afterwards –

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In the year 1785 or 1786, commissioners were appointed in England to examine and ascertain the claims of the American loyalists, for their losses by confiscation of their real estates, and other losses during the revolutionary war – These first arrived at Halifax, to which place my father went, in the year 1786, in order to lay his case before the Commissioners – The following is a copy of his letter to my mother dated Halifax 6 April 1786. – ["]I wrote you of my arrival here two days ago – I stopped two days at Shelburne saw Tom who wanted much to come with me. Your father I expected to meet here, but I find no late arrivals from London – Poor Mr Foster* died about a fortnight ago – I find no great, encouragement about, claims, tho' from the short time I have been here, I can say nothing decisive about it – The death of my worthy old friend, shocks me a good deal – and so you see I am not much, and cannot be in Spirits – and dear Tom has something in his eye, that I fear will be a blemish

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unless remov'd by the aid of a surgeon. My love to Isaac, and the dear little ones; my Sisters and all friends.

Your affect[t] husband IW["]

a PS accompanies this, which however could not have been written from Halifax, but from home, perhaps to my mother when in the country "The children are all well and send their duty – Isaac narrowly escaped a severe fever of which he had the symptoms, by its kindly throwing itself out in his face – He looks a fright["] The defect in my brother Tom's eye proved to be a cataract, which continued till his death, thus causing the loss of the sight of one eye. My grandfather Davis had gone to England to present his claims as an American loyalist, but I believe neither he nor my father was successful – The death of his worthy old friend refer'd to in his letter I think must have been Mr John Sparhawk† of Portsmouth – as Christian brethren and brothers by marriage (Mr S being brother of my fathers first wife), as well as generally sympathy of feeling, a very intimate friendship existed between these two. Under date of May 7, 1786, a letter from Sir William Pepperrell was received by my father mentioning among other things that the London house who had at Sir Williams request had made the Shipment to New York, during the war time, had required his bond for principal & interest am't 940£ Sterling, adding in his usual kind manner "I am sure you will do all in your power to make me secure, more than that nobody can do." This liability, so singularly contracted by the well meant benevolence of his friend, and which compelled my father to assume it, was from my earliest recollections one of those affairs which was a constant worry and anxiety to my poor father – I see it was upon the strong solicitations of this friend, that he went to Halifax in 1786, to state his case to the Commissioners appointed by Parliament to investigate the claims of the loyalists. I observe in a letter from my father to Sir William he

* Probably the same man mentioned above, I, 125**F** in a letter from Colburn Barrell warmly recalling his hospitality. *The Perfect Rule* discusses an Edward Foster who went into exile in Halifax, and this may very well be Isaac's father's friend.

† Isaac has provided no reason to suppose it is anyone other than the Mr. Foster mentioned as having recently died just a couple of sentences earlier in Isaac's father's letter. John Sparhawk I believe died in 1787.

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assigns as a supposed reason for his claims not being allow'd, that, the residence in the US of loyalists who were claimants, was consider'd by the commissioners a bar to such claims.

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Amongst the reminiscences of that period I remember a visit to Mr Sparhawks at Portsmouth, before his death, I suppose 1784 or 5 – I was very kindly treated and there renewed my acquaintance with Mr Humphries children, and became again acquainted with the young Sparhawks This death of Mr Sparhawk was a great loss (humanly speaking) as well to his family and friends, as to the Sandemanian Society – From his energy and consistency of character, both looked to him as their natural and spiritual head – I remember tho' a mere child, being then very much struck with the manners and appearance of Sukey Sparhawk their only daughter, then only 7 or 8 years old – She grew up to be a very fine young woman.* There could be no greater contrast than that which existed between Mr John Sparhawk and his brother Samuel, who it will be recollected married my mothers sister Hannah – The one decided vigorous, animated, sparing no pains or labor in aiding his friends, the other vacillating, indolent, inefficient, and apparently feeling little the anxiety and trouble which his peculiar temperament, caused his friends

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through life – I have heard my mother say that he used to call her Folly instead of Polly (then the familiar name for Mary)† because the former required less labial exertion than the latter – Still he was fond of children and poor man, had to bear a good deal of our teazing and troublesome impertinence – Children very soon get to know how the characters of their superiors in age are estimated by their parents, and to treat them, as they are treated by the latter – Parents should as much as possible, avoid before their children, a display of feeling towards their elders, which may lessen the respect due to age, whatever may be the effects of character. While living in the Dock Square house, I recollect an incident, which is not uninteresting, as certainly seeming to be a merciful dispensation of Divine providence – A son of Mr Humphries of Portsmouth was staying in my fathers family and we were put in a Chamber over the store, (then occupied by a shopkeeper

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in the dry goods line), kept as a spare chamber of course unoccupied generally – We were awake at midnight, by a sense of suffocation, and found the chamber full of smoke – I called my father who got up and lighted a candle. He soon found where the smoke proceeded from, called the watch, and they broke open a door, leading from the entry of our house to the shop – but which was, strongly secured on the inside. It was then found that a large, oak mantle piece over the chimney had, taken fire was burnt almost to a Coal and, required the admission of air only, to burst into a flame – The application of a few buckets of water quenched the fire, but it was supposed, that a few hours delay could have burnt the house down, and perhaps some of its inmates.

I recollect another incident of my boyish days, when we lived in the Dock Square house – My father had a very fine row boat sent him for sale by George Sparhawk

* See below, III, 61.

† And see below, III, 98.

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(son of John) which was kept at Brays wharf, the dock of which extended up to about as far West as the middle door of the Quincy market house – Walking near

[written sideways bottom to top at the left margin, but crossing the first one or two words of each line on the page]
This young lad (Charles Humphries) always a fine manly openhearted boy, afterwards went to Sea, and was drowned, in the shipwreck of the vessell he was in on Marshfield Beach March 1792 (11th)*

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the place where the boat was, with some boys of my class, they felt a great desire, to go down the harbor a fishing, and begged me to ask my father to lend them the boat, which he kindly consented to, and the first holiday afterwards, 6 or 7 of us embarked on a fishing excursion – we rowed down to the Castle and kept putting down our lines, but caught nothing – Presently we set off to come home over Dorchester flats, and one of the boys who I suspected afterwards as knowing he was doing wrong, seeing a float attached to an eel pot, proposed drawing it in – This was done, and a considerable number of eels were taken – I had never seen an eel pot and supposed it was merely an old basket of a peculiar shape, in which the eels had got entangled – We rowed up to town but the tide being too low to carry the boats to Brays wharf, we made her fast by a chain which was in the bows, in lieu of a painter to one of the posts of the Long Wharf – This however

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unfortunately slipped down the post, and could not be reach'd by the hand – But the boys all push'd home with their eels, and left me alone – It was flood tide, and the bows of the boat confined by the chain, were held firm, while the stern was rising – In this dilemma I ran up to inform my father of the accident, who with severe reflections on the ungenerous conduct of the boys, went down, and I presume got the chain clear, or forced it off before she sank. – This however mortified me a good deal, that after my fathers kindness in lending me the boat, he should have been put to so much trouble, and I was not a little surprized afterwards, to learn that the taking up an eelpot, as was done, was a criminal offense. During the residence of the family in the Dock Square house, were born, my brother Joshua 24 June 1785 – my sister Elizabeth 2d June 1787 -- and my brother Edward 31 Augt 1788 –

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On the 3d of April 1786, my father's sister Susanna died, and, if I recollect right on the 1st of April occurred a very long and severe snow storm all over New England, These circumstances have been mention'd in a former part of this work.† I recollect a good deal of snow being on the ground the day of her funeral probably 6 or 7th of April.

Her death of course broke up the establishment in Beacon Street, and my fathers family was thusly encreased with an addition of old Cato – Aunt Alfords black slave, (but then emancipated as well, by, an act of the legislature, as by her will, which directed that Cato and others should not only be emancipated, but should never become a charge to the town) – Aunt Sukeys favorite Pet dog Chance, of whom mention has been

* And see below, II, CXXXI.

† Above, I, 42-3,

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made, also accompanied Cato, and both continued their former connection till Cato's death in Dec[r] 1792 – but the man was more of a growler than the dog, always scolding at him – If Chance watched Cato at dinner in expectation of the remains of his meal Cato used to tell him – ["]Ye hound – why ye watch me so – Ye begrudge, every morsel I eat wid my mouth["] – and when Cato was bringing wood into the yard from

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the street with Chance at his heels, he would say, ye hound, "why you come after me for" – "why ye no take tick of wood like ye see me do." – "Chance ye good for notting hound" – "ye eat but ye no work." The negroes of that day, and probably long before the revolution, estimated each other by the rank of their masters and Cato's master John Alford, having been a rich and distinguished man, though as I have always heard a very eccentric character, estimated himself as among the first – He used to tell the boys, many anecdotes of his master who it seems was a martyr to the gout, and applied his crutches freely to the shoulders of his servants, if they caused any pain in moving him from his bed, to the chair, or about the room. -–He used to tell an anecdote of being sent by his master to invite a friend of his, a Mr Scollay[*] to dine, and that he by some accident got into the parlor of Mr Scollays house without seeing any one, and there as he supposed saw Mr Scollay standing against the side of the room, to whom he deliverd his message – on his return to his

LXXXIII Vol.2. C 2

master, being interrogated as to the result of his message, he told Mr Alford, that he had deliverd it to Mr Scollay, and repeated it 2 or 3 times, even. "Well, what answer did he give"? "O massa" says Cato, "massa Collay he look at me, but he no peak" (speak) Cato was excessively mortified that my father should have left the Old South Church Society, to have united with such an inconsiderable and unpopular sect as the Sandemanians. He himself had always gone to the former, with the family, who were conspicuous members of the Society, and thought it a great degradation, that the first religious society should be quitted for one, which was then considerd the smallest, of the least. Cato used to boast of his own parentage in Africa and by his broken English, I should think must have been as much as 25 years old when brought to this country – A contempt for the Pagan Theology and Pagan philosophers and their followers, induced our ancestors, to give to their slaves the names of the most celebrated characters of antiquity

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such as Cato, Caesar (the name of my grandfather Davis's negro man)- Bacchus another family negro – Iuba, Hannibal, Mars, Diana, Venus &c, by way perhaps of showing their contempt for Paganism and its adherents.[†] sometimes however they had the common names or names of towns – one named Charlestown belonged to an uncle (Winniett) An instance of this mans shrewdness I remember to have heard my father tell –. Soon after his arrival,

[*] Possibly the Colonel William Scollay (1756–1809) who gave his name to Scollay Square, though because the Square was named after him in 1838, one might have supposed that Isaac would have noted that.

[†] This appears to be a novel theory. The first names of slaves were taken also often from the Bible and the founding fathers, so the expression of contempt would seem an unlikely motive. Moreover, the classical names Isaac mentions may have been taken not directly from classical history or myth, but via more popular and recent literary works, such as novels and plays.

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when he had acquired a little of the language, on his master checking* him for filling up full, the wine glass of a lady who was at table, the fashion being then for women to take half a glass, -- Charlestown said nothing, but waited a little while while the lady sipp'd her wine, till finally she got, through the whole, when standing behind his master he, gently tappd his shoulder and said to him – "Ye no see massa he drink em all"

But the emancipated slaves were with some exceptions, very helpless, or rather dependant, for as servants, they were often very valuable both for industry and fidelity, those however

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who became emancipated in middle life, or later, had become used to such entire dependence on others, that they seemed entirely unable to provide for themselves – poor Cato was quite a martyr to the rheumatism in the latter years of his life and a bill of expense to the family – as was Charlestown to me for many years – seeming to think that any one of the family was bound to see them taken care of. One of Cato's habits was (for he was of a very saving disposition) to save all the medecines which came from the sick chamber, and were to be thrown away, and put them all into a black bottle together; whether he ever took any of this curious hodge podge I never knew He was famous, for a sort of stew called pepper pot, highly season'd with green peppers or the seed which he used to save – The young folks used often to partake with him of this highly season'd dish, probably of african origin. It was during the residence of the family in Dock Square that the great fire at the South end took place which has been before referred to.†

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In the year 1787, my grandfathers real Estate was divided, and probably about the same time my great Aunt Alford's She with her sister Winslow being heirs of their father Thomas Savage, (who owned the estate in Dock Square, and the two houses in Union Street) had devised‡ the same to her sisters children – hence the same parties were heirs of the whole real Estate of their two grandfathers Thomas Savage and Joshua Winslow – There was a regular legal, division of the latter estate under the authority of the Probate Court, but Mrs Alfords estate being incumber'd by a clause in the will that her negroes should never be a charge on the town, could not be so divided, till the death of every negro – The Distill house, and lands in Colrain§ were directed by will to be sold for payment of debts – The former was bought by my father, and to his share fell the dock Square estate – This no doubt took time to accomplish, and was not so far complete, as, to lead him to contemplate the Sale of the Dock square estate at that time; I rather think that the Distill house was not purchased by him till a short time before

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* A colloquial sense meaning *to reprimand*. Or, possibly, "cheeking," meaning *to speak rudely or impudently to*, though this latter seems to reverse the power relationship.

† Above, II, lxiv. The fire occurred in 1787.

‡ I.e., *bequeathed*.

§ In Massachusetts near the northern border and about ten miles south of Brattleboro, Vermont. And see below, II, 141.

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the sale of that estate, and that when he determind to recommence the Distillery business, the sale was indispenable to furnish the necessary capital for its management

It was in a very short time after my fathers arrival in Boston, that he began to have his hands full of business, and that accompanied with much trouble and expense of time attended with little or no profit. The management of his fathers & uncles estates, was no small business the collecting of rents and Interest money in driblets of 10 or 20$ at a time from country as well as town, the constant correspondence with his relatives in England, and at home, who were heirs of his father and uncle – the execution of small commissions sent him by his natural as well as religious friends, besides the usual cares of a large family of his own seemed to keep him fully in employ though not in any actual business for himself, till 4 years after his return to Boston, but as I shall hereafter have occasion to mention, the concentrated employments, which devolved upon him as the only efficient* male representative of a numerous

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family, I shall say no more at present on this subject – It was in July 1787, that I left the Latin School with my "blushing honors thick upon me"† – and with a very anxious desire to go to College – I believe my father also was equally desirous that I should go, and think but for an objection of a religious character, would have sent me to Cambridge. This was the religious instructions, which in that, as well as in most other seminaries of learning in New England were the accompaniments of Classical education – viewing the characters of all other religious Societies as antichristian (but never pretending to decide on the religious character or hopes of individuals) they view'd them as enemies, rather than friends of the Gospel, and would neither hear their preaching or unite in their religious services. – I rather think that my father was pressed by his friends a good deal on this point, for Mr King of New York who, has been mention'd as the husband of my cousin Isabella offerd to take me to his house, from whence I might become an inmate of Columbia College

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New York, where the compulsory attendance on morning and evening prayer – religious worship on the Lords day &c, was not enjoined – Mr Kings offer was however not accepted. One motive in my fathers mind was probably the expense which it is probable he thought at that time, not being in business, he could not well afford. – But the determination was made, and no prospect, existed of my becoming at a future day either an **AB** or **AM**. unless the latter is considerd a mercantile designation. Soon after quitting School my Aunt Malbone who was then in town with some of her husbands relations, induced my father to let me return with her to Newport and be an escort to herself and three young ladies – So after the Commencement at Cambridge, which the party had attended, I set off with my Aunt her daughter in law‡ Miss Polly Malbone, and her neice Nancy Winslow afterwards Mrs Wright of Carolina and I think Timmins Hubbard. in the new character of a gallant, for four well grown females myself 13 ½ years old –

We sett of in the Providence§

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* In the sense of *competent*.

† Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*, III, ii, 351.

‡ Stepdaughter.

§ Probably "stage" has been left out here.

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about 8 oClock. A M and arrived dining on the road in Providence about dark, and the next day went onboard one of the Providence Packets, and got to Newport the same day (though on such occasion I am not sure whether in the present case the Boat was on the river all night) – Though I had been to Newport twice before, I had seen nothing about the place, and like all children pleased with novelty enjoyed myself a good deal then. My Aunt had a decent library of Books, and the perusal of these occupied my leisure hours, at other times with boys I formed acquaintance with I delighted in the freedom of roaming about the island to the beach – paradise – purgatory – the old mill* – Malbones† gardens, &c. An Instance occurred of the great power of association when I was at Newport on this visit. This was the impression that because the harbor of Boston was on the East side of the town, that of Newport must necessarily be the same; because the main street of the latter runs north and south, as does that of the latter. In other words, that

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when I stood facing the harbor, as in Boston that position looking to the Eastward, brought the South on my right and the North on my left – The harbor of Newport however being on the West Side of the island, facing that, this brought the north point on my right hand – an error which just reverses the points of the compass, yet with a determination to rectify this, when I have since repeatedly been on the River or the island, and thus keeping the points of compass right, till I get into the town (especially in sight of the harbor) then the points of the compass instantly change, and I am obliged, to form a sort of map in my head, before I can rectify the delusion, and then but for a few moments.

Children should be told certain elementary truths, which are continually applicable to the affairs of life – Had I known that the sun is always exactly south at noon, I should probably easily have corrected this error, when young –

After four or six weeks residence with my Aunt, I set off on my own hook for Boston, and as was usual then, came up in the Packet to Providence – I recollect one of the passengers onboard was a very genteel French man Mr De La Forest I

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believe Consul General of France – this gentleman speaking of the propriety of conforming to the customs of the people with whom one happen'd to be and approving such conformity, observed, "when I was in England I am an Englishman" – "When I am in France I was, a Frenchman" –&c– "when I was in Turkey I was a Turkey" – here all, burst, out into a laugh – He took it very good humoredly, saying only, "I believe I have made one mistick,["] (mistake) and continued the conversation quite unembarrassed –

The pleasantest part of this Journey was the full view of Boston from Roxbury hill – from which in about an hour, I was transported to the dulce domum‡ of Dock Square –

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* Sights at Newport. Paradise is a beach with scenic rocks above; Purgatory a chasm; The Old Stone Mill (or Tower) still stands as a landmark in Newport's Touro Park.

† The Malbone Gardens were part of the large estate of Col. Godfrey Malbone (1695–1768) and is on the U. S. National Register of Historic Places. Aunt Malbone's husband Francis's house survives as a bed and breakfast, also on the National Register of Historic Places.

‡ I.e., *sweet home*. The title of the school song of the English boys' preparatory school Winchester College. It was widely known and sung.

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How soon after I got back, I was put into a dry goods store kept by Blodget & Gilman,* in the front part of the Dock Square house, I know not, but probably soon after or at furthest the next spring, as a temporary employment till a situation could be found in a mercantile store, which however did not offer till some time afterwards.

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The events recorded, in the preceeding Chapters cover a period of Ten years from the arrival of my fathers family in 1778 to the end of the year 1787, or beginning of 1788, when I was 14 years old –

In the year 1788 my father must have sold the Dock Square estate, which is now standing the east corner of that Square and Exchange Street – It is about 50 feet on the former and I should judge 140 on Exchange Street – It was sold for $4000, and probably in five years after, and ever since would have readily commanded 30 or 40 000$ at the prices, which real Estate yet sold for, 8 or 10 years after the revolution, that property was disposed of in about the same ratio, as other estates sold at that period – It was not till after the General Government had assumed the revolutionary debts for which the respective States were liable, that a Sufficient Capital was thrown into the country to raise the value of real estate. – As we left that house in the winter of 1788 .. 9 – I said above that the bargain for sale must have been made in 1788 –

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This matter is easy to be ascertained with exactness, but its accuracy is a matter of no importance in such a work as this –

I never was, certain of the year when I went to prentice (as was then the expression in similar cases as well in regard to mechanics† as merchants). I used generally to think it was 1789 but as in this case I should have been more than a year unemployed, or temporarily so -–I am inclined to think that I was taken into the counting house of Mr William Payne on the Long wharf in the year 1788, about a year after I left school.

Although it was not the custom of the apprentices as they were called, to address those they were with, by the name of master, yet nothing was more common than for the apprentices in speaking of them, to give them that appellation – and it was continued quite to advanced age – In earlier times merchants, clerks or apprentices, were indentur'd

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by their parents or guardians, for a term of years generally seven – precisely as were the apprentices of mechanics – but with this difference, that the merchants sometimes, but rarely, in imitation of the English merchants demanded a bonus with their apprentices, while the mechanic's never did – But there was no instance of boys, in any kind of places of business, receiving any pay during their minority – The modern plan is much better, where a boy can be earning some trifles for himself, as soon as he enters upon a business, and an advantage to the master as a security for attention and fidelity, which it is the boys interest to

* I have found on the web reference to a Samuel Blodget and Hannah White, parents of Mary, who married Samuel Gilman in 1780. Their daughter Elizabeth Blodget Gilman married John Peck in Boston, 1801. So the store was likely run by the elder Blodget and his son-in-law.

† I.e., manual workers or artisans.

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exercise – an old fashiond apprentice ship was to the boy, a tedious worrisome period of bondage –

I believe my fathers cousin Isaac* obtained this situation for me, being an intimate friend of Mr Payne. – This gentleman was of a family distantly related to ours – He was then

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a very young man perhaps 23 or 24, Son of Mr Edward Payne, who lived in State Street next west of the new Exchange – The principal business, was that of flour and bran from the Lincoln Mills, Hingham – This establishment had been recently made by a company in Boston, for the purpose of setting up flour mills at Hingham, and thus furnishing ourselves with this important staple. The wheat was imported from the South, into Hingham, and its produce as manufactured sent by the Packets to Boston – For this business Mr Payne was agent – It was a very small, one, and I apprehend a losing one also, for the best flour was then only, $4.66 to 4.75 a barrell year after year – Mr Paynes cousin Mr T. C. Amory† then a young man of only 20 years, was then with him as a clerk, at 50£ ($166.67) salary a year, and the rent of the store which was occupied for the business about No 40 Long Wharf was an hundred Dollars per year, (since let for six hundred) Though the younger apprentice had then to open and sweep the store, make the fire, go of errands, measure bran and corn, and in short

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for 3 or 4 years, be a complete factotum, Yet I have no recollection of any regrets at the line of life I had enter'd, contrasted with the one which on leaving school, I was so desirous to enter – Both gentlemen were kind to me, and the really hard labor I had to undergo, for 3 or 4 years, was of advantage in after life, as enabling me to counteract, the love of ease so natural to man, but fatal, if indulged in early life – So easily does the human mind, accomodate itself to change of circumstances, and situations in early life, that I was quite as contented in being apprentice, as if I had become a Son of Harvard, occasionally however in going to Cambridge, or falling in company with collegians somewhat envying the superior position they occupied – To have had the advantage of a liberal education in those days, when only two colleges existed in the country,‡ Cambridge and Yale – (Princeton having then hardly pretended to vie with its more ancient competitors) was of itself (in New England) an enviable mark of distinction, in the social scale –

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* The son of Isaac's great uncle (1763-1806) and survivor of the Cape Breton shipwreck, but also one of the brothers who, not having been able to receive training for business during the war, never found good situations for themselves, went through their inheritances, and died in unhappy circumstances (see above, I, 237).

† Thomas Coffin Amory (1767-1820). The Amorys were another family, like the Winslows, who commissioned portraits from the best American painters, and, remaining wealthy throughout the nineteenth century, were able much later to collect such masterpieces as Copley's "The Copley Family" (1776/77), which includes the figures of Copley himself, his father-in-law Richard Clarke (Isaac's great uncle's friend and correspondent, as we have seen, and who had married Elizabeth Winslow (1713-65), a daughter of Edward the Sheriff by his third wife), Copley's wife Susanna, and the toddler John Singleton Copley Jr., the future Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst. For more on the Winslow family's early patronage of American painters, see the already cited *The Winslows: Pilgrims, Patrons and Portraits* (Brunswick, Maine: Bowdoin College Museum of Art, 1974), esp. 3-11.

‡ Isaac has already acknowledged the existence of Columbia College. In addition to those already mentioned, there existed from before the Revolution the College of William & Mary, Penn, Brown, Rutgers, and Dartmouth.

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Chapter Fifteen (Volume Two, Chapter Three)

Leaving the old Dock Square house for one in Sudbury Street – Sally Tyng Winslow married out of this to her cousin Mr. Waldo; the family particularly attached to this virtually adopted daughter, attached to the family since her father's death when she was twelve; she and Isaac especially attached to one another, and Isaac's early romantic feelings – The strong attachment between Isaac's mother and her only brother, Ben; Isaac then thought the attachment *too* strong, but now having experienced marriage he understands it better; the differences between fraternal and conjugal attachments; Ben's extreme unwillingness to cause offense makes him a favorite with the children – Isaac's sister Margaretta born and soon dies – Mr. Blodgett drowned – President Washington's visit to Boston – The town visited by the Influenza – News of the Revolution in France; Isaac's early attempts to converse in French – Reflections on weather and sickness, and another round of the Influenza – Capt. Scott accused of smuggling and the changing attitudes towards such evasions of taxes – Isaac's father resuming the Distilling business and wishes Mr. Waldo would join him in the concern – A digression on Congress's assumption of the States' debts and good and bad consequences of this: disadvantages soldiers who had had to sell their state-issued certificates acknowledging debt when these were well below par; raising of millions in new Capital; Federalists and Anti-Federalists – Isaac's mother gives birth to a premature child; serious consequences for her health – Real estate dealings – Visit from cousin John a British officer – A mortifying incident with an Irish Long Wharf barber – Isaac has his hair cut and queued and powdered – Isaac's mother takes a journey to New York for her health; good effects of this – death of his uncle John's widow – Another move – Visit of cousin John's sister Eliza from England; her person and character; attachment between her and Mr. T. C. Amory, but she will later marry her cousin John son of the parson, now in North Carolina, of which more in its proper place.

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The year 1788 comprised no other matters of family interest than those which have been before noted – In the winter of that year, we quitted the old Dock Square house, which I suppose had been in the Savage & Winslow families over a Century, and moved to an old fashioned house in Sudbury Street near Distil house Square,* where is now I think a brick stable – . My fathers cousin Sally T. Winslow then made part of the family, and moved with us, and soon after in feby 1789, was there married to her cousin Mr Sam[l] Waldo –. The

* The distillery was on the water's edge, on land that is now far from water. It was large enough to be labeled on many early Boston maps. Sudbury St., is gone, but New Sudbury St. marks the spot, and the present day Boston Police Station there is very close to the location of both the distillery and the Sudbury St. Winslow house.

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wedding party was a small one; I suppose designedly confined, except, the interested parties to those of the preceeding generation Mr Waldo's mother – his Uncle and Aunt Bowdwoin &c – What I remember it by, was the disappointment I experienced in not having sent home in season a pair of new breeches or shirts I had order'd in honor of the occasion, – thinking it was indispensable that I, as well as the bridegroom, should appear in apply pye* order – Mr & Mrs Waldo after a few

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months residence left us for their permanent abode in Portland – My father was particularly attached to this relation, Mrs Waldo who considerd him in the light of a father, having come under his care at an orphan† the early, age of Twelve, and though not always a member of the family, yet so constantly in, or actually of it, that to the elder children of my father, she was rather a sister than a cousin – She was of a lively disposition, though occasionally like persons of high spirits the reverse of affectionate feelings, perfectly undisguised, but her feelings would sometimes offend those of her friends and associates whom she was indifferent to or disliked – To those she did like, she bore a steady unabated affection – To me she was particularly partial, and on my part, boy as I was, though unknown to myself, at the time, there, were, developing feelings stronger than those of mere sisterly affection – Neither sex is probably without such transitory attachments, till they settle down to a permanent one‡ – This year 1789, my, Uncle Ben Davis was here on a visit To this only brother my mother was very much attached;

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He was a year older than my mother, and having lost their own mother in early youth, I presume a very strong attachment was then formed between the, three children of the first marriage, more especially as they were under the care of, a female friend, who took them to her house, and thus they were separated for many years, as well from constant parental intercourse, as the intimate connection which naturally grows up with the children of relations, where the heads of families are house keepers. – He grew up to be not only a very handsome young man, but of very mild gentlemanly manners, very guarded in avoiding giving offense to the feelings of others – and eschewing every thing like contention, or argument. Being desirous to please, he did please, and thus became a general favorite – I some times used to think, that my mother carried this feeling to her brother too far – perhaps from a very strong regard to my father, and rather too desirous that he should be the chief, if not only object of the love of his family.

Had I had as much experience of human nature during the life time of my parents as I have since had, I probably should have found, that the marriage state is, or ought to be one of confidence and free communication of thoughts, and hence as collisions of opinion do and must arise amongst the most attached friends, the acquiescent attention of a Brother, connected too with early associations, might apparently to the Sister be indications of fraternal affection, more equable and soothing than even the Conjugal tie –

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* Another item, or at least spelling, that has escaped Webster and *OED*, but that turns up in published works both in England and the U. S.

† "an orphan" inserted via a clearly misplaced caret that should have been placed after "come."

‡ Sally was 12 when her father died, in 1777, and nine years older than Isaac. When she was married, Isaac was just turning 15.

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My mother was very susceptible to anything like blame, and my father very careful, in saying or doing any thing to hurt her feelings,* but in the married state it would be a miracle, if differences between the Parties did not occasionally take place, and equally strange, if the conjugal attachment was, as equable in its nature, as more moderate affections. The attachment between man and wife, may be and often is, <u>really</u> stronger than any other, though to superficial observers <u>apparently</u>

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less so. Husband and wife cannot fail to know that each, thinks the other has faults, and tho pride the human† of heart leads us, to shut our eyes to our own failings, and even if we know them, to try to hide them from others. If we discover that these faults are known to our friends, or those around us, even if the other party, merely hints at them, indeed if he is silent – our self love is wounded. When such is the case, the current of affection becomes rippled and turbid – Perhaps no human love but maternal, as characterised by Cowper,‡ ["]The steady flow of love which knows <u>no fall</u>["], is exempt from the above and other distinguishing causes. My Uncle Davis made it a principle never to hint to anyone, even his nephews and neices much younger than himself, that they were in fault – or even to notice their errors of conduct or manners, and partly from this, and partly a prepossessing person and manners he was very popular with his friends & acquaintances. My uncle was then about 33 years old, He had, 2 or 3 years before, taken my brother Tom to bring up, and at the period refer'd to (1789) had brought my brother with him on a visit, from Shelburne Nova Scotia, where my grandfather & uncle then resided – To this place, after a few weeks residence my uncle and brother returned by the way Portsmouth.

In a letter of my father 17 Sept 1789 he says speaking of my mother "She is uncommonly favor'd with health, and bids fair at present to nurse our baby, which is also a fine little girl, we think of calling it by the

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name of Peggy" – This child was afterwards called Margaretta born 12 Sept 1789 – died December 11th following. – On the 19 Decr my father mentioning this circumstance to my uncle Davis says, "We buried little Margaretta, our youngest, last night She was a pretty flower, just opening and transplanted" In Augt 1789, writing Mr Waldo, husband of Sally Tyng, my father says, "what a melancholy catastrophe to our neighbor Blodget–" I presume he refers to the death of this young man. the head of the firm of Blodget & Gilman, who kept the shop in front of the Dock Square house – He was drowned by the upsetting of a Canoe, in which he went down the harbor on a duck shooting. I think I remember going to the house to see the dead body of Mr B, but am not sure of this – but the incident was to me a very striking one, as I had been some months in his Store – I had seen dead bodies before, but the sudden transition, from active life to helpless deaths

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made me feel in this case more forcibly than it had ever before done – Under date Nov 15, 1789, my father notices the arrival of President Washington, then on a tour through the

* I.e., his father was very careful *not* to say or do anything that would hurt her feelings.

† Another misplaced insertion via caret, it seems. Isaac no doubt meant, "the pride of the human heart."

‡ Slightly misquoted from William Cowper (1731-1800) "On Receipt of My Mother's Picture."

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United States, in Boston – he says "you will see by the papers what a grand parade has been exhibited here for the President," mentions ["]an arch extending, from the houses on Washington, to the [west?] of the old State house, on which was a handsome balcony, where the President received the honors paid him" I well, recollect, this visit of President Washington After waiting from half an hour to an hour on the neck, owing to some point of etiquette [as his?] reception – he was escorted by an immense train of military and citizens, the latter arranged according to their trades, each trade preceeded by a banner, some of them I think [printers? painters?][*] so thus working as the procession was passing – There was a full rigged ship on wheels, and manned by a proper crew, huzzaing, as they went along streets – all the school boys in town

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headed by the masters and ushers, were in the procession, making much the longest I had ever seen. These all passed through the large arch mentiond by my father, down to the North part of the town –

My father adds "I never saw him before and think he has dignity of manner and an intelligent countenance".

I had a very good opportunity of seeing him, for during the long time, he was detained on the neck, sitting still all the while on horseback, the crowd pushed into town, to see the Show – so that there were but a very few persons on the neck – I on the other hand kept standing within a few feet of him, during all the time he was thus shamefully kept waiting, then blowing a cold North East wind, across the neck, which at that time was completely open, of course a most exposed situation – but the President kept his seat on horseback, waiting till directions came for the movement of the escort – It was said that

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he was expected to have dined at Gov^{r} Hancocks, but poor man, he did not get rid of the procession till after dark, and then went to the lodgings assign'd him, (at a principal boarding house kept by a Mrs Ingersoll, corner of Tremont and Court Streets which is now standing 1844) – The General not being expected at dinner, no provision had been made for him, and as the story went at the time, he was very glad to take some cold cod, and other remains of the family dinner, to satisfy a half famished appetite – I do not recollect whether he was then dressed in uniform or not, afterwards, when I saw him he was dressed in black, with a sword, shoes, and silk stockings, and I thought as fine a looking man as I had ever seen, tall, well formed, moderately muscular, and combining much gravity, with great dignity, of manner –[†]

Coincident with the visit of President Washington, a very general influenza

[*] The context would of course favor *painters* over *printers*, but the word is far from legible.

[†] There is a very full account in General William H. Sumner, "Some Recollections of Washington's Visit to Boston," *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, for the Year 1860, Volume XIV* (Boston: Samuel G. Drake, 1860), 161-166. Sumner says the flap over the dinner was caused because Washington and Hancock each, as a matter of protocol, expected the other to initiate the call and Hancock (suffering an attack of gout) refused to take the advice of some around him to back down. There was an exchange of letters and visits the next day to smooth things out.

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was prevalent through the country of this my father then says "The consequent* of his["] (Washington's) ["]visit is said to be the cold, we have among us," but adds that it also prevailed at the South. "Be this as it may, it is very distressing and very general" – says himself wife and family have had it very badly and all families in the town pretty much the same – It was then I first heard the name of the influenza, which our common people generally abbreviated to Phrensy† –

My father adds ["]in the midst of this I had the Derry‡ folks down["] (debtors to his uncles estate to about 800£) ["]These kept me a week and I so sick, that I could hardly cast§ two and two–"

28 November 1789. He writes to Mr Waldo "Is our dear Sally as anxious to catch up the centinel** as she used to be? That of today will make her as satisfied to be where she is, as if she was Queen of France – The brutality of their conduct is really a foil to the comparative delicacy with which the revolution was

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effected in this country". I presume the indignities and terrors, to which the Queen was exposed by the excesses of the Paris mob, which went to Versailles is here referd to–†† I think it was this year 1789, that a French squadron and a Viscount Ponteves, came from the French West Indies to pass the hurricane months in Boston, I was once or twice in company with some of the officers, who were lively agreeable young men, and with them, and some of the Petty officers, – who came in the boats to receive a quantity of flour which had been contracted for with the fleet, and of which I had the delivery, I endeavourd to speak French – but tho' I could read it well enough, I found that the language to the eye and the language to the ear, were very distant things.

An active correspondence was kept up with Mr Waldo after the marriage of Sally Tyng in which, the greatest interest on the part of my father in, the welfare and happiness of this adopted daughter – is exhibited – especially for her before the birth of her first child, which happened at the end of 1789 or beginning of 1790, and who my father seemed to consider as a grandchild.

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In a letter to my grandfather Davis at Shelburne dated 2 April 1790 my father speaks of the winter as having been uncommonly mild, and no sleighing – ["]we have had the measles through the town, and four of the younger children have passed thro the disorder, and it has proved favorable (Ben Josh Eliza Edward)‡‡ your dear daughter and myself have had an ugly

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* *Webster's 3rd Unabridged* recognizes this as an obsolete sense meaning *consequence*.

† A spelling of *frenzy* still common in the mid-nineteenth century.

‡ New Hampshire.

§ in the sense of *calculate*.

** *The Boston Centinel* newspaper.

†† The Revolution was of course in its very early stages, and the women's march on Versailles (October 5), while it led to the deaths of several guards was only so terrifying as to lead the royal family to move to Paris for their greater safety the following day. Their arrest was almost three years' off.

‡‡ I cannot tell if this is Isaac's parenthesis or his father's, though it seems likely to be Isaac's.

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cough, the consequence I imagine of the open* winter.["] Hopes that circumstances will enable him to come to the United States, and be nearer to his friends, especially his daughter, who wishes much to have him nearer to her –
soon after the above, he made a short visit to Mr & Mrs Waldo at Portland, in one of the Packets, but on his way back, the vessell put into Portsmouth, on account of bad weather, which in another letter of 29th April he writes was fortunate as the Packet did not get in till 4 or 5 days after he got home.† The night before last he says (27 Aph) ["]we had a severe snow storm – I have often had occasion to notice a similar circumstance after a very open winter, that a severe snow storm

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quite out of season has been the finale of a mild season making good the old saying that winter never rots in the sky – This season 1841, 42, is however an exception in which there has not been a severe snow storm during the winter or spring –

In April 1790, the Influenza was again in Boston – In the letter to Mr Waldo just mentiond, my father says that ["]we're six sick in the family["] – and the 13 May, he writes "It has been very sickly and many deaths – as many as Ten are said to have laid dead at one time in town – It is attributed to the open winter we have had. I recollect hearing that the season which succeeded the winter of 1745 was very sickly – This being the year of the Louisburg expedition was remarked as one of the mildest winters of this century." I remember being sick of the influenza, and confined at home – One incident which occured at that time, made a strong impression on my mind. This was, that a vessell, which was a regular London trader commanded by Capt Scott, (who once told me had made 115 passages across the Atlantic without ever losing a spar) had been seized by the Custom House for

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smuggling, in which Capt S himself was implicated – The Captain of a regular London trader was always in Boston, considerd as one of the aristocracy, and fit company for any one – Such was the tone of public opinion during the first 12 or 15 years, after the adoption of the federal constitution in 1789., that illicit trade was looked upon as disgraceful, the more, remarkable because under the colonial government, it was very commonly practised even by, respectable men in trade. This change of opinion, no doubt arose as well from the lowness of the duties, as from the popularity of Genl Washingtons administration, some of which descended to his successor Mr Adams. So impressed was it on the minds of the rising generation, that smuggling was not only disgraceful but criminal, that when my father told me, the news of the day in regard to Capt Scott, I was as much surprized as if he had told me, that he had been apprehended for a felony – well would it have been for the country if this tone of feeling had continued, but restrictions on commerce during Jeffersons presidency (who yet was an enemy, to the high duties) and onerous importations on trade afterwards, soon qualified the opprobrium to

* The sense of *open* here, according to the *OED*: is, "Of weather or a season: mild, not sharp; *spec*[*ifically*]. free from frost, snow, and ice; (*Naut.*) free from fog and mist."

† Presumably Isaac has omitted to mention that his father had decided to come the rest of the way by land.

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which illicit trade was then exposed – Capt Scott, was obliged to leave his ship, give up his employ and remain on shore but soon after he married the widow of Governor Hancock, and his offence against the revenue laws was soon forgotten. – June 24 1790. My father writes Mr Waldo "I have been busy in setting the Distill house to work for which there is just now good encouragement. I wish you was here and it was worth your attention to be concern'd* with me, for I want younger spirits and hands than I have" – My father was then 47. – July 29 1790 My father writes Mr Waldo "You will be pleased to hear of the assumption of the State debts"† – This was a most important event, to the country, its effect being to create a Capital of 50 or 60 millions of dollars which had been locked up, or perhaps, nearly worthless, 'till this measure was adopted – This assumption did not comprehend the paper money issued by the States, which being in the hands of the people at large, the general government did not see fit to provide for – Besides this, there was a large amount due for loans to the State governments during the revolutionary war, for

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pay and supplies to the army, besides other claims of a similar character. The most of these were in the shape of certificates, or acknowledgements of debt, due from the State Government to individuals. –The officers and soldiers of the revolutionary army not being able to get from Congress for their hard earned money, only these certificates, were obliged to accept these as payment: Their necessities obliged them to sell them for what they could get – When I first recollect their price it was 10 to 12 ½ cents the dollar. These evidences‡ of public debt soon got into the hands of speculators, and when the state debts were assumed by the General government, they rose in price to par, and even above, so that those who had bought at 12 ½ Cents the dollar, found themselves enriched Eight for one at once – There were many at the time who, thought, that, instead of the Government granting certificates of Stock for the whole face of the evidences of the public debt to the holders, the officers and soldiers of the army, who had been compelled to part with them at an eighth or tenth of their nominal value, should

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have participated in the advanced rate of stocks, which they had been compelled, to part with for such an insufficient consideration, and so I should have thought had I had a voice in the decision – This equitable claim was however passed by. Yet the result was equally beneficial to the country, as it furnished what was, then, much wanted, active Capital, and very soon afterwards its effects were seen in the rise of real estate – increase of buildings in town & country, renewal of ship building – improvements of farms, in short, increased activity in all, branches of industry – It was this encreased and active Capital (for a certificate of United States Stock would always command money at an hours warning) which furnished the shipping, and other means to profit by the neutral position, in which owing to the wisdom and independence of Gen[l] Washington, the country was placed when war between France and England commenced in April 1793, The Capital thus formed was much

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* *To be joined with me in the (business) concern.*

† There is a useful summary of what this entailed in a section of the Wikipedia entry on Alexander Hamilton: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexander_hamilton#Report_on_Public_Credit .

‡ In the sense of *tokens*.

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increased by the vast commerce, which as a neutral power, this country then enjoyed. The minority in Congress

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as much perhaps, from an incipient opposition to the general government, as from principle, were inimical to the funding system so called, but they were certainly right in advocating the claims of the army, and other public creditors who had suffer'd so much by the depreciation of the paper money, issued by Congress during the war, which as has been said, was really worth only an eighth or tenth of its nominal value – This minority known by the name of Antifederalists, was however feeble at first – Their political opponents, called Federalists, were supporters of the administration of General Washington (who was President till March 1797) and being the elite of the most distinguished revolutionary characters, (civil and military) were in the ascendant till the election of Jefferson in 1801 – This may be esteemed a second revolution, for so J was, placed in the chair by the influence of the antifederalists, then called democrats, and their opponents the federalists, after a most obstinate but unavailing opposition to the measures of the party in power, of eight years during his reign, and seven more during his successor (Madison.) gave up their opposition, and party designation together, and under the peacable, reign of Munro, the heads of the parties formed a coalition, perhaps wisely preferring popularity and self., to principle and party conflicts – To return from this digression.

In the summer of 1790, my mother who had during life enjoyed fine health, when owing to the premature birth of her eleventh child, her excellent constitution gave away. she never recoverd from the effects of the illness consequent on that event. She lost her flesh and color, and her nervous system became very much deranged, and could seldom venture out of the house, except in very fine weather. The 18th of October 1790 my father writes to her father at Shelburne "She was indeed brought nigh to the last scene, but a kind Providence of whose favor I am undeserving has preserved her to me and the children.

In a letter to Mr Waldo, dated 16 feby 1791 My father says ["]my Marys health has been but indifferent, She has been only* able to ride out and I dont think will get her health restored, without a journey – We have had a most severe winter – ["] He mentions in this letter, the

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marriage of Mr John Codman a neighbor with Miss Catherine Amory, and in a letter to the same 27 April 1791 says "I have consented that my Mary shall go with my Sister Malbone (who has while staying with us, been very attentive to her) to Newport, and thence to New York["] – and adds "I have sold Alvin Brewster my Sister Malbones house, and he is going to pull down the old one and rebuild – Woodward will also build on the lot below – Coolidge has bought the pasture above Capt Mackays, and is going to build there – All this is the effect of the rise of public securities – Codman has bought my house["] (the one the family were then living in) ["]and added the garden of that to his own. I offerd 400£ for it, but he gave 500£" – The house sold Brewster was 800£ or 2666$. – the lot belonging to the

* Perhaps he means that she has been able only to ride and not to walk, but the context also suggests to me that Isaac may have meant to say she has been *unable* to ride out.

† An error for CXIV.

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same sold wooward, $1000 ["]– These two lots of land have been since sold to the proprietors of the Tremont house, probably at six or seven times the above prices, merely to build on. I see by the above, that the building of Mr Coolidges house in Bowdwoin Street, was not so early as I have

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heretofore supposed, and doubt, whether Mr Parkmans, Gov Gores, and other edifices at new Boston, then the Court end of the town, were built, earlier, because generally no buildings of consequence were undertaken till after the adoption of the funding system – In a letter to my uncle Davis 3 June 1791, is mention'd the arrival of Mr Sparhawk &Betsy "In three days after she arrived, she took a house and got into it, she has bought, considerable millenary goods and seems spirited in her exertions – He does not second her as I could wish" – I omitted to mention in its proper place, that in the summer of 1790, a nephew of my fathers Joshua Winslow* son of his brother Josh[a] – then a lieutenant or Captain in the British army was a visitor at my fathers – He was an easy unaffected young man, short, but very well made, and except having weak eyes, rather handsome – He was a good deal notic'd in Boston, and became much attach'd to the above named Miss C Amory who afterwards married Mr Codman, and I have heard the attachment was reciprocal, but depending merely on his pay, I presume he did not think himself in a situation to make an offer

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He played chess very well and was very fond of the game – He saild for England after a short visit, in August 1790. The year following, in Sept 1791, as is contained in a letter to Mr Waldo, of that date, the sister of the above cousin, (Eliza Winslow) arrived from London and became an inmate of my fathers family – at the embarkation of my cousin Josh for London which was from the end of the Long Wharf early of a Sunday morning, when the wharf was full of people I met with a very mortifying incident – There was at that† a little Irish Barber constantly on the Long Wharf, who got his living by shaving the sailors and others onboard, the vessells at the wharf – He was full of talk, and the sort of mother wit some of the Irish possess, and got quite intimate with a great many of the lads on the wharf, several of whom especially Bill Amory brother of Mr. T. C. Amory whom I was with, was amongst the foremost, in a sort of half joking intercourse with the Barber, carrying it with some of the lads of a similar character, to the extent of throwing dirty water over him, as if by accident from

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as he passed by the back door of the store, and other practical jokes, which the Barber did not relish, and having an abusive and foul mouth, he would whenever an opportunity presented, not only, blackguard them in very gross terms, but challenge them, especially Amory, to fight him – But the latter who was very good temper'd only answered by imitating the Barbers language and manners, adding some of his own, for he too was a great adept in this vulgar slang, but always took good care to keep at arms length from the Barber – I do not recollect having anything more to do with him than (seeing him everyday on the wharf) occasionally speaking to him, but I suppose being in Mr T. C. Amorys Store that he

* Joshua Loring Winslow (1766?-1820).

† Presumably "time" has been omitted here.

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associated me with Bill Amory – Be this as it may, on the morning in question, the wharf being full of people, to see a Londoner go off – my father accompanied his nephew down to the Ship, her deck being full of the friends of the passengers and others. The Barber entirely unprovoked on my part, open'd upon me a volley of the most abusive and vulgar language, in an audible voice, which could be heard all over the wharf;

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a crowd soon gather'd – my father and cousin were on the deck of the vessel – none could interfere, for none knew why I was thus assailed – The only way I had to do was to retreat, which I did pretty quickly up the back of the Long wharf – not a little mortified at such a very public expression of opinion, so vociferously made, of which I was the Sole and Conspicuous object. I perceive I have also omitted noticing a letter from my father, to my mother when at Portland in April 1790, the extract is only important as shewing the strong attachment he always had to his family – "I want you here and then I want all the children. When I saw Thurlo["] (the Packet) ["]sail this morning, I almost wishd myself with him." &c. I see a letter of mine to Miss E Winslow Sister of Mrs Chase* dated May 18, 1790 – in which are these words "Mather has not, his hair queued yet" – As I had an unfortunate propensity for punning very early, the family gave me the nick name of Mather from Mather Byles, the famous Boston punster,† and this refers to an incident I well remember. My father who had a great aversion to anything effeminate in his sons

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and not liking to see it over my shoulders like the hair of a girl, wished me to have it gather'd and tied up behind. I had a good head of curling hair, of which my mother was rather proud, and, I suppose, she wished the hair to continue as it was, for a year or two longer – (I was then about 16 –) but my father repeating his wishes, I went to the barber, under whose hands, the hair was cut off behind – frizzed and powder'd in front, and false hair, joined with my own, and made into a long queue or tail halfway down the back. When the operation was finished, I fear'd to go into the street so metamorphosed, so I returnd to the Shop, desirous of seeing the appearance of the tail behind; looking through two glasses the appearance was so strange, that I could not help going on one side and, undoing the false tail behind. But I soon got drilled in‡ and in a day or two, had my queue replac'd and wore powder, as was the fashion of the day.§ My father writes to my brother 13 Nov 1789 "I hear you was out in a bad storm, and exposed to considerable hazard. Early my dear son, have we occasion to see in life that it is in God, we live and move and have our being, and that by his hand, we are upheld in life – a trust therefore in Him, and the hope of his mercy, is the great protection against all the perplexing evils and dangers of life. – That our heavenly Father is not indifferent about the guilty race of Adam, there is the fullest evidence in what he did, when he gave his son

* Sarah Tyng Waldo, who became Mrs. Chase after her first husband's death in 1798.

† Rev. Mather Byles (1706-88), first pastor of the Hollis Street Church. A Loyalist, he remained in Boston after the retreat of the British.

‡ Probably meaning he was forcefully instructed in his duty to obey his father.

§ Isaac does not acquire a wig, perhaps because of the cost or, more likely, because they were going or already out of fashion. These were as well the last days of pigtails and powder.

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born of a woman, and who took not hold of the nature of angels, but of the seed of Abraham – This is a comfort, when the wisdom from above is admitted into the mind, which neither riches, or rank or power can give: All these embitter the cup of death, for all these leave man at death, but this cheers life and leaves us not at death." – and again "there is generally in mankind a prepossession in favor of youth, it must be your care by a modest deportment, and by not letting the countenance you get,["] (meaning the partiality of the near friends he is with) ["]ever interfere with your duty, and thus strengthen such prepossessions. – . much depends on the characters we get, and form when young, and how important a good character is to us all know. Try to get all the information you can from your grandfather, and Uncle. –In, long winter evenings a good deal may be thus acquired.
Your affect[e] father IW"
I think it was in the year 1790 that Mr Payne and Mr T. C. Amory went into copartnership, under the firm of T Amory & Co – Mr Amory was a man of much

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more activity and enterprize than Mr Payne, and entering into the Commission line, the business of the house was continually encreasing, so that I was, constantly employed, being, for over four years the sole, apprentice or assistant – I now recur again to the events of 1791. I have two letters to my mother dated 5 and 9 May 1791 before my father had had any letters from her, in which he discovers* the most anxious solicitude to know how she has borne the journey gives some local, news, that his Sister Pollard has received of her late illness, and is with Peggy (Mrs Blanchard) quite well, "She is pleased with repurchasing her house which Mr Coles let her have at the appraisement and 50 Dollars under – House keeping goes on tolerably well, tho the novelty of being master and mistress is most over. 'Liza says, she will come in Pa's bed to morrow morning† – adieu my dear Polly, heavens kind protection be to you and restore your health – Yours faithfully IW" A letter from my mother dated Jun 1, 1791

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mentions her arrival with Mary at New York after a tedious passage from Newport of 3 days, was very sea sick speaks of her kind reception by Mrs King, "who wishes much you was here too – She can't wish it more than I do,["] says nothing of her health – and concludes ["]adieu my dear friend – May heaven bless and keep you is the ardent wish of your truly affectionate M.W.["] In a letter of my mother July 1, 1791, informs of her return to Newport, after a pleasant passage and, "I find my health much mended by the jaunt – The Bath has been of great service to me You will hardly believe I went in myself without the help of anyone but I assure you it is true. Dr. Bard advises me to continue the bath by all means, and think when I return I must continue going in every day, as the best restorative" – complains of not having received letters lately longs to see the children, sends love to them and Aunt Patty, and adds "I am afraid my dear you will think me very extravagant, but I assure you I have bought as little as I possibly could, but it is impossible to travel without some expenses. I flatter myself you will be fully

* Again, an archaic usage here meaning *reveals*.

† Then being just under four years old.

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repaid in my returning health – Farewell my dear husband and friend may heaven bless you is the ardent prayer of your ever affectionate, M.W.["] In a letter of my father to Mr Waldo, Oct 26 1791 he he mentions "Mary["] (his wife) ["]health – tho' she is not quite recover'd she is much better, & and gets up her flesh again especially of late. – . mentions his thanks to Mr Waldo for his interest, about a house, that he had engaged [H???????'s?] (Ben Austin's) and purposes to move on Monday next – mentions in this letter the death of his uncle Johns widow at Dunstable and distribution of her property in small legacies &c. leaving 50£ to Mrs Waldo – While resident in this house, my Brother Ben then 8 years old fell from a nursery window, about 13 or 14 feet from the ground (being a paved yard); I happen'd to be washing just under, and instinctively, thrust out both arms. This broke his fall and he received little injury – It was thought at the time, that had he fallen directly on the pavement, he might have been killed. or seriously hurt. The family moved into the Austin house in November 1791.– This house was the first one on the right, at the entrance of Sudbury Street – on the site of which is now a Stable – In September of this year 1791, as has been before mentioned my fathers niece* daughter of his brother Joshua arrived from England, and took up her abode with us, but nearly half the time she was with her aunt

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Malbone at Newport, but when in Boston made part of my fathers family – She was a few years older than myself, short and rather inclined to be fat, had a very handsome arm and hand, of which she was very careful, was not handsome, but yet healthy, and good looking, easy and unaffected in her manners and sociable in her disposition – She had the faculty of making acquaintances, and was considerably noticed by the great folks of the day – tho' much less than would have been the case had her nearest relations Aunt Pollards family and my fathers family been at all conversant in the fashionable world. At that time owing to the notice of Mr Amory's family, both to her and myself, I began to form acquaintances, out of my own circle of connections more than I had before done – indeed Mr Amory was at one time so attentive to her, that the family, supposed, a nearer connection might be the consequence, but she afterwards married her cousin John Winslow, son of the parson – then of Fayetteville NC as will be mentiond in its proper place. She was brought up an Episcopalian, and so continued during life.

* Elizabeth.

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Chapter Sixteen (Volume Two, Chapter Four)

Business picks generally up after the States are united, and the rum distillery is promising – Mr. Amory's business thrives, and Isaac sends "small adventures" for spending money – Letters of his father to Mr. Waldo about Margaret's continuing illness; about the rage for Tontine speculation; about a fire in extremely cold weather – Isaac recalls an accident with a splinter at exactly this time – Letter from Isaac's father to Grandfather Davis about Margaret's illness and the death of Isaac's friend young Charles Humphreys – Letters from Isaac's father to Mr. Waldo; on the heat of the summer; the proposed separation of Maine; "cousin nephew" Mr. Erving; General Knox's offer on a large tract in Maine owned by Isaac's great uncle – Isaac's mother's trip to Portland; Isaac's father tells her the smallpox is in Boston; his mother apologizes for not writing; news of friends – Isaac writes his father-in-law Davis inviting him to his house; mentions friends on distant voyages – Isaac's father to Mr. Waldo about the smallpox; about Margaret's health – Before he recounts the melancholy event to come, Isaac will take a general review of his father's situation; as a non-citizen he was unable to file lawsuits; renters slow to pay their rents; his numerous dependents near and far; the unsettled estate of his uncle Isaac and the difficulty of collecting rents due it; the many impositions on his time to conduct business for friends and family; his being head of the Sandemanians in Boston; the problem of the derangement of his account books during and after the Revolution occasioned by all the moves; no proper place to write and the difficulty of doing business out of the home owing to the power of association; his attempt to keep a rough account on loose pieces of paper full of erasures, alterations, interlineations; growing concerns that he had inequitably made distributions to the heirs, overpaying the elder and underpaying the younger and more distant; effects on his nervous system; (after his death, his father-in-law will spend months trying to balance the accounts and will find the estate was actually considerably indebted to Isaac's father); Isaac's father's want of friends to advise him; contrasts between Boston and the happy former life in rural Newtown; reflections on the beliefs of the Sandemanians; internal conflicts; a lengthy reflection on the theological aspects of mental depression; Mr. Howe, Isaac's father's only adviser in the religious Society, did not deserve the censure of members of the Society following Isaac's father's death; nor could the immediate family have foreseen his end; a mind not just distressed, but alienated from its normal functioning; a tender conscience may need Gospel mercy more than the Law; his father's mind was unsound; in health he regarded suicide as unchristian and cowardly.

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Of the events in the first months of 1792, I have no distinct recollections of any that are

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worth recording. The business of T Amory & Co. was continually on the increase, as well as that of the country at large, owing as has been said, to the combined influence of the States being comprehended in one General Government, and the active capital, which the funding system, had created, diffusing itself and invigorating every branch of the productive industry. Amongst others the Rum distillery which my father had taken up within a year, was a promising business, and his prospects of success, in extricating himself from the embarrassments and losses, which from 1776, when he left Boston, had constantly accompanied and worried him, were very fair. The commerce of the country, unshackled by high duties, or onerous restrictions, began to revive, the productions of agriculture and the fisheries; sold at good prices, as soon as brought to market, and every thing showed the difference between the declining State of the country from 1785 to 1790 – and its improving condition

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after the latter year – Mr Amory derived much business from the Marblehead and Newbury port merchants, by receiving on commission the return cargoes of their vessells from Spain & Portugal, advancing on them half or two thirds, and making Sale here, which being a man of very popular manners, very attentive to his business, and very prompt, he generally succeeded in doing to the satisfaction of his employers – with the advances they immediately furnish'd their vessells with new cargoes of fish flour corn staves &c and sent them off again with the least possible delay. This increase of business, and increased duty on my part, having in addition to my other duties, become book keeper and accountant, made it bad for Mr Amory, as well as myself – for had he earlier have taken a younger apprentice to do the drudgery, my time would have been more profitably for him and myself employ'd in the higher branches of writing and accounts. The benefit of the division of labor was hardly known or realiz'd at that time – I began very early

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to pick up something by sending small adventures by which I managed to make, enough for pocket money and buy my own clothing – so that after 16, I was little expense to my father – as to any remuneration from ones master as we then termed them, it was out of the question – It was thought a great thing for a person to get a situation for his son, with a house of good standing and respectability, without being obliged to pay a bonus. In March, 1792, my father writes Mr Waldo that "Mary[”] (his wife) ["]has been a good deal confined this winter with return of bilious* complaints" and adds that he was lately at Salem to attend the funeral of his mother Sparhawk, and found ["]beyond that place, the mail did not go on Carriages" – This was March 19 – so that the roads were then much blocked with snow –

My father speaks of the rage of Tontine speculation then prevalent – I believe this plan originated with speculators, whose object was to collect from a number of subscribers, a fund to be invested in real estate, on the principle of life annuities, the longest liver to take the whole. I presume the income however was to be divided between the subscribers. It was necessary they should get an act of incorporation from a future legislature which seems to have been denied by the existing one. my father writes "The favorers of the plan are sanguine, that with a new legislature, they shall succeed, but it is doubtful with me" – I

* Bilious disorders were believed, often mistakenly, to be associated with the liver, but the term was applied to a broad array of gastrointestinal problems, so it is impossible to know what Mary's illness was.

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remember this Tontine being a great object of speculation, but of the details was quite ignorant, but I well recollect that the crescent or South side of Franklin place was for many years call'd Tontine buildings, and presume the purchase of land, and improvements there made a part of the plan – I rather think that the projectors did not obtain an act of incorporation – Be this as it may, the whole plan fell to the ground and as far as I recollect, with much loss to the Speculators in Tontine Shares, who bought in at advanced rates – But the buildings went on, and were completed as they now stand, within 2 or 3 years afterwards, I believe by private enterprize – My father in his letter to

[written sideways bottom to top at left margin, and crossing the first word or two of each line]
These shares he mentions were 6$ in October of that year he says he sold 12 belonging to his cousin Betsy at $ 2 30* each

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Mr Waldo speaks of a fire in Jan^{y}, near Mr Eliots meeting house, now Parkmans, Hanover Street, which was in danger, if that had gone, as the wind was NW, it would have carried the Long Wharf, and made great havoc: It was one of the coldest days of the winter" –
This fire I well recollect, and the extreme coldness of the weather, as the Coats of those who stood in the lanes to convey water, were completely incrusted with ice –. I came home with the front of my outer coast, an entire sheet of ice – I remember this by, another incident. The fire took place, either New Years day or near it – I came home, at dinner time, and the younger children had their New Years toys about them in my mothers chamber – She was never more happy than in seeing the children enjoying themselves with their plays – They had amongst other things, some small nine pins and balls – These, to shew the children the mode of playing, I arrayed on the floor, and

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then began to roll the balls. . In doing this my forefinger being near the floor, caught under the nail an unperceived splinter on the floor, which run under the nail, as was then supposed only half way down the nail, or the length of it. My father cut the nail to the quick, trying to draw it with tweezers, but broke the piece at the head, and there it remaind – His anxiety was great lest it might produce Lock'dJaw – I do not remember that there was much pain, or inconvenience while it remained in the finger, which was a week or more – Some person advised applying Turpentine, which I did, and soon after finding the end rather loose, I drew it out with tweezers, and found it had extended to the second joint of the finger near 2 inches – I kept the piece some years in my pocket book as a curiosity. To my grandfather Davis April 19, 1792 my father says, ".Your daughter is not in a confirmed state of health, and has been some weeks confined this winter

CXXXI Vol 2 C 4 – but gets along better than we could expect".
"our dear brother Humphries and his sister, have been visited with a most trying affliction,

* Given what Isaac has written about the Tontines, it is hard to believe his father could have realized such a huge profit, and since the text here crosses the rest of the text of the page, it is possible that something (a period?) is hidden by the underlying text. But it appears to me that Isaac has been careful to write around the existing text and that my reading is correct. Perhaps Betsy got in early and her cousin wisely got out at the right time.

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in the death of their dear son Charles, who had taken to the sea, and in this his second voyage, perish'd with all on board except two – The ship was cast away near Marshfield, our Brother Humphries on this occasion shews a most amiable example of humility and resignation, at the same time feeling the most poignant affection for his son."

"Your friends think there would be no danger in your coming here. Your daughter and myself would be honor'd in having you with us. It seems time to think of a remove–" This was the lad whose death my father has mention'd above whom I have formerly spoken of as being a bed fellow with me in the front chamber of the Dock Square house, when the room under it caught fire, and owing to our being there, the home was probably saved from being burnt down* – The name of the ship was I think the Columbia Capt Chauncy† to and from England into Boston

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The death of this young man affected me a good deal, and though I was less intimate with him than his elder brother Daniel, yet I esteemed him for his frankness and generosity of spirit, and could not help lamenting his loss. My father to Mr Waldo June 7, 1792 says the weather has been as severe in Boston as it could be any where ["]I never knew such sudden transitions, nor do I ever remember to have sufferd more from the heat["] (meaning probably, before the date of this letter.) ["]I am told the Therm^{r} was at 94^{o} and to day in every house I go into they are sitting by a fire. These sudden changes have affected Polly a good deal" ["]I am glad to find that the majority of inhabitants in your district are against a separation["] (of Maine from Massachusetts) ["]When it is consider'd that they do really suffer many inconveniences, and that there is a disposition in man for novelty, combined with many parts or parties["] (I suppose ambitious persons are meant) ["]who, would be leaders in a separation – the result of their deliberation appears an uncommon instance of justness of decision in so large a

CXXXIII seems to have skip'd in paging – this comes next 133‡

~~CXXXIV~~ Vol 2 C4

number of inhabitants" – By this, I see, that the subject of the separation of Maine, from Massachusetts, which about 20 years ago,§ was carried into effect, was agitated at that early period – To the same, July 19,** my father writes "I know you will be glad to see your cousin nephew, everyone is much pleased with him here. He yesterday made me an offer of going to Portland with her, I am a little afraid how he will find out the road" This refers to Mr GW Erving†† who was nephew of Mrs Waldo and cousin of her husband‡‡ who, must have arrived from England the summer of 1792 – being then about 22 years old – In a letter of 20

* Above, II, lxxviii

† Isaac Chauncy (1763-92). He was said to be ill and confined to his cabin at the time of the shipwreck, which occurred March 11, 1792.

‡ Arabic numeral corrected page numbers begin here and are in red ink and continue thus until II, 155.

§ Maine became a State in 1820 as part of the Missouri Compromise.

** Possibly July 29.

†† George W. Erving (1771-1850). He held several diplomatic posts. See below, IV, 43.

‡‡ "who was nephew of Mrs Waldo and cousin of her husband" inserted above the line, but without a caret. The context makes clear, however, where the insertion is to be placed.

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July he says, ["]Gen Knox has offerd 3000£ for 2/5 of patent lands,["] (a large tract in Maine, owned by my fathers Uncle Isaac.) My mother at the end of this month, did undertake a journey to Portland, under the escort of Mr Erving, as appears, by a letter of my father to her at that place dated Aug 1, from which extracts are unnecessary – In this I am complimented with having been a good house keeper* during the absence of my parents† – There are also two letters of 9th

~~CXXV~~‡ Vol 2 C4. 134

& 10th of August – These letters are principally complaints at getting no letters, expressing great anxiety for her health in the hot weather which he mentions as then prevailing – plans for her coming home from Portsmouth, where Mr Erving was to leave her, and information of the small pox being in Boston, and his keeping the children from school. A letter of 14 Augt mentions Mr Ervings return, and having called to tell him about the journey home – repeats complaints of not hearing – hopes her health is better, desires remembrance to Mrs Atkinson Mr Humphries and other friends in Portsmouth – and expects the small pox will spread in town – My mother in her letter 14 Augt apologizes for not writing, during the short stay she made in Portland – "Mrs Waldo wish'd all my time while I stay'd with her, and was mortified that my visit was so short, and that you was not of the party – I assure you my dear it would have added greatly to my enjoyment to have had you with me – Though Mr Erving was very attentive, yet think on many accounts

~~cxxx~~§ ~~CXXXVI~~

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it is best for a man and his wife to travel together." is concerned to hear of the prevalence of the small pox, speaks of the kindness of Mrs Atkinson, Mr Humphries, and other friends, purposes her plan of her Journey home, and, concludes with ["]love to Isaac and thank him for his kind letter, tell him Mrs Waldo enjoyed reading it, and longs to see him, and love to all the dear children

Your very affectionate wife MW["] A letter from my father to my grandfather, Aug 9, 1792 mentions his wish at Portsmouth to bring back my mother, is glad to hear of his intentions to come to Boston, and invites him to his house – mentions also the absence of young John Sparhawk in Virginia and that George his brother had sail'd on a voyage to the West Indies, and Daniel Humphries Jr – on a voyage to Teneriffe – all these, especially the latter whom I had known from early boyhood, I was particularly acquainted with – . Mr George Sparhawk is yet living (1842) in Conway New Hampshire. Oct 6, 1792 My father writes Mr Waldo, that his own family have got, well over the small Pox, "which has

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* A somewhat unusual sense. The word "housekeeper" can bear the archaic meaning *householder*, which includes the sense of the *head of a household* (though *OED* holds this latter meaning to be less archaic than does Webster); The compliment I think comes down to Isaac's father's saying he has done a good job of keeping the household in order in his mother's absence. Even so, the boundary between what historians like to call "the separate spheres" (of men's and women's domestic responsibilities) here is porous.

† Evidently an error for "parent," meaning mother, since there is no evidence Isaac's father was not writing from home, and in any event, how would he know how good a job his son was doing unless he were at home.

‡ This and subsequent strike throughs of roman numerals in red ink.

§ Strikethrough of "CXXX" in brown ink.

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~~CXXXVII~~ Vol 2 C 4. 136
been far from a trifling matter here ". .the deaths having principally happen'd amongst children – Jonathan Pollard["] (Son of his sister my Aunt Pollard) ["]who was supposed to have had it in 1752, has taken it in the natural way.* Many have been repeatedly inoculated without taking the disorder. I was upon the committee to examine the cases in the ward where I live, in which 600 were inoculated, and but seven deaths, these I think, all children, other parts of the town have not had it so favorably." In a letter dated Sept 25 1792, speaking of this he says ["]our family are safe over the small pox; our four younger children and two servants have had the disorder, and through a kind providence all have done well – one daughter Eliza had it with more severity, having had 300 or 400 Pock, the other children had it very slight --- The symptoms have almost universally been very heavy, and it has gone hard with very young children, and some quite aged persons." thinks the season of the year unfavorable, that it is supposed about 8000 have been inoculated, thinks one in a hundred or more have died of it – This however would make only Eighty or an hundred deaths

~~CXXXVIII~~ Vol 2 C4– 137
which seems not a great mortality out of the number he supposes, to have been inoculated – He speaks of my grandfathers brother William, having all his grandchildren inoculated at his home, which made it quite a hospital, his brother Edward had two of his family inoculated – Our Sister Cotton fled as usual to Taunton, speaks of some others of the Society, whose families were inoculated –

"Polly enjoys tolerable health for her, which is better by her having been a journey this summer to Portsmouth and Portland. She has been a good deal occupied with the small pox in her family" – This is endorsed in my grandfathers hand writing, "the last letter I received from my son,† Isaac Winslow"
to Mr Waldo, October 23d, 1792 – My father says "My Mary is confined up stairs, is now frequently unwell but desires her cordial regards &c["] and to the same Nov 21, 1792 he writes, the latter["] (speaking of my mother) ["]has had since her return, two or three bilious affections,‡ and I fear will never enjoy the health, she once did["] – It seems that the fatal shock which was given to her constitution in 1791.

~~CXXXIX~~ Vol. 2 C . 4 138
she never recover'd.§ The palliatives of riding in the country – Journeying, Sea Bathing &c. were but of temporary effect – She had lost her flesh, her ruddy complexion, and her elasticity of mind – and had become peculiarly susceptible to the frequent danger of our variable climate – Poor dear woman soon was she to experience a more trying shock to both mind and body, than had yet fallen to her lot. Two months after the date of this last letter, was the husband of her youth (as may be said almost of her childhood, being married at fifteen) the father of her numerous little flock, her most tender and caretaking friend, snatched from her, so suddenly, so unexpectedly, so awfully, that her constitution naturally a

* That is, his presumed prior infection did not confer immunity, so the disease this time ran its normal course.

† Son-in-law. Isaac's grandfather is his grandfather (Benjamin) Davis, so Isaac's father's father-in-law.

‡ Meaning here *disease* or *malady*.

§ Perhaps a word or two left out in this: "It seems *that from* the fatal shock which was given to her constitution in 1791 she never recovered"?

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

~~CXL~~ Vol. 2 C4 . 139

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

~~CXLI~~ Vol 2 C 4 140

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

~~CXLII~~ Vol 2 C4 . 141

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

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

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

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

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

~~CXLIV~~ Vol. 2 C.4 143

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

~~CXLV~~ Vol 2 C.4 144

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

* See above, II, lxxxvi.

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house in order to get capital to take up the distillery business–) In the last two houses the same unsettled state of things existed, so that instead of a regular place of business, where all ones papers have accumulated around them, and become so regularly arranged as that transactions of many years back can be at once
[note appended on a pasted-on sheet at the bottom of the page] * This was a little entry chamber, which was kept as a sort of, writing room or Study, and where I used with his assistance in the evening, to con* over my Latin and Greek lessons for the next day – the room had no fireplace, in lieu of which my father had when the weather required it a pot of charcoal, in the room. One evening I had occasion to go out of the room, not sensible of any injury from the charcoal, and opening the door to go into the entry, fell down insensible– . How long this lasted I can't recollect. But I remember to have heard it said, that both of us would have been suffocated in a short time, without being sensible of the danger had we remained in the room a short time longer –

~~CXLVI~~ Vol 2 C 4 145
refer'd to, my father had to keep loose minutes of his affairs by which he might personally have settled accounts of a year or two standing – but which became, entirely insufficient, when applied to a large account like that of his uncles estate of 16 years standing.– This comprehended in it the advances to the heirs, during that period; the acc^{ts} with them were to be settled before the general acc^{ts} could be – and as he could never see any in want, and the elder Sons Sam^{l} and Isaac were living on their capital, he kept advancing them, as well as the young ones, often according to the custom of the day in very small amounts till the former got nearly double their share of their fathers estate, and the latter and absent ones, not half – Besides which, to the younger ones who lived with him, many small sums taken out of his pocket as they wanted it from day to day were supposed to be never charged at all but more of this hereafter – Every man of business must feel how strong is the power of association in affairs of business, especially when it relates to accounts – For myself

~~CXLVII~~ Vol 2 Chap 4 . 146
this association was so strong, that I could hardly write a common letter of friendship out of the counting room – but if a letter of business was to be written or an account prepared, it would have been quite impossible to have done either out of the usual place of writing, and this in regard to the business operations, instantaneous entries of these as they daily occur, being a matter of habit, require no effort – They become matters of record at once – but in my poor fathers case with no regular books from 1776 till his resumption of the distilling business in 1791.– driven about as the family was, for 17 years from place to place, and house to house, he never could collect round him his books and papers, nor resume his early habit of exactness in accounts, so as to know, (that important branch of knowledge to men of business~~)~~ the exact state of his pecuniary affairs – It was to this unhappy coincidence of circumstances that much of the dreadful issue is to be imputed – His mind naturally an anxious one, and his disposition like mine impatient, he was too desirous to see the end of the business he was engaged in but the means to effect this were scatterd about in various places

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

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~~CXLVIII~~ Vol 2. Chap . 4 . 147

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

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

~~CXLIX~~ Vol. 2 C4. 148

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

~~CL~~ Vol 2 - C 4 149

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

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

† Evidently Isaac's coinage.

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

~~CLI~~ Vol. 2 . C.4. 150

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

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

~~CLII~~ Vol . 2 . C 4 . 151

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

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

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

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

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

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~~CLII~~ Vol. 2 C4. 152

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

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

~~CLIV~~ Vol 2 C 4. 153

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

~~CLV~~ Vol 2 C 4 154

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

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

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

‡ Error for "a part."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

156 ½ Vol. 2 Chap 4–

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‡ Meaning *insane*.

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

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

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

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

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Chapter Seventeen (Volume Two, Chapter Five)

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

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

~~CLIX~~* Vol. 2. Chap 5. 158

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

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

~~CLX~~ Vol 2 Chap 5 159

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

~~CLXI~~ Vol. 2 Chap 5 160

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

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

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

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

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

~~CLXII~~ Vol 2 Chap 5. 161

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

~~CXLIII~~ ~~CLIII~~ [163] ~~CLXIII~~† Vol 2 Chap 5 162

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

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

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

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

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

~~CLXIV~~ ~~164~~ Vol 2 C. 5 163

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

~~CLXV~~ ~~CLXV~~‡ Vol . 2 Chap 5 164

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

~~CLXVI~~ ~~CLXVI~~ Vol 2 C5 165

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

~~CLVII CLXVII~~ Vol 2 C 5. 166

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

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

~~CLVII CLXVIII~~ Vol 2 Chap 5 167

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

~~CLIX CLXIX~~ Vol. 2 C 5 168

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

* "in" no doubt intended here.

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

~~CLCC~~ Vol 2 C 5 169

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ The operator or manager of a commercial wharf.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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see overleaf[‡]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

***** See note on the other side

[verso of the preceding]

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

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

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

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

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

‡ See above, I, 134.

§ Psalm 46: 10.

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

~~CLXIII CLXXIII~~ Vol 2– Chap 5 172

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

~~CLXIV CLXXIV~~ Vol 2 Chap 5 173

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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***** see note next page

[new unnumbered page]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[†] Probably meant to be struck through.

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

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

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

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

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

* Dissenter.

† 1 Corinthians 10: 12.

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

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

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

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

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

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

[new unnumbered page]

note

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

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

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

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

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

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Chapter Eighteen (Volume Two, Chapter Six)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ Sister-in-law, Sarah Waldo.

** King's Chapel burying ground.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> "Often, very often, in dreams, have I hailed his presence with joy – often delighted at the idea of his taking his place at the head of the family again but accompanied usually with the disappointed feeling that no interest was taken by him in our concerns – 'I was once, but am no longer of you' seemed to be the language of a mysterious abstraction and indifference to the affairs of what was once home ...."

† Obvious error for "sympathizing."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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* Surely "Why I did *not* go out" was intended.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[†] Luke 13: 1-5.

[‡] Two or more words lost to chipping here.

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

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

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

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

* Probably something like "as *might* aid" was intended.

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

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insolvent, and the money as collected being lodged in Mr Amorys hands, who at my request became one of the sureties on the probate on condition of keeping the Funds till distributed, my mother derived some benefit from the interest – The children continued to go to school, as usual, and as far as worldly affairs were to be consider'd, the kind providence of God, permitted them to be much better than any of us deserved –
But yet the distressing circumstances of my fathers death were always present to the family, especially to my poor mother, who being constantly in the house, where he had lived and died, naturally associated his memory with every object around her – Giving way to a vivid imagination, I would as has been said, sometimes fancy, that it was a mistake that he was dead, that the body I saw was not his, that he got into some vessell and had gone to a distant land, from which in due season he would revisit his family – then came up the sad reality, and hope was extinct – not so however in dreams, in which as I believe I have before stated

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

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

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

In both these cases

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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* Ephesians 6: 4.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Before this period my acquain-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[‡] Fayetteville, NC.

[§] Hannah Loring Winslow.

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escort home –

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Above, I, 113.

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

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

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

[verso of the preceding]§ 199** Vol 2 Chap 6

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

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

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

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

‡ No doubt the first "is" should have been deleted.

§ Almost certainly meant to be struck through.

** Page number in red ink.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‡ Inserted via caret, evidently in error.

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

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

†† Mentioned already above, II, 186.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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* Probably "this *is* an engagement" intended.

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

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

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

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

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

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

[*] Written in brown over "209" in red ink. Such corrections continue until II, 247.

[†] Misspelling of "Carlyle."

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

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

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

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

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

*désabusé.

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

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

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

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

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

† An archaic sense meaning *start*.

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Chapter Nineteen (Volume Two, Chapter Seven)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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* Málaga.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† Misspelling of "berth."

‡ The early form of *hollering*.

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

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

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

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

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

† Little headway on account of the strong east wind.

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

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

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

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

["]

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

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

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for yourself more duty love and esteem than can be expressed by Your truly affect Son – IW["]
Capt Heysell, was much disappointed in finding on the arrival of our ship at Lisbon, that Col[l] Humphries had sailed for, America a month or two before, so that his inflated anticipations of the glory which was to accrue to him, for his who man a tay (humanity) were all dissipated, and he had only to deliver his cargo, at Alicante in the Mediterranean, for which place the St Marcus saild from Lisbon after about a fortnights detention –
The supply of fresh fish at Lisbon is, I should judge, of the greatest variety of any place in the world – I remember at a dinner party given on board Capt Perry's‡ ship (father of the present Perry's in the navy,) where were principally Portugese,–and being in Lent time – fish only was on table – that article was presented with the greatest variety of cookery – boiled stewed baked fricasseed, pies,– pickled, in vinegar – oil –&c –
We had quite an agreeable passage from Lisbon to Alicante, I think of only 10 or 12 days and old Heysell was less overbearing, than he had been

[written sideways bottom to top at left-hand margin]
sailed from Lisbon 20 March 1795 – 24th at night went through the Streights§ 29th arr[d] at Alic[t]]

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

* Misspelling of "ceiled," meaning *having a ceiling*.

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

‡ Christopher Raymond Perry (1761–1818).

§ Strait (of Gibraltar).

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

†† Several species of plants that, until the 19th Century, were the primary source of soda ash or sodium carbonate, which is important in the production of glass.

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almonds, brandy, and wine to England and Ireland – yet, there were, eight or ten families, on the most, intimate footing with each other; rarely an evening that they were not together at their respective houses – Such social meetings in Spain are called Tertullias* – They assemble together without the least ceremony give their guests nothing but iced water, and if the master or mistress is engaged, they leave the party to amuse themselves, and may be absent the whole evening, without its being thought neglectful

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to their company – But the foreigners rarely mix with the Spaniards, though they adopt many of their customs – There were more Irish than English there, and they kept up, to its fullest extent the old fashion of dining together, and drinking to an excess, which I believe in the result did me good – for being absolutely compelled to drink, and hence in a few cases completely intoxicated, its subsequent effects in that climate were such, that I really got a disgust, to wine, and though more at home at Alicante, than in any other place I was at abroad – I could not, regret, the getting away from bumper toasts, and six hour sessions at table –

When I was at first at Alicante, I was invited to the house of Mr Montgomery American consul, where I staid during the time I was there. Both he and his wife, were Irish.–. She looked a good deal like Betsy Le Cain† only taller and thinner, quite a smart intelligent woman – He a little monkey faced man, and as it struck me, rather a cunning one – I ought not to have accepted their invitation, as I put my business into the hands of Mr Bell, whereas Montgomery no doubt expected it – But I was so young and inexperienced, and in Mr Amory's counting

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house, I had no opportunity of acquiring any knowledge of foreign trade, nor of its usages, in foreign ports or, I should have known, that the civility of the Montgomeries, was probably founded on the expectation of my giving them the business of the ship, or rather her cargo – If I had possessed such knowledge (to be acquired only in a house which carries on foreign trade on its own account) I might have managed the concern better for myself and the parties interested.

After selling the cargo of fish in Alicante I was near 2 months waiting for an opportunity to go to Italy with some sugar and nankines[?],‡ prohibited in Spain, and which finally succeeded in finding, and left, Alicante for Genoa the 17 May An old letter to my mother, dated at the latter place which is in my possession, will better show my feelings at that time, than can now be done from recollection

"My dear and honord mother – You see by the date, that I am getting further from you, but I hope this will only verify the truth of the old proverb "The furthest way round is the nearest way home"§ nor shall I at all regret finding myself on the way to America, for "home

* *Tertulia*, roughly equivalent to a "salon."

† Below, IV, 101.

‡ Possibly a misspelling of *nankeen(s). OED:* "A kind of pale yellowish cloth, originally made at Nanking from a yellow variety of cotton, but subsequently manufactured from ordinary cotton which is then dyed; more fully nankeen cloth."

§ Meaning that while taking the most care and time with a task may seem to delay its completion, a quick fix may in the end prove untimely and more costly.

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is home"* – The truth of this plain saying I have felt abundantly verified, since I have been abroad. If travellers feel like me, there is one benefit in seeing the world, which is that one likes his own country the better – I am afraid that you will

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not think this is the case with me from the general run of my letters, full of my observations and adventures, and that I am so eager in the pursuit of novelty, I quite forget the domestic circle, I love so well, and have been so happy in, but notwithstanding, I assure you many of my most pleasant hours are passed in imaginary visits at home, and anticipations of again having the pleasure of seeing you well and happy. As I feel how eagerly, I should receive accounts of every particular which concerns you all, so on the other hand I think my little affairs and observations will not be uninteresting. I shall therefore proceed to give you a kind of journal since leaving Alicante – We left that place the 19 of May, and I had the pleasure of finding myself a passenger amongst Ten others, consisting of 4 French – two Maltese, a Turk and his negro servant, and Irish gentleman, which including the Captain and crew, we could count 13 or 14 different nations on board.– The passengers were crowded in a small cabin of 12 or 14 feet square, & to crown all we had a tedious passage of 21 days, having principally calms on the passage" Here follows

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a description of the fine appearance which Genoa makes from the sea, with its numerous, villas on the slope of the mountain on which it stands, its clean but narrow streets – except 3 or 4 streets of palaces the dresses of the females, white veils or mezzaro, (but black veils worn by the nobility) fondness of the Genoese, for being in the Streets, and at the numerous, Coffee houses, &c – all, which would take too much space to recapitulate

["]I find as much party spirit here; as with us. – There are numbers of French emigrants as well as republicans in the city – The Genoese, are, generally inclined to the latter – we yesterday heard of the death of the Dauphin of France, some say by poison, but more believe it a natural death["]† –

The letter expresses hopes that something may be made by the voyager, tho' the fish did not sell well.– and, that "I may have it in my power to be more of service to you than if I remain'd at home, for be assured my dear mama, that this idea had great weight with me in accepting the voyage, for though it is a pleasant circumstance to be abroad at this time of life, and to see something of the world before fixing down for life, yet for these reasons only I

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could not have consented, to have left you in your peculiar situation, when I might have been of service in helping to keep off those difficulties which the loss of so dear and excellent a friend, as we have all been deprived of, subjects you and the family to. – but a

* Often rendered, "Home is home, though it be never so homely," and probably the basis for the 1823 song "Home Sweet Home."

† Louis XVII (1785–1795). He died on June 8.

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great alleviation to ones anxiety on this head is the excellent friend and companion you possess in my grandfather, who I sincerely hope is continued to you in health and spirits."*

The letter speaks of going to Leghorn† and Spain, and that I hoped to be at home in October.

"You do not know how much I should relish some information from home just now, tomorrow being 5 months since I left, Boston, or have heard a word from thence, this I know is owing to the circuitous voyage, I have made, and not to any neglect in writing, but still I feel it irksome to be left in such an anxious state of solicitude about my dear friends."

Some reminiscences occur connected with the voyage to Genoa, of a trifling character to be sure, but such as may amuse my daughter

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One was that being short of provisions, in a passage of 21 days normally performed in 5 or 6, and having a small bag of ground rice,‡ left of the stores which my mother had kindly provided at Boston, and there being a few eggs left onboard, I told the passengers I would make them an American pudding, so I mixed the raw rice – eggs, and sugar all together and had them boiled by the cook in a bag – We were all very hungry, and expected with anxiety "the American pudding" – It turned out as may be supposed a complete failure – Our fellow passenger the Turk (Saadi Muley-Osman) was a merchant of Constantinople then on his way to Marseilles – a fine liberal, well behaved man as I ever saw – He freely gave his own live stock, a sheep – some fowls &c. for the use of the passengers onboard – He treated his black servant – a good looking lad of 18 or 19, more like a child than a slave – To, employ, the heavy hours, which a calm always causes onboard ship, I undertook to run the heels§ of the only pair of silk stockings I had, for which my thoughtful mother had furnish'd materials before I left home – This job I thought I did with uncommon

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neatness and success, but, lo! when I sent them to be washed at Genoa, the heels came out, I having run the stitches too tight – The Genoese women, who sat with their work, about the streets, had a way of grafting silk stockings very neatly – The juncture was quite imperceptible, so a few shillings made all right again –

I used to play chequers a good deal with the Turk and could converse with him in broken Spanish Italian (lingua franca) as I had scarcely any beard at, 21, he used to ask me if Melaguins[?]** (americans) had no beards – He had mustachios on the upper lip only, which would reach nearly to the ear, of these he was very proud, and constantly kept pulling them, towards his ear – He and the Maltese could converse readily together in Arabic – He said the common language of Malta was, a corrupted arabic. I had letters to a Mr Heath of Genoa, a

* This odd turn of phrase was in fact conventional at least in New England and means Isaac hopes not just that his grandfather's health and spirits are good, but that the benefits therefrom continue in the household.

† Livorno.

‡ Rice flour.

§ *OED*: "To darn (the heel of a stocking) before wearing in order to strengthen it," typically with a heavier fabric such as felt or cotton.

** Probably Isaac's attempt to reproduce the Turk's pronunciation.

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very taciturn, and rather cold man – I think a Bachelor or widower – his brother Charles, had married a Swiss lady, and was civil enough, but also of a reserved disposition – I formed an acquaintance with a young Swiss, a relation of Mrs Heaths who was in their counting house, and these were all I knew

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in the populous city of Genoa – The visiting of its marble palaces – old paintings – churches, its arsenal, with an old Galley, I suppose over 100 years old, kept as a prison ship for, Turkish or Barbary Slaves, its Porto Franco,* or Bonding Warehouse, a very large and commodious structure, where, all the merchandise imported, was deposited, took up some of my time, of which I had enough to spare. Then the novelty of the scene – The antique gala costume of the Doge and Senators with their families, all nobles, the ladies with black veils – long trains with a page, constantly, bearing up the train, 5 or 6 servants and, a Sedan chair always following (There were no wheel carriages of any kind in Genoa) Then the costume of the common people, the women universally with white veils (Black being the privilege of the nobility), generally even the poorest, neatly and well dressed, all these new sights were objects of interest to such a novice as I then was – But after a week or two and having seen all I, could see, I began to grow tired – I was longing to hear from home, yet, there was no prospect of so doing, for no American vessells would venture

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above Malaga, (60 miles from Gibraltar) for fear of the Algerines. No American papers were to be seen and in short, I felt an isolated being in the world. – It was in this state that a Swiss gentleman who had heard me lament the want of news from home, invited me to his house to meet a party, one of whom was an American lady – I readily accepted the invitation full of eager expectation, but who should I find the American lady to be but a mulatto from the island of Haiti – a well dressed, well behaved woman, but alas not such an American as I had longed for –

I was in Genoa about a month, when I embarked in a felucca –(a long boat of 30 to 50 Tons with a large lateen† sail, one cabin below – but the passengers sleep on deck, and under the shade of a large awning, covering the whole deck of the vessell – the sides of which lift up by day but can be closed at night, when the passengers spread their mattresses and sleep – At that time the Felucca's generally, stopped at a port half way between Genoa and Leghorn, during the night – but seldom as I was told slept at home; after anchoring here one night, we made sail and arrived at Leghorn the next day. – There were, besides a few Italians, who

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might be called, steerage passengers, Two gentlemen besides myself who speaking English, soon after we got onboard, all the three took each other for English men, but all proved to be Americans. One was Mr Hall a native of Virginia the chaplain of the British factory at Leghorn – the other a Capt^{n} Cuyler, an officer in the British army,‡ who with many British and Spanish officers, passed through Genoa, on their way to Leghorn to embark from

* Free port.

† "latine" was written, but "lateen," the correct spelling has been lightly penciled in above.

‡ By "American," Isaac means born in America.

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thence to their respective destinations – Bonaparte had just then began his career as an officer of the artillery, and by his aid, enabled the French commander, at Toulon, to compel, the British and Spanish, to whom it had been deliver'd by the Royalists to evacuate the place – I found Capt Cuyler had been a schoolfellow with me at Mr Humphries School in New York, but I presume at the peace had been carried to England by his family – Mr Hall had been an episcopal, clergyman in Virginia but had also left there during the revolutionary war, and though there could be no community of feelings or conversation on, the recent circumstances

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of our common country, yet the very fact of our being fellow countrymen, gave me a sort of home feeling which I had not had for a long time – I did not see anything of Capt Cuyler after we arrived at Leghorn – but Mr Hall was very kind to me, and I was frequently at his house, and after my return to Boston I kept up a correspondence with him for many years, The Sulphur,* medals of antiquities, and the old bronze, lamps, Roman hatchet, and similar articles so long in the houses, but since lost or destroyed in our removals, were from Mr Hall.

My object in going to Leghorn was to obtain a vessell, for Boston, taking a small part of the Cargo at that place, and completing her lading in Spain. Tuscany, of which Leghorn is the principal Seaport, being then a neutral power, the port, like Lisbon, was filled with all the flags of Europe – The Danes and Swedes were neutral powers, and both having treaties with the Barbary powers, Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco, could safely navigate the Mediterranean – These powers however were always at war with the Italian States, their corsairs some-

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-times landing on the Coast, and making captures of such of the inhabitants, as they could lay hands on.

While looking round for a suitable vessell, I had an opportunity of visiting, Florence and Pisa, and becoming well acquainted, with the localities of Leghorn, but these are not interesting being comparatively a new city, and presenting none of the old associations which are connected with most of the Italian cities – It was built by Cosmo I – I think about the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th Century – It is a very regular well laid out place, with wide Streets, all at right angles – built on a sort of marsh, or level ground near the Arno – There is a great number of Jews in the place, who live in one particular quarter of the town, and have a very handsome Synagogue, built for them if I recollect right, by one of the Grand Dukes of Tuscany, but all religions are tolerated, though I think no protestant or other sect,† had public places of worship – The Episcopalians under Mr Hall used to assemble in a large hall.

Near the landing place from the inner harbor call'd Darsena, in a sort of Square, is a fine bronze group representing the Grand Duke, Ferdinand, with the figures of four African slaves, chained to the pedestal of the Statue, beautifully executed, and all

* Sulfur was commonly used to make moulds of objects with delicate relief.

† I.e., sects as opposed to the Roman Catholic Church.

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of colossal size: thought to be one of the best pieces of bronze statuary in Italy* – Pisa on the Arno 14 miles from Leghorn, with which it is connected by a canal, is an ancient city, the birthplace of Galileo. It was the head of the Pisan republic before 1400, and, then quite a commercial mart, with 150.000 thousand in habitants, and many vessells – Pisa, being only 5 miles, from the Sea, was probably a place of deposit and transit, for the flourishing commerce of Florence, as well as of the many little republics.(- often single cities only) in the neighborhood. But the commerce of Tuscany has been transfer'd to Leghorn, which has risen as Pisa has declined – In the former place, the inhabitants were estimated 60.000 to 70.000. – in the latter, when I was there, it was supposed the population was only 15 to 16.000. It is built on both sides the Arno, from which rise spacious quays, planted with trees, making a fine promenade – The houses though mostly deserted, were many of them almost palaces –.It is remarkable for its antique & curious burying ground or Campo Santo (surrounded on its four sides by – a sort of spacious cover'd arcade, the ground being said to have been brought from the holy land and for its hanging tower – a circular building, over 100 feet high, with galleries round every story – It was built in the year 1174† – and inclines 15 feet from a perpendicular – When I was on the top gallery, I felt as if my weight, would tottle‡ it down, and really got upon the other side as soon as I could – It is not known, whether it was designedly built so, or whether the foundations settled after it was built.

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Florence is about 60 miles from Leghorn, I joined a company going thither in a Coach, under the direction of a Vetturino, who, in Italy, for a given sum, contracts to take travellers from city to city – We set out, near Sunset – passing through Pisa, and the road leading through the vale of the Arno – of which however 7 or 8 hours of night prevented my seeing much, except for 2 or 3 hours, before we got to Florence – It would be too great, a digression from an autobiography, to give a detailed account, even from the few reminiscences which remain near, 50, years since, of the interesting objects which were then, and I presume are now, to be seen in Florence and the few other cities I have visited abroad – I shall therefore merely mention my visit to those places, without stating the particulars. These details are to be found much better than I could relate them in books of travels. Some of these, are even now, after such a lapse of time, so strongly impressed on my memory, that a description of them would take up more time and space, than I think expedient to allow in a work of this character. These recollections comprehend the Gallery of Florence, with its numerous statues and paintings – Venus of Medicis – group of Niobe and her children – Venus of Titian, Rubens, and paintings by all the great masters – The marble bridge over the Arno, with statues of the four seasons – The elegance of the public buildings and private palaces, the cleanliness of the Streets. – The style of the painting, statuary, and Architecture, which is displayed in all the best parts of the city – The view of Florence from a height in the gardens of the Palazzo, Pitti (built by a merchant of that name about the year 1450 or 1500, which ruined him, and the palace bought by the Grand Duke) and the vale of the Arno, in

* The monument is by Pietro Tacca (1577–1640) and is in the Piazza della Darsena.

† Construction began in 1173, but the tower was not completed until 1372. It is closer to 200 than 100 feet tall.

‡ *OED* recognizes *tottle* as a dialectical version of *topple*, but oddly only as an intransitive verb (perhaps because it was only as an intransitive that the editors ever encountered it?).

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which the city is built, with the four bridges over the river – These, I can only recapitulate, but not describe – The gallery of the Grand Duke, palace Pitti, and indeed all the other objects of curiosity, are here as elsewhere, always easily accessible to strangers – with the aid of a Cicerone or guide, and the strangers guide book, always to be found in every Italian city of note, a stranger is at home in a moment

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and thereby enabled not only to see the more prominent curiosities of the place, known to every one, but also many things, which but for the guide books, or, cicerone, he would never have heard of – My time only allowed me to pass three or four days in Florence, but I improved every moment of it having nothing else to do – I cannot help mentioning an object of great curiosity in the Cabinet of natural history, I mean the anatomical preparations in wax work colord like nature – These are deposited in one of the Grand dukes palaces bought by Leopold from the family of Torregiani* – There are 16 Chambers and two galleries in which the preparations are all scientifically arranged – In the lying in chamber are two full length figures of which the front part can be removed, shewing the natural position of the Lungs, heart & stomach and the, other upper and lower viscera – These are not opened for visitors in general – Besides these are sections of the body and members, as well diseased as sound, the smallest as well as the greatest, in every conceivable form, divided lengthwise, crosswise, oblique In short the most perfect exhibition of the anatomy of the human body which has ever existed – With Winslows anatomy† in my hand, I could have passed weeks there. As to the other objects of natural history in this gallery – Beasts, birds, insects reptiles, Seeds, flowers, woods, Gems – minerals, marbles – earths &c, it would take a volume to describe In viewing the anatomical preparations, nothing more forcibly brings to mind the truth of Scripture, that

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["]fearfully and wonderfully we are made"‡ – It was with much regret, that I was obliged to leave Florence after such a flying visit, but, as it was absolutely necessary that I should embark with all possible speed on my voyage to Spain, any longer stay would have been impracticable.

I had before this, engaged a Danish Brig Die Fem. Venner§ – (Anglice** the Five friends) for a voyage to Spain & Boston, and snatch'd the time, while she was taking onboard a small part of the cargo at Leghorn and preparing for sea to make the excursion to Florence, as has been mention'd.

It is curious to think, how exactly the hotel keepers, regulate themselves by the external appearance of their guests, those like myself who had no servant, and made no show, they consider quite common folks, and stow them any where, they can –

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* Misspelling of "Torrigani." The collection is housed in the former Palazzo Torrigani, which is near the Pitti Palace.

† No doubt Jacob Benignus Winsløw's *Exposition Anatomique de La Structure du Corps Humain* (1732). See above, II, 227.

‡ Psalm 139: 14.

§ Should be *De Fem Venner*.

** Latin for *in English*.

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In Genoa, and Florence, I was put into an upper chamber 4 or 5 stories high, and being then unused to high buildings, the looking out of the window almost made me dizzy, and fearful I might get up in my sleep, and jump out. In Florence, I was put into a kind of garrett, which the, heat of the sun on the roof in the day, made like an oven; and being in July* the atmosphere of these garrett rooms is

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almost intolerable – In Leghorn where they are used to commercial men, and not much to travellers of rank – I fared, better, at the hotel, where I staid, in regard to accommodations – I remember an incident at this hotel, which it may be amusing to my children to notice here – One day dining at the hotel, with a very full table, directly before me, was a piece of roast beef quite an uncommon dish in Italy, and of which as I so seldom saw it abroad, I had determined if only to remind me of home, to partake, but when I began to carve it plates came from one, and another for a piece, till it was gone (being only a small piece) and I had none for myself – a gentleman sitting by, told me in French or Italian – "I see young man, you have not travell'd much – in future when you, attempt at a table d'hote,† to help others, always help yourself first" – There was at the hotel where I lodged an Italian gentleman and his wife – both well dressed, well behaved people as it appeard to me – He called himself a count – the lady was a Venetian, and quite a handsome young woman – They were both very attentive to me, and in return, (as the lady expressed herself very fond of Oysters) – I invited

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this couple, and some other person, whom I do not now recollect, to go to the Casino, (on the edge of a canal or inlet of the sea, just outside the walls of the city, where only they are to be had) to an oyster Supper. The oysters were quite to the taste of the party, particularly the Venetian lady, and of course a supply was kept up as long as there was any demand. I had not taken the precaution to enquire the price, before I gave the invitation, I supposing the cost of them, could not be a great deal more than at home, but to my surprize when I came to settle for them, I found that every oyster costs 8 or 9 cents, and I was lugged in‡ for a bill of Twelve or fourteen dollars – an expense I could very ill afford.§ – It seems, the oysters come over from Corsica, and are kept with much expense at the Casino, near the Sea, and that hence, they are always a very dear article of food in Leghorn – Besides I presume, they were much dearer in June or July, when we had them, than in winter or Spring, the proper season for them.

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I afterwards heard, that this Italian Count and Countess, were supposed to be mere

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* "July" inserted via caret over six ellipsis points. Probably Isaac had to look back over his journal or correspondence to recall the exact month.

† Isaac uses this phrase in its original sense: *OED*: "A shared table for diners at a hotel, restaurant, tavern, etc., at which a set menu is served at a stated time." Only in the nineteenth century did it come to mean "A meal consisting of a set menu at a fixed price."

‡ *Webster's 3rd Unabridged* records an obsolete meaning of *lug*, "to take out one's money or purse," so possibly the sense here is something like "I was forced to pay out." Or perhaps Isaac just means to say he'd been *dragged* in to having to pay more than he'd expected.

§ Current value using Consumer Price Index and/or the GDP Deflator would be about $220.

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adventurers, that the latter had been on the Stage in Venice, and it was thought was not the wife of the so called Count – Whether this surmise was true or not I never ascertaind, but such adventurers are very common in the great cities of Europe.
On Monday 25 Aug[t] 1795, I left Leghorn in the before mention'd Danish Brig five friends, with a ballast of wine, oil Brimstone[*] &c, bound to Barcelona in Spain, there to take in Brandy Wine which had been previously orderd there – we arrived safely after a passage of 9 days, but had the mortification of being kept onboard in quarantine 9 days longer not because there was the smallest cause for it Leghorn being perfectly healthy and none sick on board but as was said, on account of a jealousy existing between the health officers of the two places – Both were equally particular in their observation of the quarantine laws, but in this case – the delay was equally absurd

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and oppressive – – Barcelona is a handsome and well built town – and a very old one, said to have been built 230 years before Christ – It has manufactures of Cloth and Silk – very superior firearms and Cannon are also made here – It is not however within my plan to give a description of the places I visited – This is to be found more at length in a rough journal I kept while abroad – The Brig sailed the 13th from Reus,[‡] (the shipping port of brandy and wine) near Tarragona, and I followed by land on the 19th, four or five of us together Spaniards – English Irish &c all on mules – each mule having a moso[§] or a driver, so that we made quite a party – our mules caparisond with saddles &c, all in the most ancient Spanish style – There are some fine views on this rout, and several grand lofty briges connecting one mountain with another, half way up, so as to avoid the steep ascents and descents to the valley – Tarragona is a very old town, and it is said that the part of the wall yet standing, though much decayd was built by the Romans. It is distant as near as I recollect 60 to 70 miles from Barcelona and 9 or 10

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from Reus the great mart for Catalonia brandy and wine. This is an inland town of 8 or 10 000 inhabitants, and 5 miles north of Salou the place of shipment The latter place has no inhabitants or at least only a few straggling huts for the accomodation of the waggoners who bring the brandy from Reus, and a few laborers engaged in shipping that and wine – we were detained 11 days at Salou where I expected we should be only 3 or 4, and thus did not arrive at Alicante where the cargo was to be completed for Boston till the 9th of October At Alicante I was received with much kindness by my old friends, and took up my quarters with Mr Bell. – Here again I was delay'd by the non arrival of a parcel of raisins from Denia, which I expected to find actually in Alicante, but which owing to various circumstances were not received till the 20th of October – We were thus enabled to sail on the 24th of that month – but the various delays had

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[*] Sulfur, which in this period was used, as we have seen, in the making of moulds, in some furniture manufacture, in the manufacture of gunpowder, and has in addition medicinal uses.

[†] The page numbers in red ink that began at II, 210, here end. This page number has been corrected (originally it was 244, but was in brown ink), but beginning with the page following, the original page numbers evidently were correct.

[‡] Not quite 60 miles south west of Barcelona along the coast.

[§] Probably *mozo*, meaning a boy, is meant. The term is applied to various menial servants.

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much discouraged me, as I had anticipated being at home in all October – whereas, it was hardly possible we could pass Gibraltar till after Nov 1 – and thus come on our coast at midwinter – I did not therefore from my anxiety to get home enjoy this second visit at all. – But how greatly was this anxiety encreased, when, only a few days out I think after a, smart, westerly gale, with a heavy sea, it was found that the Five friends had sprung a leak, which rather encreasing before we got as far down as Malaga, we were compelld to put into that port for examination – Capt Jacobsen was afraid to undertake a winter passage to Boston, when the vessell was in such a state as to render constant pumping necessary – nothing to be sure could be objected to this, nor was it in my province to raise objections, because a Shipmaster only is the judge of the necessity of making a Port, but so disappointed and annoyed was I at this further delay, that I am sure, had the decision been left to me, I should have prefer'd assuming the risk of continuing the voyage – But the alternative of putting into Malaga was finally adopted. After an examination by ship masters and other proper persons, their opinion was that the Cargo must be taken out in order to a further examination, and thus to me, the previous labor & care in loading the vessell

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at three different ports appeared to me to be all lost, and what I had anticipated seeing done at home, I was obliged to oversee done at another place – The whole was obliged to be discharged in order to try the sheathing and caulking. We left Malaga the 6th of December after a most unfortunate detention of 32 days from the 4 of Novr – but did not get through the Straits of Gibraltar till the 12th of December, thus having before us, what from the time of leaving Leghorn I had been most solicitous to avoid, a winter voyage, at the very worst season of the year, in an old vessell, whose leak, though in a less degree than when in the mediterranean continued during the whole voyage. – We run down the trades as far south as 22°,* and though we had very tempestuous weather for several days, after leaving Gibraltar, yet from Christmas day, when we made Madeira, we had fair winds and pleasant weather, till we got off Bermuda. – On this voyage Capt Jacobsen being several days confined below, by the gout, so that he could not come on deck, and the mate, a

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~~247~~) a relation of the owner, being quite ignorant navigation, I thought it necessary to learn how to take an observation, and to work the ships reckoning, and this I continued afterwards till our arrival. – The Captain finally got, to consider it necessary to consult me how he should lay his course, as well as on some branches of practical navigation of which I was entirely ignorant – This probably arose from a sort of feeling that he being an entire a stranger, and I as it were, at home when we got off the coast, I ought to know, a good deal more of the localities of the Coast – whereas in fact on this point both were equally ignorant – when, we were off Bermuda after a fine run from Madeira, we found variable winds, and the longest swell of the sea from N W to S E, that I had ever seen, I should judge a mile from the top of one wave to another, so that the wind being at the same time light, when in the two seas, the vessell was quite becalmed, and the sails flapping, till she mounted another wave.

* Therefore almost 400 miles south of the Canaries and roughly at the same latitude as Cuba.

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~~248~~ – I now trace back my narrative in order to extract from 2 letters of mine to my mother, dated in Malaga Nov 17 and December 6.

"Our detention at this place is peculiarly unfortunate, as by this time Nov 17, I had hoped to have been half ways across the Atlantic. I send an order on Mr Amory for 100 or 200 dollars,* and hope this little matter may serve you till I get home, which I still hope may be at the latter end of January or beginning of December, if we are fortunate in our passage. I do not think I ever said sung or said so often the words of our old Song Katy Cruel.†

O that I was where I would be
Then would I be where I am not
But where I am there I must be
Because where I would be I cannot.

I judge you, will not find it difficult to divine where I would be, I am sure I am tired enough of where I have been, and am – Dec. 6 . I wrote you by a vessell which saild lately for New York with an order to Mr Amory to advance you $200. – I hope this vessell may may arrive early in the winter that you may get the money

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~~249~~) in Season – I hate to think it may be necessary, yet I fear it may. – I hope you will apply to your necessities any money, which may go through your hands, rather than suffer yourself to want any thing which be assured, I will cheerfully repay. – It seems to me almost impossible that I should have been already so long from home – When – I think of it as I left it and dwell upon the many happy little occurrences which memory so fondly brings to view, and which hope flatters me are again to be renewd, I anticipate the joy all of us would feel at meeting after so long an absence, and feel, an indescribable pleasure, though embitterd a little by the anxious apprehensions of a heart which I hope, will never cease to love a now only parent, with the sympathetic warmth it ought" ["]with affectionate love to all at home believe me my dear mother with unabated love and esteem, your affectionate son.["]

I return now to the voyage from, Malaga to Boston, and find in an old journal, the following extract

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dated ["]Dec 31, 1795 – Lat 26.26. Long 352.8 from the Canaries.‡ – Thus finishes the year in which period I have seen more of the world, than in any within the short compass of my life["] (I was then near 22) ["]having to this place saild over 7000 miles of water, and in

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* $200 would be worth about $3,500 today.

† "Katie Cruel." The chorus is usually given thus: "Oh that I was where I would be, /Then I would be where I am not, /Here I am where I must be, /Go where I would, I can not." The song is of Scottish origin. A performance by Karen Dalton can be heard at http://www.npr.org/templates/player/mediaPlayer.html?action=1&t=1&islist=false&id=6488736&m=6488773 .

‡ Isaac is instead of measuring longitude as East or West (of Greenwich) measuring in degrees East not of the Meridian, but here of the Canaries, so 352 would be about our 24° W. This would put him about 370 miles WSW of the westernmost Canary Island.

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which my various excursions by land and water it has pleased God to keep me in health and bring me so far towards home in safety"
I do not find any journal of the sea voyage to Boston after Jany 6 1796 – according to recollection we were off Bermuda about Jany 20 – where the trade winds ceased and we found variable winds principally westerly, but one or two days got southerly winds which helped us well to the westward – but the wind soon chopped round NW, and were obliged to lie to, once we made the east end of Long island with a southerly wind, when a thick snow storm came on, that we could not reach the Vineyard, and that night the wind got to NW with a heavy gale, and we were a 2^{d} time blown off – We finally got into the Viney and about the 24 Feby, 80 days from Malaga and on our arrival found, that after all, we had not had

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255)* Vol 2 C 7
a longer passage from Europe, than many other merchant vessells, the winter on the coast having been a severe one and westerly winds constantly prevailing – There was no fire aboard except for cooking – the crew though Northern seamen sufferd extremely from the cold – we got short of provisions and water, and on the whole, the pumps being constantly agoing, had a very uncomfortable time, after we got on the American coast – I left the brig at the Viney and crossed the sound in a boat took a horse to Plymouth, and there got a conveyance to Boston – The meeting with my mother and family can better be imagin'd than described – I was more overcome with the joy of meeting, than I ever was before or since – I recollect the man, who brought me from Plymouth, and who was in the room waiting to be paid, seemed to be as much overcome by the mere power of sympathy, as were the parties more immediately interested – The anxious state of suspense I had been in for several months, both on account of the doubtful ability and seaworthiness of the vessell, and the disappointments in the course of the voyage,

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had caused a state of feeling to grow up, as if I should never see home again, which though only occasional was at times very strong – The contrast between this and the complete realization of my expectations and hopes was for the moment overpowering. –

* The final "5" probably written over a "1."

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Family Memorial

The Winslows of Boston

Isaac Winslow
Margaret Catherine Winslow

In Five Volumes

Volume III

Boston, Massachusetts
1837?-1873?

Transcribed and Edited by Robert Newsom
University of California, Irvine
2009-10

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Family Memorial 72 Pages

Vol 3d* Chap 1 to 3

1796 Feby to – 1800 –

I was abroad in Lisbon Alicante Genoa Leghorn Pisa Florence Barcelona in 1795 return'd home Feby 1796

May 1796 went to Europe again to Alicante and Naples – (winter of 1796 1797 at Naples) arriv'd home July 1797 —

Besides above 72 pages written
24 lv[?] . or 24 blank leaves†

[Written sideways bottom to top at left margin, possibly in a different hand]

complete

* There is no title page for the second volume, which may simply have been lost. The title pages for volumes I and II are written on the same rather poor quality paper, much browner than other ms. pages, though whether they were originally browner is unclear. It seems likely therefore that they were written at the same time and at the very end of the period of composition, possibly when Isaac had fallen ill at the end of his life.

† These last two lines appear also to be in Isaac's hand. His portion of the ms. ends in the middle of III, 72, where the continuation by his daughter begins, after his death in 1856, as she duly notes. If he made the notation about the blank leaves, then possibly he wrote this title page when he knew his work would be interrupted and at a moment when he had already gathered 24 blank pages ready to be written upon. If so, then his daughter may have decided to use those additional pages for her continuation, and her chapter 5 indeed ends at that point. But she then adds another chapter of twenty pages written on leaves of the same dimensions, though a much thinner stock. She subsequently continues her portion in bound lined volumes.

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Chapter Twenty (Volume Three, Chapter One)

His family's situation at his return; expensive to support them; his grandfather Davis and cousin ruined by the capture by the French of an uninsured vessel they owned – Political unrest in 1795 – Visits by relations – Letters from grandfather Davis to his son while Isaac is away and much wanted at home; about the sharp increase in rents; after Isaac's return anticipating his second Mediterranean voyage – Reasons for undertaking a second voyage – Isaac's rising position in society occasioned by success in business and his now being more conversant with trade in Italy than any other Boston merchant – Embarking with brother Tom – *The Five Friends* leaking again – Putting into Portland for repairs; the garboard strake – A distressed letter from his mother urging him not to undertake the voyage – A pleasant passage – Falling in with the *Betsy* of Boston, prize to a Tunisian Corsair (said to be a Scottish *renegado*) – Quarantine at Alicante – Setting sail for Naples, unaware that they were vulnerable to being seized by Algerians, being now at war with Denmark – Disappointed by the view in the Bay of Naples of Vesuvius – More quarantine – His Captain becoming increasingly ill tempered and abusive and probable reasons for this – Slackened demand for trade in Naples – Taking a house in Naples and housekeeping concerns; the cook and servants – Hairdressing by the Prince's barber – Contrast between European servants and those in England in America – Daily habits of Neapolitan businessmen – Neapolitans and their horses and equipages – The opera – Neapolitans do not mingle with foreigners – Passing his spare time in writing letters and keeping his journal – Only mentioning the locales of Naples, as interesting a city from the point of view of ancient history as any place except perhaps Rome and Jerusalem – Fears of French invasion – an unexpected visit from an old Boston friend just released by the Tunisians who had held him as a slave; he joins the Naples household – Politics in Rome and the French invasion prevent Isaac's hoped for visit there; mob violence and a shameful Treaty – Attending to business and preparations for the voyage home; his Cargo – Passage to Alicante; owing to fair winds following a gale that prevents their making anchor, not stopping at Gibraltar; St. Michael's in the Azores and not stopping there either – An uneventful further passage except for being detained by a pirate; Captain Neillsen's being overcome when Isaac is safely returned to the *St. Peter*.

1 **1796 arrival at Boston**[*] Vol 3 Chap 1.

I found on my arrival at home the family situated in all respects as I had left it – My grandfather and grandmother Davis were still with my mother, and my Brother Tom, who, had been written for to take my place, had arrived in Boston a month or two after I sailed in

[*] In red ink, as are all such subsequent annotations up through III, 5.

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Jany 1795, and had been with his mother ever since, but, all the time without employ – My brother John was engaged in writing in the office of my mother's uncle, Edward Davis, who then kept an insurance office in State Street – but received no pay – So that the family was a large and expensive one, as my grandfather was poor and I think could only pay my mother 80 $ for a year and half rent board of himself and wife – He, with his son, owned a new brig which was taken by the French at Martinique, with out Insurance, and this loss ruined both –

This year 1795 there was much political excitement in the country – The Federalists were in favor of the ratification of Jay's commercial treaty with England the antifederalists and democratic party opposed to it –

1795. Family } events 1795 } Vol 3 Chap 1.

2)

The contest between the parties was very bitter – on this occasion my grandfather, who had witnessed the tremendous power of mobs before the revolution, and who had taken such a decided stand in opposition to the revolutionists, was from his first arrival very much afraid of a renewal of these scenes. – He writes his son July 1795 "My fears are great of some confusion, a friends of ours advised me in such case not to be in Boston – a publication very lately has alarmed me as I have been obliquely pointed at. – I decline mentioning what it was., but it has led me to make up my mind to leave this place and get into quiet quarters, either in Connecticut, New York or Halifax, but on the 16 Augt his fears seem to have subsided in consequence of President Washingtons supposed opinion in favor of the ratification of the Treaty He mentions in this letter that "Cousin Jack and Joshua Winslow are here from Carolina." (Sons of parson Winslow) Mrs Malbone from Newport, Mrs Startin from New York, and speaks of many other relations, concluding, "Isaac has

3 **1796. Family events 1795** Vol. 3 Chap 1

gone to Italy, I think he will be at home next month I hope he will, he is much wanted. There is wild steerage – a grandparent not of much weight – advice lost in a manner["]* – and in a letter 24 Octob[r] 1795 to his son my grandfather Davis says "Isaac Winslow has not yet returned, I wish he was arrived, he is much wanted in the family, and the business of his fathers estate suffers from his absence." He speaks of flour being very high in 1795 (12 ½) wood 7$ Cord – other provisions also dear "Rents are getting enormously high – Joseph Russells house Atkinson Street 600 $ per yran† – The house Polly lives in raised to 200 $ per ann – Isaac is safe arrived and for his employer has done very well, he has cleared for himself 300£ He expects to go another voyage to Italy, and will probably sail about 1 May. – Polly["] (my mother) ["]has a large family to maintain – Thomas out of employ Jack writes at my brothers office on trial – Isaac

* Presumably he means broadly that the management of family business is directionless or vacillating, but I do not understand his point about the loss of advice unless it is just that he is not being listened to.

† Perhaps Isaac began with "yr" for "year," then switched to "an" for "annum, but failed to strike through the "yr."

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4. **1796. Obstacles to a second voyage** Vol .3 Chap 1.

is going another voyage to Alicante &c he takes Thomas with him, as he can find no employ here."*

It was indeed a great trial for me to make this second voyage, both on account of my mother, who from ill health and other causes, was little adapted to take charge of a family, principally too of sons, who required a good deal of looking after, Besides this as I was now of age, it was proper that, I should take the Guardianship of Aunt Patty and be qualified to manage my grandfather's estate, nominally under the control of my uncle Winniett, but really of myself. Besides then, it was very important to settle my fathers estate, and to adjust with his uncle Isaac's heirs, the large and unsettled account with them of 15 years standing. All their concerns had been managed by me during my minority, as my uncle Winniett being very old, entirely declined to do any thing more than lend his name – This

5 **1796. obstacles to a second voyage** Vol 3 Chap 1 –

however was an essential benefit at that time, for having no family friends at my fathers death when I was only 19 – and being myself so inexperienced in estate business, without his assistance I know not what we should have done – I think however during the 2 months I was at home, I took out guardianship on Aunt Patty, but thought it on the whole, the least of two evils to make another voyage, taking my brother with me in hopes of getting him into some foreign house who might be willing to take him in order to that myself or friends might influence to them the American business† – Therefore making such hasty arrangements as the short time I was at home allowed, I again after being at home 10 weeks embark'd in the Five friends with a Cargo designd partly for Alicante and partly for Italy –

On my return home I was received with a good deal of kindness by Mr Amory Mr Sargent – McLean and others interested in the

6 my position in Society 1796.‡ Vol. 3 Chap 1 –

Cargo which was shipped principally by them – These, at that time were some of the principal merchants in town. Their notice and influence was of great advantage to me in a business point of view – The fact of having been to Italy as Supercargo, and therefore more conversant in the commerce of that country, than any other Bostonian, gave me more weight in Society than I should otherwise have had – The notice too of these gentlemen introduced me into general society, a position I should probably otherwise not have attained. Considering the different position in which my own family and our near connections were placed, (never mingling at all with those who consider'd themselves as the aristocracy of the day) – This gratified my prides, and I suppose circumstances afterwards, might have induced me to try to make myself of a class, to which except wealth I felt myself equal – But there

* Isaac is characteristically modest about his crucial importance to the family and his own successes, but quoting these letters of his grandfather lets him get the point across.

† Based on deletions and insertions as well as the context, I think Isaac meant to write, "taking my brother with me in hopes of getting him into some foreign house who might be willing to take him in order that myself or friends might be of influence to them in their American business."

‡ In brown ink, neatly printed and likewise the headline on the page following.

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was no time to carry into effect any such plans, if I had entertained them, for on the 4th of May 1796, I again left Boston taking with me my brother Thomas in the vessell before mention'd Capt Jacobson for Alicante & Naples – The putting into Malaga, the preceeding voyage and repairs there, did not prevent the leaking of the vessell afterwards

7 (Second voyage and disaster) Vol 3 Chap 1
afterwards on the homeward voyage: this circumstance and probably the wishes of the shippers in order to be able to make insurance, led the Captain to have his vessell thoroughly overhauled in Boston, caulked and sheathed – judge then of my disappointment when on the 8th of May after rather a heavy North East blow in which the ship labor'd a good deal – she again sprung a leak, and after encouraging the crew to keep on their course, (for they had got alarmed and wanted to put back at once,) two days longer, during which the crew were continually pumping, and begging the Captain to make a port, one man being sick and accordingly on the 11th May then 7 days out were ship and* stood back, to Boston, heavy hearted enough, but the wind heading us for the latter place we put into Portland the 17th May, and were here obliged entirely to unboard, and heave out the vessell, and found the cause of the leak to be that the garboard streak† had been left uncaulked

1796. put into } Vol. 3 Chap 1
8 **Portland }**‡
owing to the neglect of the Ship Carpenter, who had recaulked her in Boston, or possibly owing to the ice being frozen in the seams – I was very kindly received by my Cousins Mrs & Mrs Waldo; who made my brother and my self stay at their house, Mr Waldo putting me in the way of, discharging and storing the Cargo, in the cheapest and most expeditious manner – This being decided upon as necessary, there was nothing to be done but, to set it about at once, but yet so many delays took place, that it was the 27th June, before we had got our vessell, completely ready again for Sea – I could not bear to go to Boston, which I had ample time to do, being mortified though with no fault on my part, at this second, detention, that, I could not bear to see those whom I had left for a long voyage, after only a few days absence, besides which as Supercargo I thought it my duty to attend constantly and carefully to the business which had thus devolved on me

While here I received a letter from my dear mother full of surprize and anxiety, at hearing of us so soon

2) **1796. Letter from my mother}** Vol 3 Chap 1 –
wishing me not to go }
after we had left her – and "to find" as she says, in that letter May 21, 1796, "that you was in Portland and that your vessell had again sprung a leak – you don't know how anxious I feel, for you both,["] (myself and brother Thomas) ["]I wish you would give up the thoughts of going in that vessell – You know this is the third time, she has met with the like accident. Think my son how providential it was that you had it in your power to make a harbor, and having been twice in the same situation, I think it almost presumption to go on – I know you will say these are womanish fears, but my son my reply would be that a mothers anxiety

* Isaac has likely left out "cargo" here.

† The garboard strake (here misspelled) of a vessel is the external plank on a ship's hull next to the keel.

‡ The annotations now are back to being written in red ink.

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fears every thing. If after what I have said you are determin'd to go I must make myself as happy as I can. I have just received your letter of the 19th – In this you say you think you shall sail in 10 or 12 days – I felt so dull after reading your letter, that I could not help shedding Tears, when I think you are risquing your life for my comfort and that of the family – I can't keep reflecting, should any accident

10 **sailing from} Portland —}** Vol 3 Chap 1.

happen to you, that I ought to have discouraged your going when you first proposed it – But it is now too late – I will say no more upon a subject which will answer no purpose but to give you pain. My father has left me and taken a small house in Union Street, so as to be near the meeting house – Give my love to Mrs Waldo and thank her for her kind attention to you &c – That heaven may bless and proper* you is the ardent wish of your ever affectionate mother.["]

It was on this voyage I first began to Keep a regular Sea Journal, which far from making the Captain jealous, as is most always the case, when a passenger takes the reckoning at Sea, he seemed rather desirous of it, principally I suppose because he had little confidence in his mate – We had an easy, and pleasant passage enough, across the Atlantic to Gibraltar of 33 days, to the straights, meeting with no particular occurrence but the falling in with a small fleet of 25 or 30 Sail, bound to Newfoundland, under convoy of the Romney† 50 Guns, then 24 days from Torbay‡ –

Voyage Boston to Alicante Vol. 3 Chap 1.

11. **and falling in with the Betsy of Boston prize to the Tunisians**

we had a dull passage from Gibraltar to Alicante of 19 days with a fair wind (often done in 3 days) on this voyage a few days we arrived§ at Alicante we fell in with a Tunisian Corsair, having in company as a prize, a fine new American Ship, belonging to David Hinckley who was then on board – bound to Tunis behaved very well to us made us send him onboard a cask of water, and when he got it onboard pushed off with his prize. – The Capt who hailed us spoke very good English. He was said to be a Scotch renigado;** he detained us but a short time, and made no examination of our Mediterranean pass. – We arrived at Alicante the 19th †† but we were put into 5 days quarantine on account of our meeting with the Corsair – and happy to escape so. In all the Mediterranean ports the health laws are particularly severe against vessells from the opposite African Coast – Egypt, Syria, and if a vessell is boarded by a vessell from those parts she

* Probably "prosper" was intended.

† A Wikipedia article says *HMS Romney* was a 50-gun fourth rate ship of the line of the Royal Navy launched in 1708 and sold out of the navy in 1757. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/HMS_Romney_%281708%29 .

‡ A port on the eastern side of the Avalon Peninsula.

§ Perhaps "a few days before we arrived" was intended.

** Probably a misspelling of *renegado*.

†† Of August.

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12) **1796. at Alicante** Vol 3 C 1 –
becomes tainted in the view of the health office with the original infection. Sometimes, such are refused admission altogether —
After 19 days detention at Alicante (5 in quarantine) we set sail for Naples, not, then knowing that at that time the Algerians were capturing all the Danish vessells they met with – I had heard the day I left from cousin Samuel Winslow, that he had seen a newspaper report that war existed between these two powers – hearing nothing of this at Alicante, we undertook our voyage to Naples with much confidence, The following extract of a letter which among my old papers written by me to Mr Samuel Waldo – shows that we run considerable risque in our passage up to Naples and might have been captured by the Algerians, had it not been, for our detention in Portland – My letter to Mr Waldo is dated Naples Nov[r] 27,[*] 1796 .– "It was however fortunate,["] the deten-

12. Vol. 3 C 1. **1796. letter from Naples, and cap--ture of the Danes by the Algerians**

-tion at Portland) ["]for in the months of June and July, the Algerines stopd all Danish vessells they met with, and carried them into Algiers – The fact is that a Danish vessell with 300 Algerines onboard as passengers, was taken by a Neapolitan frigate, and brought into Naples –["] (war between the latter and Algiers, being then and now existing) – ["]On receiving intelligence of this capture, the Dey gave orders to his corsairs to seize all the Danish vessells, which they met with at sea – In consequence of this as is said, about 20 Danish vessells, were carried into Algiers.– The Danish government, then interfered and obliged the Neapolitan Government to give up the Algerines, which they had captured in the Danish vessell from Constantinople, and then the captured Danish vessells at Algiers released – But these on their arrival at their various ports of destination in the Mediterranean were compelled to perform 40 days quarantine – so that but for the detention at Portland, we should probably have paid

1796 – Alicante to Naples Vol. 3 C 1 . **Naples**

14—
a visit to Algiers, which would have, been productive of far more injury than our detention – The fish were indeed heated, and sold at a lower price but kept on board, 40 or 50 days longer might have been all spoiled – we had a tedious passage from Alicante to Naples of 27 days, and arrived at the latter place the 5th of October –

I was disappointed in the appearance of the bay of Naples, especially at the unexpected low appearance of Mount Vesuvius which I had anticipated being more imposing and lofty – It rises in a gradual slope from the sea shore, and is seen very distinctly in the clear atmosphere of Naples, 20 miles off – tho' one would judge it to be not more than 5 or 6 – This as well as other high land in the mediterranean appears very much nearer than it is. It did not strike me that the view of the city on entering from the bay, was as picturesque as that of Lisbon from the Tagus – or Genoa as it is approached from the West – nevertheless however, the islands lofty islands of Ischia & Caprea[†] in the bay, the towering appennines in the back ground – The city crested by the

[*] This was almost two months after Isaac's arrival at Naples.

[†] Misspelling of Capri.

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1796 – view of Naples} Vol 3 C 1 . Naples

15– bay & arrival there }

commanding eminence of Capo del Monte,* overtowering the whole city, and the continuous line of buildings on the seashore for many miles, make the view of Naples bay, a very interesting one, but as it is not my purpose at present to give a description of that city or its environs, I should go back to the time of our arrival in the bay the 5th of October – Having been visited by an English man of war, off Naples bay, we were put into quarantine for 14 days, of course did not land till the 19th or 20th of October. This was unfortunate because it prevented my doing any thing in the disposal of the cargo – and because after we left Alicante the Captain seemed to have become very ill temper'd, and even brutal. His conduct was at times to my brother and self almost intolerable. What was the cause of it I could never find out – probably because he suspected that I should endeavor to throw the charges of repairs and delay at Portland on the vessell, being caused not by stress of weather, but defect in the caulking – or else because

Capt. Jacobsens change Vol 3 C 1 Naples

16 of conduct 1796

I had my brother on board passage free, whereas tho' I had contracted when I charter'd the vessell that two might go, the voyage to America and back, he might think, I took advantage of this provision in the charter party. Probably however the former was the cause, as he knew my opinion that the cargo ought not to contribute for the expence, increasd at Portland, and probably I showed more of the feeling that such claim would be unjust, than I ought to have done. No doubt, it was in my mind combined, with what was always said of the northern freighting vessells that the masters always, contrived to get repairs sails &c partially at the expense of the cargo on board – Be the cause what it may, the effect was very disagreeable, as, we had no intercourse together for some weeks before we landed in Naples and being a rough uneducated man it seemed to give him pleasure to worry and even insult myself and brother, whenever he could – nothing

17. dulness of markets Vol. 3 C 1 Naples

at Naples – †

can be worse, than such feelings of enmity towards each other, and yet be cooped up together in the same small apartment, and always in each others presence –. Glad enough therefore were we to be set ashore in Naples.

Leghorn had been taken possession of by the French, the British merchants resident there had been all obliged to quit in haste, and the Port was blockaded by the English – hence the Cargoes destined for that place, generally found their way to Naples, and at that time several Cargoes of Colonial produce from the United States, principally in foreign bottoms,‡ were in Naples – This caused a slackend demand for Liquor Coffee &c, and finally a decline in price – We should have fared much better could we have sold on arrival, at the nominal prices then current – but they proved to be nominal only –- The buyers in Naples

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* Capodimonte.

† "1796" written also in red ink between the first two lines of text at the left margin of this page.

‡ Here, the hull of a ship and therefore, via a common synecdoche, a ship as a whole.

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Peace between US} Vol 3 Chap 1 Naples
18. & Barbary powers }

1796 purchasing only for the supply of consumers, and confining themselves to their immediate wants, it is quite impossible to force off articles as can usually be done in large marts of trade, at, some reduction from the going price – The American Government had this year made treaties with Tunis and Tripoli, but I believe not so soon as they did with Algiers, otherwise the ship Betsy Capt Hinckley would not, have been captured and made prize of as has been before related – Our pacific relations with the Barbary powers being known in Naples, made the holders of Colonial articles more desirous to sell, while the purchasers in Naples were in the same proportion unwilling to buy – Both foreseeing that in the course of the Winter, the Med[n]

19) housekeeping at Naples — Vol. 3. Chap 1. Naples

1796 would be filled with American vessells, which accordingly was the case, as several, such arrived at Naples in the course of the winter of 1796. 1797.

On our arrival at Naples we were advised to take what is called a house, that is a story or flat, of which there are usually 3 or 4 divided off into apartments one or two parlors, chambers more or fewer, according to the size of the house and a kitchen – Our friends that is the house* to whom we were consigned Degen & Schwartz, recommended us, to become house keepers as well as the cheapest, as the most comfortable mode of living especially where there were three of four together who, could divide the expences The family then consisted of my brother and self – Capt Trask of Gloucester,† and I think but am not certain that Mr Joseph W Alsop of Middletown Conn[t] and a Capt Stokes of Philadelphia made up the five who occupied the house – we had a cook, and two men servants – These at that time in Italy performed the work of chamber maids, as well as the duties of valets, or servants. The wages of the Cook if I recollect right was about 7 or 8 Ducats (6 or 7$ per month)

house keeping at } Vol. 3. Chap 1. Naples
20. Naples and Expences }

1796. and the men servants it appears to me 5 Ducats or 4$ a month – The Sum allow'd the cook for the purchase of provisions & fuel was 2 Ducats or 167‡ per day – This included, tea coffee sugar butter Bread meats & fruit for 8 Persons – Sometimes the 2 Ducats was not quite enough, to, defray his bill, which he brought in every day, written very fairly in Italian, and comprising a long list of each article wanted for house keeping, purchased every day in the smallest possible quantities, just enough for the day. I am convinced that in a large capital where articles are sold by such very small quantities, and just enough for the days supply and can be purchased daily, it is the cheapest way of living because in such way, nothing more is bought than is wanted, and nothing wasted – one could buy, a leg or wing of a Turkey or goose, as we buy a quarter of lamb or mutton – when we had company, we allowed the Cook a Ducat [(]84 cents[)] for each guest – The house we occupied was in a

* Here, business concern.

† Possibly Captain Israel Trask.

‡ Based on the stated equivalence on 1 ducat and 84 cents below, it appears Isaac meant to write "167 cents per day," though I am interpreting a symbol that he uses here and elsewhere as *per* and not *cents*: .

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very central position, near the Largo Dell Castello, or Castle Square, one of the greatest thoroughfares in Naples. The day after

21) **Gentleman Barber** Vol. 3 Chap 1 **Naples**

our arrival we had requested our friend Mr Schwartz who was a German, and then did nearly
1796 all the American business, to send us a hair dresser – Schwartz was himself a very dressy young man, fond of ingratiating himself with the great folks of Naples natives as well as strangers – and perhaps supposed we Americans, had the same desire, Be the cause what it may, I was called in from my chamber to receive a stranger enquiring for the Signori Americani. He was extremely well dressed, and quite gentlemanly in his manners – I begged him to be seated, and having previously noticed from my chamber window a very handsome carriage at the door – with 2 horses Coachman and a footman, I had concluded that the stranger was some great man, who wanted to make enquiries about, our country, or had some other important business with us – but I was soon undeceived, when he told me that he was hair dresser to the prince and that Mr Schwartz had done him the honor to recommend to him their excellencies the American Signori, and he should be happy to wait on them in

22. Vol. 3. Chap 1 —
Cook & Neapolitan servants*

the way of his profession. Not to disappoint him we submitted his operations the first day, but afterwards told our consignee Mr Schwartz, that a less distinguish'd (and no doubt a less expensive operator would better suit the positions and purses of American supercargoes – So our connection with the Princes barber ceased – Our cook was a family man, and did not sleep in the house, his business was only preparing the meals after which he was quite at liberty – He would have thought it derogatory to his dignity to have been asked to drop a note at any place as he passed along – we often met him on Sundays and feast days with his wife and children all very handsomely dressed, when any of us stopped to speak with him, he did not seem to consider it as any condescension, but spoke as easily and unaffected as he did in the house. I noticed this as well in Italy as in Spain & Portugal, that the servants and poorer classes generally, had not that uncomfortable, uneasy feeling, as if they felt degraded by their occupations, such as the English and American

23) **habits of living** Vol 3. Chap 2† **Naples**
1796 **and equipages of Naples**

sense of personal independence often creates, nor had they on the other hand that cringing servility, so disagreeable to an independent mind –

The habits of merchants and men of business in Naples then, was after taking a short breakfast and going to their respective places of business, in a sort of careless dishabille,‡ (appearing in the same dress even on the exchange) then return home, and dress themselves for dinner and the evening. – Every person of even decent means, keeps a horse, and those more, able, a Carriage and pair. Very many drive four horses and

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* In brown ink, though evidently meant as a headline or notation of the pages subjects.

† An error that Isaac has made on a few previous pages, but corrected. We are still in Ch. 1.

‡ An acceptable spelling at the time: *in a careless state of dress.*

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some six – The Carriages and harnesses are very handsome, and as has been have said, have from one to three footmen behind – I once saw one with five – The number of equipages to be met in every Street in Naples was prodigious – There is an especial display of these at the Carnival, in the great Toledo, Street, (I believe over a mile long) going up at a foot pace on one side of the street, and returning the other, each one

24.) Vol 3 Chap 1 –
1796 Naples. Show of, Equipages on the Carnivals
following as close as possible the one preceeding it – This exhition* of all the handsomest equipages in the city, collected together in a handsome and spacious street is very striking. When I was there it was thought rather vulgar for a man, to be seen walking in the Streets, but for a lady it was quite unheard of, that she should be seen in the streets on foot There are also, a vast many Calasa's[?]† or one horse chaises, which are, to be had at their various stands in the city. The drivers overpower you with "Your excellency" and their eagerness to get employ – The fares are very reasonable – From the great abundance of carriages & horses, as well public as private, there is a great, deal of riding in the city suburbs and adjacent country – after dinner, it was very common to ride a few miles at a slow pace, and return in season for the opera – For the opera, it was usual to take a season ticket; Families took a box; individuals a seat in

Theatres Naples Vol 3 Chap 1 Naples
25) in the parterre or pit, where each seat was a sort of chair, of which the seat turned up
1796 and locked to its back the owner of the season ticket kept the key – thus having his own seat at all times – most of the boxes had partitions, between them and the next box – and having blinds or screens to open or shut at pleasure, could and did often shut themselves in, so as not to be seen by the audience – Besides they could go out and in from the lobbies and to the adjoining Coffee houses, without making any disturbance, but, they never moved while the singing was going on – This would have been thought an insult to the audience –. When a new opera was got up, the scenery and costumes being costly, the same piece was played every night for three months – The first week the theatre was very full, and if the new Piece took, it continued to attract the public for a long time, and

Evening employments Vol 3 Chap 1 . Naples
26) and then got to be merely an evening lounge, where every body went, but which to
1796 foreigners became very tedious – to me particularly so – There is no intercourse of a social nature between foreigners and residents in any foreign place I have been in, both from difference of language and manners – Now and then one may be asked to a conversatione (where is no conversation) or a concert where there is still less – and where the most profound silence is observed by the audience – The Evenings therefore abroad are very dull, if one has not a party of his own or has not, other engagements – I had always however recourse in writing, which to the parties concerned in the cargo, or business or to various friends, took up a good deal of time in daylight as well as evening – Besides which the remarks, which were made on what I saw abroad, occupied some of my spare time to say nothing of the time which barely visiting

* No doubt "exhibition" was intended. The word is broken across two lines.

† There are carriages of this description in the Philippines called *Kalesas* or *Calesas*.

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27.) general remarks on } Vol 3. Chap 1. Naples
Naples ——— }
the curiosities in, and about Naples, requires.

1796 It is not, as has been said, my design to interweave in this family memorial a detached account of the objects of curiosity which attracted my attention at Naples and its vicinity – The remarks before refer'd to are now in existence, and if any of my children have, any curiosity to, peruse them, tho' the crude and hearty observations of hardly more than a boy, yet, they have some interest as made at the time – Be this as it may it would swell this work to too great an extent, and be adding to the already too digressive character of this family biography – I will just add therefore that Naples though not particularly interesting or beautiful, as a city yet connected, with its adjacent scenery Vesuvius, and the appennines – the bay and its islands, Pompeia, Herculaneum,

28) Environs of Naples } Vol 3 Chap 1 – Naples
remarks on——— }
Campania* where the ancient Capua stood with a valley (near a beautiful palace of the King of Naples called Caserta) supposed to be the ancient Caudine forks, where a Roman army under the Consuls were, caught in a ambuscade, and made to pass under the yoke, by Pontius general of the Samnites, about 300 years before Christ – These on the East side of Naples – on the west – the bay of Baia, with the remains of an ancient Roman mole or bridge, ruins of ancient Roman Villas and if our guide could be believed of Caesar & Cicero, Aggrippinas (mother of Nero) tomb – Ancient Temples, one or two in very tolerable preservation &c. I repeat therefore that Naples, were a traveller to be confined to one country only, is more interesting as connected with ancient history and reviving old associations than a similar area on the face of the globe, excepting perhaps Rome and Jerusalem – but as I have before said, intending not to describe the particular localities refer'd to, I here close that part of the subject – Great alarm prevailed in Naples lest the French, who had overrun the

29) Fears of French invasion Vol 3 Chap 1. Naples
1796 north of Italy, would also invade Naples. The apprehension of this, and especially of the disaffected feelings towards the Government, which the spread of revolutionary principles amongst the people, caused (aided by foreign emissaries, coming on various pretexts into the city,) had as we were told, led the government to establish a very extensive system of espionage – of this we were warned on our arrival, and cautiond to avoid any conversation on political subjects in company, as many, apparently gentlemen, were to be found, wherever there was any considerable assemblage of people either natives or foreigners, mingled in with the company. These were in fact government Spies – To what extent this was carried I know not, but, it had the effect entirely to prevent any conversation on politics in mixed companies, or when any Neapolitan was present; of course the subject of politics was never discussed in Neapolitan society as we were informed, on the contrary, the principal subject of conversation amongst the English and Americans, was, the progress of the French towards the South of Italy, and conjectures when they would reach Naples an apprehended consequence of French predomination very important to them . While I was at Naples, an old Boston acquaintance Edward Rand son of Dr Rand of Boston, unexpectedly

* The region of Italy of which Naples is the capital.

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made his appearance – It seems, he also as well as David Hinckley, had been taken and carried into Tunis, and was there when, the former arrived, From him we learnt many more details of the treatment which American prisoners received in Tunis, than we had before known. By his account all were much indebted to the interference of the French consul at Tunis for the amelioration of their condition as slaves. It was through the Consul that Rand obtained his liberty, and took passage for Sicily or Naples – At the latter place we invited him to join our establishment where he remained till an opportunity presented for his return to America –[*]

The State of political affairs in Italy entirely

1796 prevented going } Vol 3 Chap 1 – Naples
30 . to Rome —— }
prevented my going to Rome, as I had intended, Tho' with some difficulty, (thru the influence of the British Ambassador) Passports for Rome were obtained from the Neapolitan government, for some Americans who had gone to visit Rome, and I probably could have obtained one – but, the apprehension that the French would be in Naples, or that from other causes the property remaining under my care, would in my absence be left unprotected, and the American owners unrepresented, made me very unwillingly give up the plan – There was no personal risque to be apprehended, because as an American I was equally safe, where the French power prevailed as, in Naples – where it did not – and perhaps, the property under my Care, of which owing to the state of public affairs very little had been sold, would as American property, have been legally safe, as well in my absence as if I was present – but the fear whether I could obtain passports from Rome back to Naples, the little respect which the French paid to neutral rights, combined with the fact, that a good deal of property

31. French at Rome Vol. 3 C 1 . Naples 1796
belonging to those who were subjects of powers at war with France, did avail themselves of neutral protection, made me determine that it was my duty to remain with the property entrusted to my care – So I gave up, the long cherished determination and wish to visit the eternal city – The French under Bonaparte whose progress, to the north had been, somewhat delayd by the obstinate defence of Mantua, under the Austrian General Wurmser,[†] were enabled by the surrender of that fortress, about January 1797, to push on to Rome, to which they were in full march after having defeated, . the Roman forces, which had been sent out, to, defend, their territory – Previous to this it seems that about December 1796 a treaty of peace, had been hatched up between the King of Naples and the French, published in Naples Dec 12 of that year –. In Rome however the greatest danger existed, from the villainy of the lower classes of the Romans, deliverd for a time, from the curb of municipal law, who seeing the pope with his

[*] Blank space of several lines here.

[†] Dagobert Sigmund von Wurmser (1724-1797).

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32.) **Treaty of peace between French and Rome** Vol 3. C 1 . **Naples**

1797 carriages at the door ready to set of* for Naples, and the authorities of the city ready to flee, were prepared to commit all the excesses, which in despotic governments, the sudden withdrawal of the accustomed restraints of law and justice are sure to produce – Indeed such was actually the case in Rome for two or three days, when the police superintendance being suspended, many of the populace had begun the work of robbery, and even murder – This state of things was happily terminated, by a disgraceful treaty with France In which the pope stipulated to pay 30 millions of Livres, and give up to the enemy all his most valuable Statues, painting, and manuscripts –†

It had now got so late in the Season that it was impossible for me to go to Rome, as the business of the voyage so long delay'd, by adverse circumstances, required my immediate and unremitted attention, the Peace between, France and the Roman and Neapolitan powers, had given more confidence to buyers, and our Cargo, gradually went off – immediate preparations were therefore necessary to make up for the long delay I had experienced by a winter residence in Naples. I therefore took up

33) **Preparations for home and voyage and sailing** Vol 3 C 1 . **Voyage from Naples**

1797 a vessell, for our homeward voyage, and provided the part of our Cargo we were to take in at Naples This indeed had required time, as the silks comprising part of the Cargo were to be manufactured, the Brandy to be distilled – the oil bottles and cases to be made and packed, none of these articles being kept on hand in quantities for sale – To superintend this required my daily inspection, that the incidental operations were faithfully attended to – In March 1797, I therefore charterd the Swedish brig St. Peter at Naples for a voyage to Boston and back to the Mediterranean, and on the 26 March 1797, embarked onboard her with my brother Thomas, for Alicante, where we to touch‡ in order to complete our Cargo for Boston – we had 28 days passage to Alicante, arrived there the 14 April, and after completing our cargo, saild again 29 April for home, we had a tedious passage of 25 days to Gibraltar, the winds having been constantly west & north west, and very strong, occasionally with dead calms, ever since we sail'd and as we approached Gibraltar fell in with many vessells, who had had from 5 to 6 weeks passages from Italy, so that we lost nothing by going into Alicante – on the 23^{d} of May we put into Gibraltar bay, purposing to take a supply of water there

[written sideways in red ink bottom to top at left margin]
voyage Naples to Alicante & Gibraltar

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* An error no doubt for "off."

† The Roman Republic, operating under France, was created in the following year, on February 15, 1798. It was short-lived, however, and the Papal States were re-established in October the following year. And see below, III, 41-2.

‡ A few deleted words here after "where we" (probably "were to land") and "touch in order to" inserted via caret. No doubt "where we had to touch" was intended.

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34 **Voyage Alicante to Boston** Vol 3 C 1 –

1797 and accordingly ran up near the mole* and there anchored, but the gale had so encreased, and getting foul of another vessell and our anchors not holding – we were obliged to heave on them, and get the cables in, stand out of the bay into deep water – with the help of myself brother and all hands heaving at the windlass, we did not get them in till towards morning, when the wind blowing a gale from the Eastward as fair as it could be for us, bound for the Westward we concluded to avail ourselves of such a fine opportunity and stop at the western islands† for water, and not lose the only favorable wind we had had – We had a fine run of 10 days to St Michaels,‡ made a signal for a boat to come off, but after waiting for 4 or 6 hours, and none appearing, having also a fair wind, we thought it best to continue our course, economise out water, and try to fetch Boston with the stock we had – we arrived the 11 July being about 48 days from Gibraltar, without anything very remarkable except being stoppd on the Banks§ by an English armed brig letter of marque,** bound to England, who detained me on board his vessell 5 or 6 hours, indeed all night as a prisoner, while he sent a boats crew to our vessell which

[written sideways in red ink, bottom to top, at left margin]
boarded by a vessell which appeard piratical.

35 **Voyage, homewards and arrival –** Vol. 3 C 1.

1797 he insisted was good prize, and I really thought he would have taken possession, and carried the vessell to England – or rather I took him to be a pirate, from the looks of his vessell and crew –. but I fell in with his humor of singing and drinking, till he got pretty well soaked, then he got good humored, said I was a good fellow, but must give him some wine, raisins &c – sent me back onboard the St Peter – where I found his boats crew had already pillaged wine, raisins sails small stores, and every thing they could lay their hands on, and rejoiced were we to see him off with so little cost – Capt. Neillsen a fine, pleasant temper'd Swede, was so persuaded he was a pirate, that he was really overcome, hugged & kissed me (according to the custom of the Swedes) as if I had been his wife; telling me he had expected, they would have taken my life, and he never expected to see me again – He was one of the mildest and pleasantest Captains I ever sailed with, a young man of about my own age, and besides an excellent Shipmate and thorough Seaman.

[written in red ink sideways bottom to top at left margin]
supposed piratical vessell

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* *Webster's 3rd Unabridged:* "a mound or massive work formed of masonry and large stones or earth laid in the sea as a pier or breakwater."

† The Azores.

‡ São Miguel Island.

§ The Grand Banks, an extensive fishing ground about 100 miles south of Newfoundland running parallel to the coast for several hundred miles, though it is possible Isaac refers to banks further to the west and closer to Cape Cod.

** Government issued warrants authorizing private warships to search, capture, or sink ships of hostile nations. But since Britain and Sweden (or the U.S.) were not at this date adversaries, there would appear to be no justification for exercise of such a warrant under these circumstances, which is probably why Isaac will surmise that the ship is a pirate ship.

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Chapter Twenty-One (Volume Three, Chapter Two)

A less emotional homecoming than the last – A letter from his mother that he had received at Naples dated September 1796 – Little profit from the voyage, and he is not offered another though that would have been tempting as he has acquired a taste for voyaging – At last turning to the settlement of the various estates; he buys his father's distillery; compromises with the heirs of his great-uncle Isaac – The usefulness of having to deal with the complexities of estate law, probate, &c. – The French ascendancy over weaker European powers and the capture of numerous American ships leads to stagnation in commerce – His brothers' situations; concern for Thomas, who at the end of the year becomes Supercargo on a Swedish vessel bound for Marseilles – His sister Eliza one of the family – His cousin Eliza marries their cousin John Winslow son of Edward the clergyman; the match aunt Malbone had wished for her – Rage for theatricals – His mother's house; soaring rents – Yellow fever in Boston in 1798; deaths, including Mr. Samuel Waldo in Virginia.

36 – **Arrival in Boston and remarks** Vol 3 C. 2. [per. not cop. ?][*] **Boston**

1797 Though I was certainly rejoiced to find myself safe at home*****, yet I by no means, was so overcome, at, meeting my family and friends as, I had been on my first voyage – I had left, my mother more comfortably provided for than on the former, I was relieved from the anxiety of a winter passage, in an old vessell this passage being in summer time, in a very good vessell almost new, and a habit of absence had no doubt, become more familiar, so that the home sickness, which all young people feel, at first, had given way to more important considerations, and besides this my long stay in Naples and the increased intercourse under other flags with the Mediterranean, had enabled me to get recent information from home – In a letter of my mother 24 Sept 1796, she says "I hope 'ere this you have arrived in some safe port, for indeed I have not been a little anxious for you both, since you left Portland. I know it will give you pleasure to hear that we have all enjoyed health since you left us, indeed I judge from myself how much pleasure I should have in hearing from you. I hope you will be more successful in this voyage than you was so as to enable you to stay at home, you will say I have self interest in the wish, and I cannot but acknowledge that

[written sideways bottom to top at left margin]
Letter from my mother rec[d] at Naples ***** In July 1797. See note on back

[verso of the preceding]
Copy[†]

[*] An annotation in light pencil and neither clearly legible nor intelligible.

[†] Written lightly in pencil in a large hand.

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* note, when in the Bay, the weather was foggy, which gradually clearing up, discovered the town at 10 or 15 miles distant. The Captain pointing to the State house dome asked what that conspicuous object was – I could not tell him – It seems this building which I believe had been commenced about 1795 or 1796, had been completed at least externally in 1797.

Letter from my mother Vol 3 C. 2 **Boston**

37.) I have in some measure, as I am quite tired of the anxiety of the devolving on me,[*]
1797 combined with the difficulty of collecting monies &c Grubb does not pay his rent and I have been obliged to draw on Mr A for $50 and fear I shall be compelled to take more from the same quarter, I am loth to draw on you my dear Isaac, but what can I do? A large family to be supported and the means small, considering how expensive the necessaries of life are, now – Be assured my dear Isaac I live as saving as I can" – She mentions in this letter, Mr [L'Angier's? L'Augier's?] death (Son in law of her Aunt Minot) hopes some situation may be found for Thomas, and concluding with love to him signs ["]Your afect[e] mother MW["] The, markets for the articles of our Cargo I found on arrival were much depressed, and would not sell, – It was divided to the respective owners and my share was a long while selling, and finally

38) **little profit by the voyage** Vol 3. C 2 **Boston**

1797 at very little profit – In both cases the great delay abroad, brought me home both times at the wrong season – once in midwinter and again in midsummer – The expence of myself and brother for 6 months ashore abroad too was a heavy drawback on the Commissions, so that I made little or nothing this voyage, but I had acquired such a taste for voyaging, that I was very desirous to try it a third time, but whether the concern did not entirely approve of my management, or whether the chief owners wanted to get the place for a relation, who went out in the St. Peter to Europe I know not –-They did not make me the offer – If they had, I might have been tempted to go though I ought not – for the affairs of, the estate required immediate attention, Mr Otis the lawyer of the family,[†] had gone to Congress, and nothing was attended to,

39). **remain at home }** Vol. 3 C. 2. **Boston**
buy Distill house}

1797 so that without my personal attention neither my fathers estate nor that of his uncle Isaac could, be, settled – both being so intimately linked together – (Thus my foreign voyaging ended,[‡] not however without a wish for years afterward, when I saw a fine ship leaving the end of the Wharf, with fair wind and favorable prospect, without feeling a strong inclination to be one of the number on board.
Being obliged to take my Share of the homeward cargo from Napes, and consequently to sell it, I became in some measure establish'd in business immediately after my return, though I did not take a counting room till Jany 7 1798, at John Kennedy's Store No 47 Long Wharf –

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[*] Most likely a word following "the" left out here.

[†] Harrison Gray Otis (1765–1848). He was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1797, went on to be a Massachusetts Senator to the U.S. Congress and Boston's third mayor.

[‡] "1797" lightly in pencil above this.

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I immediately set to work to settle my fathers estate,)* by selling the Distill at Auction in Aug[t] 1797 which I bought myself at 3000 Doll[s] † as well as, another piece of estate, a farm in Hopkinton,‡ then made a compromise

[written in red ink sideways bottom to top at left margin]
desire to continue voyaging

40). **Settle Estate by com-promise —** } Vol 3 C. 2 **Boston**

1797. with the heirs of my great uncles estate, and I think in the course of the year, brought both these matters to a close, by a compromise first with the creditors of my fathers estate, so as to be at liberty to settle, with the aforenamed heirs – then began to collect the debts of old standing due principally to my grandfather Winslows estate, to pay a considerable amt due my Aunt Pollard, having at Mr Winiett's death which I think happened about this time, taken out administration on my grandfathers estate; (I had in March 1796 become guardian to Aunt Patty). The necessary attention to these estate concerns, with my own private business, occupied my time during the remainder of the year 1797, and by my staying at home (if I recollect right by the end of 1798) I had got through the most difficult part of the Estate business, that of settlement with my great Uncles estate and final liquidation with the creditors of my fathers estate – As to the Estates of my grandfather Winslow, Aunt Patty, and some minor concerns I had to

41. **early knowledge of Estates business usefull** - Vol 3. C 2 **Boston**

attend to – these were play work, compared with the other two estates –

1797. To have been introduced as early as I was, into the business of – the probate court, and acquiring a very considerable, knowledge, of the laws of descent, those regulating, Testate – intestate, and insolvent estates and the legal, practices incident to such laws, has proved thro' life of great advantage – The legal or proper disposition of the effects of a deceased person, is what, many, if not, most, individuals in Society are called on in the course of their lives, to take an interest in, and an imperfect acquaintance, such as an unprofessional§ man can attain by his own experience, on this subject, is better than none at all –

At that period the French directory were in power,** and their chief object seemed to be how the actual government and their generals could fill their pockets at the expence of other nations – The tributes which were, forced from Rome Venice, Germany, and probably the other weak states which the French armies, had taken forcible possession of, it was supposed, were directed from, the Treasury of the nation, to the purses of successfull generals, or grasping directors – The directory at this period authorized

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* Both the opening and closing parens are in light pencil and probably not meant to delineate an actual parenthesis.

† About $50,000 using the CPU.

‡ A small town about 30 mi. west of Boston.

§ Here meaning simply *not belonging to the profession* (of the law) as opposed to *not befitting a member of a profession.*

** See above, III, 31-2.

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[written sideways in red ink bottom to top at left margin, crossing the first word or two of lines of the page's text]
Political State

Early experience in Estate business beneficial

42) 3d Vol Chap 2

1797. the Capture of all American vessells on almost any frivolous pretext, and great numbers were accordingly captured and carried into the various ports of Spain and France, The places which were in possession of the French as well on the Atlantic, as in the Mediterranean, and west Indies, were filled with American prize vessells The Plunder from this source no doubt, went principally into the Pockets of the corrupt government which then ruled the destinies of France, Several if not most of the American vessells, which were bound home from the Mediterranean at the time we were coming down, were captured by French privateers, and carried into ports of Spain In about 4 months over 120 American vessells were captured by Corsairs, In fact, France might then be considerd as the universal plunderer of all the weaker powers, whom she was able to reach – This state of things combined with propositions then on foot for peace between England and France in 1797 – produced a great stagnation of business in the United States and throughout the commercial world –

The affairs of the family were much as they had been, when I left Boston the year before – My brother John had left the office of our great uncle, and was out of employ – Him therefore I

[written sideways in red ink bottom to top at left margin crossing first words in several lines of text]
American vessells Captured by French

43) Vol. 3. C 2

took into my counting room – My brother Benjamin, who being about 14 years old, was of the proper age to be put to some business, I got a place for, either in 1797 or 1798 at, Mr Luke Bakers shop in Cornhill. The others were younger and therefore kept at School. My brother Thomas next to me was the source of the greatest uneasiness, for being from a boy of an indolent habit of body and mind, at the same time fond of that sort of gay convivial company, where he could be perfectly at ease; business seemed to be quite a secondary consideration with him – Returning from abroad with me, without having attained the object for which he went, "obtaining a situation with some foreign merchant," was rather discouraging, and there was little prospect of obtaining a situation at home, but fortunately at the end of the year, I obtaind through Mr Amorys influence and kindness, a birth* for him as a sort of supercargo onboard a Swedish ship to Marseilles.– My sister Eliza, had become one of the family, her kind Aunt Atkinson having died in November 1796, leaving her some property

[written in red ink sideways bottom to top of left margin]
Situation of the family 1797-1798

* Misspelling of *berth*.

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44) Vol 3 . C 2
and charging her estate with the expences of EW's education till she was 18 – The former however got reduced to $800 which was, all as, Capital, realized from that quarter – amongst the alterations which I found on my arrival had taken place was the marriage of my Cousin Eliza Winslow daughter of my uncle Joshua with her cousin John, son of my uncle Edward the clergyman – This had taken place in the summer of 1796 – In a letter of mine to her at Fayette Ville, No Carolina dated Aug 4 1797, after congratulating her on her "change of condition though not of name," wishing to see her in her ["]matronly situation, and, desiring kind regards to her husband,["] I refer to sending her ["]a piece of silk brought from Naples by the bearer of this letter—"
This friend I never saw afterwards –. She died at Fayette on the Sunday before the 20 of Jany 1800 – of which more hereafter –
Aunt Malbone, with whom she resided after she left our family, was disappointed at this match having had in view for her a connection with a man of good property at Newport, a widower, whom however she would not have – Her cousin was not then

[written in red ink sideways bottom to top of left margin]
marriage of my 2 cousins John son of Edw[d] & Eliza daughter of Joshua

45). Vol 3 . C 2.
1798 a man of much property – tho he afterwards acquired a competence, and became a principal character in his own State, North Carolina – The brother and sister of Eliza Winslow Mr & Mrs Paiba, I found on my arrival in July 1797 were residents in New York, and I believed remained there some months or a year afterwards when they returned to England —— The rage for theatricals had become great in Boston and to rival the one in Federal Street, built about 1795 – an immense wooden structure, was got up, this year (1797) as a sort of opposition theater opposite the, Mall near Boylstone* Street.
In 1798, the family still continued in the small tenement corner of Lynde and Green Streets – It was inconvenient and too small for the us, † but at that time the population of the town was so much on the increase, that houses could not be had and besides the rents were advancing so‡ as to frighten people of narrow means – To pay $400 to $500§ for the rent of a house, when 200$ had heretofore been paid for the very best house in town

[written in red ink sideways bottom to top of left margin]
My mothers residence . Theatricals. Mr & Mrs Paiba

46 .) Vol 3 C 2
1798 seemed, enormous – we continued therefore in that house, till 1800 –
In the summer of 1798, the yellow fever prevailed in Boston. It made its first appearance near the town dock, then a receptacle for all the filth from the market, and adjacent streets,**

* Misspelling of "Boylston."

† written over a struck through "~~family~~." Isaac no doubt intended to delete "the" as well.

‡ In the decade 1790-1800 Boston's population increased by 36%.

§ A $500 annual rent would be equivalent to about a $750 monthly rent today calculated relative to the Consumer Price Index.

** See above, II, 180 and note on yellow fever.

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many conspicuous persons in town were suddenly carried off by it – Joseph Scott brother of Mrs Sam[l] Winslow – Rob[t] T. Paine a lawyer son of Judge Paine – a Mr Frazar of the house of Lane Son and Frazar of London – my mothers cousin Edward Davis son of her uncle, Edward Davis a Col[l] Bradlee, with some other persons of note – This caused such a general alarm that business of all kinds was nearly at a stand – many (almost all who were able) moved out into the country – . I took my mothers family out to Cambridge where we continued some weeks. – but came myself to town every day – This I think was the first time that this disorder

[written sideways in red ink bottom to top at left margin]
Deaths by yellow fever at Boston 1798

47.) Vol. 3 C 2
1798 had appeared in Boston, though it had before, been severely felt in New York & Philadelphia, no doubt apprehensions of a similar result, here was the cause of – the great alarm which existed in 1798 – In point of fact, comparatively few deaths took place during the 3 months it prevailed, if I recollect right – never more than 3 in 24 hours, and not over 100 to 130 deaths during the time of its continuance –
The husband of my early friend and almost sister Mr Sam[l] Waldo, whose business called him into Norfolk, Virginia in September of this year died there of this disorder. He was detained in Virginia to attend Court, where he had a law suit at Suffolk, and died of the yellow fever in September or October 1798 – In a letter of mine to the widow Dec 21, of that year I say "It could not be expected that so irreparable a loss as yours would be otherwise than severely felt – It is indeed great, and few are there of your friends, whose feelings are sufficiently acute to sympathize fully in your afflicting situation, There are still alleviating circumstances which should soothe the grief they cannot prevent. Your health and

[written sideways in red ink bottom to top at left margin]
not many deaths by yellow fever

48) **1798** Vol 3 C 2
existence ought to be doubly valuable on account of your children,* for whom we all know your affectionate anxiety .. anticipate my dear cousin, their one day becoming your solace and comfort, and you and they, will then remember their valuable parent, with pleasing, if melancholy recollections – For their sakes do not indulge your feelings, you have still many friends who love, and are interested for you – I know your brother feels a fraternal regard, and I think I do him no injustice, in saying that your cousin at least feels an equal one, and wishes always to viewed by you as a brother" – & &c–
["]PS my brother Thomas has just arrived from Philadelphia, after a long passage from Marseilles.
note. ~~I had through the influence of Mr Amory obtaind for this brother a situation as Supercargo of a Swedish vessell from Boston to Marseilles – The voyage was safely performed and he made as near as I recollect 6 or 800$ by it but~~ it ~~did not last long~~ . – ment[d]
Pa 50

* The Waldos children, not named in the Memorial, and all born in Portland, ME, were Samuel (1789-1829), Francis Wainright (1791-1836), William Tyng (1793-1844), and Sarah Erving (1796-1827). Mrs. Waldo died in 1826.

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[written sideways in red ink bottom to top at left margin]
Death of Mr Sam[l] Waldo at Suffolk Virg[a] *

* The last of the annotations in red ink.

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Chapter Twenty-Two (Volume Three, Chapter Three)

Omitted in the last chapter to notice the death from yellow fever of Mr. Rand, who might have been a suitable marriage partner for Isaac's first wife – The state of business necessitates Isaac's entering business on his own account; the problem of American vessels being seized abroad; the loss of a vessel on which Mr Gardner was supercargo (and never heard from again); France's role in impeding business; Brother Thomas – Their mother's declining health – Trips to Virginia, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York – Move to a house in Hawkins street – Turnaround in Isaac's business success – Aunt Patty's Providential increase in income aids the family; the state of her mind, habits, and manners – Business and social relations – Tragic death of Captain Chipman in Haiti – Isaac's standing in Boston society; religious reflections and considerations – Death of his cousin Eliza in North Carolina – His mother's relapse and unexpected death – Engagement to Margaret Blanchard – Reflections on Autobiography – His feelings on the death of his mother – His feelings about marriage; his mother had wanted him to marry Sukey Sparhawk; second thoughts about his engagement; the danger of his love of distinction in the world; religious considerations; Sandemanian ultra-Calvinist tenets on society, marriage, and children.

49. Vol 3 Chap 3.

1798
1799

Death of Barth[w] Rand by yellow fever of 1798. embarrassed state of foreign Trade 1798 to 1800 –[*]

In a sketch of the deaths by yellow fever of 1798 I forgot to notice that of my wife's cousin Mr B Rand – I do not know that he was engaged to my late wife – but they were quite intimate, and I always, there was, a mutual attachment, which might have terminated in marriage –[†]

My business which was, or was wished to be Commission business, was not profitable but having little of this I was in some measure necessitated to do business on my own account – Besides which the foreign commerce of the country, which had been owing to the carrying trade a very profitable one, was paralys'd by the general seizure of American vessells abroad in 1797, 98 & 99 causing Insurance to be so high as to deter shipments – It was during this period that I became interested in a small vessell & Cargo to the West Indies, with two neighboring merchants, making finally an outfit of 9000$ of which my share was 3000$.[‡] – The Supercargo a Mr Gardner sold the vessell and Cargo, never returned to the US. and this became a total loss. – Owing to French, depredations on our Commerce, and no satisfaction being obtainable from the Directory then in power the

[*] Headlines now in brown ink.

[†] An odd usage, though *Webster's 3rd Unabridged* recognizes the sense *to have an indicated outcome or result*. Still, it is hard to avoid the no doubt unintended implication that marriage would have ended the attachment. And Isaac has plainly also left out a necessary verb. Surely he wanted to say something like, "and I always felt there was a mutual attachment" between Mary and Benjamin. And see below, III, 113.

[‡] in excess of $50,000 early twenty-first century dollars (and the same amount he had used to buy his father's distillery).

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intercourse with France was for a time suspended and finally a quasi war between the countries, took place about 1799 or 1800 – – This state of things, added to the general Continental pacification in 1799, and Buonapartes singular letter to King George 3[d] of that year, offering a peace on certain

1799 (50)[50] Vol. 3. C. 3

terms prouduced in Europe as well as in other commercial countries a temporary stagnation in Trade – The Country had already suffer'd severely by the numerous captures of valuable American vessells & Cargoes in various parts of the world – entirely illegal as, no formal state of war existed – at least when the captures were principally made from 1796 to, 1799., and, on the part of France no declaration at all –[*]

After my brother Thomas[']s return in Dec[r]. 1798 from a voyage as Supercargo in a Swedish Ship to Marseilles which I had obtained for him, he was out of employ all the next year. By that voyage he had made about 1000$ – He cared little for money, yet was not expensive or extravagant in personal expenses – but fond making presents and treating his sisters & cousins with rides – parties sight seeing &c – like the sailor character, of expending while they have got it to spend – Besides this he was naturally indolent and had no tact[†] for what is called making business. Hating to see a young person of 23 or 24 in this position and in order to find him employ, I was induced to enter into a larger operation than I had yet been concerned in principally to help him. Accordingly with Mr Amory & Mr Hays, a ship of about 250 tons burthen was bought and loaded with a pretty valuable Cargo of fish Sugar Log wood & value over 20,000$[‡] for the Mediterranean. – I was foolish enough to arm her & have her commissioned as a letter of mark as others did at the time for fear of French privateers – She saild in the fall of the year 1799 – sold at Alicante, took a Cargo of Barilla & Brandy for Dublin – Salt & Crates from Liverpool – & She arrived safely back late of the summer of 1799[§] – making as far as I recollect for the owners a poor

51 Vol 3 C 3 .

1799. my brother Thomas – State of my mothers health—

though not a very losing voyage – my brother with his usual disregard to economy, travell'd about England – after dispatching the ship at Liverpool – staid long in London – lost his passage and passage money in one vessell for which he was too late, paid much a greater Sum for his passage in another vessel – and finally got home about a year after he sailed and after the death of our dear mother in October 1800. – Had he returned from Liverpool in the Mercury, I, estimated his gains would have been over $2000, but his expenses, abroad being deducted, I doubt if more than 700 to 800$ was left for him – But as this is anticipating my narrative, more of this hereafter –

In 1799, I took a journey to Norfolk on account of a lawsuit, in which the late Mr Waldo, claimed of a person in Virginia a large sum for the charter of a Ship – It was not decided however when I left – I then first visited New York, after 16 years absence Every thing about the place was quite familiar – I then first saw Philadelphia –

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[*] Written at the left margin at an oblique angle is what looks like "11-[20]." I have no idea what this means or refers to, if anything.

[†] Meaning here *feeling* or *skill*.

[‡] About $350,000 in today's dollars relative to the Consumer Price Index.

[§] An obvious mistake here as Isaac has her arriving back before she had sailed out.

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Baltimore & Norfolk, and was absent only about 3 weeks, or a month – saw in New York Mr & Mrs King my cousin Paiba & wife – Uncle Sparhawk & Children &c

My mother & family had from about 1794 to 1799, resided in a small house corner of Lynde & Green Streets, very inconvenient for a large family – In the fall of that year we, moved into a house in Hawkins Street* –

At that time my dear mother continued to be subject to a sort of epileptic fits, which seemed at once to deprive her of mental and corporeal powers. These however did not last long, but the more frequent recurrence of these, kept, weakening more & more, an already shatter'd constitution, so that at the time of our removal about August 1799 – as, we afterwards ascertained, she was much nearer her end, than we then supposed –

In this year I, had not been in business long enough to have become establishd or secure much emolument

52, Vol 3 Chap 3
1799 **My business Success. & Aunt Patty**

enough however to meet my own expenses, and those of the family which my poor mother's limited income would not, allow her to defray – Tho I did all I could in this matter it would have fallen far short of the required amount, necessary to support, in decent style, a family of 6 or 8 Individuals – but providentially my Aunt Patty's income which had been nearly nothing for 2 years before & 2 or 3 after my father's death being pledged to rebuild the Stores on the Long Wharf was cleared off about this time, so that in 1798 to 1799, it became a very ample one 700 or 800$ per ann – and her surviving sisters† having authorized me as her guardian to apply her Income to her support, adding thereto an allowance, for my own board to my mother – and added to this a small pension of 30£ Stg per year, part of which my father as a Loyalist had received for some years, all combined enabled the family to get along very comfortably – The minor expences, such as the expence of a music master for my Sister – French instruction – dancing &c for my younger brothers were defrayed by me –

Often have I reflected on the undeserved goodness of God which after the dreadful, blow, to the family in the death of my dear and lamented father, was evident in continuing in life and to a very advanced age – a poor imbecile aunt (who had by sickness when a child lost, her mental powers) whose pecuniary means was really the chief means of supporting his family, thus repaying to them most amply, the outlay for her expenses during several years when her

53. Vol 3 Chap 3.
1799 **Aunt Patty**

Income was little or nothing. This Aunt though weak in mind, totally unaware of the lapse of time, or any thing connected with numbers – was not entirely idiotic – Her affections were strong – her manners & habits good – her love to children & animals remarkable. She had not the smallest desire for distinction either in dress, or the exercise of any attractive power (being very good looking when young) Her manners and habits were correct – In company she never spoke – always waited till the table cloth was removed – drank wine with any who

* Very close by the distillery.

† Or possibly "sister." Isaac often concludes word with a little flourish that looks like an "s." In any event, aunt Patty (Martha) had at this point only one surviving sister, Catherine (aunt Malbone) comfortably married to a wealthy man.

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asked her and was in many respects a child of nature – Some bad habits she had such as appropriating and secreting almost any little thing which came in her way –

Her own immediate family would no doubt at any period of her life, have consider'd her death as a blessing thinking her continuance in life neither happy for herself or for others – Yet it pleased God that this humblest and least esteemed of all the family should outlive them all but one, and thus become, from her increased income the chief means of support, to the family of a brother otherwise nearly destitute –

Brought up with her from the age of 10 years old, in my fathers family and continuing to make part of mine till 1816[*] (38 years) I became strongly attached to her. For the last 15 years of her life, a woman was always kept to take care of her – of this grown child may it be affirmed with more certainty than in most cases that Because Christ liveth she will

54– Vol 3 C 3
1799. **Business and Social Relations**

live also – It was my wish to obtain Commission business, the principal part of was then derived from domestic sources, and, consisted mainly of Colonial produce imported into almost all the Ports of New England and sent to Boston or New York for Sale. This however required capital credit and influence, neither of which I had – Neither was I supported by any person of known credit, through whom, I could get a lift now and then – In that respect, I now think it was quite as well that I had not such an one to call on, having since observed, that those who are thus sustained by external aid often find it hard to keep above water when their corks are taken away – I began business by small foreign adventures – and this year began rather a promising trade to the island of Hayti[†] with a Captain Chipman a very, intelligent active shipmaster of Wellfleet – on his 2[d] return voyage just after getting out of Port he was killed by a boat full of armed negroes, who put off after the Schooner.[‡]

My position in Society was rather a singular one – As a merchant, then and for a century before consider'd as the first class, tho' as a young beginner of course, the least of the flock – still I belonged to the sheepfold – As regards what was considered the upper circle, from early introduction through my Cousin Eliza Winslow from 18 to 27,[§] I associated a good deal with those of that circle especially young men of my own age, and by degrees got introduced, tho' not extensively into general society – Perhaps I might have so done to a greater degree than I did, had I not been restrained by two considerations – The one that in the balls & large parties to which I was occasionally invited I seldom met a single relative – nor any of those

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[*] I. e., until her death at age 81.

[†] Haiti. But Isaac's is in fact the spelling that appears in the recently discovered Haitian declaration of independence (1804) recently discovered in the British National Archives. http://www.nytimes.com/2010/04/01/world/americas/01document.html?ref=world .

[‡] See Levi Whitman, *A sermon, preached at Wellfleet, March 9, 1800, on the Sabbath after the confirmation of the news of the death of Capt. William Chipman, who was inhumanly murdered by a party of Rigaud's pirates in the West-Indies. By Levi Whitman, A.M. Pastor of the church in Wellfleet.* Published at the expense of Adams' Lodge. (Boston: Printed by Manning & Loring, 1800).

[§] So from 1792 (the year before his father's death) to 1801 (the year of his marriage).

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55 Vol . 3. C 3
1799 **Business & Social Position**

whom I occasionally met, at, the North or South end Parties – and further both in the Clubs & parties of my own Sex, as well as those mixed, seeing none of those religiously educated – or of similar views of religion, the Self questioning often arose, why was I there? It is true the tenets of the Sandemanian Society allowd a far greater latitude in the participation of worldly amusements and associations than those of most of the other of the more rigid Sectarians permitted – Still however the more refined dissipation of what is called Genteel Society, and the grosser dissipation of the young men, the former enervating to the mind as is the latter too often both to mind & body is dangerous – That I was not more led away by either than I was is far less owing to internal principles of right being strong enough to resist those seductions than to counteracting circumstances, which I now believe to have been preventive mercies of Divine Providence – Into Scenes of grosser dissipation I was indeed only occasionally dragged in – These were disgusting rather than seducing –

External, not internal power, as it appears to me, was the cause of my preservation and to God be the glory – on the other hand great seclusion from the world has its dangers – In such case, we are apt to get an overweening conceit of our own, merits talents & advantages, to judge of men & things by a narrow scale, and to grow up into life ignorant of ourselves and of others – for the knowledge of both is intimately connected – Extremes in this as in most all other cases are to be, avoided. The temperate clime is between Frost and fire –

The second circumstance which made my

56. Vol 3. C . 3.
1799 **my position in Society.**

position singular was, the Strong attachment I felt to the religious views of the society in which I was brought up – There was evidently in them such a coincidence of faith & works – profession and practise – that though, fully agreeing in their views, as to the self deception of most professors of Christianity and therefore in little danger on this score (faith being the foundation on which they rested, and works scarcely ever spoken of) yet the excellent and self denying characters, belonging generally to all the members of the Society, could not fail as examples, to lead to the inference that the same faith which the Society ought* to produce the same characters – and hence as none of them or even their children, were at all in the same, circle, (which could not indeed have been expected, as most of them were brought up in a different line of life-) I could not but feel uneasy at being in a position where it was impossible the self denying principles of the Society, could have any scope – This no doubt prevented matrimonial connections which I was very well inclined to have formed, and which would have brought me into the circle of the elite, no doubt however combined strongly with this feeling, that I ought not, & could not leave my mother, and the children to themselves.

Myself & all the family continued to attend the meeting – at times, indeed going to the Episcopal church where my mother Blanchard went, but still with the idea that this like all others was merely a form of worldly religion –

* Evidently a word or several left out here. Isaac perhaps meant some thing like, "the same faith which the Society regarded as foundational ought to produce the same (excellent) characters."

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To return from this to the narrative of events, as near as recollected, or obtain'd from old letters in 1799. – This year is memorable as the one in which Gen Washington died – an event

57 Vol 3. C. 3.

1799 noticed in all parts of the Country with funeral orations, mock funerals, and ostentatious parade of every kind, which the worthy old man in his anticipations of death would himself have been as averse to as I was myself –

The year 1800 was usherd in by an event which affected me a good deal, the death of my cousin Eliza Winslow wife of her & my cousin John who died at his place of residence in Fayetteville No Carolina – She had made so long part of the family that I felt a fraternal regard for her – I subjoin a letter from Mr Eccles who had married her husbands Sister Lucy mentioning this event – after stating the inability of Mr John Winslow to write he says "Mrs W had been for some months in a low & feeble state of health – about the first of this month she was taken in labor & deliverd of a female infant, (this event hastend as supposed by a fright she received in crossing a creek on her way up to Wilmington) the Infant lived nearly two weeks, when she as well as could be expected – on the death of her infant her spirits were greatly depressed, and her weakness increased altho' no danger was apprehended till last Sunday, when she was attacked with a pain in the breast, a difficulty in swallowing and shortness of breath – She continued declining till Wednesday at 8 PM when she, surrender'd her pure spirit to the Giver of Life without a groan Jany 15" – dated Fayette Ville 20th January 1800 –

By this letter it appears, that a brother of her husbands Joshua Winslow whom I knew very well, had died a few months previously – an extract of a letter from her husband

58 Vol 3 C 3.

1800 **Death of my cousin Mrs EW**

in reply to a letter I wrote him, follows, dated April 18 1800 "Your truly affectionate letter of 20th February I had the satisfaction to receive – If any circumstance could relieve the pain I feel from reflection it would be the experience of a friend whom from experience of similar mournful & heavy dispensations of Divine Providence, has acquired & rightly exercisd of offering those objects of comfort to the mind, that has proved efficacious in allaying the excess of his own feelings* Your observations are founded in truth and offerd in the language of friendship – a language truly grateful in the hour of affliction – accept my sincere thanks" – speaks of his little Lucy, would like to move to his native state, but "the goods of fortune being scantily bestowd on your friend" a change is impossible &c Aunt Malbone in a letter from her 17 July 1800, with whom her niece had lived a long time mentions this want with great feeling "Our beloved Eliza is no more She died 15 Jan'y mother and child buried in one grave" &c

In June 1800 I made a short visit to my widowed friend & Cousin Mrs Waldo in Portland All this year my mother's health was declining the Spasmodic or epileptic fits increasing & force till October, when on the ,† she fell asleep – I hope in Jesus – During my previous journey to Portland she had had, as my brother John, says Jany 8 "a relapse or

* Another example of somebody's wayward syntax, though whether John's or Isaac's we cannot tell. My guess is that Isaac has slipped up in copying the letter.

† A blank here for a date that Isaac probably hoped later to fill in.

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repetition of her old disorder, and now lies in the same state of Lethargic stupor as, formerly" – and adds in a PS

59) Vol 3 C 3.

1800 that "Mama has revived, tho a little deranged" She had indeed got over this, so as to get down and attend to her family and in fact headed the table when 2 or 3 persons whom I had invited dined with us – so that finally her death was rather unexpected – my particular feelings at the time could only be pourtrayed by my own letters to others which I have not. I see on this occasion two or three to me – These I do not extract one, as in similar cases more credit is given than is deserved -- only one extract from a letter of Mr Jos King a member of the Sandemanian church husband of my cousin Isabella daughter of my uncle Edw[d] the clergyman – whom my father took into his family after her fathers death – Mr King says 24 Nov 1800, after some religious remarks "You have been very early called to act the Part of a father, and now the family looks up to you as their only support, and there is no doubt a blessing will attend your kindness to them" &c–

Buried with my mother was the newly born still born infant of Mrs Catherine Houston daughter of Mrs Blanchard,[*] who had been married in the early part of 1800 –

Her body was deposited in the Davis Tomb Chapel burying place, Gen Winslow[†] declining to let us deposit her in the Winslow tomb where my fathers remains were buried all our relatives especially Mrs Blanchard were very attentive to my mother in her last sickness, and her daughter Peggy or Margaret afterwards my wife,[‡] staid with my sister

60 Vol. 3 . C. 3

1800. **Engagement with my late wife, and autobiography.**

It was during this time that I became engaged to her, not having that I recollect previously thought seriously of marrying her or any one else –

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[*] I.e., Isaac's future sister-in-law.

[†] Probably John Winslow (1753-1819), who was a revolutionary soldier and became, according to an entry at http://famousamericans.net/johnwinslow/ a brigadier general of the Boston brigade in 1799. Isaac does not detail his relationship to the family, nor have I been able to ascertain it. He is mentioned in *Mayflower Heritage* (129, 131, 134), but identified merely as "*a* John Winslow" (my emphasis). How he came to be the person who decided which Winslows were eligible to be interred in the "Winslow Tomb" is a mystery, but probably stems from his having been one of the Sons of Liberty and his rise within the military and the Suffolk County political circle. Given the lack of genealogical information we have on this John, and given all that Isaac has said about the causes of the Revolution and the considerations of class relevant to them, it seems to me likely that this John was quite a distant cousin who belonged to a branch that had fallen in status sufficiently to make it susceptible to the appeal of revolution, in which case Isaac might have been forgiven any bitterness he felt in his mother's being excluded from internment with her late husband. But whatever bitterness he may have felt, he, characteristically, does not express.

It is, incidentally, quite wonderful how so many of the family were interred in the family tomb. The first John and his wife Mary Chilton Winslow are most likely buried there and then another four generations up to Isaac's father. Presumably others in other lines than the one from John and Mary that descends to Isaac are buried there too. But the tomb is, like others in the King's Chapel burying ground, quite small – a stone box perhaps four by eight feet and four feet high covered by a stone slab. I am aware of two dozen males directly descended from John (and who therefore bore the Winslow name) who might be considered to have been eligible for burial in the Winslow Tomb, although several of these, as we have seen, died outside of Boston.

[‡] That Isaac feels the need to explain who she is indicates—in spite of what he will claim on the following page—that he imagines a much wider and more distant audience than his daughter and other children, for all of whom such an explanation would of course have been unnecessary.

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An auto biography after the lapse of more than 40 years must unavoidably be deficient in conveying the traits of individual character, which principally interests us, and can be only obtained by the lights & shadows which a free unrestrained intimacy – enables the observer to notice, and note down before forgotten – No man can be his own biographer, and of those who write the biographies of others, few, very few, who not err on the one side or the other – and become either panegyrists or Revilers – Letters no doubt, especially domestic ones, give partially a Key to character, but imperfect compared with personal observation – The former of course, are not in my possession now and then I have met with an old one quite forgotten – In such case I have for the time felt like a third party, and in some degree seen in my former self another person. – In such cases a writer might sometimes quote himself – Generally speaking however we are too self ignorant or too self partial to be our own biography – As this is intended for the use of my children only, they must consider this as what I have called it at the beginning as a "family memorial" with slight sketches of those with whom I was more immediately connected –

61. Vol. 3. C 3 – **Feelings and events succeeding death of my mother**
1800- I have already noticed the rather sudden engagement with my late wife soon after my mothers death – Soon after this, Miss Sukey Sparhawk* made a short visit to my Sister Mary. I was pleased with her, and though I did not see enough of her, already engaged as I was to become particularly attached, yet hearing after my mothers death from my Sister Mary, that the former was very desirous I should marry Miss. S, and at that time – feeling much depressed in spirits, in parting from my mother – and being far from satisfied with myself, and others around me, so absorbed in worldly feelings – and knowing my own weakness in this particular – I certainly for a time regretted my engagement, and that I could not place myself in a position where the strength of religious principle in a wife would sustain my weakness† – not from any fondness for the frivolities of fashionable life – which I never had – my real danger was the love of distinction, which always craving more than it has, I felt to be so inimical to religious feeling, as to lead to a conflict I felt myself too weak to sustain – The society did not require that its members much less their children, should confine their marriage connections within so narrow a pale – but, yet, the fear of violating religious opinions & practises, or acquiescing in those I condemned, in order to please a wife – combined with a consciousness of the strong desire of the favor & approbation of man, which I had – and perhaps combined too with family circumstances & limited means – prevented my improving the opportunities which, without vanity I may say, fell in my

62 **views & Feelings in regard to the marriage State, and its connection with my religious views**
1800. way.

The religious Society of which my father was a member, was well known for many years before the revolution, as well, by the writings of its founder John Glas in Scotland 1737 to 1745 as, by the writings, preaching and successfull establishment of a Society in Boston, and also in Portsmouth & Connecticut from 1764 to 1766 – The leading tenet of

* See above, II, 76.

† Evidently Miss Sparhawk was, like many in her family, a Sandemanian, and Isaac's mother's wishes that he marry her reflected this. So Isaac here regrets, at least briefly, that his engagement will deprive him of the religious support of a Sandemanian spouse, the Blanchards not belonging to the Society. "Sustain my weakness" presumably means not uphold his weakness itself, but sustain Isaac in spite of or against the tendency of his weakness.

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this Society that Church & State religion,* was the anti Christ prophesied in the Scriptures – led to the inference that its doctrine, practises views and officers, were Antichristian – Hence his writings, bore particularly hard on the Clergy – whom he treated with the same, and perhaps greater acrimony than even Luther himself the Romish Hierarchy – Avowed Arminianism, though undoubtedly the tenet of many of the Clergy as well as of the laity both in England and America, was yet not a subject of much polemical discussion – as it has since been. The ministers of the Colonies, considering themselves as part of the congregational or (as it was for, 70 years) the dominant church, that is Calvinists – did not allow a silent difference of views on religion to produce a separation which however was very marked as regards, Episcopalians – Quakers and Baptists – Mr Sandemans artillery was directed against ministers of all denominations, whom he considerd "blind leaders of the blind["]† – leading in the broad way of self righteousness, their followers "a devout path to hell"‡ – Nothing could be more offensive than such language.

[verso of this page]§
62
1800 Vol 3. C.3
way – The society was well known as in Boston before the revolution, and in small places where it was establish'd that upon its revival after the revolution and my fathers death, it was not of importance enough, to be either favor'd or oppos'd

Vol 3 C 3
63. **Religious views & position of the**
1800 **Sandemanian Society in their Social relations**
Yet the truly Christian conduct of its professors – their humility, brotherly love, kindness to all men, whether in or out of the Society – conscientious obedience to law and order – practise of truth and justice in their intercourse with all men – industry – indifference to wealth and self denial where required, probably led even the clergy to consider Mr Sandeman & his followers as honest well meaning Enthusiasts rather than dangerous opponents – But the influence of the Clergy – and those under clerical influence; (diminishd after 1688, when William & Mary came to the throne, and a new and tolerant charter was granted to Massachusetts,) was still very great – The latter I say, could not easily stomach that the Gods of their idolatry –(for such certainly were the congregational ministers from 1630 to 1700) should be made out to be, but Idols of human manufacture – and hence combined with the prejudices natural to man against the appearance of a rival religious sect – the adherents of Mr Sandeman, few in number, were looked upon by society generally, with indifference, by the devout – with the dislike, natural to those, whose religion is thought a self deceiving or

* All churches but their own were regarded as "anti-Christian by the Sandemanians, but especially odious was a church or state that adopts or grants the established church powers normally belonging to the state and thus ignores Christ's teaching to "Render … unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's." (Matthew 22: 21) Such, from the Sandemanians' point of view, were both the Church of England and the Congregational Church in Massachusetts, which, at least under the first charter, was for all intents and purposes an established one.

† Matthew 15: 14.

‡ Robert Sandeman, *Letters On Theron And Aspasio, Addressed To The Author* (Boston: Weeks Jordan & Co., 1838), xviii (Preface to the Second Edition).

§ Evidently a first attempt and discarded, though never struck through.

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hypocritical one – by some a honest well meaning, but rather bigotted people – by most non professors from the coincidence of preaching with practise with approbation – but whose tenets they thought, were better adapted to die by, than live by – by all, as excellent worthy members of Society – many of their wives not themselves members were also bitterly opposed to the system – especially those whose notions of the proper identity or union of worldly religion with worldly respectability (in the present case antipodes) imbibed in early youth were sensibly shocked, at the great change from the fever heat of religious distinction, to the almost freezing point of religious contempt, some also felt the change from civil distinction in the world to the lower grade to which their husbands had with their families descended in consequence of the new religious connection – or what is the same thing, the decline in rank which they supposed their husbands had submitted to –

64. Vol. 3 C 3

Position of the Society in relation to their children

1800 But whatever might be the feelings of the near connections, not of the Society, as to their friends in it having lost caste as is usual in such cases, the feelings of the interested parties are stronger than they ought to be – if we do not cross the paths of others, they care not much what bye paths we take – A century before the clergy in all countries had power and those who crossed their paths, had to pay for their temerity, since 1700, their power was gone, and men were more generally judged by their character & connections than their religion –.

Mr Sandemans tenets and those of his followers were ultra Calvinistic –. His grand doctrine of Justification by faith, that of Scripture, as well as Luthers main pillar – The practises were different from any sect, more nearly that of the Quakers in Church government, and of the moravians in certain church practises – Self righteousness he considerd the very antipode of Justification by faith, and this he thought prevalent in a greater or lesser degree in all the various Sects of Christianity but his own –

A few pages back I noticed the influence of the religious system in which I was born & brought up, on my mind at the age of 26 – when I had serious thoughts of marriage, and what in this important change in the circumstances of life I ought to do – Before this however it is not amiss to mention the Societies mode of educating their child – premising, that no parents were ever more attached to their offspring, and none more desirous to promote their temporal, and especially their spiritual good –

65 **Position of the children of the Society** Vol 3

1800 Chap 3

Children in all countries, and under every system of religions false or true, unavoidably adopt the opinions of their parents – Truth to them is what their progenitors held to be truth – The rule of right is the same to all – The parents worship in the Synagogue, the mosque, the temple or the meeting house – They cannot err, they must be right think the children – and they too worship as did their fathers – So it must be, and so indeed it ought to be till at or near adult age – It is natural therefore that the children of the society should imbibe the opinions and follow the practises of their fathers – and this they did – for myself I can say that at the age of about 30 – perhaps later – I was as firm a believer in church infallibility, as any Romanist.

The members of the Society having no religious communion with those of other denominations all of whom they deemed antichristian, of course the children of each were only known to one another, as playmates or schoolmates only. The religious

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observances which the one party was brought up to believe as positive duties, such as catechisms, hearing sermons, lectures, attending prayer meetings &c – the other party were taught to believe were positive sins – The children of the Sandemanian Society not forbidden to associate with any other children naturally and unavoidably became companions intimate with the children of persons whom the religious and devout would consider as mere worldlings.

66 **Children of the Society** Vol 3. C 3

1800 These were however, good moral kindhearted and unaspiring people, though not professors of religion (The society carefully avoided exposing their children to any influence of an immoral or irreligious tendency, whether by conversation, books or bad company) They thought that the social intercommunion with worthy characters though nonprofessors, participating in the innocent enjoyments of youth was less dangerous to the children than religious intercommunion with those who were closely connected with antichristian societies, as they consider'd all others.

In this respect the Sandemanians resembled the Romanists – Thinking themselves the only true church, they necessarily think all dissenters from "mother Church" wrong, yet these* like the Society in question unreservedly mingle with those of all other persuasions in the varied interests, duties, business pursuits and even pleasures of life, at the same time carefully guarding their children from the most tender age against the contamination of heresy – as does the latter† against the leaven of anti Christianity – Both are equally firm in considering their own as the only true church – Both too have succeeded, in infusing into the minds of the children an ineradicable conviction, that the religion of each of them is from God – Yet it must not be

67 **Results of the Education of Children** Vol 3 C. 3

1800 – concealed, that while I have seldom known one individual brought up in the Society, who has not in heart adhered to its tenets, yet of none has so few of the children been united to it as church members – I impute this principally to the error in this and most others of the reformed Churches, that they do not, consider the children of Church members from their birth – as "Lambs of the flock" – in which as it appears to me, the primitive Christians did follow the example of the Jews, and so considerd their children – such is the case in all civil communities – and in such light only I think can the obligation of Baptism be, necessary, i e being as I think a public declaration by the Parents that they purpose to bring up the "children in the nurture & admonition of the Lord"‡ – As members of the Society they would be subjects of its discipline, after parental authority ceases, or was ineffectual. The young companions of the Society would easily be formed from its natural increase – They would intermarry, and like the Quakers their increase would be gradual but certain – The children of the Society were in the habit of mixing with companions, a majority of whom were not of it. They did not indeed easily lose the <u>effect</u> of the excellent <u>example</u> set them by their parents, nor the <u>attachment</u> to a simple form of worship in which God (at least

* All dissenters other than the Sandemanians.

† Members of "the Society in question," i.e., the Sandemanians.

‡ Ephesians 6: 4: "And, ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath: but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."

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appear'd to be worshipp'd in Spirit and in truth, but as I have already said, through life had a heartfelt

attachment to what they consider Genuine religion – But this intermingling with a majority of those who were brought up to the observance of no religious peculiarities, such as abstaining from Cards & games of chance – from giving tilles[?][*] to the Clergy – eating blood or strangled meats – (such as pigeons & Chickens generally be[?] killed) calling the Lords day Sabbath – never joining in any religion's service – requires a strength of mind and firmness of principle not to be expected from children – especially when it not unfrequently happen'd the children of the host, nay even the host himself knew not even what religion the parents of the guest was attach'd to, or if so nothing of its peculiarities – hence the children of the society acquired a timid wavering state of mind, prompting them on the one hand to do as others did, seeing nothing morally wrong in so doing – and on the other hand, though perhaps never commanded to adhere to the forms of their religion – seeing their parents & others of the society constantly practising them, and thus led to do what to them appeard wrong, or at least not right for the sake of avoiding the appearance of singularity. Christian courage and firmness, were thus undermined or destroyed. This could seldom have happen'd had the children have born[†] the relation to the Society which all children do to the civil community – I cannot stop to consider objections to what I think the Scriptural view of this matter

[*] Probably *titles* was intended.

[†] I. e., *borne*.

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Chapter Twenty-Three (Volume Three, Chapter Four)

Isaac's thoughts and considerations on marriage; the concern that husbands and wives be compatible religiously; marriage changes the whole course of a man's life; a dilemma: engaged to Miss Blanchard, a woman brought up in the world, but his mother and his own conscience incline to Miss Sparhawk brought up in the same religion as he: and the demands of a contract already entered into as peremptory as those of religious conscience; his earlier attachment to Catherine Blanchard, Margaret's sister, also a complicating circumstance; the sacredness of the marriage contract and the happiness of all the several persons involved leads to his decision, of which he has never repented; nothing could have proven more amiable than Margaret's religious conduct – Isaac arranges voyages for his brothers John and Tom – [CONTINUATION OF THE MEMORIAL BY ISAAC'S DAUGHTER, MARGARET CATHERINE WINSLOW, AFTER HIS DEATH IN 1856] – Margaret's Aunt Catherine's marriage to Mr John Houston of Tobago and how this came about; their spending the warm season in Nahant; a stillborn child – The Hawking St. residence – The Houstons depart for Tobago with Margaret's aunt Susan and Uncle Joshua Blanchard – Letters concerning his mother's death from Isaac to Mrs. Sarah Waldo; to Mrs. Malbone – Isaac's reflections on the death penned at the time; Margaret notes his religious convictions definite at an early age; her own reflections.

69. Vol. 3 Chap 4.

My considerations on marriage.

1800 The preceeding chapter contains a sketch of the views and position of the religious Society in which I was educated The exemplary conduct and self denial of a very dear father and others of the church could not but have a great effect on their children. Early taught in practise as well as theory to see a broad line of distinction between, the religion of Jesus, and national or popular religion, I could not but feel, myself out of place, in fashionable and frivolous society. It is true I was not a member of the society, and had I have been, that the going into company, or mixing with worldly Society not immoral, was freely permitted – yet with such, I never really felt at home – And after my mothers death, which revived the recollections of that of my father, and feeling then more powerfully than ever before – a sympathy for her feelings, which before her death, was perhaps less felt, because, my own feelings were so excited – I thought deeply of what course of life I ought conscientiously to pursue – not merely on my own account, but for the sake of those, to whom as eldest of the family, I should be looked up to as an example. Marriage is an event which generally determines a mans course of life – I knew if I married a woman (not of the Society) to whom I was strongly attached, and one who had been brought up and was fond of fashionable life, I could not resist the gratification of pleasing her perhaps, against my own conscience – I had known the unhappiness of marriages so circumstances* and in one case

* Surely *circumstanced* was intended.

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the absolute departure of the wife from her husband* – Even in regard to my Cousin Margaret B to whom I

70 Vol. 3 C 4 –
1800 my consideration on marriage.

was engaged, neither she nor any of the family, had known anything more of the Society, than that the family, always went, to their meeting – Nay as the Surviving Sisters of my father were always prejudiced against the Society from the first, and much more so after his death, supposing and perhaps not without cause, that it was in some measure to† the intercourse and remarks with one of that Society, whom he last, conversed with before his death – it was natural for me to believe my wife as one of the family and probably of their opinion, if she overlooked the partial connection I had with the Society when engaged, might feel, that my actual union with them after marriage, was a complete blight, of her expectations (natural to the young) before – Hence associating in imagination my position with others of the Society similarly situated – I anticipated rather an unfavorable result – The one party was, brought up in a worldly religion, in which a close adherence to its forms and acquisitions is creditable as well amongst its members, as the world – The other in a religion based on great self denial, which if valued by the Society, is either disregarded or even contemptible in the world – I was in a dilemma – on the one hand there was a young woman – agreeable in person face & manners, – recommended too by a departed mother (as I heard) habituated from early youth, to all that I had been brought up to myself – and of course as I had reason to believe, of the same religious views – on the other hand one of agreeable person & manners enough

71 Vol 3 C 4.
1800 considerations before marriage

of quick perceptions and fair understanding, yet whose religious views could not at all coincide with mine – nay worse, whose dislike of mine, might reasonably enough be expected to produce the unfavorable result of other similarly circumstanced marriages before mention'd – if conscience bade me, dissolve the engagement and take the former – its commands were equally peremptory, not to violate a solemn engagement – a contract from which neither could be freed but by mutual consent

As to feelings in regard to neither of the parties was the conflict so, trying as, might be expected I had become so attached to Catherine Blanchard‡ my wife's sister 2 years before my mothers death, when however it was out of my power to take a wife, that a renewed attachment to any one else was out of the question and between the time of my engagement and meeting Miss Sparhawk, only a few weeks had elapsed In the later case an acquaintance of a fortnight, was too short to produce any very strong attachment, even had I been unengaged – It was rather a conflict of conscience than of affections – the sacred nature of a marriage contract involving the happiness of the other party & her family (also my own most intimate relations –) made me decide to do as I did.

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* Probably Isaac is referring to the marriage of his grandfather Benjamin Davis to a Miss Whipple described above, I, 28-28 ½.

† Probably Isaac means "it was in some measure *owing* to" that last conversation.

‡ Catherine Pease Blanchard, who married John Houston.

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Nor did I ever repent of it, for in what interested me most, acquiescence in religious views my dear wife, was quite as easy and apparently more con-

72 **Voyages of Uncles** Vol 3. C 4. **Marriage of My Aunt Catherine**
1800 John & Tom **Blanchard.***

tented in going to meeting with me† and the children as they grew up – in her hospitality to those of the Society who came to the house – than she would have been to have continued in the habits of religion in which she had been brought up – Indeed nothing could be more amiable than her conduct in this matter –

In the fall of 1800, I chartered a vessell to the Mediterranean – in order to give my brother John who was then 21 his first outset‡ in life – I could put but a small part of a Cargo on board from lack of means, but had influence with several other merchants to fill up the vessel with a pretty valuable Cargo consign'd my brother – I think he sail'd after my mothers death, –§ and arrived home Oct 1801.

After Father's death 1856 MCW continues

Uncle Tom was abroad from Nov 1799 to the Spring of 1801 – first in the Mediterranean and then in England. Of course so was absent at the period of his mother's death.**

On the first day of January 1800 occurred the marriage of Mother's sister, Catherine or Kitty Pease Blanchard, (named for her Aunt Malbone)†† to John Houston of Tobago, a Scotchman by birth, but then in the employ of the English Ordinance

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* Headline notes in Margaret Catherine Winslow's hand (and written as if her being the first person).

† Though not a member, Isaac nevertheless continued to attend its meetings, perhaps still simply as a child of a (deceased) member and elder, though he is now well into his majority. It is not clear if at this point he had determined the question whether he would join. And clearly other nonmembers, such as his wife, were welcome to attend without formally becoming members. But see below, IV, 7-8, where Isaac is married in an Episcopal ceremony.

‡ Meaning *start*.

§ Isaac's ms. ends here. He had concluded with the kind of dash he most often uses to indicate a period, and his daughter, Margaret Catherine Winslow, has finished his sentence, writing her "and" over his dash/period. There is no way to know when Isaac actually stopped writing and how long that was before his death. I have suggested in a note to the title page of this volume (above III, 1) that he had gathered the 24 blank leaves noted on the title page and wrote the title page (and most likely that to the first volume as well) knowing he wasn't going to complete the volume or at least that work on it needed to be interrupted for a considerable period, or perhaps just feeling he needed a break, making the writing of the title pages a good idea, or at least a prudent one. The handwriting at the end of Isaac's ms., it may be noted, shows no signs of infirmity. The last time he had mentioned a date at which he was writing was in the second volume, and the latest date he mentions as the present time of writing is 1844. All we may therefore be sure of is that he composed the work from 1837 at least to 1844, but perhaps much longer. It may be significant that he ends his narrative at the very moment he has decided whom to marry.

In the meantime, his daughter had begun to keep a journal in a bound album of lined pages in January 1850 of her own. But only two months after that was begun, she experienced what she calls "four years' invalidism" (IV, 3), resuming her journal in August 1855. This start is again fitful and of uncertain purpose. For a few pages Margaret undertakes a review of family genealogy. There is an entry with an annotation that contains recollections from 1860 (IV, 5), followed by a page about Isaac's decease (though presumably written in 1860 or after. And only then does Margaret adopt her final plan, continuing her father's Memorial now in the bound journals, and she at that point takes up where she had left off in her continuation of the unbound pages of her father's portion.

** Isaac has already noted this trip and Tom's being away when their mother died (above, III, 50-1).

†† Whose first husband was Simon Pease.

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department, at that Island. My father had been accidentally introduced to him at Norfolk Virginia, when attending to Mr Waldo's affairs there, in the spring of 1799, and had introduced him to the family as a stranger in the country, to whom hospitable attentions would be agreeable. He became attracted by the fine appearance and conversational powers of my Grandfather Blanchard's second daughter, and she having been, as is supposed, disappointed in a former attachment,* and desirous to aid her family, who were far from wealthy, in fact at that time and for many years afterward, chiefly supported by the very moderate income remaining to my Great Grand mother Pollard, —

[written sideways bottom to top at left margin]
Continued by Margaret Catherine Winslow.
1856.

73 Vol 3 Chap 4 **Visits to Nahant .**

1800 accepted his addresses, and was united to him at her Father's house, as I have stated, Jan 1st 1800. They immediately went South on their wedding journey, probably as far as Norfolk, Va – & paid a visit to Aunt Malbone at Newport afterward returning to Mrs[?] Blanchard's house, they remained there till the ensuing summer, when they took lodgings at Nahant,† for the warm season. Nahant was then a very secluded place, a mere barren rock, with only three or four very ordinary lodging houses upon it: and I have heard my Mother say, that she used to ride down with a party of young folk, the girls dressed in dark calico frocks and deep sunbonnets, with stout leather shoes for scrambling over the rocks: – the young men had a costume appropriate for fishing which occupation they pursued for their dinner, adding to their prey such articles as the party had brought with them from town; for no Hotel luxuries were to be found then, any more than the other fashionable appendages of modern Nahant. But freedom, fun, and frolic more than compensated our Mothers and Grandmothers for the want of these, and very pleasant excursions they had to the rock bound peninsular. I presume a good many of these expeditions took place during the summer of Aunt Houston's residence there.

In the fall of this year, she returned to her Father's house in Brattle Square, where on or about the third of October, she gave birth to a dead daughter, which was, as has been mentioned, buried in the coffin with my Grandmother Winslow, who died on the same day in the Hawkins St house, and was interred in the Davis Tomb, Chapel Burying ground.

74 Vol 3 Chap 4 **Voyage to Tobago.**
Mr & Mrs Houston, Aunt Susan Blanchard
and Uncle J P Blanchard .

1800 To this Hawkins St house, my Father had removed his mother and family in September. Although shabby and old fashioned, it was more roomy and comfortable than the small house in Lynde St where they had previously lived. It was near Father's Distillery at the corner of Chardon St and not quite so far from his compting room on Long Wharf. It stood end of the street, facing a yard which divided it from the next house similarly situated and constructed. It was while my Mother was staying here, for a week or two, with my Aunt

* Presumably she means the attachment to her father that Isaac had told us about, above (III, 71).

† A small village located on a rocky peninsula in Massachusetts Bay, originally part of the town of Lynn. The name means "almost an island."

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Mary (afterward Hudgens) to console her for her Mother's death, that the engagement with my Father took place. She was to have sailed with Mr and Mrs Houston for Tobago, had not this event taken place. As it was, her sister Susan and brother Joshua* were substituted, and all left Boston November 1800 for that Island, where the latter remained for some years – and the three former, about a year and a half.– My Grandfather Blanchard was unfortunate in business, and glad to get an opportunity for my Uncle Joshua, his son, of being put in the way of employment, first for Mr Houston, and afterward for some American mercantile houses at Tobago.– But there, as well as subsequently in Havanna and elsewhere, he always seemed to have more work than pay;– Ever indefatigably adventurous, faithful, and painstaking in all his duties; but never gaining wealth or even a competency thereby,– much as his generous disinterested character deserved of all who employed him.

75 Vol 3. Chap 4 **Letters**

1800 The following letters from my Father to some of his friends during the year 1800, will shew the state of his mind at the period of his Mother's death better than it can now be described from any other source. The first is to his second cousin and much loved friend Mrs Sarah T Waldo of Portland, written four days after that event.

Boston Oct 7th 1800.

Before this, my dear cousin, you will have heard of the death of our dear and much lamented Mother, and I know your affectionate heart (experienced in the school of affliction as it is) will sympathize with us all in this afflicting dispensation of divine providence. We knew not half her value till she was taken from us, nor were sensible how much her happiness, (the little she ever experienced here below) lay in contributing to the comfort and pleasure of her children and those around her; nor how perfectly undisguised was every emotion, how unaffected every thought, word, and deed. I feel but illy prepared to give you any detail of the melancholy circumstances of her death, but will attempt it tho' with an aching heart,

About a fortnight before her death, she appeared uncommonly well, observed that she had left her complaint in the old house, walked out one afternoon and rode also once; till on Thursday week (a very cold day) she began to complain, and was quite unwell till Sunday night, when she appeared cheerful & chatty, although

76 Vol 3 . Chap 4 **Letters from my Father**
1800 **on his Mother's death.**

then abed; after which her senses were taken from her till an hour or two on Tuesday. A strong fever then came on, which carried her off on Friday evening. She died without much struggle, and her countenance after death appeared to be an evidence that her soul had ascended to the bosom of its Maker.

Mary was very much shocked, as neither she, (nor indeed any of her friends) had supposed her complaints so dangerous. However, I always felt alarmed when I found how ill she was through the summer, though I thought she might last a long time, I cant help wishing you had have come up with Mr Brimmer.† She was expecting you and had fitted up her room, &c. However it might have affected you too much.

* This is the Joshua Pollard Blanchard who devised a family tree of the Winslow family in 1810.

† Martin Brimmer (see above, I, 11).

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Mary unites with me in tender regards to you & yours, as does Jack, who is going away soon.

I am, with esteem & regard,

Yr aff^te^ cousin

I Winslow Jr."*

The next I shall transcribe, is a "copy of a letter to Mrs C Malbone dated Boston Oct 4, 1800." It was evidently written under strong excitement, and with all the sensibility which my dear Father really possessed, although this was not, I suspect, generally understood among his family and connections, owing to counteracting traits being more on the surface of his character, and partially concealing this one.

77 Vol 3. Chap 4. **Letter from my Father to his Aunt Malbone on occasion of his Mother's death.** Oct 4, 1800. He was 26; his Mother only 43 years of age, at her death

1800 My last, will, I hope, in some degree have prepared you for the dreadful news I have now to communicate; my heart sickens at the task, and I can scarcely summon spirits to tell you my dear Mother is no more. The inanimate corpse is all that remains of our much loved and truly lamented parent. The soul is, I hope and trust, reposed in the bosom of All merciful and All forgiving God. My heart is too full to give you the detail. I can only say generally, that being seized with another of her nervous turns (attended with a strong internal fever) she died on Friday evening 3^rd^ Oct, at 6 o'clock. On the Sabbath evening, we all passed the time in her chamber, when she was quite pleasant and chatty, after which I never saw any lucid interval. Mary says she had a short one on Tuesday, and conversed a little with her Although perhaps she did not then apprehend immediate death, it appears for several months she had given up all hopes of recovery. It came very sudden upon poor Mary, who seems ready to sink under it; she is indeed in the deepest affliction, and I much fear her health will be hurt; after the first bustle of the funeral it will be such a dreadful deprivation to her. — It has made a truly melancholy house, and requires a great deal of fortitude to bear up against it, which can come only from that Power who had taught to say "Thy will be done" to every dispensation of his Providence. I am dear Aunt, with affection and tenderness

Your afflicted nephew

IW

78 Vol 3 Chap 4 **(G mother Winslow's death**

1800 In this place it seems proper to introduce a paper in my Father's hand writing which commences as follows.

"The following reflexions were penned about the time of the death of my dear Mother.

"How inattentive or forgetful is man of the superintending power of a Deity! How little does his heart, swollen with the self sufficiency of pride, or borne away by the dissipation and vanities of a sensual age, own its dependence upon, or acknowledge the bounties of a God "whose tender mercies are all over his works."† The sun shines, the grass grows, the corn springs up, – man's countenance continues, animated with the glow of

* Note that even seven years after his father's death, Isaac still styles himself "Jr."

† "Tender mercies" is a phrase that appears repeatedly in the Psalms. The exact language used here is often attributed to George Mason (1725-92) in his will, though I have not located an authoritative source for this.

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health, his body nerved with the spring of strength; – but proud, unfeeling, ungrateful, unreflecting, he sees only the course of nature in the distribution and continuation of these blessings, and either forgets that Power by which he is every moment sustained or preserved, – or saith in his heart "There is no God." Yes, that man who trembles with apprehension at a finger-ache, who shudders at the approach of the slightest disease, – boldly denies the very existence of a God, or laughs at the idle tale of a future state. But not alone the professed Infidel, whose conscience continually opposes, and whose conduct perpetually falsifies his pretended unbelief, but the selfnamed Christian and accommodating Moralist, all as practically deny the superintending power of Providence. — Placed here amidst scenes of misery and wretchedness, witnesses every moment to the instability of life, and the uncertainty of its pursuits, yet we persevere in the prosecution of our deep laid designs, thinking all men mortal but ourselves.

One man falls, in the possession of Power,

79 Vol 3. Chap 4 **Reflections by my Father**

1800 titles, wealth and fame; Another follows, just as every prospect of human wishes brightens to his view. A third rushes unbidden into the presence of his Maker, in the act of gratifying his pride or revenge. These examples make no impression. We inquire only who succeeds to their honors or how their wealth is disposed of. Even the deaths of our near friends cause but a momentary impression: the first tumults of grief subside, and our minds are as unimproved, our hearts as unmoved as before."

It is evident, by these remarks, that my Father's mind had been seriously impressed from a very early age, although he himself did not realize the fact, always supposing that his religious feelings were not called into existence till much later in life. I think, however, that there is small reason to doubt the commencement of his Christian life to have taken place at the unhappy period of his beloved Father's decease, so feelingly described in the foregoing part of this Memoir. The foundation of his principles was probably laid by the example and instruction of that revered parent himself. But the sudden and distressing event of his death, with all its accompanying circumstances, was calculated* to make, and did evidently make a life long impression upon the mind of a, son, so truly and deeply attached to a Father, worthy and

80 Vol 3 . Chap 4 **& my own comments .**

1800 estimable in every respect as, by general consent, my Grandfather must have been; as indeed, all letters and family traditions which have come down to us, agree in representing him. To the very last period of his own life, my Father could never speak of this event without an emotion which shewed the powerful impression it must have exerted on him, and his mingled love, reverence and esteem for this cherished friend of his youth was never equalled in any subsequent connexion, however near and intimate. In fact, so great was the influence of this early bereavement and the awful manner of it, in correcting a temperament of strong & lively passions, and a social disposition peculiarly liable to worldly temptations, that the words, somewhat reversed, of an admired poet,**X** may not be too decided in their application, that

"God the father took, to save the son."†

* A somewhat unusual use of the word (but of which Margaret is quite fond) meaning *suited* or *adapted.*

† Thomas Parnell (1679-1718), *The Hermit*: "But God, to save the father, took the son."

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So terrible a dispensation has been mercifully spared his children, although all of the present generation, can remember how near we seemed to such an anguish. Yet, although our Father has been permitted to depart as "The Autumn fruit falls in its ripeness,"* and "the shock of corn in its season,"† the solemn lesson of death should no less remind us to set our affections, as he did, "on the things which are above."‡ Let not his own children be, in the last day, mournful witnesses to the truth of his remark at the early age of twenty seven, – "The first tumults of grief subside, and our minds are as improved, our hearts as unmoved as before."

X See Parnell's "Hermit."

* Unidentified.

† Job 5: 26: "Thou shalt come to thy grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in his season."

‡ Colossians 3: 2: "Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth."

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Chapter Twenty-Four (Volume Three, Chapter Five)

Letters from his brother Tom to Isaac and more about his character – Colonel Handfield of Dublin visited by Tom, brother of a suitor of Aunt Malbone, and he married to a daughter of Edward the Parson; the Col.'s station and family; their cousins in North Carolina – More about Cousin Eliza and her death – Aunt Malbone's character; her manners and tact for society compensate for her being less handsome than her sister Mrs. Pollard; her Episcopalianism and her worldliness; her attachment to Margaret's grandmother Blanchard, who was unruffled by the demands of her visits, always glad to have Katy come and to have her go – Newport friends – A letter from Aunt Malbone on Margaret's grandmother Winslow's death – A tumultuous household while Isaac was away in Portland and brother Jack left in charge – The many commissions charged to Isaac on his trips by his relatives and friends – And his being charged with many larger tasks also, that involved the business affairs of his relations – His sister Mary and his great attachment to her; her being a great favorite early in life without adequate parenting and later consequences.

81 Vol 3 . Chap 5 **Letters to my Father. 1800**
My Uncle Tom.

1800. I shall here insert a few letters from sundry persons to my Father in this year 1800. The following short note from his brother Tom, was, however, probably written in November of 99, just as he was leaving for the Mediterranean. It is dated at "The Narrows" "below," and was sent on shore by a Mr Ayers. It is of little importance except to shew his affection for my Father; and, wild or heedless as he was from a boy, I, suspect that this was pretty strongly reciprocated by the elder brother, notwithstanding all the trouble he gave him; for besides being so near his age, Uncle Tom was a young man of very amiable and affectionate disposition, and of open social manners.– He would have been very good looking, but for the cataract which disfigured one of his eyes.* I have heard that he was a great favorite with my Mother and with all the family; – being very generous, and bringing them handsome presents from abroad, besides amusing his younger brothers and nephews with various shews and excursions when at home. All the money he made in the voyages which my Father took such pains to get up for him, usually went in this manner; and his fine qualities, however agreeable to others, proved in the end a bane to himself, for want of that self discipline which would have given them solidity and true value.

["]My dear Brother†

We appear to go on so far

* See above, II, 74-5.

† Margaret transcribes this letter in a large flowing hand.

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1800)
very well, a prospect of a fine breeze off;, I shall arrange all my matters I hope by night; I feel, I assure you, not a little dull with parting from you but I endeavor to keep up my spirits. The Capt appears to be tolerably complying. I shall exert myself to remain on good terms with him till I am convinced of reasons to act otherwise. Adieu, my dearest and best of Brothers, may Heaven long preserve you to our family, – Remember to my dear Mother & Brothers & Sisters. God bless you all,

Yours sincerely
& ever affectionately
Thos. Winslow

By a letter to my Father from his Aunt Malbone of Newport, I find that my Uncle Tom passed some time in Dublin, and visited there some friends of this Aunt by the name of Hanfield.* Family tradition states that an early attachment existed between herself and Colonel Hanfield, but that he, being in the British army, was not an acceptable son in law to her father. (Joshua Winslow) She therefore dutifully declined his addresses, and married Simon Pease, a worthy Quaker merchant of Newport. It is said that during her first, and even after her second widowhood, the offers of her early admirers were renewed. Why these were again rejected that same tradition saith not, save that Mr Malbone, was rich and an honorable Senator

1800 of Rhode Island, although a widower with several children. Perhaps after his death,† she was tired of connubial life, or thought herself too old to enter into a third connexion, or, as the Colonel ungallantly sent out for her to come to <u>him</u>, he being unable to leave some official duties, she might have thought his devotion, if persevering, yet less ardent than at first. At all events, the youthful flame resolved itself into a temperate friendship, and so continued during the remainder of the old lady and gentleman's career.

The Colonel Hanfield to whom my Uncle Thomas paid a visit, was brother to Aunt Malbone's admirer and had married in America, a daughter of Edward Winslow the parson.‡ In a letter, chiefly on business, from Uncle Tom to my father, dated Dublin, April 1800, he says, "Colonel Handfield has insisted upon my passing Sunday & Monday with his family, at a delightful country residence five miles from the City, at which place I am now writing you, and you will imagine that it must be very agreeable to be in the company and enjoy the society of so amiable a family, after having been so long restrained from that in America." "Col H. is in a very lucrative situation of Commissary General, and highly respected. Mrs H possesses all the goodness of the Parson's family; and there appears to be all that sincere affection and goodness of heart in the whole family for each other, that is always so interesting and constitutes the happiness as well as prosperity of families." Uncle T also speaks of their having a fine and numerous family of children – three grown up sons, one in the army,

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* Misspelling of *Handfield*.

† Suddenly, on the Capitol steps in 1809.

‡ The Joshua Pollard Blanchard family tree shows Margaret, daughter of Edward, married to Charles Handfield.

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84 Vol 3 Chap 5 **Handfields & Eliza Winslow**

1800 one in the navy,[*] and one an Engineer; two adult daughters and several younger children. All these were very nearly related to the Fayetteville Winslow's, ("Uncle Parson's family", as they were called on account of their Father's profession as an Episcopal clergyman) I do not know any of these Handfield children are surviving at the present date 1857, but there may be some of them in England and if so, they would stand in the same generation with Mrs Ochiltree and her half brothers Edward, John, and Warren Winslow[†] of N Carolina, being of course their first cousins, and my second cousins – Mrs Handfield being first cousin to my Father, as was also John the father of the Fayetteville Winslows, who, it will be remembered married Eliza Winslow the daughter of his Uncle Joshua. Their daughter Mrs Ochiltree is thus our second cousin both by her Father & Mother. This Mother was the cousin Eliza so affectionately spoken of in the preceeding pages of this Memorial, and whose death called forth the letters transcribed in the previous pages of this manuscript. She was married from the house of my Grandmother Blanchard, and I believe that it was there the attachment commenced between herself and her cousin John. She was a great favorite with all her relatives, and had many acquaintances in the higher class of Boston society, and I have heard my Father say that he, although some years her junior, was invited a good deal about with her to parties &c, during her visits to Boston. One of her intimate friends was the late widow of Dr Freeman,[‡] minister of King's Chapel, and the latter always retained a high regard for our cousin; Even in

85 Vol 3 Chap 5 **Eliza Winslow her death.**

1800 the latter years of her life she remembered her with so much interest as to desire her granddaughter Miss Clarke to copy for her the miniature of Eliza Winslow in my Father's possession, which was accordingly borrowed for the purpose. The picture shews her to have been not regularly handsome, but possessing a brilliant complexion, good eyes, and hair which must have been fine if not disfigured by powder, as it is in the Miniature, according to the fashion of that day. – Of her character my father speaks thus, in his letter to her husband. "Knowing Eliza intimately as I did, loving her with almost a fraternal affection, I can imagine the extent of your grief upon the trying separation from so much purity of principle, goodness of heart, & sweetness of disposition as she possessed, & all who knew her must grieve with you.[§]

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[*] *The Gentleman's Magazine* Vol, XII, New Series, 1839 July-December, 203 contains an obituary notice of this son (Edward, a Commander in the Royal Navy) and says of his father, "Colonel Charles Handfield, accompanied the Duke of York to Flanders ; and, after other situations of trust and importance, was appointed Commissary-general of Ireland, which office he held twenty-five years, and was described by Lord Howden as 'the most faithful, beneficial trustee of the public purse that ever appeared in that department.' " It is there pointed out that his father "Colonel John Handfield, commanded the 40th regiment at the siege of Louisburg," so it is quite possible that the Winslows knew the Handfields through the Pepperrells.

[†] Possibly Warren Winslow (1810–1862), Governor of North Carolina (1854-55).

[‡] James Freeman (1759–1835), The Episcopal minister of the Chapel, but whose beliefs were Unitarian. He was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society, step-grandfather but virtual father to Isaac's son Benjamin Pollard Winslow's Harvard "chum" James Freeman Clarke (below, IV, 137).

[§] The text of the letter is surrounded by lightly pencilled parens, and immediately before inserted by caret and also lightly pencilled is "Speaks thus of her character." The parenthesis is followed, also in light pencil by "[on? or?] (855 W.)," which I do not understand.

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Aunt Malbone also laments the loss of her niece as follows – Feb 1800 "Your heart will, with mine, recoil at the mournful tidings that our beloved Eliza is no more. – She died 15th Jan'y – Mother & child buried in one grave. My eyes dim while I write the melancholy truth; but no tears can now restore her to her friends who loved, or to her distressed Husband who almost adored her." "Such a fine blooming girl so early nipped in the bud – All who knew her must lament, &c" In fact she was thus lamented by a large circle, and seems to have been an uncommonly fine character.

86 Vol 3 . Chap 5th **Aunt Malbone's character.**

1800 . Before introducing another letter from the aforesaid Aunt Malbone on occasion of the death of my Grandmother, it may be well to give a short account of this lady's peculiarities. She was the sixth daughter of my Great grandfather Joshua Winslow and Elizabeth Savage his wife, and the seventh of their sixteen children. It is related that she was not nearly so handsome as her elder sister Mrs Pollard, whose portrait we have;* but she owed her chief attraction to lady like manners and her tact for society, which surpassed that of any other member of the family, except, perhaps, the niece whose death she so much lamented. Possessing, herself, a considerable share of ambition, she was extremely desirous that her family should make a figure in the world, and keep up, as she did herself, a punctilious regard to the usages of polite society, increasing and widening their connections, &c. She had no children of her own, but interested herself warmly in the concerns of her nephews and nieces, from whom, however, she exacted a due degree of deference and respect, both when staying at her house in Newport, and also in the way of writing and paying attention to her little commissions when absent. At the same time she did not fail to impress upon them sense of their religious duties, being herself a strict Episcopalian, like her elder brother Edward "the parson,"

87 Vol 3 Chap 5th **Aunt Malbone's character**

1800 and her elder sister Mrs Pollard. – On reading the old lady's letters, however, one is struck with the idea that she rather desired, as so many people do, to keep up an "interest in both worlds"; in one of her letters she says of my Aunt Hudgens, who, being very handsome, was expected to make a good match, "hope she is not turned recluse so young, or got disgusted with the world; but will know she has her part to act. May she do it with the applause of her own mind as well as her friends."

To my Father she says "You, I suppose, are taking it out in winter amusements with the cares of this world on your mind. Amidst it all, hope you remember another and better one, where all your good deeds will be rewarded, and which I trust you look forward to, with a comfortable hope. At least, you have the comfort of knowing yourself a useful member of society. All of your name seem to feel a claim to your services." "I have scarce left room to mention my friend Tom's departure – I think the girls miss him as well as you; he has my sincere good wishes for success equal to his merits."

She seems to have approved my Aunt Catherine's marriage to Mr Houston, for, in the same letter, she writes of my Grandfather Blanchard's family, – "am glad they are all well, expected to hear they were beginning the bustle of wedding," (this was written only three days before the marriage took place) — —

* A portrait of her attributed to Joseph Blackburn and painted in 1756, is owned by the Yale University Art Gallery, but I do not know if it is the one referred to here. See *The Winslows: Pilgrims, Patrons and Portraits* (Brunswick, Maine: Bowdoin College Museum of Art, 1974), Pl. 12.

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88 Vol 3 . Chap 5th **Aunt Malbone's character.**

1800 "come when it will, they have my warmest wishes for happiness; they are both charming girls, and will, I hope, meet the smiles of a kind Providence in this arduous undertaking." This refers to the intended residence of Aunt Catherine and my own Mother in Tobago, which was expected to be of some years duration, and of course was an entire separation from their family and friends in Boston and this country.

Mrs Malbone was warmly attached to my Grandmother Blanchard, whose extremely lady-like manners, and kindness of heart made her a general favorite; and although always attentive to the old lady's comfort during her visits to Boston, my Grandmother did not allow herself to be at all ruffled or suffer her household to depart from its usual order in consequence of her peculiarities. The rest of the family stood, it is affirmed, somewhat in dread of these migrations – as there was a general stirring up to execute little commissions, run on sundry errands, and refresh old acquaintanceship, with the great folks of Aunt Malbone's circle, the chief of whom was her intimate and life-long friend Mrs M Hubbard, mother in law to the late Gardiner Greene and Mother of the late John & Harry Hubbard of Boston. -–Then she was in the habit of reproving her nieces for various little indecorums in manner, not suitable, as she conceived, to the pretensions of the family in birth and respectability; and altogether was a cause of such disturbance, that her own Mother even in earlier days said of her filial visits. – "It's good to have Katy come, and it's good to have her go."

89 Vol 3. Chap 5th **Aunt Malbone & Newport friends**

1800 . I have spoken thus fully of my Father's Aunt, because there are so many of her letters extant, all written in a ladylike, fair, & even, Italian hand, which in her early days, it had been the fashion to acquire. Many of these refer to persons in Newport then acquainted with my Father; among others, George Gibbs, an early friend of his, during his boyish visits to N--* This was the family of Dr Channing's† wife, and a very wealthy and respectable one. Aunt Malbone also speaks of a Miss Cornelia Greene, who at one time staid with her, and who was much admired by the Newport gentlemen – and I believe, not a little by my Father when there – A letter of his to his Aunt shews that he once executed a little commission for this young lady, relative to some embroidering silks, which she wished to procure in Boston.– She was the daughter of Gen'l Greene‡ of revolutionary celebrity, was quite handsome, and I have understood, a fine woman in every respect – having been educated among the Moravians in Pennsylvania. She afterwards married ———

Aunt Malbone herself gave my father many commissions for small articles, – as fish, tea, &c., and required a great exactitude in these, as well as in his larger transactions of estate business with her. She sometimes compliments him, though evidently sparing of her praise in general.– Writing him in reference to taking Aunt Patty's income for the benefit of the family,

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* It is likely Margaret intends an abbreviation for *Newport*.

† Dr. William Ellery Channing (1780–1842), the most important Unitarian minister in the U. S. in the early nineteenth century. He was born in Newport.

‡ Major General Nathanael Greene (1742–86). Thought by many to be Washington's most talented officer, he was also a native of Rhode Island.

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90 Vol 3 . Chap 5th **Aunt Malbone's letter on Gmother's death.**

1800 She says, "there can be no doubt of your taking the whole income as right and proper, nor do I know who can call you to account: for that, a simple note I should think quit* sufficient: for myself I can answer never to hurt you if I could; having, from long observation, found you trustworthy." Again she says, speaking of her friend Mrs Hubbard, "I grew partial to you from the attention paid her, as well as your own merit – I think that such friendship is rare," &c. I shall close for the present this account of Aunt Malbone, by introducing the before mentioned letter on occasion of my Grandmother Winslow's death, a very kind and affectionate note, truly.

["]Newport 11th Oct. 1800.

With Grief† of heart, my Dear Nephew, I received the melancholy news your letter so pathetically describes. Heaven's will be done! and it will, I trust, pour the balm of comfort into the wounded bosoms of tender Orphans, so early deprived of the Last remaining Parent. The consiousness of steadily persevering in the path of rectitude to these dear connections, & wiping the tears from a widowed Mother's eyes; must yield you comfort & satisfaction, or self approbation beyond what the world can give, & cause you to realize the truth of those reflections, you so justly make.

91 Vol 3. Chap 5th

1800) We are taught by our Heavenly Father, to believe, "he does not willingly afflict the children of Men,["]‡ Your dear Mother is removed from a state of sickness, & sorrow, which her best friends could not wish to see her endure, & is, I trust, safely landed on that blissful shore, where we hope to join our departed friends, never more to separate. To a mind like yours, I am willing to believe the aids of reason & religion will strengthen & support you under the heavy affliction, & may each one be brought to look to Him who has "promised never to leave or forsake["]§ those that trust in Him. We know his word stands sure when he says, "If thy Father & Mother forsake thee, He will take thee up";** may you all experience, that consolation, & be kept under his protection. My kind love to all the sharers in your grief – I can not write Mary now, but feel for her as much as if I did, best wishes for her.– I hope to hear she is better; remembering the double weight of care now devolving on her, she will, I doubt not, see the necessity of making exertions to set an example to the younger branches of the family, & the duty she owes herself & you, Poor Patty! I dare say she feels severely the loss; I will try to see you all before winter; depend upon my earnest desire to throw

* Possibly an error for *quite* or possibly short for *quitclaim* (a relinquishing of a claim).

† The whole letter is transcribed in a large hand and quite unlike any in the Memorial thus far. There are errors in spelling and corrections of a kind we don't expect from Margaret. It might be the hand of a child in the later stages of learning penmanship. It has features of earlier writing, such as the large double-looped medial "s." There are not, however, good candidates in the family for who such a young person might be if this is being written about 1857 and the writer is supposed to be about 10 or 11.

‡ Lamentations 3: 33: "For he doth not afflict willingly nor grieve the children of men."

§ Hebrews 13: 5: "Let your conversation be without covetousness; and be content with such things as ye have: for he hath said, I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee."

** Psalm 27: 10: "When my father and my mother forsake me, then the Lord will take me up."

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1800) in my mite; to alleviate your present, distress.– to Aunt Pollard and Peggy, with all the young folks, offer tender & Affectionate regards; – will write further soon.– Adieu

Blessings on you all. Yours

K Malbone

During the previous summer of this year it seems that my Grandmother Winslow had a severe attack of her nervous spasms and was attended by Dr Jarvis.* My Father was at Portland, attending to some business for Mrs Waldo, (afterward Chase) and Uncle John appears to have been left in charge both of his compting room and the house. He writes under date of June 10th, 1800, to my Father,

"How anxiously do I look for you home, not so much on account of her["] (his Mother's) ["]low health, as the absolute necessity of having the authority of some one by whom our family are used to be controlled. In fact you can hardly have an idea of what a scene our house has presented during her sickness.— No subordination, every thing running wild,— such tumult, ——

93 Vol 3 . Chap 5th **My Father's engagements – & correspondence**

tumult

1800) neighbors, friends and relations, – and all without any one to whom they will be subject; I have been so worried and harassed with these short cares of five days, that nothing would be a more exhiliarting sight than to see you landed at our door in safety."†

The above extract is significant enough of the relation which my Father sustained to his Mother's household, and other letters which remain, though few in number compared to those that must have been written by & to him, prove the truth of Aunt Malbone's remark that "all of his name," and, I might add, many not of his name, "seemed to feel a claim to his service."‡ Among them I find little commissions, from Mr Humphreys of Portsmouth, from Mr King of New York who had married his cousin Isabella; – Requests on behalf of his Father's cousins Sam, Isaac & Thomas, in the management of whose shares of their Father's estate my Grandfather had been so greatly harassed, and my Father after him: Of Josh L Winslow§ in the British army E Indies Eliza Winslow's brother, for advice as to the investment of his little property, correspondence with Sir Wm Pepperrell concerning government aid for his cousin Eliza Sparhawk of Shelburn N.S; a very large amount of letters on Mrs Waldo's and her sister Betsey's affairs, in which

94 Vol 3. Chap 5th **My Aunt Hudgens.**

1800 he took a brother's interest; and upon whom almost more than a brother's time & labor seems, in the midst of his own multifarious business to have been expended. In the scanty

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* Dr. Charles Jarvis (1748-1807), who apparently was in the same class at Harvard as William Pepperrell Sparhawk (the second Sir William Pepperrell). See http://famousamericans.net/charlesjarvis/ .

† John would at this date have been only twenty-one.

‡ Above, II, 87, and here apparently slightly misquoted as the tense and person have shifted.

§ Joshua Loring Winslow (1766?-1820). Major in 14th Foot 1806 (on transfer from 77th Foot); resigned September 1807. See

http://www.napoleon-series.org/military/organization/Britain/Infantry/Regiments/c_14thFoot.html .

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letter file of this year, 1800, there also appears, one or two curious french letters from a poor Italian named Ombrosi whom my father had befriended and who seemed very grateful to him; – one or two from a Mrs Dorcas Chipman, wife of a shipwrecked Captain Wellfleet, Eng,* for particulars of his fate,† and about Policy of insurance, and one from my Aunt Mary (afterward Hudgens) at Newport, from which I extract the following "Received the silk by Mr[?] Erving,‡ which is exactly the kind of one I should have chosen; also your kind remittance: how do you suppose, my dear Brother, I am to repay all these obligations, when every year is adding to the debt, &c.["]

In this sister, he was, in early life, very attached; – indeed, I have understood, he shewed toward her almost a romantic devotion, addressing not only letters but poetry to her, when abroad, and lavishing many presents upon her on his return, as indeed did all her elder brothers, from the proceeds of their voyages. She was, as I have before observed, very handsome, with regular features, a complexion of uncommon brilliancy, large dark eyes, beautiful hair, and a well formed figure from the waist upward – the lower limbs were clumsy and her walk ungraceful. Still, on the whole, she was much admired, and her family were proud of her. – She also possessed good abilities, and was both sensible and witty.– But, as so often happens in cases where these advantages are not regulated by principle or guided by judicious parents, they became her worst enemies. – Her excellent Father, lost while she was yet too young to have profitted by his care,§ her Mother in feeble health,

95 Vol 3 Chap 5th **my Aunt Hudgens –**

1800 and unfitted to guard her from the flatteries which were poured into her ear, is it wonderful that these took effect in such a manner as to render the girl, once petted and beloved, afterward, as a woman unhappily different from the promise of her childhood. She seems herself to have been in some degree aware of this danger, for in a letter written to my Father when in Naples on his second voyage, 1796, – she says – "Indeed my dear Brother, we long to see you – to speak for myself; who need your advice so much; and always do and shall look to you as my Father now: That I was so early deprived of one, I have scarce felt; for I am sure, I have ever experienced a Father's kind attention from you in every respect. I should be ungrateful indeed, did I not love & esteem such a friend and brother – Though at so great a distance, you may still continue that advice in writing, if your business permits you; Nothing gives me more pleasure than the receiving one of your entertaining Epistles" &c

Of these "entertaining epistles" it is much to be regretted that there are but one or two now in existence; and those have been extracted from, already, in my Father's own account of his voyages abroad;– besides which, however, we have the rough journals to which he refers in the previous pages of this Volume. Still, as both journal and letters are well worth preserving, I shall insert them entire in an appendix,** as the originals may be lost or mislaid;– and with them, a few epistles written to him from home, shewing

* Cannot stand for *England* as there is no Wellfleet in England, and Capt. Chipman was definitely from the Wellfleet on Cape Cod.

† Above, III, 54.

‡ Perhaps G. W. Erving, mentioned above, II, 133.

§ She was eleven at his death.

** Which, if ever written, appears now lost.

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the state of the family during his absence. To copy them here, would be a retrogression in this Memorial, which is henceforth to be carried on from the first of this century, consecutively, including a general view of the family connections, during the year 1800 which the writer is now continuing.*

* Margaret has at this point filled in the 24 blank leaves mentioned on the volume's title page, all of which are on the same or substantially the same stock as most of Isaac's portion. The remaining twenty pages in the unbound portion of the Memorial are on a thinner and slightly translucent stock, which is very faintly lined on one side, but inasmuch as the lines are visible on the other side due to the thinness of the paper, Margaret has sometimes written on the lined side and sometimes the verso. After completing these, Margaret evidently decided to continue her portion in the bound volume (eventually two volumes) she had commenced in 1850.

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Chapter Twenty-Five (Volume Three, Chapter Six)

"Aunt Atkinson," sister to Isaac's father's first wife; she adopts Isaac's little sister Eliza after their father's death; Eliza remembers that dismal time and the move to a wealthy but lonely house in Portsmouth; her Sparhawk relatives; the Humphreys; the unfortunate division and disposal of Mrs. Atkinson's estate – Eliza returns to Boston – one sister always or generally to be with Aunt Malbone; Newport then and now – Margaret's Uncles; "Honest Jack," intelligent and literary, but ill-suited to business; Uncle Joshua, sedate and studious; the unfortunate consequences of being deprived of their father so young and their mother's ill health, and too old to accept Isaac as a surrogate parent, and their religious upbringing also narrowed the circle of their acquaintance; Uncle Benjamin an exception in temperament being mirthful and lighthearted, which better adapted him to society, but no better adapted him to business than his brothers; Uncle Edward, the youngest and most difficult – Margaret's motive in writing to tell the truth even when painful; solemn lessons to be learned both from the virtues and the faults of departed Ancestors.

96 Vol 3. Chap 6th **Mrs Atkinson**

1800. In the correspondence of this year, I find a letter from Mr Thomas Sparhawk to my Father on the subject of a provision made for my Aunt Eliza, (since Pickering) which leads me to notice a personage who was known both in my Father's family and that of the Portsmouth Sparhawks by the name of "Aunt Atkinson." This lady was, in fact, only a marriage connection to us, being the sister of my Grandfather Winslow's first wife. To Mr Tom, Geo, & Sam Sparhawk, she was Aunt by blood, their father's own sister. She survived her husband, Mr Atkinson, and from him received a very considerable property, there being no children to inherit it. – She had, I believe, a sisterly attachment to my Grandfather, and not long after the distressing event which rendered his family nearly destitute, she very kindly adopted the youngest daughter Eliza, and took her to her own home in Portsmouth. I have heard my Aunt Pickering* often relate how dismal to her, a child of nine years old,† was the change from her own lively home filled with young people, and a large circle of friends & relatives as visitors, to the luxurious but dull abode of the rich Aunt Atkinson, solitary and childless; notwithstanding the carriage, the servants, the good living, handsome clothing, and abundance

97 Vol 3 – Chap 6th **Sparhawks & Humphreys**

1800. of toys with which she found herself surrounded. Very kindly indeed was she treated by her adopted Mother, who sent her to a good school, and provided handsomely for her in

* Eliza married William Pickering.

† Eliza was 5 ½ at her father's death, and above (II, 205-06) we have been told that the adoption took place within a year or two of Isaac's father's death, so Margaret's memory here is probably faulty.

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every way; but still the poor child would have been very lonely, had it not been for her occasional visits to the nieces of Mrs Atkinson, the Sparhawks, and Humphreys, both of which families were enlivened by young people, although not quite so young as herself. Mr John Sparhawk, the Grandfather of my sister Elizabeth,* had long been an intimate friend of my Grandfather, connected with him not only as his brother in law but by the still stronger ties of religious fellowship in the Sandemanian church to which they both belonged. He was a most excellent, amiable and upright man, and it has been supposed might have been instrumental in averting the dreadful fate of my Grandfather, if he had resided near enough to have been aware of his disordered state. Both he and Mr Humphreys, his co-elder in the church, felt that event acutely – and both, from friendly feeling and Christian Sympathy were disposed to shew kindness toward his family; consequently there has ever since been a considerable intercourse kept up between the

98 Vol 3 Chap 6th **Sparhawk connections.**

1800 descendants, now cemented by another marriage between the grandchildren of those who were brothers in heart as well as in name. There existed yet a further connection between our family and that of Mr Sam Sparhawk of Portsmouth by the marriage of his Uncle also called Sam, to my Father's Aunt, Polly Davis.– This was the Uncle Sam who was so indolent that he called his wife "Pholly" instead of "Polly"† and who could not keep a store because he had "no cabbage nut."‡ —— He was the father of Eliza Sparhawk, concerning whom my Father corresponded with Sir W Pepperrell – A brother of hers, went away and was never heard of. Both children were in my Grandfather Winslow's family at Halifax, after their father's death: He was a poor shiftless character, I have understood; very different from the Portsmouth nephew who was his namesake. This young man Inheriting all the fine qualities of both his excellent parents, and exhibiting such early seriousness of principle as to be admitted into the Sandemanian church at the age of 17, thenceforward led a life of consistent Christian uprightness, such as has been rarely exhibited in any society or sect, be its denomination what it may. At the same time, both in his business and domestic relations, his kindness of heart inspired the deepest affection while his mind and character commanded the most implicit respect & obedience.

99 Vol 3 - Chap 6th **The Sparhawks.**

1800. Unfortunately for the interests of my Aunt however, the two elder brothers George & Thomas Sparhawk who, upon Mrs Atkinsons death, in the year '97 were left executors to her estate, did not manage affairs as Mr Sam Sparhawk would have done. Well meaning but careless, and unused to business habits, they suffered the property to be dispersed in such a manner, that the views of the testatrix in regard to her adopted daughter were by no means carried out, and, instead of ample provision being made for her board education and clothing, as she had directed, only about 800 dollars§ was obtained from the whole legacy, which should have amounted to a much larger sum. Neither did her legitimate heirs fare much better.– Extensive lands in N Hampshire were, one by one, sold for a small

* Margaret's sister-in-law Elizabeth Sparhawk, who married her brother Edward.

† In fact it was Margaret's grandmother Mary who was addressed as "Folly." See above, II, 76-77.

‡ Probably a slang expression for *no head for money*.

§ About $14,000 in today's dollars.

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consideration; the personal estate became divided among many; even her executors profited little or nothing in the end by this once large and handsome inheritance. Neither of the brothers were calculated to gain or to keep property, and finally came, in a great measure, upon their youngest Samuel for assistance and support. He although having but a limited salary as Secretary of State in N Hampshire and Cashier of Concord Bank, not only assisted numbers of persons unconnected with him, but was like my Father the source to which all his relatives looked for counsel & help in every emergency.

100 Vol 3 Chap 6th **Eliza Winslow, afterward my Aunt Pickering.**

1800 After the death of Mrs Atkinson, which took place during my Fathers second voyage to Europe with my Uncle Tom, their youngest sister returned home to the house in Lynde St Boston, much to her own satisfaction. I have heard her say that when she met the two elder brothers just returned from abroad, she courtesied* respectfully to them, taking them for strangers, until a burst of merriment all around the home circle revealed the truth. From this time she remained with her Mother, and afterward in my Father's family until her marriage, – with the exception of being part of the time at a boarding school & frequent and lengthy visits to her Aunt Malbone at Newport. The family being large, it was thought expedient that one of my Father's sisters should be at times absent from Boston, and Mrs Malbone was always very urgent to have them with her. – But the Newport of that day was far different from the Newport of this.– The British and French Officers had carried off its belles, and beaux were scarce. The town was in a transition state from the grandeur of its old aristocracy to the gayety of its present fashion & wealth. It was stiff, stately & dull – My Aunt Mary preferred Boston & her admirers; and the [amiable?? little?]† sister‡ was obliged to

101 Vol – 3 . Chap 6th **My Uncles**

go in her stead, to be tutored into propriety of behavior, and an attention to appearance not altogether natural to her. Boston however, was still considered her home, and her brother's house was, by her also preferred to the somewhat formal ceremoniousness of her Aunt's abode.

My uncle John, known in the family by the appellation of "Honest Jack," was intelligent and extremely fond of reading. He had quite a taste for the acquisition of languages, and might have made some figure at College, had his circumstances permitted him a liberal education; but for business, he was ill calculated, and did not succeed very well in the voyages which my Father got up for him – Of strict integrity and with the most anxious desire to do well for his employers, he lacked the necessary judgement, decision and energy to carry out his intentions. His manner also was against him, as well as an infirmity, (hardness of hearing) brought on by an accident in his childhood. Disliking extremely every thing approaching to servility, he was repulsive to strangers in general, unless where he took an especial fancy, and then was as enthusiastic in the other extreme. Even to his own family, he often appeared with a frown which overclouded his fine

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features, and his extremely kind affectionate disposition seemed not unfrequently moody &

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* *curtsied.*

† These two words fall under a dark smeared blot of ink and are therefore extremely difficult to make out.

‡ Presumably Eliza,

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disagreeable, from a temper too little controlled, a sensitive pride, roused by the least real or imaginary insult, and a one sided view of things, caused by his abstracted habits, and his more constant companionship with books than with men. This Uncle never resided permanently with my Father after his marriage, though mention is made in some letters of his staying at the house in Hawkins St in the intervals of his voyages.- His permanent residence seems, at this time, to have been a boarding house kept by Mrs Sam Winslow in Boston, Mother of the late Charles Winslow, and Grandmother of our cousins Charles, Sam, Elizabeth, & Lucy Winslow now in Boston. The Old Lady has been living within the memory of most of this generation, and resided many years with her son Charles in Fayette St.

My Uncle Joshua, who lived with my Father after his marriage, was sedate & studious. He was about eight years old at the time of his father's death. Afterward he earned very creditable honors at the Latin School, but there seemed to exist with him also, the business deficiencies, and some of the peculiarities in disposition of my Uncle John. I should think, from what I have heard, that he was of cooler judgment and less apt to be biassed by enthusiasm; of a temper also less

103 Vol 3 Chap 6 **My Uncles**

1800 violent, but still, like his indolent tenacious and irritable. In fact it would appear that the whole family had sorely missed that early discipline of which their unhappy bereavement deprived them, and which would have brought their finer qualities into more steady and efficient action, while modifying the faults of temper & disposition, inherent with all men in one form or another. The position of the elder brother* was one of danger & difficulty both to himself and his family. With all a parent's responsibility he was without a parent's authority: – with the most disinterested, self denying and painstaking desire for their real welfare, he had not, on his side, that entire command of temper and indulgence toward small failings which a Father might have possessed, nor they on theirs, the reverence that a Father's counsel would have commanded, at least in early youth. While therefore, on the one hand, they expected from him every assistance in giving them an outlet into life, they were little satisfied to abide by his judgement or advice. At the same time their own minds were prejudiced partly by an obliquity† peculiar to the family, partly by their position which was a singular one; Their Sandemanian education had in the first place separated them both from religious and worldly society, and while the pride of birth hindered them from familiar intercourse with some classes, lack of means prevented their admission into others;

104 Vol 3. Chap 6 —— **My Uncles.**

Therefore they had few acquaintances beyond the family circle at home, nor did they incline to make them when abroad.

An exception to this remark, however, existed subsequently in the case of my Father's third brother Benjamin. – Of a remarkably gay, mirthful, & lighthearted

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* Isaac.

† In such a context this would be expected to mean (to take the sense found in *Webster's 3rd Unabridged*): *deviation from moral rectitude or sound thinking* or (from the *OED*): *Divergence from right conduct or thought; perversity, aberration.* but it seems unlikely that Margaret intends anything quite so strong, especially if applied to her father or grandfather, whom she considered singularly upright and disciplined in almost all their conduct. She may mean simply a tendency to deviate from *conventional* thinking (and of which therefore Isaac's father's Sandemanianism would be an example).

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temperament, which continued through life, this Uncle seemed to combine a certain tact unknown to the rest of the family, which in some sort compensated him for the numerous misfortunes of his life, and which in early youth made him more acceptable in society than most of his brothers. He was only about 10 years of age when his father died, and of course both he & my Uncle Joshua came more than the elder brothers, under the influence and control of my Father. He was placed at what was called a "Ma'am School"* under the tuition of a certain cross Mrs or Marm Dillereux[?],† and I think ran away from her rather tyrannical government – He was not a good scholar, but was very fond of repeating plays & scraps of poetry, for which he had a wonderful memory. He had a great taste for the theatre and for military life. But seems not to have been more calculated than his brothers to succeed in business. Yet he was industrious and painstaking, extremely methodical & neat in all his habits; but thoughtless as to expenses when he had money & liberal in presents & hospitalities when a householder. He never "got on" in life, and not only met many losses himself, but occasioned them

105. Vol 3. Chap 6th **My Uncles**

1800 to others also. But, as a boy, amiable, cheerful, & good tempered, he occasioned far less trouble than the youngest of the family my Uncle Edward.

He was but five years old at the period so often referred to, and about 12 or 13 at the time of my Father's marriage. He was an handsome boy, of warm affectionate feelings, but proud, passionate, & self willed.– Such a character peculiarly needed careful and judicious training, and alas! such was wanting. The Mother, feeble in health and unnerved by the terrible shock she had sustained, the elder brother absent or overwhelmed with business, the next in age, wholly unfit to guide or even to influence the younger, it was small matter of surprise that the faults to which I have alluded soon overshadowed the virtues. In very early life they began to mar the successes of my Father for his establishment in business, and to render him an uncomfortable inmate of the house. In later life, they drew on him other difficulties in domestic and social life – although as a business man he proved more energetic & successful than would at first have seemed likely. But more of all this will appear hereafter.

If the humble chronicle that I am now writing should hereafter meet the eyes of any descendants who may feel themselves aggrieved by these plain statements concerning the characters of their Ancestors, I can only say to them, that I feel

106 Vol 3 Chap 6th **Motives for writing –**

1800 at least an affection as warm, a reverence as tender, for him whose loss is yet recent,‡ and will be forever fresh in my heart, as can be theirs§ for the Parents or Grandparents whose youthful portraits I have attempted to depict, according to the best information

* More usually called, outside New England, a *Dame School*.

† Unlikely to be the correct spelling.

‡ According to the genealogical table that precedes Margaret's entries in her bound albums (IV, ii) Edward died in 1864 in South Carolina, age 76. A little more than twenty pages previous (above, III, 84), however, Margaret says she was then writing in 1857, and at III, 108 she again says she is writing in 1856. It is therefore likely that the "him" referred to here is a general rather than particular person. "For him" therefore may mean "for *any* relative" who has recently died.

§ I.e., the affections and reverence of the descendants who may read this.

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which can now be collected. Yet with me the sacred claims of truth are not to be sacrificed even in the biography of so near and dear a connexion. In his own words on a similar occasion, "I write, not to gratify the pride of the living by inflated eulogisms on the dead:"– nor yet to soothe the more innocent feelings of affection for my own departed friends or those of others. "When man writes Biography,["] says the able authoress of "Scripture Readings," ["]to exalt the creature, or as he thinks to save the honor of religion, the misdeeds of godly men are suppressed and their faults extended. Not so when the Holy Spirit dictates, Then the creature's share is weakness, inconsistency and sin;– to God alone belongs the glory."*

Reverently and earnestly do I desire such a guidance in these Memoirs, as shall cause them to be written with a single eye to that glory, and to the everlasting welfare of all who will to learn a solemn lesson from both the virtues and the faults of their departed Ancestors. Then will their lives not have been spent, nor their deaths have been suffered in vain.

* Caroline Wilson, *Daily Readings: Passages of Scripture Selected for Social Reading, with Applications, by the Author of "The Listener," Etc.* (London: J. Hatchard & Son, 1835), 164. Slightly misquoted.

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Chapter Twenty-Six (Volume Three, Chapter Seven)

A more detailed account of Isaac's wife's relations, the Pollards and the Blanchards – The earliest Pollards; Anne and the portrait of her age 103; family portraits; Col. Pollard and his wife and cousin Margaret; the Colonel's scientific instruments and library; housekeeping in the house in Brattle Square built by Col. Pollard; the six children born here, the sons on opposite sides in the Revolution, two casualties and one whose fate was never known; their mother's misfortunes in this and her several forced moves; her property not confiscated because of her daughter's marriage to Joshua Blanchard, a Whig; his flourishing business as a wine merchant ultimately failed – The Blanchards; not known when they arrived in New England, but Margaret's great-great-great-grandfather born 1692, married Sarah Loring; their very numerous descendants; branches now scarcely acquainted; Grandmother Blanchard's family resided with Grandmother Pollard, "the old lady," who lived almost to 90; her appearance and habits; Grandmother Blanchard; her love of her garden; family austerity following Mr. Blanchard's failure in business and reluctance to socialize with the wealthy after that.

107 Vol 3. Chap 7th . **My Mother's family.**
1800

Before commencing, in the fourth volume of these Memoirs, the record of my Father's married life, It seems necessary to give a more detailed account than has yet been written, of my Mothers Ancestors, the Pollards and Blanchards.

My Father, in his Family Record or book of Genealogies, mentions the family of the Pollards as among the earliest emigrants to the colony of Massttts Bay – William & Anne Pollard were inhabitants of Boston in or before the year 1644, as their first son was born there at that epoch. The Portrait of their 10th child a daughter Anne painted when she was at the advanced age of 103, was deposited by my Father in the gallery of the Massts Historical rooms, where it now hangs. Her next brother Jonathan was our Ancestor,* and married Mary Winslow Aunt† to Edward the Sheriff, whose portrait we have painted in the red coat of his office.‡ Their son Benjamin again, – married Edward's granddaughter Margaret Winslow, eldest daughter of Joshua, whose portrait also we have, painted with a brown coat, a moderate wig, and a brown tear§ running down one cheek –(the result of a sword thrust at the Canvass by some mischievous boy in the family of his descendants).

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* Margaret here gets the relationships wrong. She presents, at IV, vi, a genealogical table correctly indicating that Benjamin Pollard was William and Anne's grandson via their son Jonathan. And in any event the aged Anne of the portrait was the first Anne (1621-1725), not her daughter.

† She was in fact Edward the Sheriff's half-sister.

‡ Possibly the portrait painted by John Smibert in 1730 now owned by the Yale University Art Gallery, or possibly a copy that remains in the family. There were several copies, including one possibly by Joseph Blackburn.

§ It isn't clear if Margaret is intentionally punning here.

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Of course this Margaret was 2nd or third cousin to her husband Col Pollard. We have portraits of both – He is taken in velvet cap and dressing gown. She, in white Satin dress and blue mantle.*

108 Vol 3. Chap 7th **Col Pollard & wife**
1800

When married she was twenty-two, he fifty years of age. At the time the portrait was painted, she was about thirty or thirty one, and had been the mother of six children. Both are very handsome, and look much younger than their actual age. A copy of the Colonel's portrait now hangs in the Massts Historical rooms Boston. The one we have, was reclaimed from the Society's keeping and was fitted up & framed about a year since, 1856, at the expense of my 2nd Mother Henrietta.† She also caused the same renovation of her Grandmother's portrait to be made, some three or four years ago, about 1851. Some persons have thought this picture to have been painted by the celebrated Copley, who was her second cousin by marriage; but others suppose the portrait to have been Blackburn, whose celebrity was anterior to that of Copley – and who painted the portraits of her father Joshua, and her grandfather Edward. The painter of Col Pollard's portrait is unknown.

This gentleman has a countenance both agreeable and intelligent, conveying an impression which is confirmed by the family traditions concerning his character. His original business was that of an Underwriter of Insurance Policies, and my Uncle J P Blanchard discovered an immense number of these in the Brattle Square House owned & occupied by him, and afterward by his widow. Several Philosophical instruments and papers were also found among his effects, indicating him to have been a man of considerable scientific taste

109 Vol 3. Chap 7 **Col Pollard & wife**
1800

for those days.– He doubtless brought these instruments with him from Europe, over which he travelled extensively, and this alone constituted him a notable person at the period when he lived; It being then much more rare for an American to have seen all Europe, than it now is to have traversed the entire circumference of the globe.‡ Part of a once splendid waistcoat, embroidered on rich white watered silk, and brilliant with floss of gold, now exists, in which Col Pollard is said to have flourished when he had the unprotestant honor of kissing the Pope's great toe at Rome. He did not marry till after his return from abroad, and then became high Sheriff of Suffolk, successor to Edward Winslow his wife's grandfather. He also was principally instrumental in raising the Independent company of Cadets in Boston,

* This portrait, painted by Joseph Blackburn in 1756, is now owned by the Yale University Art Gallery.

† Isaac's second wife and his first wife's sister.

‡ The European "grand tour," fashionable especially among the English, began in the latter third of the seventeenth century. Based upon the description of Winslow Family Papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society (Ms. N-486), it appears he took the tour in 1736-38. So the waistcoat would have been about eighty-five years' old when given to Benjamin Pollard Winslow in 1823 (below, IV, 103). It is of course possible that he traveled abroad more than once, however.

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and became their first Colonel– His commission from Governor Shirley* was presented by my Uncle Blanchard to the company, and is now in their possession.

Colonel Pollard and Margaret Winslow were married in 1746 and commenced housekeeping in the Brattle Square mansion built by Col P where my Grandfather Blanchard afterward resided, and from which my own Mother was married. The house was then considered in a genteel situation,

110 Chap 7th Vol 3 **Col Pollard's children**

1800 commodious and handsome for those days – and possessed a fine garden lot running up the hill toward Court St. The house itself stood in what was then called Brattle Square nearly opposite Brattle St church, and quite a short distance from the house of my G father Joshua in Dock Square. In this dwelling, six children were born to them, five sons and one daughter. The eldest, Benjamin, died at 2 ½ years old. The second, Jonathan, lived to be fifty three years of age and was a Colonel in the American army. He married a Miss Johnson and had one son Benjamin, who afterward visited my Father and Mother occasionally.– He was rather a pompous person, fond of spouting plays and pieces of poetry. He died single in Boston since 1830 – the last of Col Pollard's descendants. — G mother Pollard's third son, Benjamin, married a sister of Miss Johnson, but had no children. He was an officer in the British army, and was killed at the siege of Savannah by the bursting of a bomb shell.– He was called remarkably handsome, and was, I believe, popular in the army, and regretted by his brother officers, the pride and flower of the family, and his mother's favorite son.†

All these sons were born before the death of their great Grandfather Edward the Sheriff. Peggy the next child, my Grandmother, was born the year after his death in 1754. Then came Joshua, who was in the British navy, and was wrecked lost at Egg Harbor‡ – N Jersey, – and

111 Vol 3 Chap 7

1800 lastly Peter, the youngest son, born in 1756, who was in the American navy, went to sea, and was never heard of. Thus, this unhappy mother had the misfortune to see her family all divided against each other, brother opposed to brother in open combat, two of them lost by casualty, and the fate of one forever unknown. – Herself and daughter also were driven about from one place to another, first taking refuge with her sister Mrs Pease§ at Newport, then with her brother Edward at Braintree, her means straightened** by the condition of all property & estates during the revolution, and only, I suppose, secured from confiscation by the marriage of her daughter to Mr Blanchard of the popular or American party. After this event, she was suffered to remain unmolested, residing with her daughter at the Brattle Square mansion, or else in Hanover St, where my Grandfather Blanchard kept house at one time in good style.– He was then a Wine merchant in flourishing business, and continued

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* "Shirley" appears to be either lightly underlined or struck through. But it seems more likely that Margaret had drawn a light line to indicate a blank she would (and did) later fill in with the correct name. Shirley was Governor in 1741-49 and again in 1753-1756.

† And above, I, 129 and 235.

‡ About eight miles down the coast from Atlantic City.

§ Later Mrs. Malbone.

** Error for *straitened.*

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prosperous for some years following the revolution, associating with some of the first men of Boston; but about the time his children were growing up,– he failed in business, became discouraged, and never afterward recovered himself.

The Blanchards were probably of French origin, but the time of their emigration to this country, is not known

112 Vol 3. Chap 7 . **Blanchards –**

1800 The first mention of them in our records, is of Joshua the Grandfather of my Grandfather, whose residence is supposed to have been in Malden;* he was born in 1692, and married in 1717 a Miss Sarah Loring, by whom he had fifteen children, of whom eight only survived to adult age. The eldest, Joshua, born 1718, married in 1743 Miss Elizabeth Hunt, and had twelve children, of whom seven only grew up. My Grandfather Joshua was the second adult child, having one older sister, afterward known in his family as "Aunt Betsey,"– She and her widowed mother lived together, within the remembrance of both my first and second mother. She had also two younger sisters, Sarah who married Josiah Blakely, and Mary who was the Mother of Dr & Professor Hodge of Philadelphia & Princeton NJ. This latter Aunt kept up an occasional correspondence with my first Mother, and I shall have opportunity to refer again to her, hereafter, in the "Memorial of my Father's married life." There were also three younger brothers, Samuel who married a Gardner, and was the Grandfather of the Hon Robert Winthrop's first wife, and the Father of a certain "cousin Lucy" who married an Orne[?], John Dixwell, who married a M^{c}Cullough, and Thomas who married a Newton one of the first families in Virginia. Samuel's adult children were Henry, Francis (the Father of Mrs Winthrop) and Lucy. John Dixwell's were John, Isaac & William.

113 Vol 3 . Chap 7 **Blanchards**

1800. Mrs Hodge's, "Hugh & Charles" – those were all my Mother's first cousins, but little intercourse was kept up between them, and the descendants are now quite strangers to each other. There was a certain Mary Blanchard, cousin of my Grandfather's whose funeral I remember attending, when quite a little girl – She was an inmate, for several years, in Grandmother Blanchards family, and is frequently mentioned in the letters which remain of that period.—There was also another cousin by the name of Bart Rand, a fine young man, who died of yellow fever. This is the one spoken of by my Father, as having been attached to my Mother before her marriage.† I have heard that he requested on his death bed to see her and my Aunt Catherine, and that Grandmother was thought very brave to let them go to him, so much was that disorder then dreaded, almost as if it were the plague. I well recollect afterward visiting with my Mother an old Miss Haile Rand, the sister of this young man, who resided with a half brother, near us in Allen St Boston. There are some descendants of other branches of the family now living in Roxbury; -- with one of these, a Mr Charles Blanchard, we are slightly acquainted, but he never visited our house more than once within my recollection. A Miss Blanchard who married an Otis is also a neighbor, and has been introduced to us.

* Malden is about four miles due north of Boston.

† Above, III, 49.

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114 Vol 3. Chap 7 **Grandmothers Pollard and Blanchard**

1800 My Grandmother Blanchard's family resided, as I have before said, with my Grandmother Pollard in the Brattle Square house, at and before the time of my Mother's marriage, and were chiefly supported by her income. She was then always spoken of as "the old lady," yet she survived for nearly fourteen years after that event, and finally died of cancer; The family removed, first to Dorchester and then to Blossom St, upon the sale of her Brattle Square estate which took place in 1815 and the house was taken down to make room for the brick stores which now occupy its site. She was within a few months of 90 years of age at the time of her death. Year after year, she might have been sitting in her old arm chair, with her little stand and large Bible before her, dressed very neatly in her snowy muslin cap, brown silk gown, and white kerchief crossed over the bosom, with spectacles on nose, over which she peered at the visitor, who was always expected to shew some token of respectful acknowledgement of her presence. My mother as her eldest, was said to be her favorite grandchild, and my brother Isaac became her pet great grandchild, for whom she always kept a store of nice cakes in the old Mahogany cabinet which has descended to us through her daughter. But my Aunt Susan was, in her latter years, the old lady's chief stay and comfort; so devoted was this noble girl's atten-

115 Vol 3 – Chap 7 **Grandmother Blanchard**

1800. –dance through the painful disease which so long afflicted her Grandmother that it was thought to be one cause of her own early and lamented departure. She was sincerely attached to her Grandmother, as indeed were all the family and their connections. But an early friend of my first Mother, now surviving at the age of 80, speaks of the impressions concerning my Grandmother Blanchard as still more pleasing than those left on her mind by the "Old Lady." And she (Peggy Savage 6[*] was a truly kind mother, a faithful friend, a devoted wife, and an unpretending Christian. The house at "the Square" was a centre of attraction to all her connexions, far and wide. Even the relations in humble life from whose visitations her two elder daughters in the foolish pride of youth, would fain have escaped, were treated with the same ladylike hospitality which she shewed to the richest and the greatest. She was always the person called upon for a watcher in sickness, a friend and helper in all distress among neighbors and relatives. But her relaxation was in her garden, where she might be seen on summer mornings, in her neat white short-gown & petticoat, tending her favorite damask roses, or, in September, gathering the peaches which her fruitful trees so abundantly supplied. In winter, the pleasant evening fireside never lacked a supply from her household stores, and the nine o'clock supper was the most pleasant reunion of the twenty four hours.–

116 Vol 3 . Chap 7th

1800 My Grandfather Blanchard was, I have understood, in a very good line of business at the period of his marriage, and kept house for a time in Hanover, then Middle S[t], a very respectable neighborhood at that time. But after his failure, he became discouraged and depressed and would no longer associate with the Gentlemen of the town. I think he became a trial to his wife and family from all I have heard, and they never rose to their former

[*] "(Peggy Savage 6" in pencil and inserted via caret. Margaret Savage (nee Pollard) married Joshua Blanchard, whom Isaac often refers to as "mother Blanchard," was Margaret's' mother and was in the 6th generation from John Winslow and Mary Chilton Winslow; presumably that's what the "6" here refers to. It is quite possible this addition is by a later hand.

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station in society.* – The family living principally upon Mrs Pollard's income, were obliged to be strictly economical in all their habits, and shrunk from, rather than sought the society of those in more affluent circumstances, which Aunt Malbone would have had them cultivate. At the occasional periods of her visits at the house of her sister Pollard, they were obliged to receive her friend Mrs Hubbard, and other of her aristocratic acquaintance, and these were received by Grandmother Blanchard with the same unaffected ladylike ease, which welcomed alike the wealthiest and the poorest of her relations. _____

end of Chap 6th

* For more on the "trial" he may have been to his family, see below, IV, 136, for Margaret's thoughts on his death.

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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
University of California, Irvine
2009-10

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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."

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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."

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[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.]

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.

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 St, 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 St 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 St 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 St 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.

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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.

2 A review of her father's parents and family.

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

% Hann mar'd Dean' Jeffries Polly – Nat[l] 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.

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were miserable enough;– the town was filled with British troops, and in consequence of his dislike at having them billetted 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.

3 A review of more distant generations.

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 St, the site of which now appertains to the Tremont House, and adjoins the burying ground. He also owned houses in Union St, 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.

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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.

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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.

6

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 2d 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

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to his care. He resided several months in Naples, and a short time in Alicant, 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 reëlected 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.

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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.**

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.

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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.**

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.

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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.

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.

* 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.

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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.**

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.

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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.["]

12 An unfortunate insinuation in the early days of the marriage

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.

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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."

Birth of Isaac

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 Fathers 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.

"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"

[x] Lucy Ann Winslow, afterward Ochiltree.

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* 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.

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1802 ([x]afterward 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.

[o] brother 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 [o]Josh 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 grandaughter 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 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

[!!!] compare 1802 with 1860, M.C.W.

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.

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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, 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."

compare with 1860. !

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

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.

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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.

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 <u>feel our own</u>"‡.—

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."

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* 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?"

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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.

18 Letter to Aunt Malbone. A bridge to be built. A letter to Mrs. Waldo.

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 Jona 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.

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19 **Letter to his cousin Mrs. Chase (then Waldo)**

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 services (I speak at least for one) you may always command; – we are all well at home; Jack, as I suppose you have heard, saild for France about a month ago.– Edward went to Carolina in expectation of a good place which was there offerd to him, but [x]which 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

X
This proved an error, see previous page.

20

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.--["]

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 7[th] 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 [x]to "Cousin Betsey" at Dedham. After some business information, my Father says, "–‡

x unmarried sister of Mrs Chase, and Aunt to Charles Winslow herein mentioned.

* A common nineteenth-century American expression for *on the mend*.

† Short for *Isaac*.

‡ And again the hand changes.

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Miss E Winslow Boston Aug 4 1804

[x]Afterward "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.

[x]retail 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 <u>daily</u> communication kept up with Grandmother Blanchard's household at "the Square", left little time for <u>dullness</u> 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 20<u>th</u>, 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.

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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.

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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*)

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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.

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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.*

1805 Resumed

Birth of Henry.

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 Domestics 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.

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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 reproved 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.

1805 Her sister Mary Valet or Valette (being descended from a Hugenot 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 considerately 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. Swendenborgian 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."

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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, S[t] 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*.

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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^{t}) 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

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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 compting 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 §house, having, I presume, moved from Howard St 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, 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.

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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

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."§

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* 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."

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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 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.[†]

Geo S Winslow, Russel Bradford, and Sarah Pickering are all from Isaac Winslow brother of Joshua and son of Edw the Sheriff.

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.

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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.

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[*] 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.

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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.

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.

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* 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.

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38

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 14[th] 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 Genét‡ 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",

39 **Politics 1800-1810 continued.**

* 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).

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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 imbittered 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.

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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.

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 26[th] 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.

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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 23^rd^ 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 grandaughter 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

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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 compting 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 St 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.

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* 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.

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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

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* 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, Neelly and Jones, 1814), 182. But variations on the phrase and thought are common in the nineteenth century.

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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 22[nd], 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 Pepperell 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 18[th] of this year 1812. On the 12[th] 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 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

Uncle John had lost money by the failure of Whitwell & Bond who had his funds in their hands.

[*] "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).

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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

47	**The fascinating Mrs. Auboyneau. Mrs. Phillips of Newfoundland.**

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 grandaughter 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.

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48	Reflections on disasters.

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 Henriettta 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

49	The War of 1812. Isaac's sixth son.

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 St 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.

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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 Ben[l].

[x]Aug 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]
[x]In 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."

50	**Effects of the War on the family. Isaac's fear of a civil war.**

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.

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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

51 **Letters continued from Isaac on the War and politics.**

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?

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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

52

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 grandaughter 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 exhileration 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 <u>to us</u>, 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.

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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.

54 **Birth of Mary Timmins Quincy Hill coincides with her father's death.**

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.*

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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

55 Deaths of Sam Winslow and Madam Jarvis. A great fire in Portsmouth, NH.

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 grandaughter 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

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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 St – 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 <u>now</u> find the month & day

JPB

56

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 17<u>th</u>

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.

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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.

57

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 St, 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, <u>felt</u> 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."

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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.

58

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."††

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* 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.

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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.

59

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.

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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^{c}Donough,‡ besides another near Fort Erie, and chiefly by the brilliant repulse of the British army at New Orleans under Gen Packenham§ (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 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

Character of Bonaparte

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.

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* 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.

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61 Reflections on the long peace following the War of 1812 and the Napoleonic wars

1815
Birth of a son to Uncle Benjamin.

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.

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."

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.

Arrival of Mr & Mrs Huston and Aunt Henrietta from Newfoundland.

62

Deaths of Mrs Houston her child and Gmother Blanchard.

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.

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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 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

My Mother's letter to Mrs Hodge on Family Afflictions.

* *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.

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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 abut 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.

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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.

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– 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**" 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? browntic? 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*.

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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 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.

Marriage of Princess Charlotte May 2 1816. Great rejoicings in England.

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.

3[rd] marriage of Mr Houston

68 **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.

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.

Death of "Aunt Patty."

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

State of the Country.

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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–

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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 year1816 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 previous

1817

["]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.

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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,—

70	The dangers of Imperialism. Isaac reflects on recent suicides.

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.

1817.

Tour of Pres[t] Monroe.

Death of Princess Charlotte and infant Nov 6 1817 Universal mourning in England.

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 ["]the 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 S[ts] Boston. He was in the West India business for a time, probably corresponding with my Uncle John in S[t] 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.

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* 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 .

‡ Caleb Stark (1759- 1838), eldest son of the Revolutionary hero General John Stark (1728–1822).

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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 St, 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."

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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".

Illinois admitted into the Union December 4th 1818.

France evacuated by the Allies Oct 1818.

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.

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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.

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.

Prevalent sickness

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 spa at the period.

§ Mary Cotton.

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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.

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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

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 <u>have been</u> 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.

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* 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.

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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

77 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.

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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.

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.

Family Journeys.

On the 12th of July 1820 a seventh son was prematurely born to my Parents in Leverett St. 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 St establishment, she had kept school in Lynde St 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 St, and then to that of a Mrs Lakeman in Federal St.

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.

79

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.

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* 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.

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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.

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.

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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 Wm 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

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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."

82

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 unsuspiciously 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 Cornucopea as a remembrance of him; all unconscious that its 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."

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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".‡

84 Isaac's poem on Henry' death.

By I W.

Lines on my dear son Henry who died July 1821.§

"All flesh is grass."**

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* 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."

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"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, oe'r 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.

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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 millenial 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;

86 **Letter from her mother to Aunt Hodge about Henry's death.**

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 bestowd 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 <u>God is love</u>.

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; –

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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.

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.

1821

My Mother's letter to Mrs Hodge.

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 <u>all</u> 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.

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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.

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.

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* 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.

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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 916. 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

90	**More on the changing Boston neighborhoods.**

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 reëlected the following year."

† According to http://www.cityofboston.gov/archivesandrecords/Guide to the Charles Street Jail records.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.

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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^{tts} 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^{c}Adamised, 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 Plebean, 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^{tts} 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 "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

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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 St.

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 St 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 St 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 McLean Asylum,* she having become violently deranged. He continued to board at Miss Cotton's in Pearl St. 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† chamber of our house in Leverett St, 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

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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.

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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?

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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)††

94

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)

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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.

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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 [X]to 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,

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[*] 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*.

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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

aff'ly 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.

98 **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.

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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 St 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.

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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 thiry* 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.

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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 St 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.

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[“] ”* 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 St, 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.

101

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 St 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 Calvanists of Old and Park St 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 *yᵉ*, and archaic abbreviation for *the*. According to *OED*, “In manuscript (e.g. in letter-writing) yᵉ 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*.

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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[c]Gregor, 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

102

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

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[*] 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).

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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 St 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.

103

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 St 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 St 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 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.

104 **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

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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.

105 **Origins of the Friday evening "Sociables."**

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.

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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 <u>home</u>, 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.

106 **Election day and Election vacation.**

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 Lection"† 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*.

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June

June 2nd

I suppose with the Pickerings. On Artillery Election the latter returned the compliments, for Mother writes, "The Houston girls, Eliz[th] Chase, and Miss Thomas here. Boys in plenty." On the 3rd of June occurred the funeral of Jon[n] 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.

107 **Journal continued.**

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."

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* 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*).

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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.

108	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 St–["]

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.

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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.

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.

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.

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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.

111	**An "absurd epistle" from Isaac Jr. to his Mother.**

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.*

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7 to 8 hours ride by Stage x

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 suf"* 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.*

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[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 IWJr 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 – IWJr

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* 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 Propsero'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.

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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 compting 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.

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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^{t}. 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."

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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

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.

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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[r] 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 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.

August.

La Fayette visit.

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.

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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 swarthiness 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.

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"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 Govr 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 Engd 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 <u>appearance</u> were detaild to guard

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1825. Military experience of my brothers.

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

* 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.*

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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 –["]

Elected X Vice Pres't

Thus closed the solom & serious services of burying a Democratic Governor –

Politics

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 [x]Calhoun 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 Edward in Carolina: Aunt Hudgens in N Orleans. The latter writes to my Father under date of Feb 1825 –

Letter from Aunt Hudgens.

["]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.

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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.

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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".

126 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 *Wilkings*.

[‡] 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.

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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.

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.

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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

128 **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 <u>contempt</u> 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 <u>all</u> 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 <u>in their absence</u>; and that he <u>endeavored</u> 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 <u>and</u> 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 <u>inward</u> consolation was, "He who does good for the sake of gratitude will often lamentably miss his aim.–

He who does it out of <u>his own gratitude to God will never miss it</u>."

And truly his <u>was</u> a grateful heart to God, as all his words, his prayers, his conduct through his life testified, seldom has man a more <u>filial</u> spirit than his was.

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* Meaning perhaps that he will appear not to know what others think of him.

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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.

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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.

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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 St and communicating to State, Central, and Kilby Sts. 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 St 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.

Great Boston Fire.

State St W India goods – Francis Whitney
" 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 St Dry Goods Clark & Sears – C & C F Adams – Fox & Bixby –
" Thomas Dennie, Skinner & Dunn, Joseph Leeds & Co –
" Richards & Seaver, Benjamin Dow – Daniel Stone

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& 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 <u>American</u>* 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 10[th] in Court S[t] – April 15[th] Peach trees in blossom, then 72 to 74

19[th] Ice ½ inch thick then 20 to 30

Spring very hot & dry till a NE rain came June 2[nd] & 3[rd] – July also <u>very</u> 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 21[st] & 22[nd] 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.

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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 between two hogsheads, the packages of silk making a sort of cushion which broke his fall, and thus providentially saved perhaps his life.

Sept Coz Betsey

[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.‡

Sept 25th

1825 June

Bunker Hill

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.

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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

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."

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* 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 (neé Sarah Tyng Winslow). And see above, I, 190.

** More usually spelled in the family Debuc or Debuke.

†† Comet C/1825 N1, a non-periodic comet. It reached a maximum brightness of magnitude 2-3, and its tail spanned 14 degrees, which is indeed considered long.

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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 St 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 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 St Church in 1748; the stone is visible from Tremont St near the fence. This Joshua's father died 1716, and was probably the first settler of the name, perhaps a Hugenot, 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 Hugenots 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.‡

1826

Blanchard family

see "Recollect-ions of a second Mother" by MCW 1858.

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.

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* 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.

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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.

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* 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 (neé 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:

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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

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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.

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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.

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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. Instruction 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.

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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

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 to[2] 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

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[*] 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.

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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 <u>not</u> submitted myself: My pride has overcome the love I ought to bear <u>Him</u>, whose forbearance has been so great, & whose

141 Continued

1826

Letter of IW to Mr S Sparhawk

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.

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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 kindliness 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

142	**Margaret reflects on this**

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.

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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 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.

Letter from Mrs Hodge on G father Blanchard's death.

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

144 **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.

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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 of to that awful Power of evil who chooses rather — — — — — — — — — — — — "to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven."‡

In the characters of those around us, as well as in the records of History and of Revolution, we may if we will, study the effect of God's dealings, both of propriety and adversity, upon men and nations as they will to receive them; and this study may and should be a warning or an example as the case shall warrant. As the old copy books have it,

"Happy is he – whom other mens' harms –Do make beware",§

or in the language of the 107th Psalm –

"Who is wise and will observe these things, even they shall understand the loving kindness of the Lord."**

145 Margaret's Mother's journal commenced. A trip to Lowell and a canal boat ride.

1826 Father's Journal

Jan 1st Six inches of snow fell pretty level; making excellent sleighing. Jan 12th about four inches more fell. Good sleighing and moderate pleasant weather till the 16th when after a light snow, the month became very cold – Harbor frozen to the Castle – On the 21st the thermometer in Boston stood at 8 below 0 about sunrise and had been 2 below for the morning previous. Sleighing very good – snow hard and level.

Jan 29th Harbor opened by sawing through the ice after being closed for seven days – No foreign entries since the 19[?]th – coldest weather since 1821. Jan 30th Snow till 4 PM. Jan 31st all day. No farther mention of the weather or events of the year in this Journal till May 31st when my Father and Mother set off on a journey to Philadelphia. But from a journal commenced by my Mother in 1826 which I have just come across,†† I will make some

Mother's Journal. Circumstances omitted in 1826.

* Margaret's mother, Isaac's wife.

† Possibly Margaret's brother Isaac, who had visited Mrs. Hodge in Philadelphia (above, IV, 114).

‡ Milton, *Paradise Lost* (1674) I, 263. "Better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven" is Satan's choice, and Margaret's point is that we have been granted free will to do right or wrong.

§ Proverbial from about 1500. It turns up in all sorts of places, from *Gorboduc* to *Poor Richard's Almanack*.

** Psalm 107: 43.

†† A very important discovery as her mother's journal now becomes the chief source for the Memorial right up to her mother's death.

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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.).*

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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

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* 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 .

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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 St 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 *DuChezeau* 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.

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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 St"
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 McKeige & three daughters, grandaughter 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.

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* 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).

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Jan 5th mentions Harding the Painter* as one of her Friday dinner party and a Mr Bullfinch a stranger, I suppose.
Sun 7th Mentions Aunts Henrietta and Pickering going to an evening lecture by Dr Channing† – Same evening my father having been to see Old Mrs Sandemanian Harris, stops in "to hear Mr Beecher‡ afterward Dr Beecher "hold forth in his new Gothic church in Hanover S[t] – thinks him a sensible man." So go the contraries in religion! I fancy old Mrs Harris, Drs Channing and Beecher if they had all "held forth" in the same place would have been curious to hear.
Dec 9th Hears of sudden death of young Harry Otis§ after a sleighing party.
Dec 10th Judge Potter of Portland, and British Consul Manners & Son to dine. Father attends Anniversary meeting of "the Howard benevolent society".**
Dec 13th "Thomas Sparhawk & Dr [Reuton? Renton?] both from Concord NH dined here". Very cold weather as Father previously mentions "Everybody complaining of frost bitten noses and ears."
19th "Went to see E Chase and Sally Waldo – their chamber very cold." Few people now, at least in our cities, have an idea how even families in good circumstances then suffered with the cold. Few had a fire in their sleeping rooms except in case of illness, and when they did, the breath was visible a few feet from it, so it was in the family sitting room Those only were at all warm who sat close to the open fireplace –All others were and expected to be cold as a matter of course. In the chambers every drop of liquid froze solid, and the windows were all day curtained with thick frost, especially if it were cloudy weather, or they were facing North Halls or entries were equally chilly – Kitchens were cold with a roaring wood fire in them, Pumps had to be wrapped in woolen: plants blanketed around the parlor fire; every breakable vessel or pitcher emptied for fear of cracking; and provisions cared for liable to be injured by freezing hard.

150 Robberies. A Pirate hanged next door. Mother's cough. Frank Waldo

Mother's Journal

Jan 22nd Aunt Henrietta had a valuable gold watch stolen from the parlor by a woman who professed to apply for a situation as cook. Nothing ever heard of it–. Uncle Blanchard had a year or two previous been robbed of his watch by two foot pads†† in a bye street of Boston; – So it seems that the town was "getting on" even then.
Jan 27th Little Margaret's birth day 11 years old – She was indulged with a small party, a great many sugar plums and scraps of poetry(?)* from the boys. On the 25th Father had dined with

* Above, IV, 101, 104.

† William Ellery Channing (above, IV, 58) and uncle and mentor of Ben's Harvard classmate William Henry Channing.

‡ Lyman Beecher (1775–1863), father of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Henry Ward Beecher, Charles Beecher, Edward Beecher, among others. He was a conservative Calvinist appalled by the liberal drift of Boston churches towards Unitarianism, a strong advocate of Temperance, and a leader of the evangelical Second Great Awakening. The Hanover Street Church, alluded to here, was built in 1826 and burned down in 1830.

§ Perhaps a son of Harrison Gray Otis (above, IV, 91n.).

** Founded in 1819 to respond to the needs of families and widows in crisis and still in operation at 14 Beacon St..

†† Footpad. *OED: A highwayman who robs on foot.* Obsolete.

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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.

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* 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."

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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 St and went to board with a Mrs Whitwell in Chestnut St
23rd "Small dinner party – Mr R D Tucker & Son, Mr James Hall, Mr Dixon and Mr Gossler, a German".
28th "Robert Manners here evening to play chess, also previously on the 19th A fast† young Englishman, as was his burly Father before him My Father drawn into this intimacy by business relations, but although lefthanded descendants‡ of Nobility, they were very undesirable acquaintance for us,

1827 and it was a Providential mercy that our young men were not ruined by the intercourse as perhaps I have before remarked.§
March was occupied with much the same ongoings of the family – Everyday some of the family connections calling in at "the house" as it was familiarly called, or sometimes, "the Ark": Little gatherings there or at my Aunt Pickering's; "The boys" invited to parties among their acquaintance, and strangers dining with us, or coming to pass an evening. Among these I chiefly remember one little Mr Heilbron a Jew merchant of London, the head of the firm

* A good hour-long walk today under ideal conditions.

† *Webster's 3rd Unabridged* suggests two possible meanings: either *unusually quick and ingenious or cunning in finding or recognizing and profiting by easy and often shady ways of making or acquiring money* or *marked by trickery and unfairness.*

‡ Either descendants via a morganatic marriage or via illegitimate descent. "Morganatic" means, in the *OED*'s definition, *Designating or relating to a marriage in which a man of high rank marries a wife of lower rank, but neither the wife nor any children of the marriage have any claim to the possessions or title of the husband. Also (occas.): designating a similar arrangement between a woman of high rank and a man of lower rank.*

§ This is the first notice we have had of Mr. Manners. A Wikipedia article on General Lord Robert Manners (c. 1721– 1782) lists among his children a General Robert Manners (1758–1823), who had a mistress, Mary Ann Goodchild (1780–1854) (also known as Mansel) with whom he had 5 children, and it is possible he is the father of the Robert Manners mentioned here. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lord_Robert_Manners_%28British_Army_general%29 .

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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

153 A party of people soon to be dispersed and Margaret's reflections on "unimagined consequences." M. & Mme. Canda

satisfaction of "the Alderman," who thought he was making a profound impression of English superiority on the benighted Yankees around him.

Ap 16th "Hard frost– Ice an inch thick – great change from the warm weather in March."

18th "Our B P W has a short vacation; so he went to the theatre with "the Alderman" and walked around to shew him the city, for which he appeared grateful; but it required some confidence to go about with him as he made himself so conspicuous, and Benjamin did not much like it.

Fri 20th Small party in the evening.– Mrs McKeige and daughter Francis‡ and Mrs Hoit were here["] (the former lives now in Italy, having married an Italian by the name of Penazzi) – another daughter married afterward a German by the name of Schneidler[?] and lives in that country or somewhere in Europe – I attended Mrs McKeige's French school at this time, as did also Ellen Houston and Amory Winslow) – ["]also the three Houston girls were of this party Francis Doane daughter of our neighbor Sam Doane, Eliza Pickering and "boys," ["] our "own boys" of course, ["]and a Mr and Mrs Canda and their children – These were French people and in reduced circumstances and he was said to have been an officer in Napoleon's Army, and his wife of a good family in France– She was quite ladylike and accomplished, and they kept a dancing school to which I went at this time – and also a few boarders lived with them to learn the French language. The children danced this evening beautifully for us as I remember, by the father's violin; – After the revolution of July 1830, I

* I.e., Mr. Heilbron was the head of the firm that has since become McLean, Maris & Co.

† Formerly the Bowdoin Mansion.

‡ There seems to have been less consistency in spelling the female form of the name "Frances" in the mid-nineteenth-century (and vice versa) than there is nowadays.

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believe the family returned to France,* Thus have been since scattered to all the parts of the world, those who once met beneath my Father's roof in social intercourse. How strange it would be to meet them all again and hear their various fates and vicissitudes. May it not be so hereafter? Even a transient intercourse with others, leaves some effect upon the character, perhaps upon the lot of everyone.– Will that effect not be revealed in the disclosures of all things which we are assured will take place in the future world? If so, should not Christians watch and pray that even such casual meetings may be for good and not for evil, so far as they are concerned. A word, a look a tone of voice, even a manner, may be a seed of unimagined consequences.

154 M. L'Augier's method of musical instruction. Exhibition of pictures at the Athenaeum.

1827 Journal

Last illness of Sally Waldo

All through the month of May, Sally Waldo continued to decline, being frequently visited and even watched with by Aunt Pickering and Aunt Henrietta at Mrs Whitwell's – My Mother also visited her, but it was a great effort to her as her own cough was now increasing and she had begun to spit blood. Mr Sam Sparhawk was in Boston at this time for a few days to see - his son Oliver who was boarding with Monsieur and Madame Canda, and his daughter Elizabeth who was staying with her cousin Mrs Newell at Charlestown in order to obtain a quarter's instruction in music. Her teacher and mine both established what was called the L'Augiarian system from a Frenchman L'Augier who invented it to perfect the ear in keeping time. Several pupils played on different pianos at the same time – One leading in the theme, and the others playing each a separate harmony or variation to the principal air, so as to produce one whole or simultaneous effect upon the audience.

May 23rd Mother writes, "Eliza Pickering, Elizabeth Sparhawk Mr Winslow, our Edward, myself and little Margaret all went to see an exhibition of pictures at the Athenaeum some of them very fine. All returned here to tea with the addition of our BP in from Cambridge, and Eliza and Margt Houston. May 9th Bought a silk dress, $4.50, the whole dress cost.†

26th "I accompanied Elizabeth Chase to see Mrs Robbins in Beacon St 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.

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30th Election day. E Pickering and self went out to make purchases for a journey to N York and Philadelphia. We had here to bid us good bye, Eliza, M and Ellen Houston, E Sparhawk Miss Thomas, Brs JPBlanchard and B Winslow,* and heaps of boys.
31st Mr W, E Pickering, our Edward and myself set off in the stage at 5 AM – Got to Providence at 12 M,† and on board the steam boat Washington. Had a very pleasant time, not sick, as I expected

155 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.

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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.

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.

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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^{c}Dugal'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.

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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

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 Wm 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 Margt 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).

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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 Wm 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 Cunnigham, Mrs Josh Haven, and several strangers among who was Gosler‡ the German. Next day Mrs McKeige's boarders returned to her house.
21st Our BP drove me in a chaise to bring home our little M – She has been staying a week with E Chase – E Sparhawk also there. Found a party at home waiting for us, Mrs Hoit and sister Mary McKeige and, little Mary Cockburn, Miss Campbell, Miss Hammond, Miss Page, Miss Babcock and Eliza Pickering" She has these girls all at her house tomorrow even'g.

160 Excursions. President Adams. An ugly black lizard. Comings and goings.

* Written over "both" is the numeral "2" and over the "for" a "1." A mystery to me what they mean. And see below, V, 27n.

† On the South Shore, east of Quincy.

‡ Above, IV, 151, his name is spelled *Gossler*.

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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 Greenlief'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 St for 4000 dollars.††
16th Heard of deaths of Sam Sewalls son, Brookline, and Saml Simpson Cambridgeport.

* 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.

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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.

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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 Millenial 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

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displeasing to the latter, who was of a very opposite character. The one lived to God, the other to the world. Had it been

163 Reflections on Daniel Humphreys. Thanksgiving party.

1827 otherwise, what would <u>now</u> 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 <u>abideth forever</u>."* 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 grandaughter 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 grandaughter 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 <u>little</u> 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.

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164	Little Midshipman J. A. Winslow. All the flock together again.

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 St

165a§	Parties.

1828 was ushered in by a large family party New Years night at my Aunt Pickering's house in Barton St –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 stai'd home with my Mother.** Aunt Pickering was fond of young people and so made her house very pleasant to them, so the party was probably enjoyed as much as the little miffs and disappointments and "contretems"†† which attend young flirtations such as were always going on in the family would permit. There were also some young ladies out of the family there – a Miss Sarah Thayer and a very pretty interesting daughter of Dr Harris the Dorchester clergyman. These young ladies also visited at our house some times.

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* 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*.

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Jan 4th We also had a party of our former neighbors Mrs Doane and Hall with their daughters, Mrs Chapman and her daughters, Mrs Coffin and her daughter – a Miss Bridge of Charlestown who came with Mrs Newell, Neighbor Thatcher & sister, neighbor Phillips & daughter – Aunts Hudgens and Pickering, Eliza Houston, E Chase Miss Willis &c – The Journal says, "without intending it they danced by the Piano, and, I believe, enjoyed themselves very much. We had the husbands and brothers of the ladies with the addition of Charles Ward Oliver Sparhawk Mr Kinsman, Mr B Winslow Sen, the Pickering boys and our own. Quite a large party for us.

Dinner parties also continue to be mentioned, of sometimes one or two strangers sometimes more. My brother George seems at this time to have had a touch of scarlet fever and afterward rheumatism in the hands and feet, but was not very sick. The Small Pox being about, Dr Shattuck vaccinated my Mother George and myself, but without effect. BPW returned to his class at Cambridge Dec 5th, but continued to come in very frequently.

165b Margaret's mother's declining health amid continued comings and goings. Little M.'s 12th birthday party.

Jan 12th My Mother mentions some of the family as going to see Chantry's Statue of Washington, "lately put up in the State House."*
My Mother's cough continued severe, and her health was declining, yet still the coming and going is daily recorded much as follows –
["]Sunday Dec 13th Uncle Davis, E Pickering & boys here at meeting, also Oliver Sparhawk – Miss Thayer staying here – Her brother called
Nov 14th Consul Manners and Son here – He, Edward Thomas and Sarah Thayer played Whist.

16th Musical party in the back room, Charles Ward Wm 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 & Cathe 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 whirligig vessel§ – Ben W Senior and Wm 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.

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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 slinkey† 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 is 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).

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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*.

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extent of a Parent's affection you can never fully understand until you are yourself a parent, and then not that of a **Mother**."*

Sandemanians

March 23rd occurred the death of another old Sandemanian, a Mr Butler who was burned to death by a terrible accident. He was connected with the Cottons and Howes of that denomination, and I remember him quite well sitting with old Mr Howe and Mrs Harris who had a shaking palsy in her head, around the elders' table in the Sandemanian meeting. They were very good old people, but not, I believe, very wise, and I invariably went to sleep during their prosy "expositions[”] of the Bible – I rather think that my Father & Mother had hard work not to do so also. A letter from a brother of this Mr Howe in Halifax, who was a much brighter Sandemanian, refers to old Mr Butlers' death and also to an unhappy difference of opinion

169 Sandemanian controversies and their effect on the church and its members.

1828 (not of feeling) which took place upon the two natures of Christ, about this time between Mr Samuel Sparhawk and Mr Humphreys the leaders of the Sandemanian Society in Portsmouth. The principles of this sect forbade them to associate with any member who did not strictly agree in opinion with the ruling elder – and taking literally the injunction in the first of Corinthians 5th 8 "with such an one no not to eat,"† the other members would not sit at the same table, at a common daily meal with the one who differed. A total misconstruction of the text, and of true Christian Unity or of Christian liberty. The occurrence was a grievous trial to both of those good but mistaken men; especially to Mr Sparhawk one of the most devoted and consistent Christians who, ever lived. It disturbed all the Sandemanians everywhere, and the Portsmouth families especially – Yet they were equally to do each other all the good in their power as Mr S continued to do toward Mr H and his family during the remainder of his life, and as his children did after him. Yet there is

Letters of and to my Father.

little doubt that his sufferings on this occasion injured his delicate health and perhaps shortened his days. Truly in Scripture reading, "the letter killeth but the spirit giveth life."‡ Besides the Sandemanian letters on this subject, I find letters of thanks, about this time, from several of my Father's beneficiaries, old & destitute connections of the family, businessmen helped with facilities, and advocates of good public causes upheld by his aid Among others one from a Quaker a Mr Lundy,§ acknowledging a donation for the then infant work of Antislavery reform. He was the Editor of the first Emancipation journal in Baltimore. A copy of my Father's letter to an English

* The underlining and bold hand in which "Mother" is written are Margaret's editorial emphases. Margaret's mother is saying to her son he won't know how deeply a parent loves until he is a father, and even then he won't understand the depth of a mother's love. The letter is quoted again with slightly different wording below, V, 125, and there "not the affection of a Mother" is all underlined.

† Actually, should be 1 Corinthians 5: 11: "But now I have written unto you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such an one no not to eat." Taken literally, of course, and as Margaret herself well understands, the injunction would not have to apply so broadly as to include everyone with whom the elder did not agree on all religious questions.

‡ 2 Corinthians 3: 6: "Who also hath made us able ministers of the new testament; not of the letter, but of the spirit: for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life."

§ Benjamin Lundy (1789–1839), editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, which ran from 1821 to 1839.

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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.

170 † **Copies made in 1828 by Isaac's sons of two of his letters.**

Isaac Winslow's letter *Boston May 22nd 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[§]

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[*] 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 usherd† 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

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* [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=waYuAAAAYAAJ&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 miscalld "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[*] *exciting 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 embarassments 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 Svt [?]
Yours &c JMV

[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

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* 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~~."

Family Memorial

The Winslows of Boston

Isaac Winslow
Margaret Catherine Winslow

In Five Volumes

Volume V

Boston, Massachusetts
1837?-1873?

Transcribed and Edited by Robert Newsom
University of California, Irvine
2009-10

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Volume Five*

1

Extracts from Horace Greeley's
"American Conflict." Vol 1st chap 9th

"Benjamin Lundy deserves the high honor of ranking as the Pioneer of direct and distinctive Anti Slavery in America"– –"Born in Sussex county New Jersey, Jan 4th 1789 of Quaker parents, he injured himself while yet a mere boy, by excessive labor on his father's farm."† Leaving it at the age of nineteen, he learned the trade of a sadler at Wheeling Virginia, and that place being a slave trading thoroughfare to the S West, he gained an insight into the cruelties and villanies of slaveholding. In 1815 while living with his wife and children at St Clairsville Ohio near Wheeling, he organized an association known as the "Union Humane Society," whereof the first meeting was held at his own house and consisted of but five or six persons. Within a few months its numbers were swelled to four or five hundred, and included the best and most prominent citizens of Belmont and the adjacent counties. Lundy wrote an appeal to Philanthropists on the subject of slavery printed in 1816. Short and simple as it was, it contained the germ of the entire Anti Slavery movement. He also contributed to a weekly journal called the Philanthropist. He then edited in Mount Pleasant a monthly, "The Genius of universal Emancipation," afterward published and printed in E Tennessee by his own hand, under threats of personal violence. In 1824 he removed to Baltimore, speaking of forming societies on his way, visited Hayti in 1825, after which, having lost his wife he travelled Eastward, and converted to his views Wm Loyd Garrison‡ and many others; was nearly killed in Baltimore by a slave trader, – journeyed to Texas and Mexico, with a view to colonizing negroes and also to Canada. Removed his paper to Philadelphia where his property was destroyed by a mob; migrated with his children to La Salle Co Illinois, –republished his paper, but died of fever Aug 22 1839. "This closed one of the most heroic, devoted, unselfish courageous lives ever lived on this continent." Greeley "Amn Conflict" published 1869.§

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* The first four pages of this final volume contain genealogical information in quite a large round hand. Evidently the notes here were intended to serve as labels for four family portraits then in possession of Isaac's or Margaret's family and previously mentioned and/or described. These were of Col. Benjamin Pollard, his wife Margaret (daughter of Edward the Sheriff, Joshua Winslow (son of Edward the Sheriff) and Edward the Sheriff himself. The notes are not here transcribed. The following four leaves have been cut out of the bound "Album," as it is labeled on the front cover.

† Probably Margaret intended to quote exactly and extensively from Greeley, but this is where exact quotation ends. Much of what follows is condensed and edited from Greeley's account.

‡ William Lloyd Garrison (1805–1879). She has trouble spelling *Lloyd* both here and below. Margaret appears to be wrong in crediting Lundy with Garrison's abolitionist beliefs, though he did persuade him to collaborate on the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. It isn't clear why Margaret underlines his name, but possibly because of some associations with the family. In 1835 Garrison was almost lynched in the streets of Boston and spent a night for his own safety in the Leverett St. Jail next door to the Winslows. He was moreover very close to another very important Abolitionist, Wendell Phillips, brother of Benjamin Pollard's classmate at Harvard George William Phillips (above, IV, 161).

§ (Hartford: O. D. Case & Co., 1865). As Greeley himself tells us in a footnote, his account was condensed from that of Thomas Earle's 1847 biography (115n.).

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2

Family History. 1828.

My Mother's Diary. April.

This Mr Lundy who wrote a note of thanks to my Father for aiding him in the Anti Slavery cause, then in its infancy and extremely unpopular in this country. – is thus mentioned in my Mother's Journal of April 1828.——

Apr 3rd. "A Mr Lundy, a Quaker, was here in the evening. He came to get Mr Winslow to subscribe to a Paper for the Emancipation of Slaves, which is to be printed in Baltimore.* He staid all the evening and gave us a long account of what had been done to favor the plan." – It is not unlikely that Aunt Henrietta and my Uncle Blanchard also privately contributed to this object, as they were always warmly interested in the Anti Slavery cause, and also their dear friend Miss Cotton, afterward Uncle Bs second wife. Dr Channing also might have aided this Baltimore philanthropist, for he early took high courageous ground in the matter, although never actually joining the Antislavery Society in Boston formed under the leadership of Wm Loyde Garrison, about this period or a few years later. Could any one have then foreseen the terrible struggles and dissentions, ending in a bloody civil war of four years duration, to which this humble movement was the prelude, how astonishing would have seemed the truth of those words, "Behold how great a fire a little matter kindleth."† Not upon those who shewed, at the risk of fame, fortune, and life, the awful evils of Slavery to the Nation, – rests the blame of that costly struggle which terminated them; – But the blood of their country is upon the heads of those who persecuted those early Prophets, and endeavored to quench the truths which, timely heeded, would have saved all that crime and misery which War never fails to bring in its train. It was to <u>prevent</u> war that the Peace loving Quakers early arrayed themselves against Slavery, which is in itself a prolonged War waged on the poor and defenceless.

3 **Philanthropic subscriptions. A duel in Washington averted.**

1828

My Mother's Diary April.

Ap 5th "BPW tells us that there has been much excitement in Cambridge about President Kirkland. He resigned his place partly from indifferent health, but partly in consequence of some improper remark made by the Committee respecting his inattention to his duties. All the students however, the Professors and almost everyone else seem to think he has been ill treated. The Students subscribed for five pieces of Plate, as a token of their regard for him."‡

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* It was already being published. The Wikipedia article on Lundy at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Benjamin_Lundy says that in 1828 he traveled on foot through the Eastern states giving speeches. I believe it was during this trip that he first met Garrison, whose collaboration began the following year.

† A frequent misquotation of James 3: 5: "Even so the tongue is a little member, and boasteth great things. Behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth!"

‡ According to the University's own web site, Kirkland was indeed beloved, but came under fire from the Corporation for fiscal laxity. He had in 1827 suffered a stroke. http://www.president.harvard.edu/history/14_kirkland.php . He died in 1840.

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Ap 7th. "Our BPW went to pass a part of his vacation with some of his classmates at Portsmouth and Exeter. He there saw the Houston girls and had several walks with them."
Ap 14th "Two ladies of the "Fragment Society"* called to collect my annual subscription". This society was formed to clothe the poor out of the waste pieces thrown aside by the Rich. –A very good idea, and it might be carried into the departments of food and fuel, especially now when there is ten times the waste in households, that existed at the period mentioned.
Ap 17th "Mrs McKeige and her Grandaughter Mary Cockburn came here to stay a few days, as she is breaking up housekeeping. Her daughter, staying with the Misses Ross in M[t] Vernon S[t], came in the evening to see her."
Ap 19th "Mr Winslow dined with Richard D Tucker'.
" 21st "Margaret and Mary Cockburn went to a Miss Easton's school – Mrs McKeige's french school being no longer kept. They take lessons in French and Italian of Miss Emma Dégen[?]".
Ap 23rd "Two ladies called on Henrietta B about an infant school for the children of laboring mothers;– a good thing".

"Every body is talking of the insulting conduct of Russel Jarvis† in Washington toward Secretary Adams son of the President. People every where seem much enraged at Jarvis; Adams being in his Official duty at the time."

4 The preacher Moffitt and his accident. A new Packet ship. Tyranny of the Manufacturing caste.

April 25th "E Pickering and Henrietta B went to see old Trinity Church once more before it is pulled down."‡
Ap 30th "Mrs McKeige and daughter left for Providence, R.I. Mary Cockburn remains with us." This same day while the famous Methodist preacher Moffitt§ was declaiming on the platform of an unfinished meeting house at the North End at the ceremony of laying the corner stone, the platform gave way and a large number of people were precipitated into the cellar – One life was lost, and many persons were badly injured." This Moffitt was much run after in Boston and throughout the Country.– He was an eloquent man but not it was said a very sincere one. It is reported that his wife once exclaimed to him on occasion of some domestic grievance "Eh! Jonnie, Jonnie, if a' the folk kenned ye as weel as mysel, ye'd nae be sae muckle run after."
May 1st My Mother mentions "an elegant new Packet Ship,– "the Boston," fitted up to run between Boston and Liverpool, as "being visited by hundreds of admiring citizens." Boston

* Founded 1812. There is a useful history at http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~sch00585 .

† Russell Jarvis, a newspaperman and partisan opponent of the Adams presidency. It was John Quincy Adams II who started the affair through some ill-chosen remarks made at the White House during a levee at which Jarvis appeared with some friends and family. The context included the President's opposition to dueling. Jarvis responded by attempting to pull young Adams' nose some days later in the Capitol Rotunda, which is the incident referred to here, and a scuffle ensued, followed by a great deal of the absurdity that can always be expected when the honor of gentlemen has been questioned. No duel ensued, but both Houses of Congress got involved and there were extensive investigations and hearings, but without significant issue, and the affair gradually lost steam. It is detailed in Samuel Flagg Bemis, "The Scuffle in the Rotunda: A Footnote to the Presidency of John Quincy Adams and to the History of Dueling," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Third Series, Vol. 71, (Oct., 1953 - May, 1957), 156-166.

‡ The original building, built in 1734.

§ Unidentified.

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was then a Merchant city – not as it is now a depot of the factories; although the rich perhaps were already striving to make it so. But as yet, "her Merchants were Princes – her traffickers the honorable of the earth."* Honorable in character, liberal in taste and in beneficence, enlarged in culture and enterprising in intercourse with all other nations. From the time she became a Manufacturing Caste city her policy grew narrow, her courage turned to cowardice, her enterprise was checked, and she became the passive tool of a Slave holding Oligarchy, crushing down at its haughty bidding every movement of independent thought, every act of far sighted and intelligent citizenship.– To this Caste-tyranny two Merchants would not submit, Henry Lee and my Father.

5 Her mother's cough worsens. A fire on the roof. A call from Salmon P. Chase.

May 1828 –- The terrible cough increases† so much that my poor Mother can no longer head her frequent dinner parties, or receive evening company.– She has fever turns‡ at night and has to keep her bed till noon the next day.– So my Father determined to arrange his multifarious affairs for a journey; but, as it seemed impossible for him to leave at that time, it was settled that my Mother should as soon as possible, be removed into the country. A boarding place was obtained for her at Mrs Allen's house in Newton, and the household was to be superintended by Mrs Warren an old nurse and domestic; but as she then "went out nursing," she could not "make it convenient to come," and Miss Thomas was invited to head the table during the absence of my Mother and Aunt Henrietta, who was to accompany her into the country.

Meanwhile the Diary continues the same account of people coming and going, continually; – a fire on the roof which came near unhousing us all; Repairs and renovations proceeding about the place as usual every spring; Strangers arriving and departing; young folks frolicking, &c, &c, as for instance "Boys had a serenade this evening"—
May 24th "Young Clarke,§ our Benjamin's "Chum" at Cambridge dined here – William Pickering joined them after dinner, and they had a grand bout of it." Mentions at the same time a terrible thunder shower during which a Painter was killed in Elm St while at his work on the window of a house there.
May 26th My Mother speaks of Pres't Adams having "signed the dreadful Tariff bill, there has been such a fuss about"
May 28th Among others who called, was an Uncle of Elizth Chase, Member of Congress – no other than our recent Secretary of the Treasury – now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court appointed by our beloved and lamented Prest Lincoln.**

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* Isaiah 23: 8: "Who hath taken this counsel against Tyre, the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth?"

† The shift into the present tense is striking, and no less so for its being transitory. (Margaret returns to it, below, V, 23.) It may be simply that as Margaret reads her mother's journal she feels herself reliving days that she vividly remembers and wants to hold onto (she was about to turn sixteen at this time and was within two years and two months of losing her mother), or she may more self-consciously be using a narrative technique (employed by Dickens and Carlyle among others) to convey a sense of immediacy and suspense.

‡ *OED: An attack of illness, faintness, or the like; also, a fit of passion or excitement.. Webster's 3rd Unabridged: a disordering spell or attack (as of illness, faintness, dizziness).*

§ James Freeman Clarke (above, IV, 137 and n.).

** Salmon Portland Chase (1808–1873), He was a U.S. Senator from Ohio and a Governor of Ohio, U.S. Treasury Secretary under Lincoln and nominated by him as Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court,

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6	Consul Manners on Daniel Webster. Newton pleasant and improving health.

1828 — Mother's residence at Newton.

May 30th "Consul Jarvis & daughter of Leonard Jarvis from Vermont Mr & Mrs Duncan of Haverhill, Henry Willis, E Chase, B Winslow the elder, E Pickering and boys all here to tea and evening."
Brother* "Isaac parades as Captain of the "Winslow Blues" and dined with "the Ancient and Honorable" at Fanueil Hall." "Boys go to a party given by Helen Pearce at her Aunts Miss Russel." "Consul Manners here, giving a ludicrous account of dinner given to Daniel Webster by the Tariff party."
June 7th "Br† Isaac leaves for N York." "My old friend Mrs Bartlett here to pass the night." – "Son John here often to see our BP."
June 16th "Death of Dr Shattuck's wife. Sorry for him, he will feel it very much."
" Mother leaves town for Newton in a Hack – "She says E Pickering and Mr Winslow rode out with us – then went to see E Chase at Watertown on their way home. Little Margaret staid with me all night– Returns to town by Stagecoach tomorrow.‡

June 17th Newton

This place["] (Newton) ["]is much pleasanter than I expected. There are pleasant views from some of the windows, and over them are trained roses and honeysuckles. There will be plenty of Cherries and Currants here, and some Peaches. Also we have abundance of good milk – The air is cool and sweet, and the people["] (of the house) ["]are very kind and attentive and clean. We were rather dull at first, but shall soon feel at home; I think I already feel rather stronger and better than I did. Mr and Mrs Allen are gone on a short excursion for a few days. Their daughter Anne takes charge of the family till their return: She generally resides with her Aunt Anne Bent in Boston and tends the shop there."§ This Miss Bent was a relative of Mrs Henry Ware Jr,** and was a very fine woman much esteemed in Boston. Our former nurse "Nabby Tower" knew her very intimately, and through her my Mother probably heard of the place, as "Nabby" was then living with Mrs Ware.

7	Mr. & Mrs. Standfast Smith. Visitors and walks.

1828

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in which capacity he served from 1864 to 1873. Chase Manhattan Bank was named after him. He graduated from Dartmouth in 1826, moved to Washington, D.C. sometime thereafter, and did not enter politics until 1830. Margaret is mistaken in identifying him as Elizabeth's uncle. They were first cousins, Elizabeth being the daughter of Salmon's uncle (also Salmon). Since Margaret is not quoting from her mother's journal when she characterizes Chase as an "Uncle," she may simply be misremembering the relationship, which the journal may have failed to specify.

* I.e., Margaret's brother.

† Although "Br" falls within the quotation marks, certainly it is Margaret's brother, again, who is meant.

‡ It would be another five or six years before a railway connected Newton and Boston.

§ Ann Middleton Allen, later Mrs. Nathaniel Tracy. She was Herman Melville's illegitimate (and secret) half sister. For more on her and the Allens (including Ralph Waldo Emerson's lodging at Mrs. Allen's a few years later), see Philip Young, "Small World: Emerson, Longfellow and Melville's Secret Sister" *The New England Quarterly*, 60 (1987), 382-402. I am grateful to Michael Egan of Gibbsboro, NJ for leading me down this path.

** Above, IV, 29,

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June 16th Nerwton A Mr and Mrs Standfast Smith board here, for the benefit of Mr S's health: They have been here two summers Mrs S is a very sociable woman and converses well; but is rather too free and easy in her manners to suit my notions. She came up into our bedroom uninvited and without being even introduced to us.

June 18th I walked this afternoon up and down the garden path. We took tea with Mr and Mrs Smith in Miss Allen's parlor – she had some company a pretty Miss Bent who is staying with her, two Miss Lovells and their brother, and Mr Barnard a Collegian, who is acquainted with our Benjamin at Cambridge. I was very much disappointed at not hearing from home.

June 19th A fine clear cool day. I walked about half a mile was rather tired, but on the whole felt the better for it. We went, in the evening, into Mrs Smith's parlor to return some of her visits. While there I received a package of letters from home, written by Mr Winslow, Edward and little Margaret, with some papers and Pamphlets – All well at home. What a comfort!

June 20th Another walk today, over half a mile. I feel much better for walking. W Pickering and our Thomas came out and took tea with us, or rather Milk. They had been to see E Chase at Watertown, but she had gone to Boston. They brought us all the news from home and we were quite glad to see them. They went away loaded with roses and honeysuckles, and with plenty of milk bread and butter internally.

Sat 21st* Henrietta and I took a long walk, and were resting on some stones in a fine wood not far from the house when we heard the rattling of wheels and the Stage came in sight. We saw two grinning faces which proved to be those of George and Margaret. They brought us some papers, a Yam, some English cheese as a present for Mr Smith who is an Englishman, – and better still, the information that

8 Elliott's falls. A ride back to Boston with a dull horse. Mending clothes for washing day.

Journal Newton 1828

all the family were well, and went on as comfortably as could be expected. The children were delighted to see us and to have a run in the Country – They are to stay over Sunday.

The children have been all over the neighborhood, or at least three or four miles of it. Newton is very pleasant – It has so fine a prospect; so many hills, valleys, and woods, The air is clear and cool, though rather too bracing. Mr Winslow and brother J P Blanchard came out in a chaise to see us. We all took a long walk to Eliot's falls named so from a factory built there by General Eliot.* It must have been a delightful place before the factories were built, some parts of it are pretty now. This was a long walk for me, and I had to stop and rest at a tavern kept by Mrs Allen's son, about halfway between her house and the falls. Mr

Monday June 23rd Winslow and Joshua returned to town in the evening. I hired a horse and Chaise for nine shillings, and took George and Margaret into town. We had a very dull horse, and it took us two hours to get home in a broiling sun in our faces all the way. I occupied myself in mending the clothes for tomorrow's wash, and putting things a little in order Miss Thomas did not return from her school to dinner, on account of the heat; but I saw her before I left town, and thanked her for her kind attention to the family. I saw that she was tired of being housekeeper and that the folks were tired too. So I thought it best to engage old "Ma'am Miller" ["] (the one who was with aunt Pickering so long) ["]to come and

* Simon Elliott. The falls are in the town of Newton Upper Falls on the banks of the Charles.

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overlook* things in the kitchen. Eliza Pickering dined with us and told us how things had gone on under Miss Thomas' direction Mr Winslow drove me out in the Chaise and we reached Newton about half past eight. Mr W staid all night. A delightful evening with a bright moon shining, and the air

9	Sudden death of young James Perkins. Welcome letters.

Newton.

1828 Journal

Tues June 24th

sweet with roses, honeysuckles, and clover. Mr & Mrs Smith, Anne Allen and Nancy Bent came to see us in our room.

Mr Winslow went to town this morning in the 7 oclock stage We heard of the death of young James Perkins, the husband of Eliza Callahan. Our brother† Benjamin Winslow was with him on a journey, and had a dreadful time with him. He was taken with convulsions. Mrs P and his Mother were sent for, but he was insensible when they arrived, and died soon afterward.‡

25th The Misses Lovell here with their brother and Uncle Mr James Lovell. The eldest Miss Lovell played the flageolet§ very prettily, and Miss Nancy Bent accompanied with her voice.

26th Cold raw and cloudy, but the East wind is milder than in Boston. A dull day for the country. Henrietta played a game of chess with fellow boarder Mr Smith, which lasted more than an hour. His wife was in a fidget to get him into his own room to see Parson Ripley who had called on them. Mr and Mrs S came in again to see us in the evening. To my great joy I received by the stage letters from my dear husband and little Margaret.** There was also one from Mrs McKeige to Margaret which she sent me to read.

27th We were very much disappointed at not hearing from home this evening, and still more so at not being able to get a chaise to go to town, as we depended upon going this afternoon. Mr and Mrs. Smith went to town this morning. We met them returning in the evening as we were taking our walk, – they came into our room afterward and condoled with us on our disappointment.

28th†† We tried again today to get a chaise, but were again disappointed. So Henrietta made up her mind to go to town in the Stage, as there are some things there to be attended to. Mrs Smith dined with me, as her husband was too sick to come down stairs, and as we each should have dined alone, we thought it best to join company. Henrietta came

10	Hot weather. Welcome visitors.

Newton. 1828.

Sun 29th

out alone in the Stage. I expected some of the folks out with her. She said the day had been dreadfully hot in Boston

It was excessively hot this morning, but a thunder squall and one or two showers came

* Here of course meaning *oversee*, not *disregard*.

† Brother-in-law.

‡ Isaac describes the death in greater detail below, V, 16.

§ A type of *fipple flute*, related to the recorder and predecessor of the tin whistle, which has replaced it.

** Below, V, 16.

†† See below, V, 17 for a letter from Margaret's mother on this date.

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up and cooled the air. While I was writing down the occurrences of the two last days in this Diary, I heard voices close by the window, and behold! our Edward and Aunt Pickering stood before me. They had just come from Boston and had made a short call at Watertown. They brought me the good news that all were well at home. They then walked to the Falls and returned here to tea, at which we gave them fine strawberries and cream. They returned to town about nine o'clock, and must have had a pleasant ride in, as it was moonlight -
Mon 30th These three of four days we have had frequent thunder showers which have prevented me from walking, as the grass is so wet. We went to visit Mrs Smith in her room in the evening. Mr S is better, but appears yet very feeble.
July 1st It is very hot weather, and has been so for a week past. Miss Anne Bent the elder is staying here for a few days with her sister Mrs Allen. Today as I was busily copying this Journal in our parlor, which is on the ground floor, I looked up at the window and there appeared a large full face under a small leather cap, staring at me. It proved to be our BPW.– He had taken a long walk of seven miles from Cambridge. It was the first time he had visited us in our new abode. He brought us some books and wild honeysuckles. While we were at tea, there came on another thunder squall and shower, – About nine o'clock after the rain subsided he accepted the offer made by young John Lovell of being taken in his Chaise two miles on the way back. The offer was very civil, but nevertheless BP was a long time getting home as it was so dark.

11	**Sightseeing with visitors. 4th of July.**

Newton 1828

July 2nd – Rather cooler and looks as if we should have one day without rain. Elizabeth Chase and her brother* William Waldo were here yesterday morning. She invited me to ride with her to General Hull's† place at Newton about three miles from us, where little Benjamin D Winslow is boarding for the benefit of his health and eyes. I have been expecting E Chase all day, but she has not made her appearance; some mistake about it, I suppose. –Miss Bent and the Allens are gone to an Ordination in Newton. We received this morning a paper, and some notes from George and Margaret. George wants to spend the 4th of July at Marblehead with the son of my old friend Mrs Bartlett. I wrote him to take care and not to shoot himself, gunning, or get drowned.
3rd E Chase and her brother‡ Samuel Waldo here in the afternoon — We all went to see the upper falls, about a mile and a half from here, a pretty romantic place! At half past seven, the stage stopped at our gate, and out stepped Mr Winslow, Miss Thomas, little Marg't and little Frank W, having dropped Eliza Pickering at Mrs Norse's§ in Watertown; on hearing which, E Chase and brother left for that place. The rest of the party are to stay with us over the 4th. George, they say, has left today for Marblehead – The other boys, Edward, Thomas, Benjamin, Arthur and William Pickering, Charles Ward and others are going tomorrow on a sailing expedition down the harbor, with musical instruments, &c.

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* Half-brother.

† Gen. William Hull (1753–1825). He spent his final years in Newton, but was of course deceased before Margaret's mother's stay there. Evidently his home had become a boarding house.

‡ Half-brother.

§ Almost certainly Margaret has just left out the second loop on an initial capital "M" and *Morse* is intended. See above, IV, 154.

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Friday 4th Today Mr Winslow took Mr Allen's wagon and drove Miss Thomas and myself to see young Benjamin D Winslow at Mrs Hickman's, General Hull's place. Mr W and I also called on Mrs T.C.Amory* at a Mr Bracket's on the opposite side of the way: Had a delightful ride and afterward sat down with our own party to dinner, Mrs Allen having many of her own relations with her. After dinner Mr W went with some of her party to the falls. E Chase and Mrs Pickering rode over from Watertown to see us, and then came B Winslow and his three daughters Amory, Catharine & Lucretia

12	**A long walk and almost lost in the woods. Brief trip to town. "Bossy wiped his mouth on little Meg."**

Newton.

1828 Journal

from Mrs Hickman's. – After tea Mr W, Miss Thomas, Henrietta little Margt and I took a long walk of three miles – Miss T thought we had lost our way in the woods and became much frightened, especially as it lightened and thundered. I was pretty tired.
July 5th Mr Winslow, Miss Thomas and little Frank Winslow went early to town in the Stage. In the afternoon, Henrietta Little Margt and I took a long walk through a beautiful wood to the Baptist Pond† – found some wild honeysuckle and lilies, both very sweet.
July 6th Warm but pleasant air. – While I was writing this journal, about eleven o'clock, in marched Isaac and George. They had walked out from Boston, nine miles, in two hours and a half –. Isaac returned only a week since from a journey in N York State to the Kaatskills.‡– On the way he stopped at Mr Theodore Barrell's§ house at Saugerties on the Hudson River – had a very pleasant time, and was quite smitten with some of the young ladies there." He had, while in NY city, been supposed to admire Miss Masters, the young lady mentioned in my Mother's letter to him, quoted in my Father's little Memoir of her. She was very highly educated and of serious principles – She afterward married a Mr Wilbur. "Isaac and George dined and took tea with us, and then walked back to town. After tea we had a walk, and then Henrietta and Little M went out to see the cows milked, and the calf have his supper Bossy wiped his mouth on little Meg."
July 7th I went to Boston in the Stage to mend up the clothes &c for the wash – Found E Pickering preparing to head the table for some company; Judge Pike, Mr Tremaine & Son of Halifax invited but only the Judge came. I did not wish it known that I was in town, so took my milk, bread and butter up stairs. Mrs Warren has arrived, and Maam Miller is to go to Eliza Pickering's – After getting all things in order, I took the afternoon Stage to Newton and found Henrietta and little M on the road to meet me

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* The widow of Isaac's early co-worker and early supporter, Thomas Coffin Amory (1767-1820). Above, II, 97, and see also below, V, 16.

† Originally called Wiswall's Pond and since the late-nineteenth century called Crystal Lake – So named when the pond became a source of commercial ice cut from it and the ice dealers came up with the name "Crystal Lake" for marketing purposes, according to http://www.ci.newton.ma.us/Election/NewtonHighlands/documents/Crystal_Lake.pdf . An 1855 map shows it still being called Wiswall's Pond, and the name Baptist Pond did not become official until 1880, but evidently was in use long before that.

‡ Still at the time of writing the usual spelling of *Catskills*.

§ It will be recalled that the Barrells in the Winslow circle were Sandemanians, some in England and some in New York. Isaac later married Abigail Elizabeth Barrell, though I don't know if she was among the young ladies he was smitten with during this visit.

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8th Fine day but very high wind. Little M is sitting by me writing to

13	Mr. Frost

Journal 1828 Newton

Mrs McKeige – Had a walk in the evening to a wood back of the house.

July 9th Rained violently all day – thunder and lightning in the morning – and a squall at noon – but cleared up pleasant in the afternoon. Samuel Waldo and E Chase were here in the afternoon, – they took little M to pass the night at Watertown. After they were gone, B Winslow and sister Pickering came to see us – Went in to see Mr & Mrs Smith in the evening.

July 10th Fine cool Nwester after the rain. Henrietta and I took some clothes to a washerwoman, living about a mile distant. Mrs Smith's brother, Mr Head and his wife came to dine with them. We heard of two deaths, those of Mr Wolcott of Connecticut, Uncle by marriage to the Waldos; and old Harry Hill aged 92.* E Chase brought little M home,† and took me to ride all round by the falls and Factories. Called at General Eliot's former place, now quite shabby – Mr Frost our former tenant lives there and keeps a shop – He has Alice with him, the Asylum girl who formerly lived with us. I promised that Margt should visit them tomorrow.

July 11th Mr Frost came with his wagon and took Margt home with him. Just afterward a thunder squall came up – but it cleared in the afternoon. Mrs Allen's girl Louisa came running in to tell me that Margt was at the gate on horseback – We were quite frightened and thought she was alone, But Mr Frost had come with her, walking by her horse, two miles – She went back the same way, and staid there all night." I remember this visit very well, and the romantic old place bordering on the river, overhung with venerable trees – The horseback ride was delightful, but the sleeping with old Mrs Frost in a dingy bed and a low smoke dried dingy room was not quite so agreeable. Quite a contrast to the stately Morse mansion at Watertown. On the following morning I was glad to return to Mrs Allens ["]Very fine cool day after the thunder shower. Margt got home at breakfast time Mr Frost left her on his way to town. At eleven o'clock we took a long walk of two miles to see a beautiful pond and prospect making four miles altogether; a good walk for an invalid; I was rather tired. On our return we found Charles Ward and our BPW who had come out in a chaise; while at tea

14	End of her mother's stay in Newton.

1828 Mother's Journal

Sun July 13th

Newton

"another Chaise arrived with John Pickering and our George in it. The two latter staid all night. Mr & Mrs Smith came in to see us in the evng I took the boys' chaise with little M and John Pickering to drive me, and went all round from the lower to the upper falls, stopped at Mr Frost's, and there joined Henrietta B and George who had crossed the fields in a shorter direction to meet us. This afternoon John George and Margt went to walk in our favorite wood leading to the Baptist Pond. After tea the boys went into town.

* Henry Hill (1737-1828) brother of Hannah Hill Quincy, great-grandmother of Benjamin Pollard Winslow's future wife, Mary Timmins Quincy Hill.

† I. e., to her mother at Newton, not to Boston.

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Mon July 14th "It began raining last night and the rain continues today. We were to have given up our lodgings here, and Mr Winslow was to have come in a carriage to take us home, "bag and baggage". Our month is up and Mrs Allen has engaged the rooms to Mr Wells and family. But it was so rainy that I had given up all thoughts of going, – when, behold! in the afternoon, in the midst of a shower up drove a Boston hack, and out jumped Mr Winslow and Miss Elizabeth Breeze from Newport R.I. She came from there with Mrs Thatcher our neighbor. The weather continued so bad that Mr W concluded to stay all night. Mr & Mrs Smith came into our room, and we had a pleasant evening.
Tues July 13th "The weather was a little better this morning and we all set off after breakfast, for home. We parted unwillingly from Mrs Allen's family and from Mr & Mrs Smith. After a long ride, and stopping many times to shew Miss Breeze the country, we arrived at home about 12 o'clock. it rained again in the afternoon. Our Margaret was quite unwell when she got home, owing to eating too many cherries and taking cold. I had to give her medicine she was quite feverish, and was not well for two or three days." (Moral by the transcriber)– Little M should have learned that if we takes the sweets of life immoderately, the bitter will be sure to follow. What <u>is</u> "moderately?"– says many a little M, – and the question is hard to answer save by example.

15 Calls and visits after returning home. BPW visits his chum Clarke at Newton.

Home again.

July 16th Fine morning but cloudy at noon. Miss Thomas called to see us. C Ward and W^m^ Pickering here in the evn'g to see our BPW who is at home from Cambridge for a six weeks vacation. They had some music together. Eliza Pickering and Eliz^th^ Chase made us an afternoon call, but did not stay to tea.
Thurs 17th Fine morning, but had a shower in the afternoon. E Pickering, E Chase, Mrs Bradford and B Winslow Senior called – E P went in to Mrs Thatcher's to see Miss Breeze – She came here again to tea, E Chase having returned to Watertown – Little Mary Cockburn also took tea here, and Helen Pearce and a Mr Prescott were here in the evening. Mrs Warren went home to day – She has been staying here the last week.
Fri 18th A fine morning – I called at neighbor Thatcher's to see Miss Breeze, and then went down to the warm salt water bath at Craigie's bridge. Tea drinking at E Pickerings in the evening consisting of – Mrs Tom Haven of Phil^a^, Miss Breeze of Newport, Miss Deblois, sister of neighbor Thatcher, Mrs Hudgens, B Winslow Sen, Henrietta Blanchard and myself.
Sat 19th Our BPW took a chaise & went to Cambridge, Watertown and Newton. He visited his chum Clarke at old Dr Freeman's* – brought us some currants
Sun 20th – Uncle Davis and E Pickering's boys here at meeting, also Miss Breeze and Miss Deblois. Miss Breeze went with Henrietta to drink† at Pickering's. Mr Winslow went to Mr Emerson's near the Mall, to call on his niece Miss Foster daughter of Robert Foster from Maine.
21st Call from two of the Simpsons – Had Miss Foster & Mrs Emerson here to tea. Mr Winslow took them down to see the Mass^tts^ Hospital.

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* James Freeman, James Freeman Clarke's step-grandfather after whom he was named and who for all intents and purposes brought him up. The venerable Unitarian minister was sixty-nine at the time. And see above, III, 137 and IV, 6.

† Tea, presumably.

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22nd Call from E Chase who came in from Watertown to visit her aunt Wolcott lately come to reside in Boston. Heard that Mr Gould the latin School Master has resigned his place, and will travel in Europe with a son of Francis Oliver. W Pickering returned from Exeter and brought us letters from the girls.
23rd Very hot – E Pickering and Mary Cockburn here to tea – They went with Mr W, Edw, Henrietta, myself and Little M to see Maelzael's* exhibition of automaton figures and the burning of Moscow; very ingenious mechanism!

16 Letters to and from Margaret's mother while she was at Newton. "A good opportunity to leave something in writing" (for our survivors).

1828 Letters.

Before proceeding with the Journal, I copy one or two letters written to and by my Mother during her stay in Newton. The first is from my Father dated "June 26th – 1828 – Boston."†

"My dear wife,–

"I now send two newspapers, a letter from our little M, and a few sheets of good paper. I hope the latter will be improved by writing to your Aunt[”] (Hodge) [“] and to Margaret. It is a good opportunity to leave something in writing; – which should never be neglected. – Not that I think you are very sick; – but in health or sickness, it is well to think we must all go, – and in such case memorials are of great value to our near friends.–

I want you also to call on Mrs Amory at Mr Brackett's opposite Mr Hyde's.‡ For some years I have felt as if we were really ungrateful for former attentions; – and I told her you would call when I went to see her after Linzee's§ death.

Our little girl has been at her aunt Pickering's for two days, but called today as she went to school. I was down there[”] (at Aunt Pickering's in Barton St near Craigie's bridge) [“]last evening – Had the Miss Phillips' to escort. Br B W also was there. He had a very trying journey with Mr P:** The Mrs P's,[”] (his mother & wife), [“]got there 3 or 4 hours before he died: but he had no recollection after 12 o'clock and did not recognize either of them. Br B seems to have managed very well, and had everything prepared and fixed. It seems that he and Mr P had stopped merely to water the horses, and that Mr P went to lie down, fell asleep and was never really awake again, although he was able to take medicine, &c. The first Doctor who came did not think there was any danger, and left them. But about 4 o'clock as B W says, – he fell into convulsions or spasms which were truly dreadful, as all the muscles of the face were at times distorted.††

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* Above, IV, 139.

† Above, V, 9.

‡ The call was not made until July 4, after Isaac had himself come out to Newton. Above, V, 11.

§ Samuel Linzee Amory, son of T. C. Amory and Hannah Rowe Linzee Amory. He had died April 8, 1828, at the age of 27.

** James Perkins. See above, V, 9, where his sudden death, on or more likely before the 24th, is also reported. From the abruptness of the transition to this subject, it might appear that Margaret has left something out of her transcription. Or Isaac knows that his wife has already heard the news of his death and feels he can jump right into his narrative without any introduction of it.

†† The symptoms are consistent with a rupture of a cerebral aneurysm, for which of course at this period there was no treatment.

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The "Stayner" has come today–["] (a vessel I suppose

17 Margaret's reflections about her father's advice. Her letter to her mother about her father's seeming "dull." Her mother's reply to Isaac.

curious! that my Father should afterward have a grandson so named.)* ["]I hope we may get arranged this week. Yesterday the wind changed suddenly to N East, and such a whirlwind of dust I hardly ever saw. It is now quite cool – Ma'am Miller does very well, and Sally seems contented to have her. With regards to Henrietta

I am, dear Margaret

Yours truly & aff'ly – I.W.["]

Probably my Father's wish as expressed in the foregoing epistle induced Mother who was, herself, averse to correspondence to write the letters to her children from which, in less than two years after this date, he made the extracts recorded in the manuscript entitled "Recollections of a Mother," which has ever since been so precious a legacy to his children. Although it is my intention to make that record an appendage to this family History, – yet the letters may more appropriately be inserted here.

["]Newton June 28th, 1828.†

My dear husband,

I expected to hear from you on Thursday evening, and should have been much disappointed had I not received a line. But I owe you many thanks for the good letter you sent me with little Margaret; _ She says, "Father seems to me to be very dull; _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ This remark of hers, and the tone of your own letter made me fearful that the idea might not be wholly without foundation, as your considerate kindness would prevent your letting it appear to me. But with me you must recollect, a mere idea that anything affects the health or happiness of my family causes my imagination to run so much further than the truth, that I am uneasy, and it has a worse effect upon me than the whole truth would have. Your observation on the propriety of people's leaving memorials behind them which survivors would read with interest, led me to fear that you might be indulging melancholy feelings.

18 Margaret's letter to her little Meg.

I wanted to go to town that night; but Henrietta will tell you all our disappointments about getting a horse and chaise. I hope however, you are now more cheerful. The week after next, I expect, God willing, you will spend with me, according to promise. I think that Isaac must be home before then. – We will pay our visit to Mrs Amory together. – It is too far to walk, and we have to pay someone to go some distance for a Chaise, with much doubt of obtaining one.

Mrs Smith is ill in bed today – She and her husband went into town, and she supposes that she made too much exertion. They heard in Boston that the Mrs Ps' bore their affliction with calmness and resignation; They give our brother B Winslow much credit for

* Isaac Stayner Winslow (b. 1836), son of his son Isaac and Elizabeth Barrell Winslow.

† See above, V, 9 for her journal entry on this date.

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his management, and express great feeling for his kindness and attention to them all; they think he did everything that could possibly be done in such a case. _ _ _

to him and to all the boys, and to all inquiring friends, – and accept a very large share for yourself from your affectionate Mother

M Winslow

Give Father six kisses for me and yourself.["]

Letter to Isaac Winslow Junior, while in New York,

["]Newton, June 21* – 1828.

My dear Son,

I have been so very unwell, and so busy in removing to the country, that I have not had leisure to answer your nondescript sort of a letter. – But the inclination you express to visit England with your new friends makes me fearful that you might leave the country without receiving a line from me; –and in that case it would be a long time before I should hear from you." (Ocean Steamers & telegraphs were then undreamed of) "As you have often expressed a wish to visit England, it is better you should do so now, than after you have settled down in domestic life, – if Mr Masters can introduce you to any mercantile houses and throw any business in your way to pay expenses. Having a friend and companion with you, you will go under greater advantages now, than perhaps you would at any time. —— But if you could be contented to remain at home with your friends, and gain a living in a humble quiet way, it would be far the most agreeable to my feelings, and would, in the eye of reason and religion, be far better than running all the hazards of a long voyage, such as sickness, shipwreck, and all the numerous dangers to which you will probably be exposed." (A voyage to Eng^{d} <u>then</u>, was thought more of an undertaking than one round the world is <u>now</u>) ["]But I feel assured that a kind overruling Providence is every where with us, and that those who trust in his Fatherly care– and protection are equally safe in every place". (Here the Christian

21	**Continued.**

evidently struggles with the Mother for mastery.)

["]I thought you would have come to bid us Adieu and to add to your wardrobe for so long an absence – your Aunt Henrietta thinks you may want that "pair of shirts" you threatened to purchase" –(A hit at Isaac's rather proverbial economy.) ["]I little thought when I talked with you at my chamber door the night before your departure, that it would be so long before we met again. My health is so precarious that I can calculate on nothing here. We may <u>not</u> meet again; but all events are overruled by that Almighty Power who knows what is best. The most healthy of us may lie down at night and never open our eyes to the light of another day. But He takes us at the best time for our own happiness, and those who fear and trust him he will protect. We may be thrown into many situations where the help of Man is of no avail, or cannot be had. But God is all powerful to save, if we apply to Him. This, my dear son, – you will think "quite a sermon"; but the time may come when you will read it with interest. I sincerely pray that your mind may be led to the consideration of a future existence. Whether that is happy or miserable depends much on the state of mind and disposition which we cultivate in this life, and on obedience to God

* Note that this letter was written a week *previous* to the last quoted. For the corresponding journal entry, see above, V, 7.

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as taught in the Scriptures. But most of all remember, that love and gratitude, for all His bounties and blessings – is most acceptable to Him.

At home they all remain much in the old way. Miss Thomas is keeping house for them till Mrs Warren comes. I find this place very pleasant, and think I am rather better. Write me before you leave N York. Tell your Mother and consequently your best friend, whether there is any truth in the report about which you were quizzed at home. I wish to hear what observation you have made of the characters of the young lady and her family, and what is your standing with them. Write all this and more – to satisfy the anxious affection of your Mother's heart

22 More about Miss Masters and the failed romance. Constant visitors.

1828

Letters to and from Newton

who looks forward to the domestic happiness of her children as the greatest comfort she can receive after all her care and anxiety for them,

Aunts H B and E P, – Miss Thomas, Little Margt and the boys, I know, would unite with me in love and good wishes. Embrace every opportunity to write us wherever you may be; therefore I shall conclude this by assuring you of the love and good wishes of all friends, and especially those of your

aff'te Mother, M Winslow.["]

The "young lady" was the before mentioned Miss Masters of NY – her father was an old and esteemed correspondent of my Father's, – of the firm of "Masters & Markoe" one of the old race of honorable "merchant princes".– Miss Masters was a very fine girl, but somehow the match never came off as has been mentioned. She afterward married a Mr Wilbur of NY. It was said that Mr Masters looked favorably upon Isaac's attentions, for he had much regard for my Father; but whether said attentions were 'particular'* and if so, whether the young lady approved, tradition saith not. At all events he did not go with Mr Masters to England as had been proposed, but returned home about the 1st of July, as Mother records in her Diary at Newton.†

Throughout the summer the Diary continues the same account of constant visitors at the house strangers – gatherings of the young folks, including my own school mates, musical parties of "the boys" and excursions abroad which it is wonderful that my Mother had strength or spirits for.– July 24th ["]we have a tea drinking for Miss Breeze, and some musical friends of mine, and two strangers in the evening.["] "The girls["] Mother says, "gave us some music on the Piano, and "the boys" gave us a serenade from the garden with flutes and Horn – more noise than music." She mentions the weather as being very hot till the 25th when there was a thunder squall.

23 Expeditions with Miss Breeze. Onboard the USS *Independence*. Little M's musical friends.

and afterward a beautiful evening, which tempted her to go with a family party to hear music on the common; but she was much fatigued after it. "Mr Winslow on our return took us all,

* A common mid-nineteenth century euphemism for sexual or romantic attention, though generally of an honorable kind.

† Above, V, 12.

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with his usual kindness and generosity, in to Mrs Nichols confectionary shop, and treated us to Ice Cream and a little rest which was as good."

They then take* Miss Breeze to Quincy and to Charlestown Navy Y'd where they go on board the old Independence† commanded by Capt afterward Commodore Smith thence to Chelsea over the bridge and home by one of the uncomfortable little crowded old ferry boats which used to run there before steam was in fashion – they were worked by horse power,‡ then home by a long walk up through the North End as Causeway S^{t} was hardly passable at night, being all rough ground, surrounded by water, and intersected by little foot bridges of rude construction.

Then another expedition is taken to Newton & Watertown and a neighbor party is attended at Mrs Thatchers – all these gayeties are for the entertainment of Miss Breeze – and a breezy time she seems to have made in the family.

Two of my young musical friends mentioned above were daughters of a[X] Judge Thatcher of Lubec§ Maine, and the youngest Emily was quite pretty, – I had lost sight of them for years, but oddly enough at the close of our war of the Rebellion, 1865, when cousin John A. Winslow now "Admiral Winslow," was receiving a sort of ovation in Philadelphia, for sinking the rebel pirate "Alabama," This very Emily Thatcher turned up as one of the wealthiest and most patriotic ladies of that city, the wife of a Mr S_____** and the head of the soldiers' sanitary societies &c then flourishing there – She called upon cousin Kate W†† and made many inquiries about our family. She said her elder sister Mary was dead. The other friend was a Miss Bradlee, descended on her mother's side from the family of Geo Wentworth of Portsmouth N Hampshire. She also married and wandered away from our sphere; – as did many other of our young neighbors and friends, once so intimate at our house and interwoven with the various "flirtations" of that time. Some reappear at distant intervals encountered as it were by chance, speaking to or of us as among the pleasant but far off things of the past;– being now even as we are themselves of another world and era. And such is life.–

[written sideways bottom to top at the left margin]
[X] Note – Mother says in her diary – our BPW went with little M to call on the Miss Thatchers – Benjamin went onboard the vessel in which they were to return home Judge T was very polite to him and invited him to come to Lubec.

24	**Entertaining without a Cook. More "Breezy" parties. Harriet Sparhawk.**

At Home. Leverett S^{t} Boston.

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* Another unexpected shift into the present tense.

† The USS *Independence* was the first ship of the line in the U.S. Navy, launched in 1814. By 1828 she had been partially decommissioned and was part of the navy's reserve fleet. She was radically refitted (and recommissioned) in 1837. She was not finally decommissioned until 1915.

‡ Typically, a team of two horses walked on a so-called treadwheel (or, later, a treadmill) that drove a paddle wheel.

§ Originally part of Eastport at the northeasternmost corner of the state, on the ocean.

** An underlined space here apparently intended to be filled in later.

†† Mrs. John Ancrum Winslow.

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Aug 1st Mother has a gentleman's dinner party, all strangers. Then they have another "Breezy" party, a tea party this time, with Mrs Capt Smith, on board the Independence, E Chase being of the party; – all got caught in a shower coming home, & EC staid at our house all night. Aunt Henrietta meanwhile had gone to Portsmouth to see the Houstons who were forbidden at that time to visit Boston. She also went to Exeter. Then there is again a "Breezy" tea party at our house, including the Naval Officers of the "Independence", B Winslow Sen & his daughters, Mrs Pickering, E Chase &c, &c – and so they go on. All this time Mother is without a cook, – that article beginning to be scarce in the market, – and having to get on "by hook by crook" in domestic matters; which increases one's amazement at her energy, in such a state of invalidism as she really was. "Then "Harriet Sparhawk arrives with Henrietta from Portsmouth, "to stay at our house," and a long "stay" she generally made of it;– but she was a very amusing genial person, and so was welcome to all the young folks. Br BPW and she were special friends and cronies, always in the frolicking way. She was an adopted daughter of Dr Jarvis, at one time, a wealthy physician of Boston, whose wife was a Sparhawk and Aunt to Harriet. The late Consul Jarvis of Weathersfield, Vermont, was the son of this Dr Jarvis, and was brought up with Harriet as her brother. She was a very original person,– naive and witty, – always ready to give or to receive a joke, and possessed of indomitable cheerfulness and good humor; but indolent and undisciplined; with a great taste for reading and considerable miscellaneous information, yet coming out with it by snatches, in the most unexpected way,– She was good hearted in the extreme, to the neccessitous who fell in her way, although left with small means, and those, secured to her only through my Father's exertions, as may have been before mentioned in this History.* At one time she received a poor deaf & dumb child from his dying mother & cared for him till he also was taken from the world.

25	**On the Canal boat.**

Aug 1828 Journey to N Hampshire & Vermont

All these family and social exertions, however, did not conduce to secure whatever benefit had been gained to my Mother's health by her removal to Newton. – A journey, therefore, was resolved upon, by my Father, to visit his friend Mr Samuel Sparhawk of Concord NH, Consul Jarvis of Weathersfield Vermont, and other friends who might be in the line of his proposed tour. Eliz'th Chase, who was eager for any excitement, desired to be included in the arrangement at her own expense: And, after sundry preparations, Aunt Henrietta being left housekeeper, with H Sparhawk as her companion, my Father and Mother, E Chase and myself, to my great delight; for this was my first journey, –set off on the 15th of August for Lowell, in the canal boat;† Aunt Pickering and George accompanying us to that place. This old "Middlesex Canal" was esteemed a great work then, and the passage of the locks is a most interesting experience for travellers, to say nothing of the pretty rural scenery which bordered its banks. Mother's account of the journey is as follows.

Aug 14th "We are now about setting off on a Journey to N Hampshire and Vermont. We are, tomorrow, to take the Canal Boat to Lowell; E Pickering and our George will go

* Above, IV, 55.

† Margaret has forgotten that she has told us of an earlier journey (above, IV, 145), many of the details and incidents of which appear to have been conflated with this one. We were told that the previous trip went only so far as Lowell.

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with us as far as Lowell, stay there two days, and then return to Boston. Mr W, E Chase Margt and I shall continue on, by Stage, to Groton, Keene, &c."

I remember well* the delight of this sail on the Canal with my playfellow of merry mood to share it with me, and to get out at the locks and watch the boat coming slowly up from a deep well as it were, or else to stay on board and ride in her between those narrow walls up to the shore level again and be once more an inhabitant of the earth with all its verdure and loveliness. There were romantically secluded "passes" thickly fringed with bushes and overhanging trees, – and there were, I am bound to say, clouds of overhanging mosquitoes also, who demonstrated the effect of country air in a charming fresh appetite for city passengers. Then carrying these attentive natives

26 Margaret's recollections of the scenery and passengers.

some distance with us – we would emerge into a wide stretch of sunny meadows broad orchards, and cultivated fields, with a quiet farm house here and there, lying lazily and tranquilly in the noon day heat, as did the cattle which grazed around them. Then a village would come into sight, with its unfailing steeple and its clustered dwellings, white, red, and black, straggling hither and thither, like sheep around their shepherd. And the lazy slow gliding boat, its lazy horse and equally lazy driver leisurely tugging along the side path of the quiet canal, all, seemed in keeping with the scene and with those pre-railroad eras of rural peace and simplicity, when the noisy snort and whistle which hourly whisks into the country a sample of city smoke and bustle, – were as yet unknown.

Nor were the Canal boat passengers less objects of interest in their various quaintness of dress and grouping. The plain farmer in his best Sunday suit, and Ma'am in her spruce "English print", returning with bundles and baskets, and small leather trunks from their visit to "a darter in Boston": "number thirty seven, Boston, she lives, Sir, – and has abaout the handsomest house as ever you see.– Her husband is a Carpenter, and a real clever young man I guess, and keeps her real comfortable. They've got a mahogany burow and a real gilt looking glass in their best room, and mean to have a piece of carpet some time when he's rich enough, – and I guess he will be, afore long. –He's a well to do chap, that's a fact, and means to go ahead, I guess.["]

Then there were some country girls with bright new ribbons on their straw bonnets, going up to the new factories at Lowell, sitting stiffly in the cabin and looking gravely about at the boat and their fellow passengers, and now & then taking a munch out of their big covered baskets in a shy constrained manner, as if afraid to eat afore

27 Continued. Her father's pocket book left behind.

town folks. – And there were anxious Mothers always calling out to "Ezechi-el and 'Siah' and "Amanda Anne" to be careful and not git drowned over the side of the boat. And there were rough but clever looking young men with sunburned faces and bare red arms, their

* Margaret rather quickly interrupts her mother's account with her own. Even without the questions I have raised about Margaret's perhaps conflating the details of two different trips or about her not remembering that she has already told us about some of the incidents she reports here, it stretches credibility to think she could remember conversations of forty or so years ago with the specificity she will exhibit here. I suspect she is drawing on her reading and conventional representations of country people as well as on her own no doubt still vivid recollections of the journey.

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checked shirt sleeves rolled up above the elbows, – who were "working their passage",-(with long poles)- fending off ^* at the locks, - and making themselves otherwise useful: and there was the important "captain" with his regular crew of two men and the horse boy, – and lastly our own group, not the least amusing to the others, I dare say. First My Father's rather stout figure and comely benevolent face, beaming kindly on all the women and children in the boat, while he distributed among them slices of the huge watermelon which was, in the season, always an accompaniment of his long skirted olive colored great coat and blue cotton umbrella, – both ready for public or private accommodation on every emergency. –Then my Mother, a slender delicate woman with the fatal hectic bloom upon her wasted cheek, but with motherly eyes of cheerful interest in the fresh joyousness of the boy and girl who frolicked about the boat, – an old fashioned boy & girl, not a young gentleman and young lady. Add to these the somewhat careless but healthful buxomness of our comely Aunt, and the sparkling elegance of the heiress-cousin who accompanied us, – and the outline sketch of our own party is complete.

Our pleasure however, was somewhat dampened for a time by a sudden discovery of my Father's when stopping at Medford that he had left his pocket book, and of course the wherewithal for our entire jaunt – at home. After many searchings in pockets behind and pockets before, he thought it necessary, to the exceeding discomposure of my Mother, that he should leave the party, and return by stage to Boston. But just then we children, sobered greatly at the prospect of so sudden a termination to our journey, saw him accosted by a shabby looking man, at the Medford landing.

28	**Peter C. Brooks saves the day. Lowell.**

and presently he returned with the joyful news that he had borrowed "the needful" and that we could all go on to Lowell "Why, George"! exclaimed I, as the boat moved off. –"did Father get the money from that shabby looking man at Medford"? "Yes, Meg! That shabby man as you call him, is one of the richest merchants in Boston." "Is he?" said I in amazement; "what's his name"? ["]Peter C Brooks, answered George – and he's able to buy this whole boat, if he wanted to, and the Canal besides, perhaps"– ["]Well he looks dreadfully shabby,["] said I – "What an old coat he had on!["] "Yes and hat too" said George, "and so has Father very often. But that's nothing! Every body knows he's Peter C Brooks, and every body knows Father too, though he isn't rich like Mr Brooks" – Modern boys would have said "Brooks" or "old Brooks" but George had been better taught.

I do not know how soon Father returned the money, nor whether Mr Brooks charged him interest upon it; –but I do know that he made us all very happy by the loan of perhaps twenty dollars or so, – and I only wish that this poor rich man could have known how much good he did us.†

Well at Lowell we arrived, after more than seven or eight hours' passage in the Canal boat, including locks & landings I know we set off about 8 AM and did not reach our destination till near tea time. We all went to Colburn's old Mansion House, the back of

* There is a numeral "2" above "long" and a "1" above "fending" with no obvious relationship to the caret after "off." And we have seen these same mysterious notations above, IV 158.

† Paul Goodman, "Ethics and Enterprise: the Values of a Boston Elite, 1800-1860," *American Quarterly*, 18, No. 3 (1966), 437-51 discusses Brooks at several points and notes that he was indeed rumored to be Boston's richest man in the 1840's (439). Brooks had his home in Medford, so Isaac's happening upon him there was less unlikely than might at first appear.

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which looked directly on the rapids of the Merrimac, foaming over rocks, and romantically bordered with a thick growth of trees & shrubbery – It was a lovely scene bounded by the green shores of "Dracut" on the opposite side, then quite a retired country place: Now a noisy city.

George and I were down by the river side that very evening, – he throwing sticks & stones into the rapids to see them rush down and whirl about in the eddies, and I gathering flowers & shells.

29 Continued. Intimations of the industrial future.

Yes actually I gathered cockle* shells from the banks where now grim factories raise their prosaic walks, and dams choke up the turbid dirty water, which then leaped from its blue transparency into flecks of snowy foam upon the rocky ledges, – sparkling and dancing as if its youth among the mountains had not been forgotten, nor as yet yoked to dull and heavy labor – among those jarring engines which torture out all its sweet life among them.

Then we amused ourselves by peeping cautiously into the "Masonic Hall," a large empty room in the Hotel, where that mysterious fraternity held their meetings and where their yet more mysterious badges were said to be concealed; – but we searched for them in vain The next morning, we went out with Father to see the embryo city for which busy excavation and fillings up were being made by men and horses;- a great manufacturer or speculator who seemed to be concerned therein, pointing out to my Father the sites of future factories, and of cottage lots for the operatives, – and declaiming upon the advantage of manufactures to the country; and the expected purity of Lowell in particular from all old world corruptions of a factory town;– This peroration was I suppose not wholly sympathized in by his hearer; for my Father was a strong Antitariff man, and did not believe in the immaculate purity of a manufacturing population, nor in the advantages of corporate monopolies to N England or the country at large. This however, was, by me at least, little understood at that time. I only thought that they were making a very ugly looking place of the village and hoped they would not spoil the pretty rapids too. However, George and I had a very happy time of it, and it was very hard to have him go back to Boston which he did with Aunt Pickering on the next day by Stage. Father, Mother, Elizabeth Chase and "little Meg" leaving Lowell for Groton that same morning. Such travelling! in those hot crowded stages, nine inside, besides children lapped not in Elysium† certainly – and sundry men outside with the Driver – or *Captain* as he was in air and importance.

Aug 1828.

Mother's Journal

30 From Lowell to Groton and Keene. Bellows Falls and Weathersfield. Consul Jarvis.

Journey to N Hampshire and Vermont.

Sat morning, Aug 16th. "Took leave of E Pickering, George and Mr Hunt;–" an acquaintance of Father's who went back to Boston in the Stage with the two former, and took charge of them.– (Primitive times and a great journey, remember;) George was 16 that month; but being still in a jacket, was considered a little boy. "We dined at Groton, and at 9

* Clam shells.

† *Webster's 3rd Unabridged* offers *to hold protectively in or as if in the lap: Cuddle, Nestle.* The phrase "lapped in Elysium" is all over the place in the period and derives from Milton's *A Mask or Comus* (1634, ll. 256-57): "Who as they sung, would take the prison'd soul, / And lap it in Elysium."

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PM arrived at Keene." A whole day's stage journey from Lowell! only think!– — "Staid at Keene till twelve the next day – hired a private carriage and took a Gentleman in with us – a Mr Dow who proved a great amusement to E Chase, as Mr Hunt had been at Lowell."

Aug 17th (E Chase turned every body into fun girl-like, as she was) "Arrived at Bellows Falls 6 PM – The river was very low; but the ride was a beautiful one and the scenery very fine. Mr Nat Tucker's house stands delightfully situated below the Mountain just at the head of the bridge. He called on us in the evening and brought his daughter his wife not being well. The house at which we put up was on the Vermont side of the falls, and a very good one. In the night we had a violent thunder squall and rain, which made the ground so wet that we could not walk much about the place – but in the morning we went to see a fine prospect from a church on a hill, walked on the bridge to see the curious rocks and round holes in them,* and called at Mr Tucker's house, where the stage picked us up. We

Aug 18th then rode 42 miles through various small towns, and arrived at Weathersfield Vt just before dinner. Consul Jarvis sent to the tavern and insisted on our going to his house where we were very hospitably received, and where we staid all night. Next morning, after an early breakfast, we set off in Mr Jarvis' carriage for Hanover to attend commencement at the college† there, accompanied by Mary & Elizth Jarvis, and a Miss

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Brazier governess to Mr Jarvis' younger children. We left little Meg at the Consul's house till our return." Poor Meg! – this was a hard trial for her, in a strange house, with strange, rude, wayward, quarrelsome children, a crick in her neck and a heavy cold – and Mother far away. I remember it well as one of the grievous but merciful preparations for a far greater grief to come. "We arrived at Hanover about 4 PM – They were speaking in the Meeting House and we went immediately over there; – heard one of the Collegians delivering a Poem. We found some difficulty in getting a lodging as the Hotel was full; – However we found a poor one in a private family, and in the evening went to an Oratorio in the Meeting House – music pretty fair considering how few instruments or voices there were. – We met there Elizabeth Sparhawk and her brother Thomas (who was in the graduating class of the college)‡ and were introduced to Captain Greene to whom she is engaged. After the music was over we all returned to our lodgings, where the girls and beaux had a frolic and made a great noise. There was a Mr Bartlett and two Mr Morris' with them. We met Mr John Dow again at Hanover much to the amusement of E Chase. There was a Miss Mellen and Miss Tucker, Mrs Kent's daughter staying at the house – They joined us, – which made it very pleasant"

Aug 20th "This was Commencement day, and about 10 o'clock we all went to the Meeting House to hear the exercises. – There were a number of young men who performed, but very few good speakers. We got home to a late dinner. In the evening we went to the President's leveé. It was a great jam. We were introduced to Professor § who gallanted us to the President's.– All the respectable people of the place and all the strangers were there, quite a crowd! – The next morning we went again to the church – It was the PAB day – and we

* Probably grave sites in ancient Abenaki burial mounds. Bellows Falls is also the site of numerous Indian petroglyphs.

† Dartmouth.

‡ I cannot tell if this is Margaret's addition or her mother's parenthesis.

§ A blank here evidently meant to be filled in later.

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heard a great many boys speaking, and the Valedictory oration. We left the church about 12 M and called on Mrs [*] the Professor's wife, from whom we had invitations to a large party in the evening –

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1828. Mother's Journal. Visit to Hanover.

"We then returned to the Meeting House to hear Professor Hall pronounce an oration on the advantage of the Arts and Sciences to the comfort and happiness of the people. It was pretty good considering it was nothing new. E Chase was very much disappointed, as she had taken a fancy to the Gentleman, whose acquaintance we made in the Stage. He appeared a sensible man and we expected too much. We left Hanover at 2 PM after a lunch or early dinner, and arrived at Weathersfield about 8 PM. We stopped at Windsor both going and coming, – where we saw a fine garden with trees loaded with plums. The wife of the owner had had a tomb built in the garden in which her daughter was laid who died at the age of 16; She visits her every day It was a small building above ground.

Aug 22nd Weathersfield – The girls had a small party here at Consul Jarvis' house. There were two Mrs Morris' and their sister Miss Morris, Dr Leonard Jarvis, his wife and daughter from Claremont, who with ourselves & E Chase, E Sparhawk & brother and Capt Greene and the Consul's family made quite a number.

23rd Saturday – The girls and their beaux rode to Bellows' Falls to call on Miss Morris who is staying there. Consul & Mrs Jarvis the children, Mr W, myself & Margaret walked over the Consuls' large farm to see some very tall large Pine trees, also some fine sheep[†] and cattle.

24th Sunday – Mr Winslow held meeting up in our chamber, and all the family attended.["] (This was remarkable, because the Consul was not a believer in Christianity and did not allow the Bible to be read by any of his children. Perhaps this meeting was blessed to them, as some of them afterward became quite religious.) ["]In the afternoon all the party crossed the river to Claremont where Dr Leonard Jarvis had a beautiful place. All passed the evening there. Mr W, myself & little M staid all night.

33

Aug 1828 Journal.

25th Monday. Dr Jarvis took us in a curious basket carriage built like a cradle to Claremont Village, where we again met the Consul's family and took leave of them. They brought along E Chase, E Sparhawk & brother, & Mr Greene. We took the Stage for Concord – the two young men followed us in a chaise– Arrived at Concord at 11 PM after a long hot ride of 52 miles – a fine moonlight evening. Not wishing to disturb Mr Sparhawk's family at so late an hour we all went to a Hotel – E Sparhawk went home early next morning.

26th Tuesday afternoon we took tea at Mr Sparhawk's and next morning set off to see the Shaker village of Canterbury and Lake Winnipiseogee.[‡]

27th We hired a Barouche and a Chaise. The Barouche contained E Chase, E Sparhawk, Abby Humphreys, David Stark[*] and Captain Greene. Mr W myself and little M went in the

[*] Another blank intended to be filled in later.

[†] It will be remembered that Consul Jarvis was along with David Humphreys a very early importer of merino sheep to the States. Above, IV, 162n.

[‡] *Winnipesaukee* today, but Margaret's mother's is indeed the usual spelling at the period.

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Chaise. We arrived at Canterbury to a late breakfast but very good, served by the Shakers – visited all their buildings, farms, &c, and bought some of their manufactured articles. Mr W found the horse he had taken at Concord, good for nothing – so left him at Canterbury and hired another of the Shakers for the rest of our journey. Got to Meredith about 5 PM, had a poor kind of lunch or dinner, saw Mrs Hoyt["] (Mrs McKeige's daughter) ["]for an hour, then went on to Sentir Harbor.† The road for the first six miles was very good; but the rest of the way was up and down treacherous hills at the risk of our necks." (Mother was not an experienced traveller–. What would she have said to a railroad descent from M[t] Washington, the Sierra Nevada, or the Alps.)- "It was after nine o'clock and quite dark before we reached our destination. Found tolerable accommodations and civil people at the inn.
28th This morning we all took a ride over the worst stony road that ever was called one" (what would she have thought of those in Palestine, &c)

"to a house at the foot of Red Hill. The party all prepared to ascend the mountain, the girls and David Stark on horseback, Mr W, Capt Greene, and little Margaret on foot. I attempted it and got a little way, but gave out for want of breath and returned to the house, where I waited three hours for them; a very tedious time, as I had only one old woman and some children to talk to, and they were busy getting dinner. However at last they appeared ; the equestrians looking as red, and hot, and damp as if they had been blowing glass in a glass house.‡ We all got again into the carriages and returned to a late dinner at Sentir Harbor. The Captain took the girls in a boat on the lake for a short time in the afternoon. Mr Winslow in it at night.

Friday Aug 29th

At 6 AM we set off for Concord, had a nice breakfast at Merideth,§ took a late dinner at Canterbury, & changed our Shaker horse for the Concord one, which was so dull and the hills were so tediously long for him, that we could not keep up with the carriage, and I was quite frightened lest in the darkness we should lose the road, or pitch over the horse's head down steep hills. However, we got safely into Concord about 9 ½ at night, and went to stay at Mr Sparhawk's house, as during out absence, our trunks had been carried there.

Letters to and from home.

M C W aged 12 years to Miss Henrietta Blanchard Boston. "Concord Sunday 4 ½ PM August 31st 1828.

"Dear Aunt H,

Here we are at Concord again, at Mr Sparhawks'. We went (as I wrote somebody last week were agoing to) – to Merideth last Wednesday. On our way there we

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* No doubt David McKinstry Stark (1807-1832), brother-in-law of Uncle Joshua Winslow. He died of consumption and is buried in the family cemetery in Dunbarton.

† The modern name and spelling is "Center Harbor." The modern name apparently derives partially from its location between Meredith and Moultonborough harbors, but also from the Senter family, who owned much of the surrounding land.

‡ Henry David Thoreau describes his ascent of Red Hill on July 4, 1858 in his *Journal* (ed. Bradford Torrey [Boston: Houghton Mifflin The Riverside Press, 1906], XI, 8-10). It is still a favorite hike and popular for its magnificent views. The modern trail is a loop of a bit over 3 mi. and involves rise in elevation of about 1300 ft.

§ Misspelling of *Meredith*.

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stopped at the Shaker's village and there had breakfast. You have no idea how neat and clean every thing is there. We remained at that place till about 11 ½, having started from C at 6 oclock.

35	
1828.	Journal*

Arrived at Merideth at half past two – took a slight refreshment – called on Mrs Hoyt, (E McKeige that was, you know, who lives there) and continued our route to Sentir Harbor, where we arrived at 9 o'clock Stayed there all night. –Next day went on top the Red Hill. It is a "tremendous fatiguing job." ["] (this expression probably caught from Father) – ["]Mother attempted it, and got up about a quarter of a mile, but had to go down again. We took E Sparhawk, (her beau engaged) Mr Greene, Mr D Stark staying at Mr S's and Miss A Humphreys doing ditto with us. The ladies and Mr Stark were on horseback; myself, Father & Mr G on foot – beg their pardon for not mentioning them first; – It was in the heat of the day and it was terrible. They say there are bears, foxes and lynxes in the Mountain; but fortunately we met none. Cousin E Chase when she heard it said, "O! I should admire to be eaten by a bear; it would be so romantic. The Hill or Mountain is only 500 feet high. However I believe I may be mistaken;† I am not by any means certain about the height. It was two miles to go up it and two miles to go down" (singular coincidence that! Little Meg!) ["]The view was splendid on the top; – but it was not a clear day, and we could not see it to advantage. We came home‡ the next day. O! I forgot: the view of Lake Winnipiscogee is beautiful – It is a great many miles in extent, I forget how many. The folks took sail on it in the afternoon. I did not go – Mother would not let me; but I went into water in the evening in it. – We got home night before last. I am sorry for Aunt P's accident; but glad there was no harm done. George ought to have answered my tender letter to him. You dearest Aunt cannot say but what I have been a very good correspondent with you. This will be the 6th or 7th letter I have written to Boston. Father has occasional twitches in the back – Mother a headache sometimes mornings, occasioned by wind.§ Cousin E C no appetite for breakfast, from getting up late I suppose. Otherwise we are perfectly well and happy, only Papa is in a fidget to be going home. We shall start I think

36	**Letter from her brother Edward in Boston.**
1828	Letters about our Journey to V[t] and N Hampshire.

Tuesday next, – stop at Pembroke, Andover, Haverhill and several places, so that you need not expect us till Friday or Saturday – Father's Mother's Cousin's and my love to you and all the folks at home. Good bye. I suppose we shall not receive another letter, as you will not know where it will find us. I think I shall not write another to B, as we are coming home so

* Though in fact the page continues Margaret's letter to her Aunt Henrietta.

† She is. The summit of Red Hill is at 2,030 ft. The present-day trail head is at about 700 ft., and the level of the local lake is about 500 ft.

‡ I.e., back to Concord, not back to Boston.

§ Ambigious. *Gas* or *breath* may be intended. But given Margaret's mother's consumption, not to mention that headache is an unusual accompaniment of gastrointestinal gas, the latter seems more probable.

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soon. Come to think of it, we may be home Thursday. Once more, good bye. Your affectionate niece

Margaret C Winslow.["]

The following letter from brother Edward, directed to me at Weathersfield V^{t}, will show how matters were going on at home.

Boston Aug 17th 1828

My dear Sister, Sunday morning.

As we are of course without a meeting this morning, and as I have been writing some advertisements, – and for this purpose collected together with some difficulty an old inkstand a stump of a pen and this sheet of paper, having after shaking off the dust, ascertained that it was white, – it occurred to me to write either you or Mother; but this will do for both. Besides you were so attentive in writing me when absent, that I could not forget you when on your travels. Aunt Pickering and Br George arrived yesterday["] (from Lowell) ["]after a very warm and dusty ride. – According to her account you had a pleasant sail up and a fine time at Lowell. It is a pity Father did not take more stores.– The two crackers and the cheese must have been a small pattern* among so many. Tell Mother that her unruly "boys" behave very well this morning. Ben and W^{m} Pick have gone with Aunt P to Mr Lowell's† meeting. All the rest are at home, but it is very quiet, since Tom has put down the Horn. Your good Aunt H. I suppose stays at home["] (from Dr Channing's church

37	**Continued.**

and her brother's boarding place Miss Cotton's, where she usually dined on Sunday) — "to make the pudding." (What a sacrifice! Dr Channing for a pudding!) "Success to her exertions say we." Mundane boys!

"You have been absent so short a time that I cannot tell you much news. Uncle Ben and your brother Edward drove out to the Railroad house["] (Quincy) ["]on Friday afternoon, where we dined, and afterward went up to see the encampment of the Rangers. The President["] J.Q. Adams‡ ["]arrived about 4 o'clock and reviewed them. There was an immense crowd, perhaps 3 or 400 Chaises and Carriages, but the best of the whole was the ride in the evening, as we were glad to get out of the noise and dust, and the evening was so pleasant. We stopped at Mrs Andrews["] (in Dorchester) ["]about an hour, and should have called upon Sarah Thayer, but she had dined with us the day before, and had, I believe, remained in town.

I am sorry to tell you Margaret, that your little black kitten has departed this life. She was executed in the way the Turks execute their slaves, by being tied in a bag and projected into the water, which operation was performed last evening by Ben," (always the one to

* *OED* offers a possible sense in this context: *U.S. A quantity of material sufficient for making a garment; a dress length.* The latter would be a figurative use here, and Edward might have meant a small *quantity for the purpose of the job* (of feeding so many). And see below, V, 94.

† Most likely Charles Russell Lowell, Sr. (1782-1861). From 1806 until his death, he was Pastor of the West (Unitarian) Church at 131 Cambridge Street (a short distance from the Leverett St. house). Father of James Russell Lowell.

‡ "J.Q.Adams" written under "The President" and no doubt is Margaret's editorial insertion.

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undertake disagreeable jobs shirked by others) "I believe he had no particular desire to do it" (probably not!) "but he was recommended to it by all, – and the vote was very strong against poor Kit.

Tell Father that either Isaac or I will write him tomorrow when the Gen Jackson and the Pocahontas have landed their cargoes. The first vessel is from Uncle Josh" (Santa Cruz)* "But we have not yet got the letters as she is at Quarantine. Tom says Mrs Loring, wife of his former Master" (Fairbanks & Loring hardware business) (boys had Masters then) "died night before last.

I cannot write more as meetings are out. I suppose you will hardly be able to read this, but you & Mother must make it out between you. – Yr affte Brother Edward.

Mother's Journal resumed

38 The journey concluded.

1828 Journey to NH & V't

Aug 30th "Very hot – Staid in doors all day at Mr Sparhawk's Charlotte† Stark and little Frank Winslow["] (staying with her during his vacation) came over from Dunbarton to see us, also Henry‡ Stark

Sun 31st Attended Mr Sparhawk's meeting morning & afternoon a very hot day." (Mr Sam Sparhawk though one of the most excellent and exemplary Christians who ever lived, had been excluded from the Sandemanian Church in Portsmouth, consisting chiefly of Mr Humphreys' and Mr George Sparhawk's families, on account of some insignificant doctrinal difference with Mr H, and at this time conducted service in his own family, as did my Father in ours) "In the evening Mr Winslow, Mr Sparhawk, E Chase, E Sparhawk and myself made a call on Mrs Kent and her daughter; they had invited us to tea the evening before, but we declined. We had a pleasant call and some water melon for refreshment.

Sept 1st Monday extremely hot – but about 5 PM when rather cooler Mr Winslow hired a Chaise and drove little M and me over to see Mrs Stark at Pembroke,§ and intended to take the Stage from there to Boston. We left E Chase at Mr Sparhawk's –as she is going to visit her Uncle Chase at Hopkinton seven miles from Concord. After our arrival at P, we had a thunder squall, and it rained all night.

Sept 2nd We left Mrs Stark's about 7 AM in the Stage for Haverhill. Arrived there about 2 PM and dined at the tavern. After dinner, we called on Mrs Duncan formerly Mary Willis – Mr D was very polite and took Mr W out to shew him the town, (I did not go as it kept drizzling.) They called on Mrs Bartlett and her daughters (Mother & sisters of Mrs Consul Jarvis) who urged our taking tea and a bed there; but we declined. Mr Duncan called on us in the evening, and again next morning as we were setting off in the stage for Boston at 8 AM.

39 The busy social life of Boston resumed. "Young Angier."

* St. Croix.

† Most likely David's older sister, Charlotte (1799–1889). She never married and lived on the old homestead. Like her brother, she is buried in the family cemetery in Dunbarton.

‡ Another of the siblings. Born 1795.

§ Probably Sarah McKinstry Stark (1767-1839), wife of Caleb Page Stark (above, IV, 71n.). According to the Stark family tree at http://www.nh.searchroots.com/HillsboroughCo/Manchester/stark.html, she died at Dunbarton, whereas her husband spent the last years of his life in Ohio: "In 1828 he was postmaster of Pembroke NH. By 1830 removed to Ohio, to prosecute the family's claims to lands granted for military service, where he died 26 Aug 1838 [in Oxford OH]."

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Home Again

Sept 3rd We passed through Andover without stopping, and arrived at home in a smart shower of rain, 2½ PM, just as the folks were sitting down to dinner. Found all safe and well, and so ends our journey of nearly three weeks, and we return to our home duties and usual routine.

Sept 4th "Here we are entered on our old dull pursuits. It is three weeks to day since we left Boston. While we were absent Mr Gosler a German, old Mr Arnot a Scotchman & his nephew, a Mr & Mrs Ryan from N York, Mr & Mrs Edward Wilkings from Fayetteville NC, and Judge Pike of Halifax, with his daughter and niece have been in town – The two latter staid with Henrietta at our house. To night Mr & Mrs Ryan here to tea. E Pickering & Miss Thomas called to see us – Our BPW in from Cambridge, and his Chum Clarke with him."

Sept 5th Friday – Mr & Mrs Ryan dined here – also Mr Hicks from S^{t} Croix, Robert Manners, and B Winslow Sen^{r} dined here., Amory & Cath' Winslow, M^{r} Beibier[?], a German who played delightfully on the flute, while Mrs Ryan played the Piano and sang. E Pickering & boys & Edw D Winslow here during his vacation from Hartford all passed the evening with us." One would think that all this could not be "dull"; but I suppose poor Mother meant the household cares from which for these three weeks she had enjoyed a refreshing vacation.

The same kind of life goes on all this autumn – Friday dinners & evening gatherings every week, besides innumerable comings & goings 'between whiles". Harriet Sparhawk stays on and on, is sick, has Dr Shattuck & Aunt Henrietta nurses her – Boys come & go on shooting excursions & otherwise – E Chase arrives from N Hampshire & stays at the house–. Callers every day – friends & acquaintance too tedious to mention. BPW brings in a classmate "young Angier[*] who sings delightfully" – Helen Pearce is a constant visitor.

40	**A wedding. Parade and a noble visitor—**

Winter in Leverett S^{t}
of 1828-29. Summary.

Mother's cough comes on again with increased severity, and she mentions the frequent application of blisters,[†] &c. Yet still the family circle is enlarged by strangers, visitors and friends. Miss Harriet Sparhawk is gone, but Miss Susan Sparhawk, daughter of old Mr George Sparhawk is staying with us, and Aunt Henrietta and my Father take her about to see the sights of city life also Miss Abby Humphreys staying in Pleasant S$^{t.}$ The marriage of Miss Elizabeth Willis to Mr Kinsman, Elizth Chase being bridesmaid to her, and all "the boys" invited, – seems to have been "an event" of note. "Boys got home late" says the Journal. "Brought a nice parcel of Cake with them to dream on."

Oct 1st "Little M commenced going to Mr Bailey's school in the basement of Old South Chapel, Spring Lane." A Lieutenant Foster of Halifax and a Captain Lockheart from the W Indies are mentioned among visitors at the house Elizth Chase went to reside with her Aunt Mrs Wolcott in Franklin S^{t}.

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[*] Rev. Joseph Angier (1808-71). He was a Unitarian clergyman in New Bedford and Milton, Mass. A footnote to a letter from Ralph Waldo Emerson to Robert Marion Gourdin concerning Angier says that he "was well known in his own class for his beautiful tenor voice." His brother John was Emerson's classmate (Harvard, '21) (*The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Ed. Eleanor M. Tilton [New York: Columbia U P, 1994], 10: 44n.).

[†] Another term for a mustard plaster, which is a poultice of mustard seed powder spread inside a protective dressing and applied to the chest or abdomen to stimulate healing. Called a "blister" because they were capable of raising blisters where applied.

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Brother Isaac parades as Captain of "the Winslow Blues"– Thomas as private in the "N England guards." The former company had a supper after Parade at the Marlborough House – and Isaac hearing that a French Gentleman was staying there, invited him to join them. This gentleman proved to be the Duc de Montibello, son of one of Napoleon's Generals,* travelling in this country for pleasure and information. A few evenings afterward Isaac being out, – we were sitting en famille at home when there was a ring at the door, and a hackman announced the Duke of Marlborough. "Shew his Grace in" said my Father affably. And a slender courteous, smiling young man was ushered into our

41	—the Duc de Montebello. Tom injures his knee

plain little parlor, where he made a call of half an hour, my Father conversing with him in such French as he commanded He came to acknowledge Captain Winslow's polite attention at the supper, and coming from the Marlborough House the Hackman had conferred upon him a higher fame than even that of his father. My Mother's Journal relates the affair as follows.

Oct 14th ["]Oliver and Thomas Sparhawk were here in the evening. We had after they were gone, a visit from a great man, no less than the Duke de Montabello of France and a friend with him. The reason we were so honored was that Isaac, as Captain of the "Winslow Blues" paid these gentlemen, being strangers who had put up at the Marlborough House, – the compliment of inviting them to take wine with the "company," who were celebrating their anniversary by a supper there. Isaac happened to be out, and we were quite astonished at the visit, as he had never mentioned the incident to us. However he soon came in, very luckily.["]

Oct 25th Mother says – "Three gentlemen waited on Mr Winslow this evening to endeavor to persuade him to stand as a Candidate for Congress, but he staunchly stood his ground and refused, for which I was very thankful."

Among the strangers at our house, a Mr Lockheart is mentioned. I wonder if he was any connection of Sir Walter Scott's son in law!† — Usual family gatherings, dining, teadrinking & calls. BPW in often from Cambridge – Little M taking music lessons of Mr Spear and French & Italian lessons of Miss Dégen. Thomas at home with a very badly hurt knee from a fall across one of those long tailed trucks which were then used in Boston, and which in loading, sloped down to the doors of the warehouses or stores, often right across the sidewalks. This truck started just as Tom stepped upon it, and threw him on his knee.

42	The Candas again. Mr. and Mrs. Francis, a needy couple.
1828	Summary of Home incidents.

Dr Shattuck attended him for many weeks,‡ and once when he probed the wound it looked so ghastly that Aunt Henrietta fainted at the sight of it and, this was a rare occurrence with her.

* Louis Napoléon Auguste Lannes, 2nd Duc de Montebello (1801-1874), son of Jean Lannes, 1st Duc de Montebello (1769–1809), a close friend of Napoleon's as well as one of his most talented generals.

† John Gibson Lockhart (1794–1854), also Scott's most important early biographer. There seems no reason to suppose any connection between the two men other than the coincidence of their surname.

‡ A month later (at Thanksgiving) he was still in pain and unable to walk. But by January 10th of the new year he is able to make calls. Below, V, 46.

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Mr Canda* an old soldier of Napoleon's exiled under the Bourbons, is mentioned as visiting us with his French wife and two pretty little girls, who danced for us. And a Mr Bonfils, who set up a French boarding school to which Amory & Catherine Winslow were sent, also had letters to Father. Mr & Mrs Candá kept a dancing school to which I went. She was a very ladylike person–, evidently of good social position. Then there was a Mr & Mrs Francis introduced to Father by Mr Manners the British Consul as very needy and my Father & Mr M got up a subscription for the family – while Mother procured clothes for the children She was an Englishwoman, but the husband was a Frenchman and his real name was Thoreau. He had been of high rank, but had become Preacher to a new sect called "Anti Satanic," and had gone to Canada leaving his wife and four children in Boston.

Nov 19th † "Sent the clothes we had been making to our incognita‡ Mrs Francis – and she called to thank us – It snowed a little, and was very raw and cold. The poor woman had only a tippet,§ over her gown. I gave her my black broadcloth Cloak made of the wool of Consul Jarvis' merino sheep** and a present from him. Her landlady came in the evening and had two hours conversation with Mr Winslow about the money which Mrs Francis owes her for board and which she cannot afford to lose, being poor herself." Mrs F is going to N York and her husband is to meet her there."

"Nabby Tower, Thomas' old nurse came to see him while he was laid up, – and many others daily visited him.

43	**Thanksgiving festivities.**
1828	Summary.

On Thanksgiving day Nov 27th Mother writes, "Isaac returned from Vermont." "Miss Thomas, Uncle Davis, B Winslow Sen, and a Mr Cother of St Croix here to dine. We had about thirty persons here in the evening, – Mrs Newell, Mrs Charles Winslow Miss Russel, Miss Ayres, Miss Thomas, Helen Pearce, E Chase, Amory and Catherine Winslow, Quincy Hill, Mrs & Mary Bradford and E Pickering. The gentlemen were, Robert Manners, Mr Foster & Mr Cumberland, English folks, –William Waldo, Charles Ward, Oliver Sparhawk, Mr Delius, Arthur, William and John Pickering, Russel Bradford, Benj D Winslow, little Frank W and Augustus Hudgens, and little Charles Winslow. Thomas sat on the sofa with his feet up, as he could not stir, the girls all went and talked to him, but poor fellow! – he was in too much pain to enjoy anything: Cannot put either foot to the ground, having acute rheumatism in the other knee. The young folks all danced by the Piano, and then went in to supper. – After the ladies retired, the Gentlemen sat drinking and singing at the table till almost twelve o'clock – The ladies were very indignant at their want of gallantry."

Only the week before my Mother had her usual Friday evening gathering of a dozen or more visitors, besides our own family. Yet speaking of my brother TSW and his

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* Above, IV, 153.

† Margaret begins again here the practice of beginning each line of a quoted passage with an opening quotation mark.

‡ *Webster's 3rd Unabridged: one who is appearing or living incognito.*

§ *Webster's 3rd Unabridged: a shoulder cape of fur or cloth often with hanging ends worn esp. by women or by men as a garment of office.* So here, a cape that only covered her shoulders.

** See above, IV, 162n.

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sufferings, she says, "He has to be lifted like a child from the bed to the sofa – He looks very sick, and the Dr thinks he has something of a rheumatic fever. It takes all my time to wait upon him, though he is very quiet and patient." This Hostess & Benefactress, making with her own hands, pantaloons and other garments for the children of a stranger, this watchful nurse and Mother was far gone in a wearing consumption – her transparent temples and thin hands daily shewing more plainly the blue veins beneath, as I well remember, – the hectic cheek growing more and more hollow, – the slight figure more fragile – the throbbing heart more rapid in its audible pulsations.

44	**"every reason for gratitude to that Holy Being. . ."**

Dec 1828.

Close of the Year.

But the wheels of busy life never stopped or paused, though their mainspring was strained to its last tension during this and the short remaining seasons of her existence.

December of this year is mentioned as being remarkably mild & pleasant – no snow and no frost in the ground; many of the days quite like spring even to the last of the month.

This year was one of much political excitement between the federalists and Democrats, which ended in the election of Gen Jackson as Pres[t] of the United States. Then there was also a contest for the office of Mayor of Boston. Josiah Quincy resigned, and Harrison Gray Otis was chosen.

There were a good many failures in business, and a singular transaction in regard to the fitting out of a piratical ship by Cabot & Co, an American firm in S[t] Thomas, the governor of which island offered a large reward for the apprehension of parties concerned. The affair made quite a stir in Boston at the time, but was soon hushed up by money & influence.

My Mother closes this Diary of the last year but one of her life as follows – The extract has been copied into my Father's little book called "recollections of a Mother," but I repeat it here at the close of the next year she was too weak to write its valedictory.

"So ends the year. –It is past; with all its pleasures, and all its pains and troubles. But we have every reason for gratitude to that Holy Being, who has through the last year made the blessings and comforts we have enjoyed so many and so great, that the light troubles we have met with are lost in oblivion. What is in store for us in the coming year, He only knows, – and He will order it for good to all who trust in Him, – and O may I be enabled to say – Thy will be done."

45	**Weather. Comings and goings.**

1829

Last year of my Mother's Life & Journal.

Jan 1st "Very dull weather. It looks and feels very much like snow. We have been as yet free from any, and till the last three days it had* been warm as spring. These three last days of Dec 1828 have been very cold, but the weather is now moderating Eliza Pickering has invited a little party for this evening, who are to have a little dance in her little room, Barton S[t] House)- Henrietta is down there assisting her. All our family went to the party except Mr Winslow – I was afraid to venture. A Miss Haven of Dorchester niece to Mr Cook was there. She is called quite a Beauty. The young folks did not get home till late. Henrietta staid all night. John Bartlett here to see BPW but was disappointed. Rain in the evening –

* The word has been corrected, but not legibly. May be "has."

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Jan 2nd Rain turned to snow and sleet, cold and damp. Margaret Houston came to see us notwithstanding; HB returned home before dinner. Thomas Sparhawk called in the evening, and John Bartlett again to see our BPW, but he was gone to Charles Ward's.
Jan 3rd Cleared off cold, about three inches of snow on the ground. M Houston dined here and had quite a frolic with our BP, he pretending that she wanted to kiss him. He escorted her in the evening to Mrs Chapman's (Bowdoin Square) where she is staying.["] (Mr Houston would not let his daughters stay at our house though they were constantly there off and on. —
Jan 4th Clear and very cold. Eliza Pickering, her boys, and Oliver and Thomas Sparhawk came here to meeting. C Ward here in the evening. We had some music.
Jan 5th M Houston and Lucy Chapman called – They were going to spend the afternoon with Miss Thomas. Our BPW went with them and made a dreadful noise there. John Bartlett dined here.["] (This "dreadful noise" must have been reported by the young ladies, for surely it could not have been

46	**And more of the same. An ice storm's beautiful result.**

Journal 1829.

heard all the way from Miss Thomas' boarding house at that time I believe in Hancock St, though she moved very frequently.)

["]Edward D Winslow left us for Hartford college.*

Jan 7th We had Consuls Jarvis and Manners, Robert Manners, Capt Moore (Master of an English Packet Ship) Mr Heilbron, Mr Johnson, and B Winslow Sen to dine, also E Pickering & A little Miss Coffin to tea. Our BPW took a ride to Cambridge. Isaac went to a ball at Mr Halls –
Jan 8th Snow and rain together. M Houston called She is going this evening with the Chapmans to a party at old Mrs Parkman's. The Goodwins, Mrs Pickering and our Edward went to the theatre Our BPW returned to Cambridge this afternoon; vacation being over Took his trunk and went in the Stage, on account of the rain.
Jan 9th Raining and freezing on the trees, which will look very handsome when the sun comes out. We did not expect any company for this Friday evening on account of the rain and ice; but the rain stopped about 6 PM, and Helen Pearce, Miss Dégen and Miss Easton appeared. Soon afterward came Mrs Newell with Oliver Sparhawk and a Mr Payne with them,["] (nephew of Gardiner Greene:) ["]then Wm Pickering and a Mr Bird whom Edward had asked to play chess with him; so we mustered quite a party notwithstanding the weather.
Jan 10th Clear and cold. The trees and grass on the Common look like cut glass covered with Diamonds – the Sun bringing out all the Prismatic colors, so I am told. People are flocking there to witness the beautiful sight; even our trees look very handsome. Amory and Catharine Winslow called. They have gone to a French boarding school, kept by Mr Bonfils. Edward, Thomas and BPW went with Mr Haven to Mrs Pickering's.

47	**Death of General Jackson's wife.**

Journal 1829.

Jan

* Washington College (Trinity College since 1845). It seems to have been informally called Hartford College owing to its location in Hartford, CT. See below, V, 67. It was founded by an Episcopalian, but from the outset prohibited any religious tests for students or faculty.

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Sun 11th Clear and very cold – The ice still on the trees. Uncle Davis O and T Sparhawk, E Pickering's boys, Benjamin D Winslow and little Augustus Hudgens here at meeting. The two latter and T Sparhawk dined here. Henrietta, M Houston, and our Thomas went to hear Dr Channing.

Heard of the death of General Jackson's wife. Singular that she should die just as he is chosen President! It seems intended to impress him with the uncertainty of all things and thus to repress his ambition. She is said to have been a clean[?][*] woman, although vulgar in manners and appearance.[†] Ice remained on the trees till the 13th Rained again on the 14th. On the 15th the weather became very warm with a complete thaw – continued wet but colder till the 19th when it cleared for a day or two and snowed lightly on the 21st Again clear and moderate until the 28th when about three inches of snow fell, and this was all there was during the month. The last day or two quite cold, but not extremely so.

Jan 16th ["]Friday we had Helen Pearce, E Chase, Amory & Cathe W, and their Father and brother, M Houston with Mr & Mrs Goodwin E Pickering and her boys, Sarah Thayer, Wm Waldo, Thos Sparhawk Charles Ward, BPW and his chum James Clarke and Samuel Clarke.[‡] Mr Winslow, HB and EP had called at Mrs Pomeroy's and invited that family with their guest Miss Alsop[§] of Conn't but they had an engagement.

Jan 19th Isaac set off for Concord NH on business.

M Haven went to the theatre with our Edward. Thomas, BPW & our Margaret also went. BW Sen hired another box and took his daughters, his sister Hudgens and her son, Miss Hunt & Elizabeth Chase. Henrietta went to watch with a sick person, Mother of a Mrs **20th** Smith with whom she once boarded. Lots of callers, EP, E Chase, Helen Pearce, MH, Lucy Chapman, Mrs Oliver Mrs Pomeroy – Miss Alsop.

Our old domestic Nabby Tower called.

48	**A large Friday evening party. Miss Alsop, a rival belle. Great expectations.**

Journal 1829

Jan

22nd "Our Edward, Eliza Pickering, E Chase, Helen Pearce, M Houston Miss Hunt, B Winslow Sen, Arthur & William Pickering all went to a ball at the Norfolk House Roxbury.

23rd Friday. Fine day but a little cool. We are to have quite a time this evening:——Partly as a compliment to M Houston partly to return some of the civilities the boys have received, and partly to celebrate in anticipation of our Margaret's birthday, last not least, to notice Miss Alsop daughter of Mr Winslow's old friend and companion in Italy – we have invited a

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[*] Several words on this portion of the page are smudged, but this is the only one the reading of which is difficult.

[†] The Winslows had very little good to say about Jackson or the Democrats. (Although see below, V, 55.) Rachel Donelson Robards Jackson, born Rachel Donelson (1767–1828), was accused by the supporters of John Quincy Adams during the campaign of being a bigamist, which may have been technically true many years earlier owing to the failure of Rachel and her first husband to finalize their divorce. But the legal problem had been resolved in 1794. Undoubtedly the stresses of the campaign contributed to her death, but she had other trials to contend with (including the death in 1828 of her sixteen-year-old son) and she had had heart problems at least since 1825. There is quite a full account of her life and death and the national sensation that followed at http://www.firstladies.org/biographies/firstladies.aspx?biography=7 .

[‡] Probably James Clarke's older brother (1806-97).

[§] Elizabeth, daughter of Isaac's old friend met while in Italy, Joseph W. Alsop, above, III, 19.

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number of young people for a supper and dance. Margaret Houston came down early to curl our little M's hair." (astonishing that this should have been permitted) ["]then went back to dress and return with the Chapmans and Goodwins. Joshua P B came to see us just before the party assembled, but soon made his escape from "the scene of vanity" as he considered it. B Winslow Sen was manager and acquitted himself very well We mustered from 40 to 50 ladies and gentlemen, and had three pieces of music. The evening passed off well and they seemed to enjoy themselves. It would be too great a task to enumerate all who were here. We all got to bed about 1 o'clock. Young Clarke, our BPWinslow's Chum staid all night with him.

I must here mention that Miss Elizabeth Alsop, who no doubt was present on this occasion with her friends the Pomeroys, became a frequent visitor during this winter, and was quite a rival belle in the family, to M Houston, Kate Winslow and the elder ones, Helen Pearce, Elizabeth Chase, &c, It would be funny if one could describe the flirtations, and piques and rivalries, to say nothing of deeper feelings exhibited or concealed among all these young people, whose subsequent lot in life was so different from that which they then dreamed of and perhaps hoped for. This very party had undercurrents probably

of many such hopes and desires, fears and jealousies, which the lips white with suppressed emotion would now smile at, in pity or incredulity. "Sic transit" passions "mundi"*
Jan 24 ["]We are very busy getting in order, after last night's frolic. William Pickering called in this morning. He says that all the folks he saw after he left the house express themselves very much pleased with their evening's amusement. His mother sends for our boys to come down there this evening, as the Winslow girls and Mr Houston Miss Tilden and Miss Lindsay are going there to tea. Our BP went and waited on M Houston from Mrs Goodwin's.
Sun 25th Fine weather, clear & moderate. Uncle Davis, Eliza Pickering and her boys, Oliver Sparhawk and little Augustus Hudgens were here at meeting. Before it was quite done, M Houston called in. She had been to Mr Lowell's who is shorter than we are. She heard I was sick in bed with a bad cold. Oliver Sparhawk and little Frank Winslow dined here. Henrietta went out to meeting. A young Mr Snelling, an acquaintance of Isaac's, called this afternoon. He was asked to the party, but did not come. He is the son of my old neighbor and acquaintance Mrs Samuel Snelling in Hawkins S[t], when we were married.
26th Quite a warm day. Eliza Pickering called. Isaac, Edw & M Houston Mr & Mrs Goodwin, George & Margaret went to the theatre. Thomas and W[m] Pickering went to a Mr Gould's singing school. Mr Winslow spoke to him to instruct the boys.
27th "This is our little M's birthday – she has commenced her teens. Dear child! may she continue as good and as happy as she is now"– (Motherly partiality! but too pleasant a partiality not to copy.) ["]M Houston spent the day with us. Our Margaret treated the folks in the evening with Blanc mange.† A drizzly wet day, grew cold toward night and began to snow. Edward went with M Houston home to Mrs Chapman's in a snow storm. Not far for her to walk. We are all to be invited to Mrs Goodwins for Thursday.

* Margaret's variation on the proverbial saying *sic transit gloria mundi*. How quickly pass the passions, like the glories, of the world.

† A sweet dessert usually made with milk or cream and sugar thickened with gelatin or cornstarch, set in a mould and served cold. Common flavorings are vanilla and almonds.

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50	Timmins Blanchard ill. George Hunt's death. Comings and goings.

Jan 28th Journal 1829. Leverett St.

Clear and cold – about 3 inches of snow fallen, the first of any consequence this winter. We heard that Joshua's wife* is very sick with a violent pain in the thigh, which they fear is "White swelling,"† as she once had it in her arm. Mr George Hunt also is dangerously ill. He has had two fits.

29th Clear and cold. The snow makes the air very chilly. The Miss Pomeroys and Miss Alsop called – also M Houston Lucy Chapman and Mrs Goodwin to invite us for this even'g to her house E Pickering, E Chase. Miss Thomas, and Henrietta B were there Edw waited on the latter home early, as she was to watch again with Mrs Smith's mother.

Friday 30th E Chase called with Mary Bradford – EC was going to dine with Eliza Pickering. Henrietta went shopping to get a frock for Margaret, and then to see Timmins – found her sitting up and rather better. But George Hunt lies in an insensible state. He had fifteen convulsion fits yesterday. Henrietta watched again with Mrs Smith's mother. Our party this evening consisted of Mr & Mrs Goodwin, M Houston E Chase, E Pickering & boys, the Winslow girls, their father & brother Wm Waldo, Mr Gosler and Mr Bird. Our BP in from Cambridge, Our late Mayor Mr Quincy‡ has it seems accepted the Presidency of Harvard College.

Sat 31st Clear but very cold. George Hunt died yesterday. Henrietta went to Miss Cottons to offer to make mourning for the funeral. GH was husband of Margaret Cotton, and second cousin to my Father. He has left two children, a son and a daughter.

Mr Winslow dined with Mr Francis Oliver. Miss Coolidge called Thomas & BPW went to their Aunt Pickering's in the evening.

Feb 1st Sunday. Clear and cold. E Pickering & boys, Uncle Davis and Thomas Sparhawk here at meeting. Arthur P dined here– his mother and brother here again in the evening – also M Houston Lucy Chapman, BW Sen and a Mr Leaver agent of the Halifax packet. We had some music MH & Lucy Chapman sang &stayed

51	Isaac turns 55. Margaret gets a fashionable new dress.

Journal. 1829.

Feb 2nd Mr Winslow's Birthday. 55 today! A good looking fellow for his age! – Mrs Kinsman called this morning. Began snowing at dinner time. Quite a snow storm evening, nevertheless all went to Mrs Andrews' in Winter Street and winter weather. M Houston going there to stay – Henrietta went in a carriage. E Pickering, E Chase, the Phillips &c there. Boys all came home in the snow.

Feb 3rd Snowing early but cleared up at noon About 4 inches fallen which added to that already on the ground makes tolerable sleighing. H B went to see Mrs Hunt who is much overcome at the death of her husband – also to see Timmins who is better. M Houston called. Thomas and Wm Pickering went to a cotillion party at Gigon's, the French dancing master. B W Sen and daughter there.

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* Joshua Blanchard's wife Timmins (formerly widow of Mr. Hill).

† Tuberculosis of a major joint, frequently the knee, and potentially fatal.

‡ Josiah Quincy III (1772–1864). He was President of Harvard from 1829 to 1845.

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Feb 4th Clear and cold. Had a call from Mrs Duncan, formerly Willis – Also a Mrs Lakin sister to Dolly Chase who once lived with me, came for assistance. And the woman where Mrs Francis already mentioned,* had boarded, to see if she could get what Mrs F owed her. M Houston dined and took tea here. Thomas and W^m^ Pickering went to their company meeting[”] (N England guards) [“]Mr W called at Mrs Wolcott's and there met Miss Alsop and the Miss Pomeroys – They are all coming here again next Friday evening to my discomforture.† Our BPW came into town this evening. Foolish fellow! as he will have a tremendous cold walk back to Cambridge.
Feb 5th Fine clear day, but extremely cold. I bought our Margaret a new Mazarine blue‡ stuff§ dress. Miss Howe has made it quite in the fashion, and she has gone to school as proud as a little Turkey cock.” (This wasn't quite so “good” in little Margaret.) “Isaac went to a ball at Mr Benjamin Rich's – Edward and Thomas to Mrs Pickering's where E Chase and M Houston had been spending the day. Miss Thomas here and George went home with her, as all the other beaux had disappeared.
Fri 6th Weather rather moderating. Our Friday evening party consisted of the Pickerings, BW Sen, C Ward & a Mr Bacon, Miss Alsop – E Chase, M Houston and Mrs Bradford, Our BP in town.

52 A snowballing sleighing party to Quincy and the Greenliefs. 18 unexpected visitors.

Journal 1829.

Feb 7th “Last of the sleighing – snow going fast – So the young folks got up a sleighing party to Quincy; Mr W, E Pickering, Little M and I went with them in a hack. –The rest of the party in an open sleigh; viz, Miss Alsop and M Houston who had dined here, our Thomas” (flirting, it was said with M H and Miss Alsop alternately an arm round each, that was the report at least) “Edward, B.P.W. Arthur & William Pickering, B W Sen and son, and little Frank E Chase, Amory and Catharine Winslow. Stopped at Mrs W Stetson's in Dorchester, & went to see the new Church in Quincy a handsome stone building, while B W Sen went to a boarding school in Q for his daughter Lucretia to join the party. We in the hack went on meanwhile to Mrs Daniel Greenlief's to prepare her for so large a party, as she only expected a few of us.– She was somewhat alarmed by the number, but we did very well, considering! Mr W was the most troubled of any body; he is always so afraid of giving people trouble. But they gave us tea, nuts and apples, and Mulled wine in abundance. The young people played cards and had a pretty good time. On the way home they stopped a few minutes at the R road Hotel and got some whiskey punch:” (Oh temperance **note** Apostles!) “and arrived at home at a quarter before eleven o'clock, very late hours for Saturday night and sober folks.”**

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* Above, V, 42.

† *Discomfiture.*

‡ *Webster's 3rd Unabridged: a deep purplish blue that is slightly redder than hyacinth blue, redder and paler than average sapphire …, and redder, lighter, and stronger than cyanine blue … – called also bellflower, Roslyn blue.*

§ *OED* offers the following quotation: “1882 CAULFEILD & SAWARD Dict. Needlework 465 Stuffs. This term..may be applied to any woven textile,..but it more especially denotes those of worsted, made of long or 'combing wool'... Stuffs are distinguished from other woollen cloths by the absence of any nap or pile.”

** The implication is perhaps that the proper preparation for the activities of the Sabbath normally meant early Saturday bedtimes—which would also explain why Fridays were set aside for entertainments.

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note ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ I remember this sleigh ride very well, and Father's horror at overwhelming poor Mr & Mrs Greenlief. But the party had rolled up like a snow ball from 6 or 8 to eighteen without his being aware of it, and I believe he wanted to go to a Hotel, but Mr & Mrs G would not permit it. They had expected a Hack full at any rate, they said, and both were very good natured and hospitable after the first surprise was over They were very old friends of my Father Mother and Aunt Pickering,

53	**Mr. Kenrick of Newton. Comings and goings.**

Journal 1829. Leverett S^{t}

but these surprise sleighing parties must have been trying to Country larders, well supplied as they usually were; yet markets & shops were inaccessible on emergencies, in those days, and 18 persons are a large addition to a country tea table.

Feb Sunday 8th ["]Foggy & warm – Snow melting very fast. Uncle Davis, E Pickering & boys, and Oliver Sparhawk here at meeting. The latter with W^{m} P and little Frank dined with us. Mr Winslow gave the boys tickets for an oratorio at Boylston Hall Edward Thomas and Ben P went with M Houston and Miss Alsop in the even'g. E Chase was there but she went with Dr Gardiner* and his wife. Mr W also hired a carriage for them, as it rained and blew tremendously.

Feb 9th Fine day after the rain– Snow all gone. HB went to the funeral of old Mrs Pearce with whom she has been watching. Isaac had some of his military folks here on business. Edward and Thomas at their Aunt Pickering, where E Chase and Miss Alsop were taking tea. Mr Winslow went to see Miss Thomas at her boarding house, and was introduced to one of her fellow boarders a Mr Kenrick† of Newton who keeps a fruit and flower garden there, and is Representative to the State Legislature. He is nearly 70, but Miss T thinks him very intelligent, though singular in some of his notions. He thinks the clergy a sort of hirelings who make a trade of religion.

Tues 10th Miss Thomas and M Houston called – they are both to attend a party at Miss Andrews' this even'g. MH is still staying there, but is going today to help Mrs Goodwin make a dress for a ball at Mrs Rollins' E Chase is also going to this ball, and is having a silver muslin‡ which cost 6 dollars a yard; O Extravagance!§

11th Miss Thomas brought her friend Mr Kendrick to dine with us. HB and some of our boys went to meet M Houston, the Andrews, and a small party at Miss Phillips' in our street. BPW in till 11 PM– 3 fires in the night 4 stores burned in Dock Square, one in Broad S^{t}, and an alarm at the South End.

12th Colder – Mr W dined with Richard D Tucker. Several callers here. M H Mrs Newell and Miss Harris, daughter of Dr Harris of Dorchester.

54	**Mr. Winslow a Good Samaritan. Comings and goings. Fires set by incendiaries. Edward to New York in a great snow storm.**

Journal 1829.

* John Sylvester John Gardiner (1765–1830), rector of Trinity (Episcopal) Church.

† John Kenrick (1755-1833). See http://www.ci.newton.ma.us/Jackson/research/history/kendrick-family-gift-from-past.asp .

‡ Probably *a garment (as a gown) made of muslin (Webster's 3rd Unabridged).*

§ No irony here. $6 would have been about $140 in today's dollars using CPI.

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FEB

Fri 13th Clear but cold– M Houston dined here and a Mr Jewry supercargo of a small Schooner which came into Boston. He got into difficulty here, was sick and in Prison, and my husband as usual visited him and settled his affairs. Good soul! but that remark is superfluous. Our evening company were MH Miss Alsop, Miss Harris,["] (she was a very nice unaffected girl), ["]Mr & Mrs Duncan from Haverhill Miss Lucy Chapman, the Pomeroys, E Pickering, Amory & Kate W – these all took tea here. In the evening came Mr Bird, Charles Ward and the Pickerings. Our BP in town. Fires again last night and in the evening. The former was in Charlestown and proved a terrible calamity for a woman and three children were burned to death – also a man was killed in the fire on Broad S[t], and another was smothered in a vessel which took fire last week, thus making six persons who have lost their lives by fire within a week."

It would take too much space to continue writing down all these daily comings & goings – The foregoing may serve as a specimen of the winter. I shall therefore make only occasional extracts from the journal.

Edward Lawson of Halifax and Miss Alsop come to stay with us, and have "grand frolics" together as he also has with Eliz[th] Chase.

More fires supposed the work of incendiaries, and a night patrol was established. Mr Goodwin's house was robbed and then set on fire. Also a barn near the Norfolk House where some of our young folks were dancing at the Assembly held there every fortnight. This fire endangered the Hotel.

Feb 20th Edward went to NYork by Stage and got caught in a snow storm near Providence which detained him there for some days and he was a whole week getting on to NYork by land through tremendous snow drifts; the stage passengers having often to get out and hold up the sleigh stage or help drag it out of the drifts. They were covered with frozen snow and icicles. A most uncomfortable journey, but they made a good deal of fun out of it, as Edward wrote afterward.

55 The storm experienced in Boston. President Jackson's Inauguration and a dinner.

Journal 1829.

Feb 20

Here the storm was very severe. It began about 7 o'clock in the evening of the 20th and blew a gale. About a foot of snow had fallen before bed time. BPW in a sleigh with two horses went out to Cambridge with two or three other young men and they had to get out twice on the way and push the sleigh through the drifts.

21st Cleared off cold; but doors and windows were all blocked up with snow. Drifts in, some places 20 feet high – Many country roads impassible. afterward the weather became extremely cold and piercing but only for a day or two, as a thaw came on the 26th putting the streets in a frightful condition – then the last day or two of February came cold and slippery weather. Much the same ongoings in the family as recorded March came in with milder weather until the evening of the 5th when a heavy rain turned to snow with a NE gale, drifting excessively and the storm continued for two days making up for the fine open weather of Jan and the early part of February, and putting the streets into a very bad condition. Pretty fair sleighing in the country when the drifts got beaten down. On the 4th of March the nation was astir with General Jackson's inauguration as the Federalist and Democratic parties were still excited and bitter against each other, the latter extolling him to the skies and the former decrying him with great indignation. Mother's journal says Mar 4th

March 4th

"This day is the Inauguration of General Jackson as President of the United States

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for the next four years – Guns were fired last night at twelve o'clock and at daylight this morning. There is to be a great dinner at Fanueil Hall. Isaac was persuaded to take a ticket by his Uncle BW who is Marshall on the occasion. He afterward induced our Thomas and Arthur Pickering to go also". Note This is a curious instance of the facility with which most people are drawn to countenance even a disapproved cause when it is successful, for our generation were supposed to be on the Federalist side, although my Father was not the wholesale opposer of Jackson that many others were. On the 8th Mother says, "All the men in high glee at receiving the President's message. They are anxious to know what he will do for the commercial interests of the country."

56 The weather an obstacle to socializing. A defalcation by a London banker. At Margaret Fuller's. Ralph Waldo Emerson's ordination.

Journal 1829

March 5th "Notwithstanding the snow storm and sloshy walking, we had a dinner party consisting of Mr Richard D Tucker, Mr Joseph Tilden, Mr Francis Oliver, Mr James Hall, Mr White, Mr Trueman and B Winslow Sen. In the evening the children had a little puppet theatre on which some of the boys have been exercising their genius. Little Frank W here.
Fri 6th The storm continuing, our Friday evening party was small." Cleared up on the 7th with fine moderate weather but horrible walking. A complete thaw and rain on the 12th carried off most of the snow, and then the weather became colder. An incident recorded by the Journal of March 9th is curious, as shewing how uncommon were at that time the defalcations in business which are now unhappily such every day affairs, as scarcely to attract a passing notice.
Mar 9th "Robert Manners called in the evening on business with Mr Winslow. It seems there has been a great hue and cry after a man by the name of Robertson who was a partner in some great London Banking House. After applying to his own use more money than he ought to have done he absconded, and a great many people concerned, – have been trying to apprehend him. Vessels were sent in all directions; but he got off safely in a vessel loaded with salt for Havanna. However some people here have sent and apprehended him and he is now in NYork. It has made a great stir here and in New York also.
11th Mar 10–a gathering at E Pickerings of the Goodwins, Chapmans, MH, boys &c
11th At Miss Margaret Fuller's* Cambridge a party to which Amory & Cath W went, Thomas, Arthur Pickering, & BPW. Thomas had been in the morning with Miss Alsop & Miss Coolidge to the ordination of Mr Emerson at Dr Ware's Church North End." **note** Probably Ralph Waldo Emerson.†

57 A large Friday evening party with dancing. Commencement of Miss Wilby's School.

March 1829. Journal.

* Sarah Margaret Fuller Ossoli, generally known as Margaret Fuller (1810–1850), closely associated with Emerson and James Freeman Clarke. She met Clarke at about this time. It seems quite possible that Clarke's friendship with BPW was the route by which the Winslow circle intersected with hers, and I would guess also that Clarke was among the guests at her house on this occasion. The Fuller house was and is at 71 Cherry Street, Cambridge, a National Historic Landmark.

† Indeed, Emerson was ordained at the Second Church in Hanover St. on March 11th by Henry Ware, Jr. (1794-1843), for more on whom, see above, V, 6. As a descendant of William Moody (c. 1632-97), father of Rev. Joshua Moody (Edward the Sheriff's father-in law), Emerson was a distant cousin of the Winslows.

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["]Had letter from Edward at Philadelphia – thinks he shall go to Baltimore.
Fri 13th cold Company day – we had a great muster this evening. Miss Alsop and the Miss Pomeroys, E Chase & Mrs Mary Bradford, Helen Pearce and her Aunt Miss Pearce, with Miss Williams and Miss Dégen, M Houston with Mrs Goodwin and Miss L Chapman, Miss Bradley, Little M's friend, Amory & Catherine Winslow and their Father & brother, E Pickering & her boys, Robert Manners, Charles Ward, and a Mr Payne, Mr Goodwin Mr Pomeroy, Mr Bonfils and a Mr Leaming from Philadelphia Mrs Waldo and our own boys at home made up the party which did not break up till eleven o'clock. The young folks danced by the Piano and seemed to enjoy themselves. Mr Manners had dined here with a Mr Jewry.*
Sun 15th Clear but very cold & windy – good walking; snow & ice mostly gone. E Pick'g & boys, Uncle Davis, Oliver Sparhawk & little Augustus Hudgens here at meeting O Sparhawk & W^m^ Pickering dined here. Our George with his Aunt Pickering. H B went to Dr Channings meeting and dined as usual at Miss Cotton's Brother J P B came in the evening to say that she would stay all night with his wife who is suffering much pain. Our BPW waited on his cousin MH from Mrs Goodwin's to take tea here, Arthur & William Pickering here in the evening."
17th My Mother mentions the commencement of Miss Wilby's school since so famous in Boston. The Wilby's were neighbors of ours in Greene S^t^ just round the corner from Leverett S^t^, and the younger children had been my schoolmates at Miss Thomas's school. The father was an Englishman and attended S^t^ Paul's church where he made a great deal of trouble, as he did also in his own family. His wife was a most excellent amiable woman, and tried to bring up her children well behaving toward her good for nothing husband in the most exemplary way, till he at length went off and left her to maintain herself and children by teaching and taking in needlework. The Journal says – "We received a printed paper specifying the Miss Wilby's were about commencing a school for the instruction of little girls. They are very much reduced. Their father failed and became intemperate and has now gone to Havannah — I pity poor Mrs Wilby and her large family." (Aunt Henrietta knew her also, and esteemed her much, as a truly Christian woman.)

"Three inches of snow fell this evening."

58 Timmins continues ill. Whist and "segars." Bulwer's *The Disowned*. Mr. Balfour now a Universalist. BPW and Mr. Alexander, Miss Randall, Miss Fuller.

March Mother's Journal 1829
Cold
18th Henrietta went again to see Timmins who continues very sick and suffers much pain. M Houston and Miss Alsop dined here Our BP in from Cambridge to make calls with the Winslow girls and went with them to his Aunt Pickering's. Our Thomas had a whist party of young men in the North parlor – they had oysters, wine, and segars"† –
note I think I have said‡ that my Father encouraged or at least permitted these gatherings in his own house, that his sons might not be tempted to seek more questionable amusements abroad.
["]M H sent to Exeter for a copy of Ave Maria or the Portuguese Hymn which we all like very much. – We had a letter from our Edward by Mr Heilbron who saw him in Baltimore –

* Above, V, 54.

† A common spelling at the period.

‡ Above, IV, 138.

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he was about to set off for Washington. Mr Francis alias Theareau[*] is also there, and writes that he is doing well and hopes to pay off his Boston debts.–
20th. Helen Pearce here to dinner – She read aloud to me some of the novel just out called "The Disowned" – (Bulwer's)[†] ["]Continues very cold. M Houston and Arthur Pickering here to tea. E Pickering & son William in the evening – Our BPW played a fine second on the flute to M H who sang by the Piano. W P also assisting. Helen Pearce, E Pickering, Arthur P and our Thomas played Whist. Mr Balfour called to see Mr Winslow." **note** This was the Scotch preacher, a sort of Sandemanian, whom we, at one time, used to go over to Charlestown to hear. He had at this time changed his views and become a Universalist,[‡] and was settled over a Society of that persuasion in Charlestown. This was thought almost equal in those days to becoming an infidel. He & my Father always talked a great deal of theology together.
Journal 21st "Very cold – More little January than March. A good deal of snow and ice on the ground. A number of callers here. Arthur Pickering & Catharine Winslow just after breakfast – then Eliza Pickering, then M Houston; and Mrs Andrews. Then came Mrs Manners & daughter Our BP in town –went to meet the Winslow girls, a Miss Randall and Miss Fuller at the fashionable lounging place, Alexander's painting room" – **note**(What a history in all those names!) The future Portrait Painter of Celebrity[§]

59	**Edward returned from Washington and Philadelphia.**

Journal. March 1828. Leverett St[t] Boston

[*] Possibly a misspelling of *Theureau*.

[†] Edward George Earle Lytton Bulwer-Lytton, 1st Baron Lytton (1803–1873). His early novel *The Disowned* was indeed published in 1829, the year after *Pelham*, which was the work that made him one of England's most popular novelists. This is the only novel mentioned in the entire Memorial. Scott has been mentioned, but he was esteemed chiefly as a poet. I suspect the Winslows thought fiction lacked seriousness more than that it was morally dangerous, as many other deeply religious persons did at this period, especially Evangelicals. It would be interesting to know what Margaret and "the boys" thought of the roughly contemporaneous Dickens after he appeared on the literary scene in the late thirties. Dickens's visit to Boston in 1842 of course created a great stir. Since the Memorial's detailed narrative ends at just about then, at the time of the breakup of Isaac's Ark, it is not surprising that no mention is made of it and not necessarily indicative of the family's lack of interest in Dickens.

[‡] It was not until the mid-twentieth century that Universalists and Unitarians merged into the Unitarian Universalist Association. At this period, Unitarianism was in its infancy as a denomination separate from Congregationalism and was still closer to orthodox Protestantism than were the Universalists, who believed that all persons, regardless of their religion, were capable of salvation.

[§] Francis Alexander (1800–1881). It isn't clear whether by "painter of celebrity" Margaret means he was himself celebrated or that he painted celebrities. There is a story recounted at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francis_Alexander that when Dickens visited Boston in 1842, "a line of New England portraitists was already fawning on shore, hoping to be the first to capture the great novelist's image on canvas. But Francis Alexander reached the writer well ahead of his peers--by traveling in a small advance boat to greet Dickens as his vessel entered the harbor. Longfellow would later coin the verb Alexandered (as in, whangled), sniffing that such and such a person had Alexandered his way into a highly coveted invitation to a party."

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the wife of the Marquis D'Ossole,* of world wide literary celebrity, the future wife of Governor Cummings† of Utah, and the future wife of the hero of the Kearsage![‡] – [(]Who could guess all this of that morning's group? – Who can guess the far higher destinies wrapped up in many a familiar group around us always?)

Journal. "While I was sitting after dinner with my back to the window, reading, – I heard a slight noise, and looking up saw our Edward's face peeping in from the outside. He had that moment returned. He has been as far as Washington, and seen all the great folks there, except President Jackson; to have seen whom, would have detained him three days longer, and he could not afford the time. In Philadelphia he went to see Aunt Hodge, and found her much better in health than when we were there. He brought home some music for our Margaret, some Caracitures, and some glass toys. H B went in the evening with brother JPB to stay with his wife, – Miss Cotton who was to have been with her, being taken sick herself. Joshua has a bad cough and was going to take some medicine for it."

23rd She mentions hearing the death of John Cotton's son brother to Solomon who had also died of consumption.

24th "E Chase & M Houston dined here Amory & Cath' W called in the afternoon. EP and her boys were here in the evening. All talking about the Boston belle Miss Marshall and her engagement to Mr W^m^ Otis, which his family do not like" March continued very cold from the 14th to the 28th when the weather moderated and the snow melted fast. But the icy foundation remained till the first part of April.

Fri 27th ["]Miss Harriet & Charlotte Stark, &, their cousin Miss Hazon[§] from Pembroke came to our Friday evening party with Leonard Willis at whose Father's house they are staying. E Chase & M Houston here; also Miss Phillips and her brothers, E Pick'g & her boys, B W Sen, W^m^ Waldo, Mr Kent of Concord NH["](this was the stepfather of Ellen Tucker,[**] Eliz^th^ Sparhawk's friend, and 1st wife of Ralph Waldo Emerson -[) "] also Robert Manners and Lieu^t^ Hensley from Halifax.

60	**Harriet Stark to visit some weeks. Her father the Major's unexpected visit. Margaret Houston returns to Exeter. Samuel Waldo's death.**

Journal Last of March. 1829.

"Heard of the sudden death of Dr Gorham[††] – He is much lamented as a very skilful & humane Physician, a kind husband & father, and a benevolent man." ["]Arthur Pickering & our BP deserted our party to attend one at Dr Randall's.["]

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* While on assignment for *The New York Tribune* in Europe, Fuller in 1846 met the Italian revolutionary Giovanni Angelo Ossoli (1821-50), a disinherited marquis. They had a child and may or may not have been married.

† Misspelling of Alfred Cumming (1802-73), who was appointed by President Buchanan in 1857 to succeed Brigham Young as Governor of the Utah Territory. He married Elizabeth Wells Randall in 1835. Her letters to him have been edited by Ray R. Canning and Beverly Beeton as *The Genteel Gentile: Letters of Elizabeth Cumming, 1857-1858* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Library, 1977).

‡ Catherine Amelia Winslow married her cousin John Ancrum Winslow in 1837. And above, IV, 17. *Kearsarge* is again misspelled.

§ Likely a misspelling of Hazen.

** Ellen Louisa Tucker (1811-31) met Emerson in 1829 and they married that same year. She died of tuberculosis shortly thereafter, and her death profoundly affected Emerson's faith and his path to Unitarianism.

†† John Gorham (1783-1829), professor of Chemistry at Harvard Medical School.

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29th Speaks of "our TSW going with Miss Alsop to Mrs Hurds["] (Susan Oliver) ["]an old acquaintance of mine. She has three daughters, two married, & one at home."
30th At 11 o'clock AM a carriage arrived with Miss Harriet Stark & her boxes and bundles – She came to stay a few weeks with us – Miss Jocy[?] Minot favored us with her company, and to crown all, Major Stark* came uninvited to add to our delightful dinner party." Note. (the latter and his daughter Harriet were generally at strife, open or secret – probably this increased the pleasure of "the dinner party.) "In the afternoon Miss HS went with her sister & Miss Hazon to take tea with E Pickering, and afterward to the theatre, from which she did not return till near 12 o'clock Charlotte Stark is to stay with E Pickering."

"Our B P W home for a fortnight's vacation."

April 1829.

So passed the winter; and early in April M Houston returned home very reluctantly to Exeter after passing three months among her friends and cousins. She was much missed, but Miss Alsop continued to enliven the Fridays evening parties and then came some gatherings to celebrate the engagement of Elizabeth Chase, the chief Belle and Heiress of the family, who thus finally frustrated the hopes of more than one admirer, and who from that time cooled off in a considerable degree from her early friends and associates. Her brother,† Samuel Waldo was in a declining state, and several of the male members of the family watched with him off & on through the Spring. He died the 7th of May. Mother writes that my brother Isaac had watched with him the night previous, and that he had a pretty quiet sleep – but on the next evening, my Father being present, he passed away as so many of his family had done in the last stage of consumption.

61 Melancholy death of George Washington Adams reported.

Spring of 1829. Extracts & events.

He was an indolent but amiable man full of dry drollery and quiet jokes: Very plain in person and unpretending in manners like all the Waldos except Frank, of whom I have before spoken.‡ Elizabeth Chase his half sister continued at her Aunt Wolcott's in Franklin St, where her fiancé Dr Howard and his family visited her. Miss Helen Pearce departed to Philadelphia with a married cousin Mrs Lieutenant Edson, formerly Miss Soley. The Soleys, Dégens, & Pearces were all connected, and usually came to our Friday receptions. The failure of Mr Rogers took place about this time, and my father was much interested for the family, having had one of the sons (John) in his compting room. They were connected with the Derby's – and my mother writes naively – "Mr W called on Mrs Derby mother to Mr Rogers who failed the other day – She knew Mr W very well when he was a young man. But she told him he was so altered she should not have known him again. This seems very strange, as he looks remarkably young for his age, and most people who have not seen him for some time say that he alters very little."
Journal..May 2nd. "We heard to day the melancholy intelligence of the death of George Washington Adams, son of our late President.§ In a fit of insanity he threw himself

* Above, IV, 70.

† Half-brother.

‡ Above, IV, 35, 150-51.

§ George Washington Adams (1801–1829), eldest son of John Quincy Adams.

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overboard from the steamboat "Captain Bunker"[*] on its passage from Providence to N York. Several causes are assigned for this act. One is an early attachment to a lady who afterward married his brother– Another is a natural irritability of temper and disappointment in public life in consequence of his Father's impolitic loss of public esteem; Perhaps many things combined may have led to this dreadful determination. What must be the feelings of his bereaved parents! O ambition! this is thy work! What are all earthly honors now,– to those afflicted hearts! It seems that ex Pres[t] Adams had sent for his son to come on to him.

62	**Her mother's last birthday.**
1829	Politics of the Year.

May 9th Mother writes, "All the male folks with Ben Winslow Sen at the head of them are writing tickets[†] for the choice of Representatives. The Railroad question is to be agitated this session." This I suppose was the Charter for the Lowell Railroad corporation supported by the manufacturers, who about this time began to establish that corporation system which with some important benefits has also introduced some gigantic evils into the country of which we are just beginning to be aware. My Father was from the very commencement opposed to all these class interests and monopolies, and perhaps his "Anti-tariff" opinions took action from this time forward.

In the previous month April 25th, my Mother's notice of her 52nd and last birthday on earth, – was as follows.

"This is my birth day. I have, through the goodness and mercy of Providence, completed my 52nd year, and have been surrounded by numerous blessings and comforts. Although my health has been impaired for the last few years, I have still enjoyed a great portion of that blessing, and have not suffered as many others have; for which I ought to feel the greatest thankfulness. I have had my feelings much excited this morning by a note and present from my little M, whose affection has given me the greatest comfort. May she long be spared and be a blessing to all her friends."

Note. The writer cannot insert here the too partial expressions of a fond devoted Mother, who had ever expected to give all which a Mother could give to her children, without exacting, scarcely expecting any return on their part. I can only record this day, as she did in her precious little note of acknowledgement, as "one of the happiest in my life."— But I humbly hope through Divine Mercy to behold one yet more blessed: her next birth day in Heaven.

63 Earthquake in Spain, Real Estate in Jamaica Plain, and a new dress and an old one for Margaret.

1829

On the 13th of May my Mother mentions hearing of a "most dreadful earthquake in Spain – a thousand people said to have perished, and many towns & villages to be destroyed."[‡]

[*] Jack Shepherd, *Cannibals of the Heart: A Personal Biography of Louisa Catherine and John Quincy Adams* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1980), reports the ship as the *Benjamin Franklin*. It was commanded by a Captain E. S. Bunker.

[†] *Webster's 3rd Unabridged:* "a sheet of paper bearing the names of candidates for office (as of a political party or faction) and usu. used as a ballot."

[‡] March 21, 1829 at Torrevieja, some 20 mi. down the Mediterranean coast from Alicante.

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May 18th The Diary says – "Mr W took E Pickering, H Blanchard and myself in a carriage to Brookline and Jamaica Plain to see some houses" [note] (perhaps my Father thought of taking one for the summer for sale or to be let on account of my Mother's health.) ["]We saw two One of them belongs to old Mr Higginson and is vacant – The other to Mr Sewall whose family now occupy it. We went in and saw old Mrs Sewall and Mrs Head and daughter who were visiting her." It seems, however, that if there was a plan for going into the country, it was changed for that of a journey, for the Diary says under date of May 21st

["]E Pickering and our Margaret went out shopping and bought me a new drab colored silk for a dress and some lace for a cap, as we talk of a journey to Connecticut. I am also having a dress made of a nice thick silk that belonged to my Grandmother." Note – This dress was afterward made up for me when I grew old enough to wear it, for my dear Mother was soon called to put on other garments than these last robes of her Pilgrimage on earth. It was, if I remember, a sort of mixed gray and black Pongee or silk camlet* somewhat like those just come again into fashion; only with a lustrous silvery sheen like a mackerel's back; It was a very handsome material, and dear to me from my remembrance of this period in my early life when I first saw it on my Mother. It must have been very durable, if it formed part of the wardrobe of my great Grandmother Pollard. It was made for her in the form of a Sack and petticoat† like the Brocades, of which we have one only remaining at present.

64 The Sheriff inquires about the Pollards. Meeting Miss Chase's fiancé. A Journey to Connecticut.

Journal 1829.

May 22nd "Mr Sumner the deputy sheriff called here this morning to make inquiries respecting the Pollard family as he is composing some History of this city or its first settlers." Note, This was the father of Senator Sumner‡ who has since become so distinguished in Congress. I think he lived at this time in Hancock St.

"Miss Elizabeth Chase, –her beau Dr Howard, Eliza Pickering and her son Arthur, William Waldo and old Mr Manners all dined here." Our Edward dined out. This dinner was rather an awkward sort of business. None of the party felt at ease. It was embarrassing to Elizabeth, as she was introducing her intended to her relations, embarrassing to him in being so introduced, and embarrassing to us considering all things to receive him in such a light. But the introduction dinner is over, and I desire to be thankful' "In the evening we had Lucy Chapman and her brother, old Charles Knapp and the Pickering boys.

23rd "A little party at E Pickerings. Our M and her friend Sarah Bartlett, our BP – George, and the three Winslow girls were there.

24th EP, her boys and Uncle Davis, Oliver Sparhawk and his cousin Andrew Sparhawk were here at meeting. O Sparhawk and little Frank Winslow dined here. Very warm all the week Quite hot today.

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* Pongee and camlet are distinct textiles, but both are woven fabrics that can be made of silk. Pongee was originally Japanese, but has also been made in China; camlets were originally European.

† An alternative to the one-piece dress, a loose-fitting bodice and separate skirt.

‡ Charles Pickney Sumner was sheriff of Suffolk County from 1825 until his death in 1839. His son Charles (1811-74) is perhaps best remembered for the savage beating he suffered at the hands of Preston Brooks on the floor of the U.S. Senate. He graduated from Harvard a year behind BPW and is said to have been close friends with James Freeman Clarke. Both father and son were strong and early voices for Abolition.

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25th Another very hot day. We are busy preparing for our journey. We expect to set off day after tomorrow for Connecticut
27th Election day – our BPW in town. The boys all going to dine with their Uncle B W Sen. Eliza Pickering and Eliz[th] Chase are here to bid me good bye. Good bye also to this Journal, as I shall not take it with me."

On her return, however, my Mother gave an account of her journey as follows.

65	**Journey to Connecticut and New York commenced. Worcester and Northampton. Mt. Holyoke. Terrific lightning storm.**

1829
Leverett S[t]
Boston

New Chapter

Journey to Connecticut and New York —

Journal brought up afterward.

May 27th ["]Mr Winslow and I with little Margaret set off from here at 1 PM in a hack for Earl's tavern where we took the stage for Worcester, and arrived there at half past nine to pass the night. The next morning we took a walk to see the town which appears a very pleasant one. We met old Mr Gardiner Chandler* In the street. He seemed surprised to see Mr Winslow so far from home. We called to see young Mrs Clarendon Harris,† Sarah Thayer's sister. She and her Mother Mrs Thayer were there staying with Mrs Harris.
May 28th We left Worcester about 11 AM and arrived at Northampton about 10 PM, where
29th we passed the night. Next morning early after breakfast we took a walk to see the place which is very pleasant, has fine streets and many fine trees. Afterward Mr W took a carriage to M[t] Holyoke with myself, little M, and a Mr Hicks, our fellow traveller from Boston. I went as far as the carriage road extended within 60 feet of the summit. The rest of the party ascended to the summit. The prospect was very fine from where I stood, but they say it was much more extensive from the summit. I attempted to go up part of the way, but found it was too steep and slippery. Mr Hicks and Margaret caught a beautiful butterfly which we kept for some time. We rode back in another direction along the banks of the River, a very pleasant ride. We got back to a late dinner and it had begun to sprinkle before we arrived. While we were at dinner little M and I were sitting near a window in the drawing room of the "Mansion House", and both of us at the same moment saw a ball of fire descend into a large Elm tree close by, in front of the house, and at the same instant there was a large explosion as of a cannon fired at our ears. Mr Winslow who was in the Entry came in at the noise, thinking that the window had blown in. The people of the Inn said they saw the lightning descend the lightning rod of a

66	**Her mother's religious reflections prompted by the lightning.**

church about one hundred yards distant from the house We heard afterward that two men were killed by the same thunder storm, some twenty miles from Northampton." Note. – I well remember the incident here described, and the conversation preceeding this explosion which as an instance of my Mother's mode of treatment toward me, I will relate here. There were few travellers, I believe, in the Hotel which was a small old fashioned but pleasant

* Probably Gardiner Leonard Chandler (1768-1840).

† Charlotte Thayer, daughter of Arodi and Mary Thayer, had married in 1823 Clarendon Harris, proprietor of a bookstore in Worcester who later sold wallpaper there.

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House called the Mansion House. There was no one in the upstairs parlor or drawing room, which, if I remember opened on a Piazza – and when we went up after dinner, I began playing on a little old Piano which stood open, quite fearless of the lightning as I had been taught to be. My Mother was watching the vivid flashes and echoing thunder among the Hills, and after a little she called me rather gravely to her side at the window and said – "Don't play any more just now my dear – I had rather you would not." ["]Why mother," exclaimed I – "are you afraid of the lightning?["] "No dear"– she answered. "We are safe in God's hand now, as at all times; but this is a solemn manifestation of His power - Sit down with me and listen to His voice in the thunder." So we sat in silence; and had we both been taken then and there to God's presence by the awful flash which followed, it would have been in the calm and trusting Christian faith which my Mother's looks spoke even more plainly than her words. Would that all young persons were thus dealt with in the hour of real or even of imaginary danger. How many unnecessary and unreasonable terrors might be avoided, yet leaving a sense of the Divine right to take us from life, but only in love and Wisdom: Only in the time and place and manner which he judges best for our present and eternal welfare, and of that of all with whom we are connected, or, who may be affected by the event.

67 **Round Hill Academy. The Springfield Armory. A dull Sunday. Meeting Edward D. Winslow and Washington College.**

Journey to Connecticut June 1829.

May 30th ["]Dull damp day. Mr Winslow took me and Margaret in a chaise to visit Round Hill academy, which appears to be a fine Institution.* The head master was engaged but his assistant Mr Watson of Boston shewed us the buildings. The view from the windows is superior to anything I ever saw. Below is the town and valley, with Mt Holyoke for a background, and the Connecticut winding far away, bordered with fertile farms and beautiful country seats.

We left Northampton about noon, and arrived in Springfield at 5 PM – Took a walk to the Arsenal or Gun Factory;† the road leads up a long hill and on top are four large white buildings and a pretty church; all surrounded with finely kept grass plats and red walks made of the iron dust closely rolled and trodden in till they are as hard as stone. Every thing inside is astonishingly clean and in order, especially the large building where the finished guns are arranged, and the view from the hill is fine. Afterward we walked through the town which is small but contains some very pretty houses. As there was no public conveyance to Hartford and they charged enormously for a private carriage, we had to pass Sunday in Springfield. Mr W and Margaret went to one of the churches in the morning, and we took a walk in the afternoon but if we had not found some fine large Bibles and two volumes of

* Then a celebrated boys' prep school in Northampton.

† The Springfield Armory (now the Springfield Armory National Historic Site), which since the Revolution had been used to store arms and since 1794 manufactured them for the U.S. Government. It was the target of Shay's Rebellion in 1787. By 1829, some modern manufacturing techniques had been introduced—such as a lathe that automated the manufacture of rifle stocks with great precision—although the "Springfield rifles" of the period were still old fashioned flintlocks.

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Josephus,[*] we should have found it hard to get through a long summer day in a country tavern." Note. Fancy Springfield Hotels being called Country Taverns.
Monday June 1st – We set off at 5 AM for Hartford and arrived there about 10. Sent to Washington College about a mile from Hartford for our nephew Edward D Winslow. He came and continued with us all the time we staid in Hartford. The day was too cold for me to walk out, but he took his Uncle and cousin to see the College including a library, Cabinet of Minerals, Greenhouse, Gardens, &c – In the evening he took M to see some figures called Androids,[†] formerly in Boston.

68 The Asylum for Deaf-mutes at Hartford. Julia Brace (and Laura Bridgman). Middletown and a visit with the Alsops.

Journey to Connecticut.
June. 1829.

June 2nd "Took a long walk to visit the Asylum for deaf mutes.[‡] The exhibition of their acquirements was a wonderful and interesting sight. Among the pupils is a girl named Julia Brace[§] who is deaf, dumb, and blind. A pitiable object! but she can both knit and sew, threading her needle with her teeth. She finds her way all over the house by smelling the doors and walls – By the same acute sense she can select her own clothes from those of the other pupils, even after they come from the wash. She is about fourteen years of age, and a charity scholar, being the child of a very poor woman." Note. I remember this girl at the Hartford Asylum; but she was not nearly so interesting as the celebrated Laura Bridgeman of the Boston Asylum[**] – Julia was plain and had a disagreeable expression of countenance, and her figure was that of an old person, if I remember rightly. I believe she was far inferior to Laura in appearance, disposition, and intelligence.
June 3rd ["]We arrived in Middletown last evening about 6 PM, and passed the night at the tavern – This morning Mr W called on Mr Alsop[††] to see if there were any letters for us directed to his care, and in a very short time Elizabeth Alsop came running to see us at the Stage House. Her father drove up in a little carriage with a black servant, and they insisted that we should get in and come directly to their house. As we came in sight we saw Mrs Alsop at the gate waiting to receive us. All the family seemed so glad to see us and shewed us so much Hospitality that we felt quite at home in a short time. Mr Alsop and Mr Winslow

[*] Josephus (37–c. 100), also known as Yosef Ben Matityahu and Titus Flavius Josephus, first-century Jewish historian. The eighteenth-century English translation of the works by William Whiston was widely published and very popular in the English-speaking Protestant world, especially among those interested in the Jewish and Roman contexts of the early Christian church (as were of course the Sandemanians).

[†] From the mid-eighteenth century, a term for automata resembling humans.

[‡] Originally the American Asylum for Deaf-mutes, now The American School for the Deaf, in West Hartford. http://www.asd-1817.org/page.cfm?p=429 . Founded in 1817, it was the first primary and secondary school to receive State aid, in 1819, and the first to receive Federal aid the following year.

[§] 1807-84.

[**] Laura Dewey Lynn Bridgman (1829–1889), a pupil at the Perkins School for the Blind. Dickens writes about his visit with her in 1842 in his *American Notes*. She may have been Julia's superior in looks and other qualities, but it was Julia who inspired Samuel Gridley Howe to attempt Laura's education. See Elizabeth Gitter, *The Imprisoned Guest: Samuel Howe and Laura Bridgman, the Original Deaf-Blind Girl* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2001).

[††] Joseph W. Alsop. Above, III, 19.

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walked on after us. They are old friends, but have met only once before, since they were in Italy together some 30 years ago.
June 5th After a very pleasant visit of two days at Mr Alsop's house, we left Middletown for New Haven this morning about 9 o'clock and arrived about 3 PM, where we received a note from George Apthorpe saying that Mrs McKeige had secured lodgings for us at the house

69 Reunited with Mrs McKeige and her family. To New York City.

Journey to Connecticut. June. 1829.
and New York.

where she was boarding. He called in the afternoon to see us and shortly afterward came Francis & Mary McKeige. Little Mary Cockburn had run over the first thing to see Margaret, with her bonnet in her hand, too much in a hurry to put it on. Soon we all set off for Mrs Perres lodging house where Mrs McKeige is, who seemed very glad to see us, and we were, before night, comfortably settled in our rooms there. Mr W, Mrs M^{c} & Margaret went to walk round the town, and the M^{c}Keige girls soon followed with some of their College beaux of whom there seem to be plenty. I was not very well and rather tired so did not go, which I afterward repented, as it rained all the rest of the time we were in New Haven.
June 6th Hard rain all day. Nevertheless Mr W and Margaret went with George Apthorp* to visit the college† including the Library and the Cabinet of minerals said to be the best in the United States.‡ It was presented to the College by Mr George Gibbs.
7th Sunday. Still showery – Margaret went with Mrs McKeige to church and Mr W with George Apthorp to the College Chapel. In the afternoon it ceased raining and I took a short walk to see the best part of N Haven "the Green", the Church, the fine street with trees on each side, and the burying ground which is very prettily arranged with trees and monuments. I also went to engage lodgings for Miss Thomas at a house where Mrs McKeige had boarded when she first went to N Haven, but I could not walk far, it was so damp.
8th We left N Haven this morning at nine o'clock, in the steamboat U States for New York. The day was very damp and foggy, and there were not many people on board. Margaret and I both felt a little sick – We arrived at New York in a hard shower, and took up our lodgings at a Mrs Reese's boarding house, Broadway. It was recommended to us by Mrs McKeige, who staid here herself when in N York.
9th Margaret and her Father walked out to see the City – I went with them as far as the Battery and Castle Garden.

70 NYC friends and relations. Return voyage. Seasick. All well back in Boston.

Journey to Conn. & N York, June. 1829.

TUES

June 9th Brother John D Winslow found us out, and hired a Barouche to take us to the outskirts of the City where the "Bowery" used to be.§ We also went to see a pretty little

* Originally written *Apthorpe*, but the final *e* appears to be struckthrough.

† Yale.

‡ http://www.peabody.yale.edu/collections/min/minhist.html .

§ This is puzzling, since the Bowery is not a place, but a street, and has always been where it still is.

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Green House, and Mr W and Margaret went to Niblo's garden[*] but I did not go there – it being too cold a day for me. Mr Ryan called and took Margaret home to dine with his wife, and afterward a drive to Long Island. Their driver lost his way and they did not get back till after we returned at 10 PM from Mrs Marston's where Mr W and I had taken tea. We had become quite alarmed about them, especially Mr W, who was a little nervous before.
Wed June 10th Mrs Ryan's father & brother, the Oakleys called to see us, also Dr & Mrs Bartlett, (Editor of the Albion)[†] with whom we afterward passed the evening. M and I went to some shops in the Arcade. We had intended leaving for home today but there was no boat till Thursday.
Thurs The "Fulton" whose turn it was to sail, had been detained by the Fog – so we took the boat "Chancellor Livingston" for Providence about 4 PM – M and I were both rather sick, passing Point Judith.[‡]
Fri June 12th Arrival at Providence about one. PM. Mr W W had three ladies under his care besides ourselves, viz Mrs McLean, Miss Codman, and Miss Russel. He met Mr. Hurd on board and got him to help him. There were about one hundred passengers and nearly all were sick, the wind being NE and the sea very rough. None of the ladies came on with us to Boston except Miss Russel, who took the stage at Providence, dined at Attleboro,[§] and arrived home about half past eight in the evening, finding all well, for which we have great reason to be thankful. Our Journey has occupied just about a fortnight and one day over.

71	**Back in the whirl of entertaining. Mr. Erving. Problems with domestics.**

New Chapter. Summer of 1829 in Leverett St[t]
At Home.

Journal
Sat June 13th "We found quite a Friday evening party assembled when we returned home last night – including a Miss Howe of Halifax daughter of John Howe and several gentlemen strangers besides our own family circle. Miss Russel also staid and passed the night with us."

Thus re-commences the incessant company and care which so soon used up the small refreshment of the journey. Mr Erving[**] had arrived from Europe and his visits were frequent. Consul Jarvis' family came from Vermont in the old family coach, "to spend a few days" with us while they were shopping in preparation for the marriage of Consul J.'s eldest daughter to Mr Coutts, and Mother goes about with them. BPW brings his college friends Davis,[††] Clarke, &c – Isaac, Edward and Thomas sundry acquaintances and strangers, and I

[*] A pleasure garden bounded by Prince, Houston, Broadway and Crosby Streets. At this time it featured an open-air "saloon" that staged musical entertainments.

[†] Above, IV, 78.

[‡] At the entrance to Narragansett Bay.

[§] Not quite halfway between Providence and Boston. Evidently it was not just Miss Russell, but the whole party who took the stage and dined on the way back to Boston.

[**] Above, II, 133, IV, 44.

[††] There were two Davises in the class of 1829, George Thomas Davis (1810-1877) and Jonathan Thomas Davis (1810-1885). The Memorial never identifies which of these was BPW's particular friend, but it was certainly George, who was a close friend and distant cousin of both Clarke and Margaret Fuller (and, given his surname, likely a cousin of Ben's as well). See the letter from Fuller to Davis quoted below (V, 106n) that mentions "Ben Winslow." Davis became a lawyer and journalist and served in the Massachusetts Senate (1839-40), the U.S. House of Representatives (1851-53), and the Massachusetts House of Representatives (1861). Clarke says of him, "He was the most brilliant of men in conversation, and was so regarded through life by all

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my little friends and schoolmates. And some of the modern domestic afflictions about cooks seem to have begun, for frequent changes are now mentioned, some leaving suddenly just as company have arrived to stay &c– No great wonder perhaps, for with such a family and so many coming and going the work could not have been trifling. The names are still American* however -– no foreigners had as yet been introduced Mrs Oliver, Abigail Badgely, Axey Knowles, Martha Morrill, &c, &c.

In July Miss Harriet Sparhawk arrives on a visit – the 3rd of this month was so cold that many people had fires kindled, also on the 4th & 5th when the Journal records – ["]Still cold & raining – We had a fire in the back parlor again, and I was very glad of a foot stove.† On the 4th our Thomas and Wm Pickering attended a dinner given by the N England guards at Savin Hill – Edward went on a gunning expedition. MCW went to the Common with little Augustus Hudgens – and afterward dined in Beacon St with Mrs Osias Goodwin.["] BPW & George there in the evening Mr Erving dined with my Father; Sarah Thayer, Aunt Pickering & son John took tea with my Mother

72 Albert the manservant leaves to work on a farm. The family's habit or "picking up" people to be hosted and entertained. A party at Dr. Randall's.

Home doings July 1829.

July 1829 Cold weather. So passed the rainy & cold 4th of July, 1829 – one of the chilliest ever recorded in the Journal. A fireside party at home – A disagreeable cold N Easter abroad! This weather had continued for a week but changed on the 6th of July with a S Wind, and became warm about the 10th of the month. On the 6th Miss Thomas set off on a journey to New Haven where my Mother had engaged board for her, having relinquished school keeping in which she had made a small competence to live upon. Our man servant Albert Jewell who had been with us for nearly a year left us for a place in the country probably to work on a farm, as that was then the ambition of New Englanders, in order to become owners themselves in due time On the evening of the 7th after a little tea party at Aunt Pickering's, we had a curious supper party at home, illustrating the "picking up"‡ habits of the family. Our BPW and James Clarke, BW Sen returning from Aunt Pickerings with Miss Harriet Sparhawk, our own boys of course, and Mr George Channing§ with whom my Father had been taking a walk, and whom he had brought home to supper.
7th Mother mentions being able to make calls upon the Simpsons Mrs Charles Winslow, Mrs Oliver and Miss Hurd, Mrs Pomeroy Mrs Torrey[?]** and her mother Mrs Warren of

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who knew him. His memory was prodigious, and he quoted in conversation innumerable passages from all authors, – grave or gay, lively or severe, – and he increased the interest of these quotations by his own delight in them." Edward Everett Hale, ed., *James Freeman Clarke: Autobiography, Diary and Correspondence* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, the Riverside Press, 1891), 36.

* See above, IV, 133.

† A small box with a pan for hot coals to warm one's feet. They were popular not only in homes, but also with travelers. Some models were heated with oil and a wick, like lamps.

‡ Meaning probably the family's habit of picking up people they felt free to bring home to be entertained at the house with little or no notice.

§ Possibly George Gibbs Channing (1789-1881), a brother of William Ellery Channing and an uncle of William Henry Channing (BPW's classmate at Harvard) and like them both a Unitarian minister.

** Possibly *Toney*.

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Plymouth, Mrs Osias Goodwin, Mrs Doane and Mrs Thatcher, a pretty good batch of calls for an invalid to make in one morning!
9th All the members of both families, ours and Aunt Pickering's except my Father and Mother went to Mrs Eben T Andrews at Dorchester, an annual fruit & bowling party – very pleasant! Arthur Pickering absent on a trip to Halifax N.S.
10th Our usual Friday evening party at home; but part of the evening W^m^ Pickering & our BPW went to one at Dr Randalls* house in Winter S^t^ where they had been invited some days since.

73 BPW declines to participate at Commencement. Judge Wilde's loss of his son to suicide.

July 1829.

On the 15th of July the Journal says "Our BPW left Cambridge for a six weeks vacation till he graduates at Commencement. He does not wish to take a part in the exercises, not having confidence enough to speak in public. What he will choose for his future profession is uncertain; he has not decided himself upon any. Arthur Pickering who returned today from Halifax by the way of Eastport, William P, Charles Ward and our Thomas all went out last night to visit him at old Holworthy† in which the Seniors live and have a last good time at Cambridge or "spree" as they call it. On the 16th Thomas goes with some of the New England guards to Lowell and Chelmsford – Arthur and W^m^ Pickering are both out of employment, the business principals of their firms having failed. "Very bad times for young men," Mother writes; – there being a great many failures just now. Elmsmere‡ McKeige is at this time tormenting my Father and distressing his mother by running in debt and careering§ generally.
On the 17th Mr & Mrs Masters (firm of Masters Marcoe** & company[)] arrive from N York and have to be called upon and invited to the house Mr M came to the Friday evening gathering, and next day with Mrs M and others to dinner. Also another dinner party on the 21st, of strangers and gentlemen. On the 23rd my Father had an affection†† of the back to which he was subject – my Mother thought it originated in a strain which he contracted by lifting his sister Mary at one time when she had a fit – He was confined to the house for some days – visited by his friend Mr Erving who was constantly dropping in at all times to dinner or tea or to make a call. George and the Pickerings return from a shooting excursion sunburnt and "looking horridly."
26th Judge Wilde one of the gentlemen who dined with us on the 21st and a great friend of Uncle B W, Sen, lost his son in law by a terrible suicide yesterday twice attempted. He had been disappointed

* Dr. John Randall (1774-1842), father of Elizabeth Wells Randall (above, V, 58).

† Holworthy Hall was founded in 1812. It is currently one of Harvard's dormitories for first-year students, but during its first fifty years was occupied almost exclusively by seniors.

‡ Again, more likely *Ellesmere* (above, IV, 163).

§ *Careening* would work here as well, but I believe I've read this right. *Webster's 3rd Unabridged:* "to go, drive, or run at top speed esp. in a headlong or reckless manner."

** Misspelling of *Markoe*.

†† Here in the sense of *medical complaint* or *malady*.

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74 Edward to board at Norfolk House. At Aunt Pickering's with the fascinating Miss Randall and her friend the scholastic Miss Fuller.

July. 1829. At Home.

in business, which was supposed to be the cause – he left a wife the daughter of Judge Wilde and five children at the east ward* – being absent from his home at the time. It was said that he had a salaried situation, but left it in the hope of doing better. This reminds one of a certain tombstone inscription said to run thus "This man was well; wished to be better; took physic and died".† Both are sad commentaries and useful lessons.

The latter part of this month witnessed a flight from the old nest for "good and all" of my brother Edward – He went to board at the Norfolk House for the remainder of the summer, intending to go to a French boarding house in town the following winter, in order to improve in that language. Soon after moving out to Roxbury, he was obliged to take up his old quarters with us for one night as on the 30th of July after a few days of warm dry weather a violent rain came on with immense hail stones some as large as Walnuts and terrific thunder and lightning, doing a great deal of damage everywhere Edward being prevented by the storm from going out of town, passed the night at our house. Next day, however, instead of being cooler, was intensely hot and the air did not cool till midnight when a northerly wind sprang up, bringing cold and cloudy weather for the 1st of August.

August came in with another heavy rain PM and evening, preventing my Mother from going to a little party at Aunt Pickerings where the much talked of Miss Randall was to make her appearance with Amory and Catharine Winslow. I went however, and was almost as much fascinated with the young lady as the rest of the family, especially with her singing which was remarkably soft and sweet In person she was rather under than over the middle height, her figure soft and rounded, her face of the cherubic order surrounded by short brown curls, her eyes soft and drooping, her complexion clear but not brilliant, rather inclining to paleness like the tea roses of a conservatory. Softness in fact was her chief

75 William Pickering's antics with them. Mother's Journal resumed. Fanny Wright's outspoken opinions and the stir they cause.

August 1829 – Likings & Dislikings.

characteristic – yet she talked very intellectually in sympathy with or imitation of her scholastic friend Miss Fuller who was her constant companion. Neither however were too intellectual to despise‡ the manly attractions of Wm Pickering who amused himself by pretending to be learned with the scholar and devoted to the beauty, although far from being deeply smitten with either. For as Milton says of man a saying equally applicable to woman,

"Whom he wishes most,
Thus, in all generations, Shall seldom gain, through her perverseness;
"The Lover is not loved; But shall see her gained by a far worse:

* Or possibly *eastward*. I have not been able to identify the locale thus designated. At the time, the city of Boston consisted of twelve wards, but none of them is an obvious candidate for "the east ward" or appears to have been regularly so called.

† The usual form in the period is "I was well – wished to be better – Took Physic – and Died." It was also generally said to be the epitaph (at his own request) of an Italian count. When it appears in medical literature it is usually as an example of hypochondria, although Margaret's interpretation is sounder.

‡ Probably Margaret meant to say *neither was so intellectual as to despise* his attractions.

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The loving seeks a Lover, Or if she love, – withheld by parents," &c, &c,[*]
And each is shunned by other."

Mother's Journal

Aug 2nd "We heard to day that the marriage of Mr Doane, Episcopal clergyman of Trinity Church to Mrs Perkins, widow of James Perkins Jr, is certainly to take place in October.
Aug 3rd Our brother Joshua Winslow has written from S[t] Croix WI that he hopes to make us a visit this year.["] [note] (He never came being afraid of our climate) ["]Mr Winslow, our Isaac, Henrietta B and E Pickering went to hear a woman named Fanny Wright[†] hold forth as she has been doing throughout all the States, doing as much mischief as a woman can do with her tongue. for it is said she speaks against all laws, human and divine." [note] This was written before the times of woman's rights and the march of intellect. My Mother adds concerning Miss Wright ["]It is said that she has a good figure, an intelligent countenance, and a fine voice.
Aug 6th Eliza Pickering and H.B went to take tea with Miss Cotton where there was a society meeting for the discussion of religious subjects. – this evening the subject was infidelity[‡]– and Miss Wright's opinions were severely handled by Mr Tuckerman and others."
Aug 8th Our Isaac got caught in a violent thunder squall this afternoon on his way home in the steamboat, from Nahant. He saw the lightning strike the water all around the boat.

76 Comings and goings. Mary Hudgens' fall. Helen Pearce engaged. Mr. Erving's untimely visits.

Journal 1829. Leverett S[t] .

Aug 10th Little Frank Winslow went to visit with his aunts at Dunbarton NH. Mr W took Eliza P – little M and myself in a carryall[§] to Cambridge Brighton &c. We stopped at Winships garden and he gave us a liberal supply of flowers; also called at the Norfolk House and saw Robert Manners – our Edward was in town and we found him at home when we returned. On our way in, we called upon our cousin Mary Blanchard.
11th Heard that Mrs Hudgens had a bad fall coming down Mr Gardiner Greene's steps – where she had been making a call. B W Sen and daughters are going to pass a week at Exeter. They came here to take letters for the Houston girls. E P, H B and the young folks all gone to hear music on the common Meanwhile a fire broke out in Union S[t]
12th I went shopping and to get a Navarino bonnet[**] for little M– Afterward we called to see Mary Hudgens whose face is cut badly. Edward Arthur P and our George out shooting – brought home some birds to make a pie of, and Edward came here to eat it.

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[*] These lines on the right-hand side are from Book IX of *Paradise Lost*. I cannot identify the lines that Margaret quotes at the left of the page.

[†] Frances Wright (1795–1852). Born in Scotland, she became a U.S. citizen in 1825. She was a freethinker and outspoken feminist and abolitionist and involved in many progressive causes. An associate of Robert Owen, she gave the first pubic address by a woman to an audience of both men and women at Owen's utopian community at New Harmony, Indiana, in 1828.

[‡] Almost certainly it is religious infidelity (unbelief) that is meant and not unfaithfulness in marriage.

[§] *Webster's 3rd Unabridged*: "a light covered carriage having four wheels and seats for four or more persons and usu. drawn by one horse."

[**] William T. Davis, *Plymouth Memories of an Octogenarian* (Plymouth, Ma.: Bittinger Brothers, 1906):

> I associate an old lady by the name of Johnson, who I think about 1830 occupied one or two rooms in the Jackson house, with a bonnet called the Navarino bonnet, which had a great run for a time

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13th We heard of Helen Pearce's engagement to Dr Ostrander* of N York. Mr W again took a carryall and went to Newton with H B Little M and myself. Visited Mr & Mrs Standfast Smith and Mrs Allen with whom I boarded last summer.
14th I went with Edward to call on Mrs Barrell daughter of Judge Ward who noticed him in Washington last winter. Several strangers here to dine and in the evening. Also Helen Pearce and her niece little Miss Guisinger,† Charles Ward E P & boys, &c at our usual Friday gathering.
15th A violent thunder storm about 4 AM – struck in N Allen S[t] just back of us. Our B P W went to see his classmate Richardson‡ at Watertown.
17th Mr Erving here before we had finished breakfast. This is the 4th time he has come at that untimely hour. He has persuaded Mr W to accompany him to Plymouth and Duxbury tomorrow. Heard of the death of Dr Freeman's sister in law Curtis at Newton.

77 Mr. Erving and Mr. W. plan a trip to Plymouth, possibly to buy the old Winslow estate at Marshfield. The old John Winslow estate, "Plain Dealing."

Journal. Summer of 1829. Visit of my Father to Plymouth.
Aug
19th. "Rainy day yesterday – so Mr W and Mr Erving postponed their visit to Plymouth – Today being fine they set off in the stage at 3 AM for Duxbury." **note** I find among my Father's correspondence some suggestions of a purchase by Mr Erving of the old Winslow estate at Marshfield toward which he seems to have been favorably inclined at one time. It was offered for sale on extremely low terms, I think about $1500 (fifteen hundred dollars)§ and my Father who had long wished for a country resort of some kind especially since the health of my Mother had declined, and whose family proclivities endeared to him the abode of his first ancestors, would probably have rented it of Mr E, – being unable or deeming it unadvisable to withdraw from his always slender capital the means for a personal ownership of the estate. This was one of the many instances of self denial, in consideration of his duty to others, and of the apparent will of God, with which my Father's life abounded. I presume this expedition was made with a view to investigation of the premises by Mr Erving, but as the scheme was never carried out, they probably were thought undesirable property for investment. In fact Mr Daniel Webster who afterward purchased a large portion of the estate is said to have deeply involved himself by the needful improvements and buildings upon it,

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among females everywhere, old and young…. The battle of Navarino, which secured Greek independence, was fought October 20, 1827, in which the Turkish and Egyptian navies were destroyed by the combined fleets of England, Russia and France, and so great an interest was felt at that time in Greek affairs that some ingenious originator of fashion invented a bonnet made of paper resembling cloth, and of the prevailing shape, with a crown a little turned up behind, and a front, which entirely concealed the face and chin from a side view, to which in order to attract attention and sales he gave the name of the battle. Every woman bought one, and every woman wore one, the streets were full of them, and in the meeting houses they were in their glory. But alas, they were fair weather bonnets, and like the feathers of a rooster, wore a most bedraggled and flopping appearance when exposed to the rain. The fashion was short lived, and went out like that of hoop skirts, as rapidly as it came in, while the world still wonders what became of them. (120-21)

* Ferdinand W. Ostrander, M.D. (1804-95). Licensed in 1828, he practiced in Brooklyn.

† Above, IV, 161 (where the name is spelled *Guisenger*).

‡ George Washington Richardson, A.M. (d.1886).

§ About $35,000 today using the CPI.

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to render the place commodious for a modern summer resort. Then at the period of my Father's visit, there was no railroad to Plymouth, and the communication with Boston would have been rare and difficult for a business man, so much occupied as he was. Besides Marshfield was, after all, not the residence of our own ancestor John Winslow. His estate of Plain Dealing, afterward occupied by Governor Prince* and now by the Hedge family is about 1 mile and ½ north of Plymouth near Steart's Hill.† "Steart's Hill," says Russel's Guide to Plymouth, ‡ – "so called by the first planters, is directly below the farm now owned by Mr Barnabas Hedge on the sea shore, and is supposed to have

Digression.) Note) continued)

78 About John Winslow's estate at Plymouth, continued, and a much later visit there in 1868, by Margaret, her brother Edward and his wife and her brother George's widow.

1st John Winslow's estate called "Plain Dealing" - near Plymouth

been named from Start's Point, a place near Plymouth Eng"d The house of Gov Prence" (or the John Winslow house) "stood a little south of that occupied by Mr Hedge, and the place was called "Plain Dealing," which name extended, it is believed to Kingston line. It would seem desirable to revive this ancient name of a place which was owned at different times by several distinguished men among the first planters." My Father in his "Family Record" says – John Winslow moved from Plymouth to Boston in 1656 – being then 60 years old," (his wife Mary Chilton probably about 54 or 55.[)] "Judge Mitchell states that all John's family came to Boston with him except two daughters Mary & Anne." Mary was married in Plymouth to Edward Gray, whose tombstone is the oldest now remaining in the Plymouth burying ground, date 1681. It is on the summit. "This Gray bought of his father in law, John Winslow, the Plymouth estate called "Plain Dealing," and sold it to the Colony in 1662 for 95£ – when it became the residence of Govr Prince; – after his death it was bought by Mr Southworth, from whom Dr Shurtleff of Boston his son the Mayor§ descended. John Winslow also had a house and garden in new or North St Plymouth, in which street Govr Edward Winslow lived, also Josiah Winslow his brother." So far the "Family Record."

In the summer of 1868, my brother Edward and his wife Elizth my brother George's widow Ellen, and I visited Plymouth, and took a drive to the Hedge place at "Plain Dealing" The present house is much like one of our suburban residences of the plainer sort, comfortable, neat, and unpretending. Mrs Hedge gave us some apples from one of the old trees on the place, the seeds of which I planted at Jamaica Plain, but nothing came of them. The situation is very pretty, quite near the sea, yet rural, with little knolls and dells, brooks, groves, orchards, & meadows around. It was extremely quiet and retired, yet within easy reach of the town, the railroad, and of many pleasant walks and rides – There are beautiful ponds, brooks, and woods all around Plymouth, and the town itself, although some persons would call it dull, was to me pleasing and full of interest.

79 Mr. Erving an "oddity." Comings and goings.

Journal resumed – Summer of 1829.

* Misspelled. Thomas Prence (1599–1673).

† Apparently an early spelling of *Starts Hill* (and spelled thus in Russell's Guide as quoted below).

‡ William S. Russell, *Guide to Plymouth and Recollections of the Pilgrims* (Boston: published for the Author by George Coolidge, 1846), 295.

§ Nathaniel Bradstreet Shurtleff, Sr. was mayor of Boston from January, 1868 to January, 1871.

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Aug 21st – "Just as the bell rang for dinner Mr Winslow made his appearance. This was an unexpected pleasure to us, as we did not look for his return so soon. He left Mr George Erving at Plymouth whence he is going to Philadelphia to spend the winter if he does not alter his mind, which he is very apt to do – being an oddity." [note] The "Oddity" however liked my Mother very much –, she always spoke her mind to him, and perhaps for this very reason he admired her. I have in my possession quite a remarkable letter which he wrote to my Father at the time of her death the ensuing winter which I shall insert in its proper place. It seems almost to deplore his unbelief in the principles which he must have seen that she as well as my Father so unaffectedly reverenced and endeavored to carry out. He hated pretension to goodness, and that she certainly had not.

22nd "The old Quaker Mr Hanford dined here"–(note) he has been mentioned before* as a frequent visitor, but I do not remember him particularly. My Father always liked the Quakers and talked much with this one upon religious subjects. "Edward D W arrived from Hartford to pass his vacation with us, and the Winslow girls returned from Exeter where they have had grand frolics, they say. Brought lots of love for all of us, from Eliza, Margaret, and Ellen, also letters to some of us, Brother Joshua Blanchard and his wife Timmins came and spent the evening with us. She is much recovered from her lameness, walks upright, and continues perfectly well in her mind,† all which we have great reason to be thankful for. Had a considerable party this evening, mustered as it were, by accident."‡

23rd Sunday. "Uncle Davis, Andrew Sparhawk, Eliza P and her son John, besides Edw D W who is staying with us and our own family at meeting. Our Edwd has gone with Arthur P to Scituate on a shooting trip – and Isaac to Nahant, so we did not have meeting in the afternoon. Little M went with her Aunt P to Dr Lowells. In the evening I took George and went to see Mrs Mary Bradford who has been quite sick but is better. Afterward had some sacred music

Journal Aug 24th Monday.

New Chapter

1829 — August. B P W graduates from Harvard.

Preparations for celebrating Commencement at Cambridge.§

"A warm cloudy day; we are preparing for commencement,** getting a few things for a lunch at Cambridge. I think I shall go myself this year, as our Benjamin Pollard takes his degree,

* By her mother, no doubt, but not by Margaret.

† It will be recalled that she had had to be hospitalized for a mental illness in 1823 (above, IV, 91).

‡ August 22nd in this year was a Saturday, so this was not one of the Friday evening "usual gatherings."

§ Margaret resumes her intermittent practice of beginning each line of a quoted passage with an opening quotation mark.

** Harvard Commencements at this period were extended two- or three-day affairs, civic occasions often attended by people from Boston with no immediate family graduating. There is a long account of the 1829 ceremonies by President Josiah Quincy's daughter Maria Sophia first published many years later in *The Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, 26, No. 104 (1918), 575-83. http://books.google.com/books?id=-5ABAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA575&lpg=PA575&dq=harvard+commencement+1829&source=bl&ots=zYLNZYKb-x&sig=G3XUjlZhvVivbwES3x0Z9oAHk98&hl=en&ei=K5jlS-LOPIWwswPFqs3RCw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CBcQ6AEwAA - v=onepage . It includes this editorial insertion:

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and I have not been for thirty years before. Isaac came back from Nahant this morning, and Edward & Arthur P returned from Duxbury, having also visited the old Winslow mansion at Marshfield Our BP went to Cambridge and returned in the afternoon.
25th Tuesday This is a fine day,– cool E wind. Two Misses Haven of Philadelphia called this morning – they are going back tomorrow –- they are in mourning for old Mr Andrew Cunningham their stepmother's father, who has just died. E Pickering and E Chase also here. The latter informed us of the dangerous illness of James Sullivan Mr William Sullivan's eldest son. It will be a great loss to his family, for he is said to be the best of the sons. Edward Winslow the elder arrived today from the south by way of New York and Newport. We had him and his son Edward Davis W, B Winslow the elder and our Edward all to dine with us, so we were pretty full of Uncles and Nephews" Note. It must have been a pretty substantial dinner to make the Uncles and Nephews all <u>full</u>. "Eliza P also came to tea."
26th Wednesday. "A fine cool day for Commencement. Mr Winslow took a carriage in which I went with him, his brother Edward, Eliza P, our Margaret <u>and the provisions</u> to Cambridge about 9½. Stopped at the Meeting House door and Edward W Sen, EP, and our M got out to hear the exercises, while Mr W and I rode on, <u>with the prog</u>* to B P W's rooms at the college called Holworthy." Note (some one had, in fun, told Mother that it was called "Old Worthy.") "I staid there most of the day. After he had deposited E P and M in the meeting house, old Edward came to the rooms; then he and Mr Winslow took a long walk,

and afterward went again to the Meeting House. I amused myself with laying out a side table with Ham, Tongues, Crackers, cheese, fruit, &c, of which the people partook as they came in one after another, when the exercises of the day were over. Besides our carriage party there were BW the elder and his son Ben, and his daughters Amory and Catherine, — Mr Clarke and Mr Davis, our B's classmates; also Clarke's Father, Mother, and Sister, and some young ladies with them. Then came Edward D Winslow, and Arthur William and John Pickering all of whom partook of my collation. Meanwhile Mr W and his brother EW took a snooze in the bed room. Afterward they went with little M and myself to Parkman's building where tables were laid out for 500 persons, the President and Governor† officers of the College, Tutors, Graduates, &c: The tables looked very nice. We went up to see the Chapel and reciting room in the second story of the building: after which Mr W and I called on Mrs Newell who lives in a pretty little box surrounded by a small garden. We returned to our party and tried to get a carriage, as we had dismissed the one we came out in. But we could

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[The Commencement programme is here inserted {i.e., within Ms. Quincy's ms.}, with notes on the "parts" of William Henry Channing, James Freeman Clarke, Oliver Wendell Holmes — "amusing" — and others. Dr. Holmes's poem is not to be found in his printed works. His class secretary defined it as "a humorous and characteristic poem, the chief objection to which was its brevity." Another chronicler, the Rev. George Whitney, of Roxbury, wrote of it: "Instead of a spiritual muse he invoked for his goddesses the ladies present, and in so doing he sang very amusingly of his 'hapless amour with too tall a maid.'"]

The day's exercises appear to have lasted from some time in the morning to 4 p.m., when the attendees proceeded to the large reception described by Margaret's mother below. The next day's ceremony centered on the Phi Beta Kappa initiation and was likewise attended by a broad audience from the community.

* *Provisions*. And see above, IV, 146n.

† Levi Lincoln, Jr. (1782–1868), who was Governor of Massachusetts 1825-34.

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not easily procure one, so concluded to walk home by the Craigie's bridge road, and got home about 8 PM – BPW, EDW, Arthur and William P all went with the Winslow girls to Miss Fuller's to pass the evening. I was pretty tired when I got home. We found our Edward waiting for us He could not go out to Cambridge as his partner Charles Ward was very sick.
Aug 27th Another fine cool day. Edward D W, our George, and the Pickering boys are all gone to Cambridge where there is a Poem and an oration to be spoken. Our BP came into town this morning, but went directly back to Cambridge and then came driving in again PM to go with W^m^ P to a drill of the N England guards. ___ ___ ___

82 Comings and goings.

Continuation of Journal. August 1829.

Little M and little Miss Guisenger went down to Edward's store and he took them out to the Norfolk House to hear a band of music Mr W went out in "the Hourly"* and walked home with them. Edward W the elder took his trunks and went out there to board, for the summer.
Aug 28th A fine clear cool day. Our M went down to see her Aunt Pickering who is not well. BP went out again to Cambridge to bid farewell and get his things together. He returned to town about eleven o'clock. In the evening young Phillips,† Benjamin's classmate was here to see him, also W^m^ Pickering, Capt Seaver of the Halifax packet and a nephew of his. Ed D W had gone with his Uncle Benjamin to visit Amory and Cath^e^ who are staying out at Mrs Hickmans – Our Edward dropped in and then went down to Aunt Pickering's and walked out to the Norfolk House with his Uncle Edward.
Aug 29th Cloudy and raw East wind, looks like a storm gathering. Miss Ayers and Miss Wilde daughter of Judge Wild here to call this morning. Thomas and George both came home sick. I had to dose them. Edward the elder and his son Edward D dined here – BW the elder here to tea. E D went down to his Aunt Pickering's for our M and both got a wetting, as it rained. Cool enough this last week for a fire.
Sun 30th Fine day rather warmer. Uncle Davis, E P and her boys here at meeting – latter again in the evening – also George Channing who helped the boys sing sacred music.
on 31st A very fine day. EDW returned from the Norfolk House where he passed the night. Benjamin P, Thomas and William Pickering all went out to encamp near there with the N England guards. George and John Pickering went out to see them pitch their tents, Eliza P, Margaret and I walked over to see Mrs Buttrick, daughter of Mr Sam King, at Leechmere Point.‡

83 A grand military review on the Common and a reception at Leverett St.

September – 1829.

Tues 1st A fine day and a grand military review on the Common We have been all the morning employed in arranging the tables for the entertainment of Captain Isaac Winslow's company the "Winslow Blues." At one o'clock after Parade the Company is to march to our

* An hourly stage from Boston to Roxbury started in 1826.

† George William Phillips, with whom BPW lived during their rustication and see above, IV, 161.

‡ Misspelling of Lechmere Point, which was at the end of Craigie's bridge on the Charlestown and Cambridge side of the Charles. It is now the site of the Lechmere Canal Park.

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house and have a collation of Ham, Beef, Chicken, bread, cheese, fruit &c. E Pickering and our Margaret walked up to see the Parade on the Common. By some misunderstanding Isaac's company were not allowed to quit the line till nearly 3 PM, so that they had but an hour to eat the lunch which to the men was really a dinner. Isaac came home himself first to receive them, and his lieutenant marched them down in order with their drums and fifes. After a little maneuvering they were commanded to ground arms in our front grass plats and were dismissed from the ranks. They then went to work washing their hands and faces in numerous basins outside of the house after which they came in to lunch. They made the most of their time in dispatching the prog – and sang two or three songs, and then were all called to fall in, and were marched off by Captain Isaac Winslow to the common for a sham fight and other maneuvers. While they were here, we had a number of heads out of the windows to look at them and they made a very handsome appearance on the grass in front of the house, and behaved very well throughout their stay. After they left Mr Winslow went with Eliza P, Margaret and myself up to the old Hancock House to see the show of troops. Mr W left us there and went to "the Store" ["] (that is his compting house) ["]We were joined by Mrs Hudgens & son and our George. Our Edward and Arthur P took tea with us – Also young Davis one of Benjamin's classmates. Capt I Winslow came home quite late, he had been on his feet from six o'clock in the morning and I was afraid he would be sick – also the young N England guardsmen, who had a fatiguing march in from Roxbury, but did not parade on the common and I was glad they did not; it was so hot –

84	The new Tremont House. Bowling at Roxbury.

Journal September 1829 — — Leverett S[t]

3rd Brother Joshua Blanchard and his wife Timmins, Miss Mary and Anna Cotton took tea with us. Eliza Pickering came to meet them After tea they all went to a society meeting at the house of a Mr Seaver corner of Staniford and Cambridge Sts. Mr W Henrietta and Arthur Pickering went with them. The question to be discussed in this meeting is "Whether the obscurity of the Bible is not the reason, why its precepts do not have more influence upon the minds & hearts of its readers." It seems that very few persons were present at the meeting, and Mr Winslow, nothing loth, had to take up the argument with brother Joshua – One or two others spoke a little. Our Edward drank tea here, and went afterward to see Helen Pearce at Miss Russel's before he took the eight o'clock "Hourly" out to the Norfolk House. All the boys had been invited to Miss R's but would not go.

4th Eliza Pickering and Helen Pearce went with us to see the new Hotel called the Tremont House,[*] just finished. I was disappointed with the interior, which has a narrow contracted appearance compared with the exterior of the building, being divided into small entries and rooms except the drawing and dining rooms which are handsome. We met there our cousin Benjamin Pollard[†] whom I had not seen for some time. Mr W came to meet us with a stranger Mr Andrews of New York whom he took home to dine with us. Helen Pearce also returned with us to dinner. We found W[m] Waldo here and our Edward but the latter went down to dine with his Aunt Pickering. – All the boys went out in the afternoon to play bowls at the Norfolk House; BP went out to see the Winslow girls at Newton and to stay all night with James Clarke. Isaac waited on Helen Pearce home and Mr W went home with his sister

[*] Above, II, 49 and n.

[†] Above, IV, 47.

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Eliza Pickering, none of the boys having returned till late from Roxbury – Edward went out there to sleep as usual.

85

Journal Visit to Nahant.

Sept 4th – Being a fine morning we concluded to make our long projected trip to Nahant. Accordingly Mrs Pickering and son Arthur, H Blanchard George and Margaret walked over to Foster's wharf and embarked in the Steamboat. I took a carriage with bundles and bandbox* and rode to the wharf – Mr Winslow came down to see us off but did not go with us. The wind freshened up and we had rather a cold blustering time of it. After we had deposited our things at Rice's† and bespoken our dinner we sallied out for a walk among the rocks – some of the party fished from the rocks catching a few Perch,‡ some Flounders and Sculpans§ – We all caught great appetites for our dinner which was excellent. At tea time we were surprised by the addition of Mr William Lawson and Isaac to our party; they came down in the afternoon boat, Mr L having just arrived from N York on his way to Halifax. Soon they all adjourned to the bowling alley and amused themselves till dark.
Sept 8th A very cold blustering day, cloudy and stormy – Impossible for me to put my head out of doors – very unfortunate for our Nahant visit, we had waited 10 days for some warm pleasant weather, to come here. Eliza Pickering and our Margaret contrived to buffet the weather for a walk and got a book from the little Nahant Library. The other folks amused themselves bowling in the Alley, and in the evening Isaac and Mr Lawson played chess with a chessboard made out of a sheet of stiff paper and chessmen carved out of raw potatoes and carrots – thus they contrived to pass away the time with plenty of fun and frolicking.
Sept 9th Still blustering but not so cold as yesterday. We took a walk over the rocks intending to go to "Swallow's Cove" and "Spouting Horn" but it was too windy and we went to see if the Steamboat got in, so as to go home in her, (she did not come yesterday on account of the storm). Mr Lawson, Isaac, Arthur Pickering George went on board when she arrived. But Mr Winslow having driven a Carryall down for us, E Pickering, H Blanchard, Little M and I rode up with him to town, Stopped for a lunch and to rest the horse at Lynn, and arrived home about

86 **Comings and goings.**

Sept 1829 Return from Nahant.

dinner time, just after Mr Lawson and the boys had finished theirs – Found an invitation from Misses Phillips to meet some New Orleans ladies at their house – so Mrs Pickering, Henrietta Margaret and I went there to tea. Mr W and our BP came there in the evening – Mr Lawson went to the Italian Opera.
Sept 10th Rather warmer and very pleasant. Uncle Davis called in while we were at breakfast. I made an engagement to meet Mr W at Betsey Lecain's boarding house, to call on Mr & Mrs

* *Webster's 3rd Unabridged*: "a usu. cylindrical box of pasteboard or thin wood for holding light articles of attire (as ruffs, collars, hats)."

† Said to be the first public house of any account at Nahant, its proprietor was a Mr. J. Rice.

‡ Perhaps white perch, which is not a true perch, but of the bass family. It is found in coastal waters.

§ Misspelling of *sculpins*.

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Bowman and some ladies from New York who are staying there. They were all out, but in the afternoon they came to see us in a carriage; Mr & Mrs B a Miss Smith and our old acquaintance Mr Darby.* They then went to Bunker Hill, The Navy Yard, Cambridge colleges, &c Mr Lawson who had been introduced to them, went also, and called on them in the evening, being much taken with pretty Miss Smith and her sister. Isaac also called on them and came home with Mr Lawson. H B passed this day with Mrs Perkins, daughter of Mrs Lakeman† with whom she formerly boarded. E Chase called and presented me with a cap which she had made for me. Edward W the elder dined with us and afterward went to take tea with his sister E Pickering. Our BP rode with his Uncle B out to see Amory & Catharine at Newton. Margaret returned this morning to school, after 3 weeks' vacation.
Sept 11th Today warmer. Had a call from Mrs Warren of Plymouth and her daughter Mrs Torrey[?]. In the evening our Edward brought his fellow boarder Mr Lang to tea; he has been here several times. W Pickering also brought a fellow clerk at Mr Lord's a young Mr Callender, and we had a Mr Riley and Robert Manners. Mr Lawson went to a party at Mrs Samuel Appleton's. Ed W Sen dined here as he does nearly every day.
Sept 13th Sunday – Mr Lawson staid at home to our meeting. E Pickering & son John Uncle Davis, Oliver and Andrew Sparhawk also here. EP and her brother Edward came in the evening. Some of the boys rode with BW Senr

87	**Flexible Sabbatarians.**

Sept 1829. Sunday keeping.

out to Newton. Wm Lawson and Isaac, EDW and our BPW in a Carryall[”] note (My father, although far from being a bigotted Sabatarian would never ride on Sundays lest his example should lead others to do it, and this, as I think I have before observed, even although it was his only leisure day and my Mother's health required it. He always occupied the afternoon in visiting poor relations, old Sandemanian friends, or other objects of Christian sympathy whom he had no time to see on week days. But in this as in other things – theatre going, card playing, &c he did not choose to control the consciences of young people around him, after they were of an age to judge for themselves. This freedom if it did not produce a religious atmosphere in the family, at least kept it free from one of cant, restraint, formalism, or hypocrisy. Sunday was any thing but a day of gloom in our house. There was perhaps more going and coming than usual. But the heads of the family my Father, my Mother, Aunt Henrietta were all sincerely and <u>consistently</u> religious in principle and conduct, and young people very early realize this important fact. With me, for one it overbalanced many perhaps irreverent ongoings during our Sunday meetings by “the boys.” Yet I must say that, in the education of a family, it seems as if a more sacred tone might be given to “<u>the Christian's perpetual Easter</u>”,‡ without making it other than a day of innocent happiness, freedom, and social intercourse. This was I know the earnest wish of my Father's heart; but it is not easy to carry out such ideas in an extended circle, many of whose members are without or beyond the control of a single mind, however desirous of their true welfare. At all events to be successful, such a plan should be begun when children are quite young, and with the earnest

* Or possibly she means *Derby*? Above, V, 61.

† Above, IV, 78.

‡ At this period, “perpetual Easter” was a common characterization of Sunday, though I cannot locate an origin of this phrase.

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self-denying co-operation of parents and older relatives. Now every thing of this nature is devolved upon Ministers and Sunday school teachers: Poor substitutes these for what should be the holy influences of a Christian Home:

88 A Cotillion in the south parlor at Leverett St.

1829 Leverett S[t]

Journal

Sept 17th ["]Began fine yesterday. Mr W[m] Lawson sailed for Halifax in the packet "George Henry;"- he is a fine young man and we shall miss him very much. We hear that Helen Pierce[*] is to be married in about three weeks and E Chase in about a month. All of us went to a tea party at Mrs Willis' in Purchase S[t]. Amory and Catharine told us while making a call here this morning that they had just returned from their Aunt Perkins' wedding – She was married by Dr Gardiner at the North Church, Trinity Church of which Mr Doane is Rector not being quite finished.

18th Edward Winslow one and two dined here and with EW3[†] were at our Friday evening party, In the South parlor where the carpets have been up ever since Isaac's military reception they got up a Cotilion[‡] by the Piano, and all seemed to enjoy themselves very much. Our company, besides the Edwards 1, 2, & 3 and our own boys, consisted of EP and her boys, B Winslow the elder, his daughters, and Miss Foster and Miss Lee, a fellow pupil at Bonfils' school, Miss Bradley and Miss Coffin, M's school friends, Mr Coffin, who called for his daughter, Miss Foster's father, and old Mr Frazer of Duxbury.["]

One of the early celebrations of the Boston Horticultural Society took place this month at the "Exchange Hotel" A dinner with the tables adorned with fruit and flowers very tastefully by Mrs Cooke of Dorchester and her niece Miss Hadgen[?] or Haven. The Journal says "a great crowd went to view the tables – Edward took our Margaret there from school – and BPW and EDW escorted a whole body of young ladies –- the Misses Lee, Foster, Randal, Hill, and Amory & Cath' Winslow. Edw D Winslow left us at 9 oclock this evening to return to his studies at Hartford college. Heard of Charles Miller's death in N York, where

89 Hearing of deaths and illnesses. Margaret's mother finally meets Miss Randall. James Clarke's sleep-over.

he had resided for 20 years in consequence of a fatal duel with the son of old Dr Rand of Boston.[§] William Howe, son of the Sandemanian Howe, has just lost a daughter of 19 by

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[*] Up until now she has always been referred to as Helen *Pearce*.

[†] I.e., Margaret's Uncle Edward, her brother Edward, and her cousin Edward D. Winslow, (her uncle Edward's son).

[‡] Misspelling of *cotillion*, probably meaning in this context "a ballroom dance for couples that resembles the quadrille and is possibly based on French peasant dances" *(Webster's 3rd Unabridged)*.

[§] Lorenzo Sabine, in his *Duels and Duelling, Alphabetically Arranged*, 3rd Edition (Boston: Crosby, Nichols and Co., 1859) gives the following account.

> RAND, ——, AND CHARLES MILLER. At Dorchester Point (now South Boston), Mass. In 1801, on Sunday morning, with pistols. The first, a son of Dr. Isaac Rand, an eminent physician of Boston ; the last a grandson of Rev. Ebenezer Miller, D. D., a clergyman of great learning and ability, of Quincy, Mass.
>
> Both were citizens of Boston. Rand (I think) was of his father's profession; Miller, a successful merchant. The cause of the affair was Miller's attentions to a young lady. The late

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consumption. We hear also of the dangerous illness of Mr John Cotton, and Mr Willis' eldest son Frank."

Sept 22nd "Our M and some of the boys passed the evening at Miss Foster's where A & C Winslow, Miss Lee, Miss Randall &c were BP's classmates Clarke & Davis, also W Pickering drank tea here & went; The boys escorted the young ladies home. Edward, Arthur P, his mother, & HB had all gone out in a Carryall to take tea with Mrs Andrews.

Sept 24th "HB, the Winslow girls, their Father and Uncle Edward all down at E Pickerings to tea – called in here on their way back. The girls say their Father & Uncle acted more like boys than their nephews did – All took leave after paying their respects to Mrs Warren my old domestic who has just returned from the country – She is an old acquaintance of Edw & BW the elder, they having been lads like our boys when she first lived with us.

Sept 25th Our Edward had his bedstead carried from here to Monsieur Bertaux a Frenchman with whom he is going to board this winter.

Sept 26th HB, Margaret and I went down to E Pickering's, Barton S^{t}, to tea. The Winslow girls, Miss Lee, and Miss Randall were there. This is the first time I had the pleasure of seeing Miss R, though I have heard a great deal of her. She has a very pretty face, but a bad figure short and rather clumsy. She appears to me something of a Coquette, which I am very sorry to see, as BP seems much pleased with her. I am afraid she will give him trouble. She, sang and played on the Guitar very prettily, and afterward played chess with W^{m} Pickering. The young folks had some waltzing by BPW's flute – Mr Winslow & Edw BP & George, and Ben D Winslow[*] were all the beaux. I got quite out of breath coming home to Leverett St.

> Governor Eustis of Massachusetts (at that time a physician in practice) was on the ground as surgeon. Rand was accompanied by a brother; Miller, by Lieutenant Lewis Warrington, who was subsequently a post-captain in the United States navy, and was distinguished in the war of 1812. Rand was the challenger. Two shots were exchanged. Miller discharged his first pistol in the air, and then asked his antagonist " if he was satisfied." The reply of Rand's second was in the negative. Miller — who had frequently amused himself with the pistol with the officers stationed at Fort Independence, and who had acquired great reputation as a marksman — then said : "If I fire again, Mr. Rand will surely fall." The parties resumed their position, and at the word fired. Rand was shot through the right breast, and died upon the spot.
>
> A gentleman who was at Fort Independence at the moment of the duel, and who, with three or four others, immediately after it jumped into a boat and rowed to the Point, informs me, that when he arrived Rand lay dead upon the beach, alone, with an empty pistol near him ; that he was gayly dressed; and that he saw Mr. Withington of Dorchester (who, as coroner, came with a jury) take Miller's acceptance of his challenge from his pocket. This gentleman remarks, that a fishing-vessel was at anchor off the Point, and that some three or four hundred workmen, officers, and soldiers were at the Fort, but that, as far as he was ever able to ascertain, the reports of the pistols were not heard by a single person among them all.
>
> Miller departed Massachusetts on the very day his antagonist fell. He was indicted for murder in the county of Norfolk, but was never tried or arrested. The indictment against him was missing from the files of the court as early as the year 1808 or 1809. His home, ever after the deed, was in New York, where his life was secluded, though in the possession of an ample fortune. He lived a bachelor. He died in 1829, leaving an only-brother. (333)

It seems that either Rand the duelist or, perhaps more likely, his brother was Edward Rand, Isaac's "old Boston acquaintance … son of Dr. Rand on Boston," and whom he had happened to meet while in Naples in 1796 and who had recently been released by Barbary pirates (above, III, 29).

[*] Benjamin Davis Winslow, son of uncle Benjamin.

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Sun 27th Eliza P & her boys, our Edw & Andrew Sparhawk here at meeting. Our Edw dined here – Also James Clarke – he went with BPW to some meeting in the afternoon

90 Continued. Harriet Stark calls on her way to Washington. News of Samuel Sparhawk's illness.

1829 Journal. Leverett St.

and returned here to stay all night. Oliver Sparhawk was also here to day and told us his Father is better: he had been dangerously sick, but has now gone to Portsmouth. Edward went to Dr Channing's meeting PM with his Aunt Henrietta and our M drank tea at Miss Cotton's and went with her Uncle Blanchard to a meeting for the poor. He brought her home at 9 eveng. Wm P and Thomas at Dorchester. Thomas took tea at Dr Harris' the minister. Arthur P here in the evening

Sept 28th Clarke still here dined and slept – Mr W, HB &EP went to see Mary Blanchard at Roxbury. Margaret and I went shopping. Mr Apthorpe brother to George Apthorpe here at tea. BW the elder had a fall and hurt his foot badly.

Sept 30th A very fine day after the rain. Great review of Militia on the Common. Isaac, Thomas and BP all turned out in their uniforms. BP had a slight bayonet wound, and some gunpowder in his face – All came home at night wet, dirty and tired. Mr Thomas Smith from S America here in the evening on business with Mr Winslow – also EP, her son Wm and Edw W the elder, just returned from Portsmouth and Exeter where he saw the girls["] (Houstons) ["]Margaret and Ellen were at Lieutenant Long's in Portsmouth. Eliza at home. All sent love.

Oct 1st Fine clear but cold day – We took possession of our South parlor for the winter. Sarah Harris of Dorchester called and brought me some flowers in the forenoon. – Harriet Stark called in the afternoon – She is on her way to Washington with Mr Hill and family of Concord NH – she asked us if we had any commands for the south or President Jackson whom she means to visit. Mary Hudgens came in while she was here and they had a great deal to say to each other. H Stark gives us a bad account of the health of Mr Samuel Sparhawk who has removed from Concord to his brother's farm near Portsmouth for the winter being very feeble.

91 Samuel Sparhawk continued.

Digression. Mr Samuel Sparhawk.

Note – This excellent man, one of the purest and most consistent Christians who ever lived, had been involved in a theological difference of opinion with his friend and co-leader in the Sandemanian church of Portsmouth, Mr Humphreys. – This according to the strict literalism of that society upon unity of opinion caused Mr Sparhawk's separation from all religious and even social communion with his nearest friends, not on his part, but on theirs; from a conscientious mistake of certain scripture texts.– This occasioned him a severe and lifelong affliction, which added to his faithful application to duty as Secretary of State in N Hampshire and Cashier of the Bank of Concord for many years, and his constant exertions for his family, his connections, his townsmen, and everyone whom he could serve or benefit, wore down his naturally delicate constitution, and after much suffering, terminated his life some few years after this period – From Portsmouth however he removed with his family to Brookline near Boston, being then placed under the medical care of Dr Jackson for two years. He then took possession of a tract of land which was an ancient

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"crown grant" to the family, – situated in Conway NH; had a house built upon it, and settled there in 1832, but died about two years afterward, the climate being probably too severe for him. He was buried in a little family grave yard on his estate, still left sacred and unmolested, although the farm, and that of his brother next to it, have both passed into the hands of strangers. His family resided there for about eight years after his death, and his eldest son Oliver, – was buried there, together with his brother George and several members of his family. Afterward Mr S Sparhawk's family removed to Kittery Maine and then to Amesbury Mass, where his son is a Physician,–

92	**Samuel Sparhawk continued.**

Digression – Mr Samuel Sparhawk.

worthy of such a father, in heart and principle.

His Character

The character of this early friend of my Father, with whose family my Grandfather was also connected both by his first marriage and by a close religious sympathy in the Sandemanian Society, – is illustrated by a few anecdotes related to me by his daughter, my dear sister in law and love, Elizabeth, wife of my brother EW He united with the church in Portsmouth of which his father had been an "Elder" at the age of fifteen, and from that time was one of its most serious and earnest members, until the separation above mentioned took place, on account of a difference of opinion, I think, concerning "the two natures of Christ." He was a reverent and constant student of the Scriptures, and his whole life was guided by their precepts, as he understood them. He devoted himself to his widowed mother and fatherless sister, and was the reliance of all his family connections in Portsmouth and elsewhere. In 1803 or 4 he married Elizabeth M^{c}Kinstry, whose father had been a surgeon in the British Army and had left Boston with Gen Howe at the time of its evacuation only to be buried on George's island in the harbor, as he died on board the fleet[*] – his widow and family were carried to Halifax among the Sandemanians, but most of them afterward returned to this country – three daughters married here, Mrs Stark, Mrs Willis and Mrs Sparhawk of Concord NH

The latter, although not equal to her husband in mind and character, was a woman of considerable reading and intelligence, and made him a domestic and Hospitable home. It was the constant resort of a large circle of connections, and the shelter of all who needed one, besides being the source of unfailing aid for Townsfolk and neighbors.

In the yellow fever panic at Concord of 18—-[†] Mrs S made with her own hands nourishing articles for the sick, and Mr S went fearlessly among them to help and to comfort all who needed.

93	**Samuel Sparhawk continued.**

Mr Samuel Sparhawk

Another instance of quiet heroism is mentioned of him while a resident of Concord. The State prison at that place was filled with rough and desperate criminals who contrived a revolt against their janitors[‡] and assembled in the yard of the Prison with such a threatening

[*] Above, I, 123.

[†] Probably intended to be filled in later.

[‡] Here probably in the sense of *doorkeepers* or *turnkeys*.

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aspect that none of the Jailers dared to go in among them. The Prison Directors were sent for and assembled in council, but were equally daunted and non plussed. At length Mr S quietly offered to go unarmed among them, and to the horror of the Directors was locked in, while they looked through the gratings as at one thrown to wild beasts in their cage. Calmly and quietly he moved among the fierce frowning men, speaking a few words to one, and another, and another; – the frowns released as he passed, the fierceness melted away, the rebels laid down their threatening weapons of heavy tools, and when the gates were opened, the whole mass submitted to their keepers and returned to work as usual.

Equally great was the confidence placed in Mr S by the Bank Directors of Concord and by the State authorities of N Hampshire, and in the long years of his service in both departments, that confidence was never deceived. He was selected to represent the State, among others, at the time of Lafayette's visit to America, and was one of the N Hampshire delegation who dined with him at the grand banquet on Boston common and were commissioned to invite him into N Hampshire.

Mr S was, in politics, a federalist; but seldom took any active part in them, except at the time of Gen^{l} Jackson's election to the Presidency; which, with all the old Washington party, he strongly opposed; foreseeing the corruption which has ever since prevailed in the Democratic party whenever they have attained power and place in the local or general councils of that nation, and especially in N Hampshire, led by Isaac Hill's democratic paper.

94	**Weddings of Miss Helen Pearce and Miss Elizabeth Chase.**

1829. Family Journal resumed. Leverett S^{t} Boston.

October. The principal events of this month were the two weddings of Miss Helen Pearce and Miss Elizabeth Chase, both heiresses and orphans, both in some sort wards and protegees of my Father. The former was to be married at the house of her Aunt Miss Russel in Walnut S^{t} – the latter at that of Mrs Wolcott in Franklin S^{t} both at that time rather aristocratic houses of the old style. For these weddings there was considerable preparation in the matter of dress for our plain ways, and both my Mother and Aunt Henrietta rather dreaded the occasions, but thought it incumbent on them to be present. Neither of the marriages proved very happy ones, I believe.*

Oct 7th "We had† notes of invitation this morning to attend Miss Helen Pearce's wedding which is to be at 10 AM tomorrow – after which she receives her friends and leaves town with Dr Ostrander for Providence, at twelve; thence for N York and Philadelphia – Her niece, little Sarah Guisenger, is going with them to Philadelphia, and our Thomas as far as N York for a trip of business and pleasure combined.

Oct 8th A fine day – We were early in a bustle dressing and getting ready for the wedding: a very awkward hour for it – 10 o'clock in the morning! Eliza Pickering called in a carriage for us at a quarter before ten – Mr W, Henrietta, Edward and Thomas, Little M and I all went; We were ushered up to take off our things in Miss Russel's chamber; and then into an

* A query posted on a genealogical forum includes the information that Helen "died in 1831, 4 days after giving birth to her second son, Russell Winslow Ostrander. She was also the mother of Charles Ostrander b. 1830," as well as that "Helen died in St. Louis, and was buried in Louisville KY." http://genforum.genealogy.com/ostrander/messages/541.html

† Margaret resumes her intermittent practice of beginning each line of a quoted passage with an opening quotation mark.

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assemblage of about thirty ladies, young and old, in the front drawing room. The folding doors of the back drawing room were soon opened, and in came the bride Miss Helen, Champaign, Ardell, Pearce* and her Bridegroom Dr Frederick Ostrander (who had previously been at our house) his brother who was groomsman, and four Bridesmaids, Miss Williams, Miss Homer, Miss Soley, and another["] (Miss Adams) ["]whose name I have forgotten. Mr Potter, clergyman of S[t] Paul's performed the ceremony, and old Mr Homer, her Uncle, gave her away. She looked very pale but soon recovered. Every thing went off very well, and so did the cake of which there was a short pattern† to give everyone a taste Of course none to carry home.

95	A little brooch.
Journal	First visit of my brother Thomas to New York.

Soon after we got home young Mr Soley came here in a chaise to take Thomas and his trunk to the stage, where he met the bridal party – Dr Ostranger's‡ brother and two of the bridesmaid's went on to N York with them. Quite a party altogether.
In the afternoon we received cards for another wedding, that of Miss Elizabeth Chase and Dr John C Howard on the 14th, Madam Howard's birthday – She sent cards for a supper at her house, though the wedding is to be at Mrs Wolcotts' – the Bride is to receive calls at her own new house in Tremont Place at 12, on the 17th & 19th.
Oct 12th Edw Winslow Sen[r] sailed for Charlestown. I bought a small pearl brooch with Mr W's hair and mine, and initials on the back for H Blanchard perhaps she will value it some day."

Digression about a little brooch

Note. After 43 years,§ I remember as well, going with my Mother to purchase this little brooch, as if it were yesterday. – Many years after her marriage, Aunt Henrietta gave it to me, and there is a curious incident connected with it which bears on the subject of faith so strikingly, that it ought to be recorded. In wearing it on one occasion, it was lost in the fields back of our place at Woodside Roxbury, – and I was greatly grieved, not for the thing as a trinket, but for its precious memories. – I had rambled a long and circuitous way through meadows, woods, & fields:- the grass was high, and the little brooch, about half an inch in length, was much more unlikely to be found than "a needle in a bundle of hay", or a needle in acres of hay – Yet in answer to the simplest request (for love's sake,) it was restored as wonderfully as if it dropped from above; – and ever since, although invisible to other eyes, its inscription to me has been, for great things and for small, (if innocent and right,) "Ask and it shall be given you."**
Oct 13th "I gave Henrietta the little pearl pin with Mr W's and my hair in it, and our initials, "I and MW" – on the back – she seemed pleased with it."

* Presumably either Margaret or her mother is drawing attention to Helen's several middle names with these underlinings and commas.

† Meaning *portion*. See also above, V, 36n.

‡ Misspelling of *Ostrander*.

§ She is writing therefore in 1872.

** Matthew 7: 7.

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Thus three dear names are associated with the little keepsake and the condescending, infinitely condescending, fatherly love of God with whom there are no little things where love is concerned.

96

Journal. 1829 Marriage of Elizabeth Chase.

Note – **Oct 14th** ["]A very fine day; – the great, the important day when Miss Elizabeth Chase is to give up liberty and become a Matron,- to leave the name of her Father and take that of Howard. The wedding, the supper and the whole thing are so utterly uncongenial to my feelings, that I would avoid them if I could." This was said as a mother, and as a woman disliking all parade, fashion, and show. But now that she and so many are gone who attended that wedding both bride and bridegroom included, now that events have shewn that "beauty is deceitful and favor is vain", and that in the long run "The woman who feareth the Lord shall be praised",* my dear Mother must or will look very differently upon all things. Blessed be God who disappoints our wishes so often for our true happiness.

"Not what we wish but what we want
Let Wisdom still supply:
The good unasked, in mercy grant, –
The ill, though asked, – deny."†

Journal "We all commenced "rigging" for the wedding about 5 PM – Margaret called at Mr Berteaux to see her brother Edward who had promised her a ring for the occasion – he went with her to purchase it. About half past six the carriage came, and in it rode Mr W, Henrietta, I and little M. E Pickering and Mrs Bradford had another carriage –. The Pickering boys and ours walked to Mrs Wolcott's Franklin Place, where we found, Mrs Sargent and sons – Dr Gardiner and wife, Dr and Mrs Lowell, Mrs Wainwright, Mr Winthrop and Frank & William Waldo, also our brother B W, Sen, Mr Winthrop and Mr Howard Sargent were groomsmen, and the Miss Howards were bridesmaids." (**note** I think but am not sure that there were two more) I know they all, to my childish eyes looked very magnificent as they rustled in with their silks and satins and laces – The bride and groom both very handsome, and

97 **Hints of the eventual unhappiness of the marriage.**

Note – setting out in life with every advantage of youth, fortune, good position in, society, friends, and a pretty, well furnished home to go to. Alas! What are all these, without "the one thing needful".‡

* Proverbs 31: 30: "Favour is deceitful, and beauty is vain: but a woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised."

† Attributed to C.M. Merrick and much anthologized, it appears as Hymn 289 in James Martineau, ed., *Hymns for the Christian Church and Home* (London: Longman, Greene, 1859). Margaret slightly misquotes the last stanza:

> Not to my wish, but to my want,
> Do thou thy gifts supply;
> The good unasked in mercy grant;
> The ill, though asked, deny.

‡ Luke 10: 42.

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Journal – "Dr Lowell performed the marriage ceremony, after which we had we had coffee, cake, and wine handed round. About half past eight we all rode to Madam Howard's house in Chesnut* S^{t}, where we found Dr Lowell's son and daughters and some young men acquaintances of the Miss Howards.– In about half an hour after our arrival, the folding doors of the drawing room were thrown open, and a very magnificent supper table appeared, served in handsome style, at which we all, sat down; and the occasion proved more easy and sociable than we had expected." (**Note** One of the toasts by young Sargent was– "The Chase is over, the Deer† is ours.")

["]After the supper was over, an immense Plum Cake was placed on the table, which was cut up in style by Mr Howard Sargent, and handed down in plates. –Afterward I assisted Mrs Howard in putting up large pieces for every person to take home. Our Edward was not present at all, and Isaac did not attend the supper – having hurt his eye, which was quite painful; so he returned home from Mrs Wolcotts'. The rest of us got home about eleven PM–

So ends this eventful night, and I cannot realize that Elizth has deserted us all, and thrown herself into the arms of strangers.- But she is married now, and so rest all the pretentions, coquetries and heart burnings of her contending admirers. – The family with whom she has connected herself are respectable. – May she be happy, and may they prove as kind to her as her own would have done, had she permitted them to do so."

The family were kind and excellent; especially Madam Howard and her daughters Mrs Sage now widow of Dr Wayland, and the present Mrs Dr Bartol both lovely women. But the marriage itself was, a sad one.

98 Parties for the newly married couple. Visit from Mr. Loring of the Hartford Asylum.

Journal
Oct 1829

Fri 23rd "We are very busy to day preparing for an invited party to meet the new married couple. Madam Howard and her sister Mrs Sargent declined coming, so the wedding party consisted only of Dr Howard, his bride, and two sisters, and his cousin Howard Sargent: We had also Misses Jane and Frances Simpson and their brother, Mr and Mrs Osias Goodwin, Miss Chapman and brother, Mr and Mrs Kinsman, Mrs Mary Bradford, Mrs Hudgens, Mrs Pickering and her three boys, Amory & Catharine W and their father. – These were the invited guests. The volunteers‡ were Mr & Mrs Dixon and Miss Penhallow and a Miss Hazenly with them, Miss Lee["] (fellow boarder of Amory & Cath^{e} at Mr Bonfils' school) ["]Frank & William Waldo and our Edward. This was the whole of our party and it went off better and more sociably than I had expected. Our Thomas still absent, and we hear to day he has gone to Philadelphia.

Sat 24th A fine warm day – This month the weather has been very fine though generally cool for the season. Young Mr Angier a classmate of BPW's dined here – Also Mr Loring a deaf and dumb young man, who was very attentive to us at the Hartford Asylum when we visited it. He is wonderfully intelligent and answers all questions by a little slate book which he carries about with him.["] (Note. This young man son of Elijah Loring of Boston, afterward

* Surely a misspelling of *Chestnut*.

† "dear" is written under "Deer" to make sure no one misses the pun.

‡ Probably referring simply to people who are always welcome at the house, those who of their own free will take part in an entertainment, as opposed to those who have been specifically asked to participate (the invitees).

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married a deaf and dumb daughter of Dr Sharp the Baptist minister. He is now deceased.) ["]Young Angier stayed after dinner and sang two or three songs for us accompanying himself on the Piano – He sings sweetly; I was much pleased to hear him."
Note This exquisite singer died 1871 – BPW attended his funeral with several of his old classmates.

This month Thomas Sparhawk came to Boston and attended a course of medical lectures during the winter. He often came with his brother Oliver to our Sunday meeting.

99	**More parties for the newly married couple.**

Excerpts from Journal.

Oct
1829 ["]The month closed with a violent NE rain storm just as our Thomas arrived by way of Middletown Conn where he had been to visit the Alsops and where Miss Thomas["] (afterward Mrs Houston 4th [)], "was staying. BPW & Wm Pickering walked down to Nahant in the storm.*
Nov 3rd Aunt Pickering had a party for the bride Mrs Elizth Howard. Aunt Henrietta assisted her to prepare for it in her house at Barton St near Craigie's bridge. My mother managed to go down there for an hour or two after tea – She says "there were about thirty five to forty people there – Howards, Goodwins, Chapmans, Simpsons, Winslow girls Miss Lee & Randall; – the Phillips, Andrews, Mrs Bradford Charles Ward &c, &c. They had a rather stiff time some of the people being strangers to each other, and some meeting who did not wish to meet

Amory Winslow was quite ill for some weeks at Mr Bonfils' school and was attended by Dr Jeffries and Aunt Henrietta was with her a great deal – And my father met with a serious accident by striking his eye against the stick in a flower pot as he stooped to lift it from the ground. Uncle Blanchard's wife suffering much with neuralgia – Cattie Winslow & Miss Lee often at our house, sometimes staying all night. BPW begins to visit at Miss Callahans' –
Nov 13th Journal says "William Pickering and our BP went by invitation to Miss Callahan's – where they had some music with their flutes, Quincy Hill playing on the piano. Mrs John Callahan was there, and Cathe Winslow Miss Lee, Timmins Blanchard, Miss Cotton, and Mr & Mrs Doane". Another evening all were at Miss Cottons'.- On the previous Wed, Nov 11th, there had been a dedication of Trinity Church, which she, who was so soon to be laid there, -(the first new tenant of its tombs,) thus mentions;
Nov 11th "Great doings today at the new Trinity Church in Summer St, – which is to be consecrated or dedicated, and all the rich and fashionable world will be there. I have not seen it since the walls were up; but they say it is a very elegant and noble church, the handsomest in the city.

100	**A rice pilaf.**

Nov
1829.

Trinity Church Dedication.

Dr Gardiner the Rector is to preach a sermon, Mr Doane the assistant minister to read, – and Bishop Griswold† to be at the head of the whole. They will have some fine music

* A serious walk of about fifteen miles if they were starting from Leverett St.

† Alexander Viets Griswold (1766–1843).

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Hymns and Anthems made for the occasion. The Miss Callahans are all busy about "this glorious day for the Church," as Miss Clifford Callahan calls it. In the evening Mrs John Callahan Quincy Hill, Catharine W, her father, Miss Lee, Mrs Pickering & boys, and our TS and BPW are all going to the theatre. Box taken by BW Sen^{r}." Theatricals in the morning and theatricals in the evening, some people would say. My Mother would not let me go to either.*

Note

The first snow of this severe and, to my delicate Mother very trying winter, fell Nov 14th, but did not lay long –

Journal "Catharine W, Miss Lee, our BPW and his classmates Clarke and Davis who called here first, all at E Pickering's evening." On the 19th there was "a smart frost", and the 20th was quite cold, and the weather continued very chilly – On the 26th another flight of snow with rain and hail in the interim. "Sun not out ten times during the whole month."

On the 19th Journal says –"Our Edward dined here. Invited him to eat Pilauf† an East India dish made of chicken and spiced rice. I made it for Mr Winslow to put him in mind of old times, as his mother and mine used to make it for Aunt Malbone when she came from Newport." "Edw planted some tulips & hyacinths for me." (never for her to bloom.[)]

20th "Our Friday evening party." – "BW Sen, his son Ben D and daughter Cath^{e} and Miss Lee; – Mrs Timmins Blanchard and her daughter Quincy Hill, and Miss Anna Cotton, with brother JP Blanchard. – Mrs Mary Bradford, E Pickering and sons, - a Mr Roberts, and young Ingalls; son of Dr Ingalls, who came with BW Sen – This lad was formerly a schoolmate of our George. They had chess, music, and dancing."

Note This is one of the last entries in my Mother's hand writing – The remainder of the Journal is copied from her rough draft, by the

Transcript of Journal.

Last Thanksgiving – 1829.

different hands of the family. – The beautiful writing of my brother George‡ appears first, and describes my dear Mother's last Thanksgiving day on earth as follows

Nov 26th "Cold and raw, with a drizzling rain, which turned to sleet and snow in the evening. Our dinner party consisted of BWSen his three daughters Amory, Catharine, and Lucretia, also Miss Lee. Old Mrs Sam Winslow, her son Charles and his two eldest children, Old Uncle Davis and brother Joshua Blanchard, Edward and George were absent, the former dined out of town -- the latter at his Aunt Pickering's -- but all were here in the evening, with EP & her boys, Mrs Hudgens & son, William Waldo, and Robert Manners. Arthur and W^{m} Pickering and our Thomas appeared in fancy dress, as they were going out to a fancy ball at Zebeda Cook's in Dorchester. Arthur dressed like an old Physician of the last century, William like an English Jockey, and our Thomas as a Highlander, in plaid and plumed bonnet, in which he looked very well. They staid here with the girls about two hours, and then went to the ball — Afterward we had a supper in the front North parlor. So ended

* No doubt because her Calvinism disapproved of the Episcopalian and the professional theater's love of what she would have seen as vain show. So she is one of the people who would say, "Theatricals in the morning and theatricals in the evening."

† More usually, *pilaf* or *pilau*.

‡ Margaret had, it will be remembered, inserted a letter of her father's as copied by George at the end of the previous volume, above, IV, 170.

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Thanksgiving for the year. Two out of last year's party are married, E Chase, and Helen Pearce and one, poor Sam Waldo has departed this life. No one expected these events; but so changes come upon us every year."

Note A change, indeed, came the ensuing year, when the warm and hospitable heart of all this circle beat no more in Motherly sympathy with their every joy and sorrow. One of her last pleasures was to hear that Ellen Houston was to pass the winter in Boston; but little did she dream that in her and Quincy Hill, she saw the future wives of her youngest sons; – or that another Elizabeth than her of whom she had dreamed, was to be connected with one of her elder ones, and was to become a blessing to her whole family. Events all unexpected indeed at that time, to them as well as to her.

102 Dr. Tuckerman's Ministry-at-large. Parties.

New. Chapter. Last Winter.

Excerpts from Journal Dec 1829.

The 3rd of Dec Journal says that my Father attended Dr Tuckerman's* and Uncle Blanchard's free church meetings on "the new land" near what has since been called Causeway St, where they hired a room to preach for poor people who could not afford to hire seats in Churches or to dress well enough to go to them. This was the beginning of the free ministry for the poor – and Uncle Blanchard always a hard worker in every benevolent enterprise was one of Dr Tuckerman's most earnest supporters. December set in cold and stormy after the 10th – On the 12th there was a severe gale which broke several windows in the Leverett St house, and the Journal mentioned that as the sixth Saturday on which bad weather had occurred. It was, however, rainy, damp, and chilly, rather than sharp, frosty, or snowy, throughout the month generally. This was bad weather for my Mother, and she mentions several times being quite unwell, so as to retire early to her room even when company was at the house – a most unusual thing for her.

Nevertheless the parties went on, and the young people frolicked as was their wont. My brother Tom had returned from the south and again took a prominent part in the family gatherings. The 4th of Dec, we had for our extempore Friy eveng guests B W Sen son & daughters, Miss Emily Lee and the Miss Randalls with their friend Margaret Fuller, the Miss Fosters and their father Wm Foster, a Miss McGill of Connecticut, E P and four boys, Lieut Whitlock of the American Navy – Lieut Hertsell, English Navy, Mr Waldron, Mr Leaming of Phila, Mr Laing and Chs Ward, these with nine of our own family made a gathering of thirty, dancing music and fun generally, with many flirtations in the corners & window recesses.

6th Another gathering at Miss Callahan's – Mother begins to suspect something about "Quincy Hill." On the 7th a party at Miss Randall's – BPW goes instead, to visit Sam Clarke† at the Hospital.

103 A new family tomb at the new Trinity Church. Edward saves a boy from drowning. Mr. Winslow overlooked on return from a trip to Plymouth to celebrate the 200th anniversary of the landing at Plymouth Rock.

Dec 1829.

* Joseph Tuckerman (1778-1840). His ministry for the poor or city mission was known as the "Ministry-at-large."

† Probably James Freeman Clarke's older brother.

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"Thomas Smith here at dinner, tea &c several times – going to S America. Consults Mr W on business" many others doing the same, come & go at the house.

Dec 16th Journal says – "Brother Joshua P Blanchard told me that they have given us a new tomb (No 2) under Trinity Church in exchange for an old one and that the remains of our friends have been removed into it"

N B – This tomb was relinquished by the heirs of Joshua P Blanchard in 1872,* and the remains, including those of my Mother, Mr Houston and Charlotte Thomas his fourth wife, were transferred to my Father's lot at Forest Hills.†

17th Lucretia Winslow ill with rheumatic fever at Miss Callahan's.

18th Our Friday dinner party consisted of Consul Manners and his son, Capt Seaver of the British packet ship, Captain Johnson of the English army, son of a baronet, Mr Moore an Englishman, Judge Wilde, B W Sen^{r} and our Edward. In the evening we had Mrs E P and her boys, Miss M^{c}Gill W^{m} Waldo, B D Winslow & sisters, Mrs Bradford and a Mrs Hayward.

Several times mention is made of James Clarke dining, taking tea & sleeping at the house as if quite one of the family. A Mr Heath one of BPW's friends, a fine singer, is also mentioned as coming one evening to the house.

20th Edward saved a boy from drowning under the ice in Frog Pond, Boston common.‡

21st – B W Sen, Edward Robert Manners and W^{m} Pickering by my Father's invitation, take a carriage to Plymouth, to attend the 200th anniversary celebration of Forefather's day, (reckoning by Old Style.)§ It was celebrated with great ceremony on the 22nd.– The party returned on the 23rd, but without my Father whom they carelessly missed at Quincy. He, however, took the Stage home, and of course paid the bill for the carriage. My Mother was much annoyed at their behavior to Father,

104	**Changes in the practices of Christmas celebrations.**

Dec 1829. Christmas in Boston under Puritan influences, forty three years ago.

on this occasion, which otherwise would have been a very pleasant one. I believe RM and WP were chiefly to blame.

25th Christmas Day. H B made Christmas minc'd pies in remembrance of old times. This day, now becoming celebrated more and more every year, in the European fashion, was then

* As we learn below (V, 135), the relinquishing of the plot occurred (as Margaret must have felt, providentially) in April, just a few months before the great fire of November 9 in that year that burnt 65 acres and 776 buildings, including Trinity Church (which had been dedicated in 1829—above, V, 100).

† In Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts.

‡ Not the only good deed recorded of Edward. Some ten years later, he came to James Freeman Clarke's assistance as Clarke recorded in his diary in a moment reminiscent of Mr. Pickwick:

> *April* 7, 1841.
>
> I came near being knocked down yesterday by a drunken truckman for interfering to protect his horse, which he was beating with a club. I immediately went to the police court for a constable to have him arrested, but could not find the judge. I then met Edward Winslow, who undertook to see the owners of the truck, and have the man properly rebuked. (*Autobiography*, 159-60)

§ Commemorating the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock. The date of December 22nd is actually the date of the landing in New Style. The Old Style date was December 12th. Currently, the celebration occurs on Dec. 21. 1829 saw the 209th anniversary of the landing, not the 200th.

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no Holyday at all, in New England. The few Episcopal Churches in Boston, – old North, St Paul's and Trinity were open and thinly attended;– and on Christmas eve or Christmas day among the less strict Episcopalians, the members received company consisting of their relations and intimate friends, exchanging and giving to children and domestics, and to the poor, some comparatively unexpensive presents. – But no schools, shops or offices were closed among the citizens generally, and the children's gifts were "New Year's" not "Christmas presents." Our maternal ancestors, Grandmother Blanchard and great Grandmother Pollard having kept the day, however, my Mother usually had some of the family to dine in a quiet way. This year only Aunt Pickering and her boys, who with our Thomas and BPW went in the evening to a small party at neighbor Coffin's in Chamber S^{t}. Perhaps our Puritan fathers went too far in excluding altogether the celebration of Christmas. There certainly is something very interesting in the thought of such an event as that of the birth of our Lord being remembered at once over nearly the whole world. But the show and expense of costly gifts and entertainments, of church forms and decorations, or of lip worship while the life is worldly, cannot be to Him acceptable, more than the dissipation and drunkenness which so often disgrace the season in lands calling themselves Christian. Every day is a Christmas to the true Christian. Every morning he is born anew unto Christ and Christ to him. Every day he hears and strives, as much as in him lies, to fulfil the Angel song of Bethlehem, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace and good will to man."*

105

Dec 1829 1st Arrival of Ellen Houston from Exeter.

During the latter part of December I was confined upstairs with a feverish cold or bilious turn and as I slept with my Mother who insisted upon taking me into her room, I always feared that the care and exposure in cold winter nights of attending a sick child might have hastened the attack which carried her off. All the families of our circle seemed to have an invalid member this winter. Amory had just recovered, Lucretia was ill, W^{m} Pickering had some trouble in his ear and Augustus Hudgens had the measles. Dr Shattuck must have given doses to his heart's content.

Mrs Bartlett my Mother's early friend was in town

Dec 25th and saw my Mother for the last time – Her son John a medical student in Boston was frequently at our house being very fond of my brother BPW – the daughter Sarah sometimes visited me – when she came to stay with her relations Mrs David Thatcher and Miss Deblois, our neighbors in Green S^{t}.

The last day of December Ellen Houston arrived from Exeter to stay at Mrs Chapman's for the winter, her father not permitting her to stay at our house. BPW went to meet her at Newburyport; for all our boys were brought up much more gallantly in respect to "waiting upon ladies" than are young men now. Ellen had not been in Boston since her father moved to Exeter three years before, when she was about fifteen years of age.

Journal Dec 31st † "About 7 'oclock PM in marched Ellen Houston Lucy Chapman and BPW – Ellen had arrived between 5 & 6 PM at Mrs Chapman's and came over here immediately

* Luke 2: 14. "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men."

† Margaret resumes her intermittent practice of beginning each line of a quoted passage with an opening quotation mark.

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after their tea. Ellen is very much grown and altered; is a very pretty girl and looks very much like her mother and her sister Eliza. Isaac and Edward who are going to the Bachelor's ball this evening, both came in to, see Ellen after they were dressed for that occasion, as they did not go till 9 o'clock–"

106	Last of the Fridays gatherings. A "rout," with music and dancing.

January 1830–

Family gatherings. Last month of Friday receptions

The arrival of a new and agreeable young cousin was the signal for fresh parties, the commencement of which took place at our house on New Year's night and is thus described by my Mother in her rough diary again copied in the clear and beautiful hand writing of my brother George.

Jan 1 Friday –

"New year's day – all bustle, wishing each other "happy new Year". It is a fine day, a little colder than it has been. Presents going out and presents coming in." note This was also a great day for the Boston lamp lighters, the watchmen and Chimney Sweeps, and the Newspaper carriers all of whom went from door to door in their respective "wards" with sheets of printed poetry? for which they expected to receive a small contribution from the citizens – A pile of silver "ninepence" (12½ cents)* always lay on our parlor table New Years morning; – and the front door bell rang from time to time throughout the day for these remembrances. Some citizens gave more, some less, according to their inclination or ability; but altogether quite a sum must have been picked up by "the trades" on this Anniversary.

"Journal– "We are to have a rout† this evening among the young folks, it being Friday evening, and New Year also, and in consequence of Ellen Houston's arrival. Our Margaret went down stairs to day after a week's confinement – Two of her schoolmates came to bring her little presents and to receive some from her. Augustus Hudgens now recovered from the measles, here to get his new Years present. Charles Ward called; The young men were all out to day in New York style making calls on the ladies who treated them with cake and wine. Our party this evening consisted of Amory and Catharine Winslow, two Miss Chapmans and Ellen Houston. Miss Randall Miss Fuller, Miss Coffin and a Miss Symmes who is staying with her; – E P and sons, Mrs Hudgens Uncle Davis, B Winslow & son, young Chapman, James Clarke Mr Angier and our boys – Music, dancing, &c.‡

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* About $3.00 using the CPI, but ten times that when measured against the wages of unskilled workers such as these, so a significant sum to, e.g., a newspaper carrier.

† *OED*: "A company, assemblage, band, or troop of persons." *Webster's 3rd Unabridged*: "a fashionable gathering."

‡ This is the last mention of Miss Fuller and almost the last mention of James Clarke. We know from other sources, such as Clarke's autobiography, and also the fact that Clarke read the Lord's Prayer at Margaret's father's funeral (above, IV, 7) that he and BPW remained lifelong friends. BPW was a parishioner and leader in Clarke's church. He composed a hymn in his honor on the occasion of Clarke's fiftieth birthday in 1860 (*Memorial of the Commemoration by the Church of the Disciples, of the Fiftieth Birth-Day of Their Pastor, James Freeman Clarke, April 4, 1860* [Boston: Prentiss & Deland, 1860], 34-36), and they would have met also at the frequent reunions of the class of 1829. But BPW certainly lost touch with Fuller and the other ladies mentioned here. There is a brief mention of him in a letter by Margaret Fuller to George T. Davis on December 29, 1829 (so just a few days before this party) in Robert N. Hudspeth, ed. *The Letters of Margaret Fuller* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 6, 159: "Ben Winslow walked with me today he was arrayed in a cloak with those long tassels and yellow lining I believe; I thought his drapery became him pretty well but the more fastidious Amelia says he looks frightfully. 'Maria saw Ben at church and was struck by his fine countenance' she made divers inquiries concerning his manner, character and disposition thereupon–" Hudspeth says,

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107 **Margaret's mother's worsening illness.**

Jan 1830.

Another musical gathering at our house on Sunday evening the 3rd of January, a theatrical party on the 4th under the auspices of B W Sen, a concert at Mr Bonfils on the 8th, – a -tea party at Aunt Pickering's, and occasional parties given by others with whom "the boys" were acquainted, – kept up the excitement almost constantly among the young folks. Yet the Journal of Jan 17th says – "I went down stairs to meeting, after having been confined up stairs for ten days, and came up again after meeting was over.
18th Snowed last night raw and cold. Several inches of snow fell.
19th Cold but clear. Margaret gone to school to day first time for a month since her sickness. I am going to venture down stairs again It being nearly a fortnight since I was taken sick. Mrs Sam King, Eliza P and Ellen H called –
20th Rainy and chilly – I went down to breakfast and stayed down, but the weather was so bad no one called. I sent a carriage to Mr Bailey's school for Margaret. Mr Winslow dined at the Tremont House with an Insurance Company to which he belongs, and staid till 8 PM – He brought us some of the cake and confectionary which they had. Thomas Smith was here in the evening, playing chess with our Isaac. Thomas and BPW went down to E Pickering's to play whist with William who is still at home with that trouble in his ear.
21st Mrs Warren my old domestic called to see me – Her sister Mary Valette has become a Swedenborgian.* Mrs Chapman called with Ellen H and invited our boys and the Pickerings to a small party at her house. Our Thomas and BPW went in the evening.
22nd Raw cold morning – too cold to snow. Miss Thomas called to see us AM Ellen H, Robert Manners and our Edw dined with us, I did not go in to dinner, After dinner Edwd beat RM two games at chess. E Pickering also here afternoon and evening. Our Friday gathering

108

Journal. Jan 1830

in addition to these, consisted of two Miss Doanes, two Miss Chapmans, Miss Coffin and her cousin Miss Symmes, Miss M^{c}Gill and her father, our boys and the Pickerings W^{m} Waldo, Charles Ward and Sydney Doane. The latter has been studying medicine abroad and has attended all the principal Hospitals in England, Scotland, France and Italy. – All staid late, and I came up stairs before the party broke up – Mr W also up stairs with a kink in his back.["]

On the 23rd my Mother says – "I have taken up a fresh cold and was so sick with a violent pain in my side and chest as to be obliged to go up stairs before dinner and was very sick all night – Had to put a blister on." ["]A young party at E Pickering's this evening. Ellen H & I believe Quincy Hill there."

"Maria is probably Elizabeth Randall's sister" (161 n9). Amelia is most likely Catharine Amelia Greenwood (whom Fuller would address in a letter of October 17, 1830 as "My dear, amiable, arrogant friend" [Hudspeth letters, 13]).

* Above, IV, 29.

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24th Sunday – "Our George taken sick last night. EP & boys Uncle Davis and Miss Thomas came to our meeting – Ellen Houston and our Edward also here afterward – came up stairs to see George and me."
25th "Cold – snowing fast. I feel a little better and George also. Dr Shattuck called in the afternoon – left George and me well dosed. John Rogers who lately failed["] (son of the late Daniel Rogers) ["]here in the evening – also Mr Heilbron I did not see them.
26th Fine clear cold day –About 4 inches of snow fallen – enough for sleighing. Ellen H dined here. Catharine Winslow called, says her sister Amory is again very sick with a cold and fever – Miss Lee also sick at Mr Bonfils' boarding school
27th Our little Margaret's birth day. She completes her 14th year. A raw, cold dull day – feels like snow – only too cold to snow. George is better but my cough is bad and I have two blisters on.

109 Roast turkey for Margaret's birthday. Planning meals around washing and ironing days in the days of wood fires in the kitchen. Misery of extreme cold.

Jan 1829.*

Ellen Houston called- also B Winslow Senr to see me. He has been sick himself – says his daughter Amory is better. Miss Thomas here. Snowed in the evening – but cleared off at night.
28th A fine winter's day – not much snow on the ground. Isaac set off for New York with Mr Heilbron. I did not sleep at all last night and got up late this morning – Mrs Mary Bradford called to see me – Also Miss Wentworth and her niece Miss Bradley, but I did not see them. Ellen H called in, and our Edward and Arthur Pickering dined here on roast Turkey and apple pudding – Margaret's choice for her birth day; but she could not have it yesterday being ironing day["] Note (Washing and ironing days in the days of open wood fires, had to be seriously consulted in the marketing – Washing day was a day of "picked up" dinner, hashes or minces warmed over after the great boiler was taken off, or on the coals of the hearth. Ironing day, the dinner was always a boiled one, because the irons had possession of the hearth and coals. Three or four large iron pots were hung on the huge "crane" over the blazing wood with meat and various vegetables in them corned beef or pork, beets, carrots, parsnips, or "greens," according to the season. Washing & ironing was, besides, a giant work in such a family as ours, as may easily be conjectured even without flounced skirts and elaborate shirt bosoms.[)] "Uncle Davis called in the evening to see me. A very clear but cold night. I am afraid Isaac will have a severe time in the Steam boat. I hope they will not get frozen up in the Providence river."
29th "An extremely cold day, rather cloudy – <u>My chamber is so cold</u>, I am going down stairs in hopes of finding it warmer". (**Note** The miserable contrivances then known for fires, no doubt hastened my Mother's death, as she kept increasing the terrible cough which racked her delicate frame night and day, – quickening also the already hurried action of the heart from which she had long suffered[)] – Our Friday evening party consisted of Ellen Houston, Lucy Chapman Miss Wilde and Judge Wilde, BW Sen, his son & daughter Cathe, all the Pickerings our Edward, Lieutenant Hertzell† and James Clarke, with all our boys except Isaac.

* Error for "1830."

† Above, V, 102, his name is spelled "Hertsell."

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110	**The end approaches for Margaret's mother.**

~~Last Chapter.~~ My Mother's last illness.
February 1830.

The Friday evening party of Jan 29th was the last of those oft mentioned and pleasant gatherings under my Mother's sympathizing eye and the last time of her appearance in the family circle except on Sunday 31st when she came down stairs to "meeting" or divine service in our parlor The extreme cold of Jan 30 and 31st, the ther 4 below 0, no doubt increased the disease which was rapidly bearing her from among us. She was no longer able to leave her chamber, and although a fire was kept there night and day, it scarcely tempered the piercing air which congealed our breath almost around the hearth itself. Dr Shattuck's old fashioned remedies of blisters and calomel,* while inflicting needless suffering, – also diminished Nature's already weakened powers of resistance, and she sank exhausted in the threefold conflict. Nevertheless the sufferer exerted herself to the last. She brought up this Diary in rough draft to the 3rd of February, and these are the last words penned by her hand.
Feb 1 Monday. Snowed last night – Near a foot of snow fallen, It was too deep for Margaret to go to school. Indeed she wanted to stay and tend me as I was quite sick – Never slept for four nights together. I was in a nervous state with an oppression at my lungs;
Tues 2nd A dull cloudy cold day – Meg gone to school – I had Dr Shattuck to see me yesterday, and in consequence am now most murdered with a great blister on my chest. This is Mr W's birthday, 56.["]

On the 3rd Isaac had returned from N York and the Journal is copied by him to this date. A few family visitors are mentioned, and he then says

"Here ends the record of events in Mother's own handwriting – Nothing therefore is recorded until the 6th of Feb'y when she desired Margaret to continue the Journal in rough. (It is however copied in Isaac's hand until the 13th, which terminated the earthly existence of her who alone had made it of interest, and whose death will now conclude this Record.

111	**Goodbyes. The end.**

Journal

Feb 7th Sunday

By MCW. – My dear Mother's illness much increased, and this evening she had great difficulty of breathing. Dr Shattuck came and ordered another blister on her back – She left off opium that night and did not sleep at all, as had been the case for a week – Monday she was relieved from the shortness of breath but was quite low – She got up about 11 AM, and passed the rest of the day in short broken unquiet dozes in her armchair by the fire. Aunt H and I mended the clothes for the wash, and when Father asked her if she would like to do it, she replied that we must all learn to -do without her now. In the evening Edw brought her some nice Havanna oranges. She was much pleased with his attention, as she always was with the least kindness from her children. On the 10th my Mother appeared better, but on the 11th and 12th she relapsed and was evidently sinking fast. yet even to the last she rose and sat in her chair, seeing her friends, and holding long conversations with her

* Mercury chloride, used especially in the eighteenth century, but also into the nineteenth, as a laxative, emetic, and disinfectant. It was, of course, highly toxic.

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family, which are recorded in my Father's little memoir of her which will be appended to this Journal.

After taking leave of all, one by one, as they came up stairs to see her, all her sons, her brother, her niece Ellen Houston and others throughout the day and evening of Feb 12th, she at length laid down for the last time about eleven o'clock, and fell into a quiet sleep from which she never awoke, passing away like an infant upon its Mother's breast, so that we scarcely knew the moment when she ceased to breathe. But between one and two o'clock on the morning of the 13th, her sons, her husband her daughter, and her sisters Aunts Henrietta and Pickering who watched with her, looked upon the face of one who had passed "where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest."*

"Requiesca in pace – Resurgat in Gloria."†

112 "Recollections of a Mother."

Closing Chapter. Memoir of my Mother. **1830**

In a little Manuscript called "Recollections of a Mother," which my Father, soon after her death, wrote out and copied in his own hand no less than six times, in the midst of all his business and other avocations, and of which he gave a copy to each of his six children, – may be found the following notices of her life, death, and funeral. Some extracts from it have been already given in this record; but I now copy it in full.

"Recollections of a Mother." by IW.

Preface.

"In addressing you, my dear Children, on the recent death of your late Mother, and in copying from her letters and other writings the most interesting of her remarks, my intention is to keep alive in your memories the full force of that maternal affection, – which, at first exclusively confined to your temporal welfare, at a later period became combined with a deep interest for your Lasting happiness in that future state of existence which has been revealed to us in the word of God, – and in the hope of which the pain even of parting with her children seems to have been accompanied with the consolatory hope of a reunion with them and others who love and trust in God, – at the times of the restitution of all things. —— This combined feeling has, it is plain to see, been felt and appreciated by every one of the family. A consciousness of this love for you all could not fail, as it has not failed, to excite in you deep emotions of grief at the separation from this true friend which it has pleased God should take place and to call forth those feelings of sorrow which, on occasions like the present, is a tribute called for by Nature and which Religion forbids not, when she permits us to "sorrow," – but "not as those without Hope".‡

113 "Recollections of a Mother" continued.

Memoir continued.

Preface.

* These lines conclude each of the five stanzas of Henry Hart Milman's much anthologized hymn "Brother, thou art gone before us." Dickens heard them quoted in a sermon he heard in Boston in 1842 and recorded in his *American Notes*.

† Rest in Peace, rise in glory. Margaret has omitted the final "t" in "Requiescat."

‡ A very common nineteenth-century rendering of or allusion to 1 Thessalonians 4: 13: "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."

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"The hearts of all of us at a moment like the present, – melted with the tenderness of grief, feel as if these powerful emotions were sufficiently strong to enable us to regulate in coincidence with them all our future actions and desires, both in regard to things of the present life and that which is to come. – we feel as if even the duties we owe to friendship and affection, the innocent enjoyments of life, nay the very sustenance necessary for our support, were all so many unfeeling intruders into the sanctity of the Mourner.

But sorrow whether intense or mild, like other strongly excited affections of our nature, - passes away. –It is the law of that nature, that the mind should be as actively engaged in relieving itself from oppressive feelings as that the body should exert itself to throw off the weight which presses it to the ground. In the midst of the darkest gloom, it is on the search for some glimmering of light. It finds a consolation at first in feeding on the very grief which appears to devour it. It brings to view associations once the most agreeable, now the most painful, – and thus finds a sort of melancholy yet not ineffectual consolation in the contemplation of happiness departed and joys never to return. It finds also relief in the habitual cares of life; Its every day duties must be discharged, its daily wants satisfied. Nature never stops in her course. The sun rises and sets. The occupations of society proceed as usual: Our friends and families require the accustomed attentions: The wounds of sorrow which at first are pained with the slightest touch, become gradually able to bear the usual sanitory* applications. – Every day the restoring influence of Nature carries forward the healing process. Time at length

cicatrizes† the wound, and we again take our part in the movement of society which always continue to exist, though of it to us a most important part has disappeared. All this is as it should be. It is the law of God that we move onward. It is His will that the duties of life be performed. And the Christian, under whatever pressure of affliction though with an aching heart, feels an additional stimulus to increased exertion – to supply the place and perform the duties of the friend who has been taken away

Our danger then is not that the excessive emotions of grief will always continue, but that the effects which ought to be produced by the deaths of even our nearest friends will subside.

"As from the wing no scar the sky returns
The parted wave no furrow from the keel, –
So dies in human hearts the thoughts of death,
Een with the tender tear which Nature sheds
O'er those we love we drop it in their grave."‡

And thus the costly price paid, as we may suppose, for the improvement of the living, may as regards us, – be paid in vain.

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* A common if erroneous form of *sanitary*.

† Causes the formation of a healing scar.

‡ Edward Young, *Night Thoughts* (1742-45), Night I.

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You, my children, will at once be called back to the active occupations of life. – The concerns of society of which you are a part, will again interest you. You will again participate in the innocent enjoyments of life. You will, I hope, form attachments stronger and more interesting to you than even filial affections, but not stronger than the affection of a Mother to you. This is natural and proper. This is what she herself would have wished.

115 **"Recollections of a Mother" continued.**

Memoir continued. Preface & remarks.

But in all this, forget not a Mother's love. Forget not that it was her dying prayer that all her family might find the true path, – and her dying hope that, through the merits of the Redeemer we should all meet in a renovated world. Forget not that the love of God in you as in her, will continue beyond the grave, and that the inconstant and imperfect affections of earth, – for but a faint copy of Divine Love, is the most entire human affection, – may be perfected in the new Heavens and the new earth in which dwelleth righteousness.

Do I wish in this address to represent your deceased mother as a pattern of female excellence, or as at all superior to others of her sex? — This, be assured, is by no means my desire. It is not because she was superior to other mothers but because she was like them that I wish you to feel in a salutary and lasting manner the whole force and beneficial effects of maternal love. There are many thousands of Mothers who love their children as intensely as your Mother; who have exercised greater self denial than our friend has been called to; whose interest for the present and future welfare of their offspring has been equal or superior to hers for you. Could we look into the hearts of Mothers we should see an exuberance of maternal affection in them all.____ But none of these are <u>your</u> mother. This powerful feeling of maternity is not directed to <u>you.</u> Not one of the most kind hearted or susceptible among them can have a Mother's affection for <u>you</u>. None but a parent in all the vehemence of paternal grief could exclaim even of an ungrateful and rebellious child "Would God I had died for thee, my Son, my Joy."

It is not then, my dear children, because your Mother was different from other mothers, that I call your attention to the recollection of all that now remains of her, – but because she was <u>your</u> Mother. Because her affection if weak toward others, was strong toward <u>you</u>.

116 **"Recollections of a Mother" continued.**

Reflections and Remarks.

and because the keeping in memory that affection, by frequent reflections upon that which I am about to record for your future benefit, may soften your hearts, and lead you as she desired into the true path of Divine Wisdom "whose ways are ways of pleasantness and all whose paths are peace."* That path a direction to which is to be found in the revealed word of God. That path which, terminating in the new Heaven and the new Earth, commences in the present state, and which to those who walk in it has the promise of the life which now is as well as that which is to come. Her ardent wish was that a portion of this divine wisdom might be given to you all; that enlightened by this celestial guest, warmed by the paternal love of God which is constantly exhibited to mankind in all his dispensations toward us, you

* Proverbs 3: 17.

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may see Him in every thing within and without us, in His works as well as in His word, equally conspicuous in the physical as in the moral world.*

"The great Creator condescends to write
In beams of inextinguishable light
His names of wisdom, goodness, power, and love,
On all that blooms below or shines above,
To catch the wandering notice of mankind
And teach the world, if not perversely blind,
His gracious attributes and prove the share
His offspring hold in his paternal care.
If led from earthly things to things divine
His creatures thwart not His august design,

117 **"Recollections of a Mother" continued.**

Extract from Cowper's "Hope".

Then praise is heard instead of ravishing pride
And captives cavil and complaint subside.
Nature employed in her allotted place
Is handmaid to the purposes of grace;
By good vouchsafed, makes known superior good,
And bliss not seen, – by blessings understood.
That bliss revealed in Scripture with a glow
Bright as the covenant-ensuring bow
Fires all his feelings with a noble scorn
Of sensual evil, and thus Hope is born.

Hope sets the stamp of vanity on all
That men have deemed substantial since the fall.
Yet has the wondrous virtue to educe
From emptiness itself a real use;
And while she takes as at a father's hand
What health and sober appetite demand,
From fading good, derives, with chemic art,
That lasting happiness, a thankful heart.

Hope with uplifted foot set free from earth,
Pants for the place of her etherial birth,
On steady wings soars through the immense abyss
Plucks amaranthine† flowers‡ from bowers of bliss,

* As the headline on the following page explains, what follows is an extract from William Cowper's "Hope" (1781). Slightly misquoted. The stanza divisions have been introduced, probably by Isaac.

† *Amaranth,* as *OED* explains, is *An imaginary flower reputed never to fade; a fadeless flower (as a poetic conception).* So "amaranthine" here means *undying.*

‡ "joys" in the original.

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And crowns the soul, while yet a mourner here
With wreaths like those, triumphant spirits wear."

These recollections of a Mother are written as I have before said, not with a view of flattering the vanity of the living by inflated eulogiums* on the dead, nor to hold up your Mother to your view as a model of human excellence.

118	**"Recollections of a Mother" continued.**

Remarks on reasons for writing.

They are written that the warm affections of the mother may be kept alive in the breasts of the children. They are written that when the effervescence of grief subsides, the salutary impressions which accompany it may not subside also; They are written that the death of their Mother may not be to her children in vain, and that the costly lesson at least to <u>them</u>, may turn to some account.

_____ "Stricken friends
Are Angels sent on errands full of love; –
For us they languish and for us they die;" –†

They are written that this new and interesting lesson of mortality in the death of a loved friend may teach us in a more striking and affecting manner than can be done in the ordinary instances of mortality, on how frail a tenure is placed our own and the lives of our yet surviving friends. They are written in the hope that the fond solicitude of an anxious and affectionate mother, accompanied as it is in the present case with her death, may, in the language of the Psalmist, teach us all "so to number our days as to apply our hearts unto wisdom,["]‡ and thus to become possessed of that Hope which, we humbly trust, was the portion of your departed Mother.

Characteristics.

For, if the concentrated affection which she bore to her own family, especially in the early part of her life, excluded that extended regard which characterises others, and which is so amiable a trait in the human heart, yet was she, by nature too sincere to affect a feeling which she had not, and thus she at least avoided the display which is sometimes, though perhaps unintentionally, connected with it: always with the <u>affectation</u> of it. This sincerity was accompanied by a plainness of speech which in many cases was far from acceptable; yet was it so little intended to give offence, that nothing, –

119	**"Recollections of a Mother" continued.**

Characteristics of my Mother.

– especially in the later years of her life, – caused her greater self blame than the infirmity as she considered it, of speaking her mind too freely. I have known her apologize to a domestic whose feelings appeared to have been hurt by a hasty though by no means severe reflection. Disliking every thing like servility or flattery, she was perhaps too much inclined to slide into

* An eighteenth- and nineteenth-century variant of *eulogy*.

† Young, *Night Thoughts*, Night III.

‡ Psalm 90: 12.

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the opposite extreme. But if so, this trait was accompanied with such an habitual regard to truth, that, in our twenty nine years of intimate intercourse, I do not recollect a single instance of the contrary in even the slightest degree.

And if she did not flatter others, neither did she flatter herself by an over estimate of her own talents, virtues, or disposition; and without any professions of humility, – it is, I think, plain, that her hopes of acceptance with God were founded not at all on the idea that she was a worthy receiver, but that He is a gracious and benevolent Donor. This appears in a letter of 1828 to a near friend, when, alluding to the death, by the consequences of intemperance, of a person well known in society, she says, "The loss considered as a loss is nothing. But the reflection that must arise as to his future state can bring no consolations with them. Yet how can we tell? We know not the hearts of others. He may have deplored in secret his habits and at times struggled against them, and we know that the mercy and goodness of the Deity are without bounds. After all Mr-[xxx]was not worse than the rest of us, but we are all in the hands of God. He will do right, and in that there is safety. May we all be able to trust in Him who will order every thing for good to those who do so trust. I hope I have this trust, I am sure I have no other."

Your Mother's entire and grateful dependence on God as the giver of all good without the least reference to herself as a recipient will appear in the following extract from a letter

Digression – Henry's illness.

to one of her sons in 1824." (My Father then copies a part of the letter to my brother Isaac which has already been inserted in the account of his journey to the South in April of that year.[*] Afterward he writes,)–

"The reference which is here made to a 'late event in the family' leads me almost necessarily, my dear children, into a digression on the circumstances of the death of our beloved Henry which took place on the 29th of July, 1821, three years before the date of the above letter, he being then within a month of the completion of his sixteenth year." (He was born August 26, 1805) ["]The poignancy of your mother's grief at this deprivation was increased by the amiable character, sweet disposition, and prepossessing appearance of this beloved child. Such was his native gentleness of disposition from infancy, that I do not recollect a single instance of disobedience in the course of his short life, nor one in which it was necessary to administer any other correction than that of the mildest nature. As he

[*] Above, IV, 115-16, the loose sheet that had been pinned to p. 117 so as to fall between it and p. 114 and that transcribes a letter from Margaret's mother to her brother Isaac dated Boston, April 27, 1824. It concludes with a paragraph of religious guidance and indeed refers to the death of Henry:

> 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 … ought to impress our minds with the uncertainty of 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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approached manhood the same gentleness of temper, courtesy of manners and innocent vivacity, with increased agreeableness of person characterised him. These, combined with the kindest feelings of regard to his friends and others around him, an unaffected wish to promote their happiness, a disposition to improve his mind by constant application to reading and to render himself useful by diligence and attention in business, with a remarkable tact in judging what was best and most fitting to be done in the little circle in which he moved, these traits altogether rendered him as interesting a child as ever parents were blessed with.

121 **"Recollections of a Mother" continued.**

Henry's death.

His disorder which was the yellow fever though not known or even suspected to be so till after his death, confined him at home only a few days. He suffered little pain during his sickness, only a worrying restlessness and uneasiness, especially on the day before his death. During this period he was visited with a slight alienation of mind, but retained throughout the whole of his sickness his marked character of docility and mildness. In his wanderings of mind, his remarks were either of a playful cast or such as indicated the fullest love and confidence in his friends. On Sunday morning the fourth day of his illness after a night of apparently profound repose and when encouraged by our own hopes as well as by the expectations of the physician in supposing the crisis favorably passed, we found by the hardness and quickness of his breathing that death was fast approaching, and in a short time he gently fell into the last sleep, without a sigh, a struggle, or a groan.

Grievous as was this dispensation of divine Providence to us all, it was peculiarly so to your Mother. It was equally heavy and unexpected. One of the fairest and most promising of the flock was taken. She was not till then aware how completely her children made part of herself – how the self love of Parents may be extended in their offspring. She was stunned rather than grieved. stupefied rather than pained. Deriving little or no consolation from the still numerous family which surrounded her, little from the sympathy of many sincere friends who felt for her loss, and as I then thought, little from a trust in the wisdom and goodness of God in which she has since so entirely confided, she surrendered herself to all the pangs of unavailing regret, like Rachel refusing to be comforted,* and disposed to exclaim with Jacob, "I will go down to the grave

122 **"Recollections of a Mother" continued.**

Memoir. My Mother's views and feelings upon the occasion of Henry's death.

with my son, mourning."† The intenseness of her feelings on this occasion evinced how completely she had identified herself with her children; but at that time the Giver of these and all her other blessings was apparently not enough considered, and if by her lips the divine wisdom and goodness were not impugned, – I then supposed that in her heart she

* Matthew 2: 18: "In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not."

† Genesis 37: 35: "And all his sons and all his daughters rose up to comfort him; but he refused to be comforted; and he said, For I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning. Thus his father wept for him."

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saw in this disposition only the sovereign and irresistible power of God unmixed with that mercy which visits us with afflictions but for our own good. May you and I,– – my dear children, apply the present affliction as well as all others which we may be called to undergo, so that our minds may be turned to the divine wisdom."

In a note to the above, my Father remarks, "The perusal of your Mother's letters on the deaths of her Mother and Sisters in 1814 and 1816 have induced me to change this opinion – She had more of submissive feeling than I was aware of; – but the excess of her grief on the occasion of Henry's death required time to enable her to conquer it by superior motives."

["]This heavy stroke was, as she herself supposed, a chief cause of her constitution, naturally delicate, being undermined. Nor could she for some time, even when alone with me, converse on this subject without a renewal of the painful feelings to which it gave birth. But blessed be God! that by slow degrees she began to look more to the first Cause and less to second causes, to consider the Giver as well as the gift; to see the Divine character as one of Mercy as well as Justice; to realize that He does not willingly afflict the children of men, and to feel that trust in the Divine mercy which, though seldom the subject of her conversation, seemed so strongly to influence her opinions and feelings in the latter part of her life.

123	**"Recollections of a Mother" continued.**

Thus a few weeks before her death, instead of declining to enter into any conversation on the subject of her son's death, she opened the matter herself to her daughter, narrating to her all the circumstances and her own feelings on that occasion, concluding with her entire acquiescence in and resignation to the will of Providence under this great trial,* and her hope, through the mercy and goodness of God and the redemption from death which is in Christ Jesus, – of meeting him in a happy and glorious state of existence, to part no more. She then added that she had increased your father's trouble at that time by persisting so long in the indulgence of her grief; –"but," said she, – "I trust that I am now more resigned to this trial. I feel convinced that it was all for the best; and I hope that I am now able to say to our Heavenly Father "Thy will be done."["] To meet this beloved son hereafter, was, she said, one of her most pleasant anticipations in the prospect of death, and added, "I was not, in my affliction, grateful enough for the endeavors of friends to comfort and sustain me, nor to God for the many blessings with which I was surrounded."

Reference is then again made by my Father to letters from which extracts have been made in the earlier part of this History; He says — "That a deep and proper sense of our dependence on God had now in a great measure become her habitual feeling will appear by a letter she wrote her son on the report, though an erroneous one, of a contemplated matrimonial engagement."†

* She means, I believe, her present trial—her approaching death—as her reference to "this trial" a few lines down makes plainer. If so, we can infer from all this what has not yet been made explicit, that Margaret knew "weeks before her death" that she was very probably dying, though we learn below that even four or five days before her death she had not "given up all hope of recovery" (below, V, 126).

† In the letter that follows and much else in her father's text, Margaret resumes her intermittent practice of beginning each line of a quoted passage with an opening quotation mark.

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"I hear Miss _____ is a very fine girl, and combines the rare qualities of high accomplishments with religious principles. These are a good foundation for permanent happiness. A person acting under their influence will always

do her duty in every situation of life, and endeavor to make those around her happy. It is only on such that any dependence can be placed. Would that we were all more deeply impressed with a sense of our dependence on that Divine Being whose children we are! We should then exhibit our love and gratitude to Him by doing all in our power to secure and increase the happiness of all around us, and by so doing should secure our own, here and hereafter."

"We thus see that, in regard to your dear Mother, the intensity of maternal love, – which, like all instincts too strongly indulged, is apt to neutralize other affections, and especially to divert them from their Highest Source, – became gradually controlled and enlarged. It began to partake of that love which regards the Giver more than the gift. – Thus only can it overcome that innate selfishness so intermingled with the best affections of our nature; affections which too often in the intercourse of the nearest friends, regard our own happiness rather than their welfare. Happy indeed is the state of man when divine love is combined with human love to control enlarge and purify it. That in the case of your Mother these were latterly to a considerable degree so combined may be inferred from a letter to a loved daughter in June 1828."

(This letter has been already copied on a previous page in the account of my Mother's stay in Newton Therefore I shall not insert it here.)*

"In a conversation with this daughter she observes "I have never taken much interest in the great world; – The happiness to be derived from it has not been an object of my desire or solicitude; but I fear I have been too entirely taken up in the little world of my own family,–

There is as much danger in having the affections absorbed in this, as there is in too strong an attachment to the world in general."

Qualified and connected as was this strong affection however, yet was it still your Mother's marked characteristic. In another letter to one of her sons she says,["] – (as perhaps before quoted,)† –

"I must now close this epistle, in which you will find enough to criticise, if the affection that dictated it, being appreciated by the receiver, – does not prevent. The full extent of that affection you can never fully comprehend, till you are yourself a parent; and then <u>not the affection of a Mother</u>."

* Above, V, 18-20.

† Part of this extract has been given above, IV, 168.

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Come we now to the closing scene of your dear Mother's life, which terminated on Saturday Feb 13th, 1830.

The weakness of body which had been induced by the racking severity of her cough in all of January, and which was also accompanied with great difficulty of breathing, – became very alarming of the 7th of Feb'y, so much so as to lead us to consider her situation very critical, attended as was the cough with an almost entire sleeplessness for a fortnight before her death. This symptom was very distressing; as, sleep to her was not merely a refreshment, but seemed more than to most persons an absolute necessity to sustain her debilitated constitution. It was indeed both food and medicine. The loss of it produced a strong nervous excitement, not amounting to alienation of mind, but to a difficulty of arranging and combining her ideas upon subjects which required much and long continued thought. This she observed in regard to secret prayer which she had long practised, –finding that if she attempted it at any length, her mind became in some degree

126 **"Recollections of a Mother" continued.**

Last interviews

confused and her ideas disconnected, especially four or five days before her death. On ordinary subjects not requiring much exertion of mental power, she continued in possession of her faculties to the last. She seemed fully sensible of her critical situation, and yet not to have given up all hope of recovery. On the Wednesday before her death she said to her youngest son George, "I have now been an invalid for three years and if it be the will of Providence that I should be taken away, I have no doubt it will be for the best. I feel anxious about my boys, lest they should get into habits of dissipation; but if you seek the approbation of your Maker and trust in Him, you cannot go wrong. You have an excellent Father, for which you ought to be thankful, a better no children ever had – I hope you will all love him and love each other"

"On the 12th of February," says our little M in her account of your Mother's last days, – "seeing me looking with anxious tears at her altered appearance as she sat half dozing in one of her uneasy slumbers, she suddenly brightened up and exclaimed, "Ah, my poor little girl, I shall not be long with you, but you will have good friends to take care of you – Your Aunt knows my notions in regard to the education of girls, and I know you will do what she wishes. Remember all I have said to you about your conduct and behavior in life. I feel confident that you will do what you think would be agreeable to me. Try to comfort your father. Be a good affectionate daughter and make up my loss to him. He has always been good to me, and he is the best of fathers and deserves all the care and attention which it is in your power to bestow on him.

127 **"Recollections of a Mother" continued.**

and conversations.

Especially be kind, affectionate, and obliging to your brothers and do all you can to promote their comfort and happiness."

"Being there left alone with my dear Mother she warmly embraced and prayed fervently over me; – Her prayer was so low that I could hear little of it, but the few sentences I caught, expressed perfect resignation to the Divine will, and almost joy at the idea of a

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future secure from separation from her beloved children, whose loss she felt unable to endure, had they been first removed.

When she ceased praying, she said in a very faint voice, "I can't talk much, but you will recollect what I say." She then kissed me several times, and ended by giving me some directions about her ring, pocket book, &c – This was my last private interview with our dear Mother, and those embraces were the last I ever received from her."

On the same day, the last of her earthly existence, – a few hours after the parting interview with your dear sister, she had an interesting conversation with one of her sons, who was not at this time residing under our roof; – telling him that she did not expect to continue long, inculcating on his part kindness and forbearance to all the family. "She had," she said, "loved all her children with an equal warmth of affection, and she hoped they would repay it by loving each other" This conversation was abruptly terminated by the entrance of the Doctor.

The last interesting interview which she had with any of her family was toward evening about eight hours before her death. It was with another son who, owing to frequent absences and other causes had held less confidential intercourse with her than would have been desirable to both. The conversation lasted nearly

128 **"Recollections of a Mother" continued.**

half an hour, and is a striking instance of the strength of that maternal affection which can counteract the most extreme weakness of mind and body: A mothers love strong even in death.

'Her conversation,' says this son, – 'was interesting and solemn. There was no wavering of the mind, no lapse of the memory, no trembling of the hand for the last time clasped in mine. The connection of ideas was perfect, and her language singularly striking and impressive. While it breathed words of the warmest affection, it was replete with salutary and useful admonitions.' – She intimated her fears, – from his silence on the subject of religion, – that this important concern had not received much of his attention. She also thought he had taken less interest in his family than she could have wished. – On his replying that the defects of character which she had pointed out, he should by the blessing of God endeavor to remedy she replied quickly, – 'That's right; nothing can be done without <u>His</u> blessing'; and when her son observed that a constitutional reserve combined with other circumstances had hitherto kept him from a more open communication than he should have liked, on the subject of religion as well as other interesting matters, she said 'God is merciful and if it is His will that I may be spared, we shall, I trust, be no longer strangers.'

After a violent fit of coughing she resumed in a low and nearly inaudible voice; adverted to the death of our dear Henry, and dwelt strongly on the importance of secret prayer and supplication for Divine assistance and support in all the varying circumstances of life especially in those of temptation, sorrow or distress.

129 **"Recollections of a Mother" continued.**

Her death.

Then, she seemed to feel it impossible, in the exhaustion produced by her cough, that her life should be prolonged much further, – and pointed out a friend who, she thought, could and would assist her son in his endeavors to find out the will of God in his future course.

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She had, she said, fervently prayed that her family might find the true path. She had indeed formerly hoped that she might live to see her family settled around her, and her sons connected with religious women who would make them happy. – In conclusion she said, 'Be, my son, as a wife to the bereaved husband, a kind son brother, and friend, and a useful member of society. Exercise Christian charity to all, and do all the good in your power'. She had now, she said, bade adieu to all hopes of earthly things, and trusted that through the merits of the Redeemer, we should all meet in a better world. *

This was the closing scene of the life of your dear Mother. After brief partings with several of her friends who, one by one, went up stairs to take leave of her, she fell into an uneasy doze, broken by occasional fits of coughing, till about 11 o'clock, when she lay down and sank into a quiet sleep, from which, about 1 AM, she passed into the sleep of death, without a groan or a sigh, or a struggle. Her sisters Blanchard and Pickering, and her immediate family were all who witnessed her departure. Her sons, with the exception of the one who boarded out, were all around her bed, and the Sunday following,† all assembled with their father and sister beside her sleeping form, to write down these recollections of a Mother departed.

130	**"Recollections of a Mother" continued.**

My Father's closing remarks.

The circumstances accompanying the life and death of your Mother are neither novel nor extraordinary. They furnish no striking incidents for the Novelist or the Historian. The scene of death bed separation though new to many, if not all of you, – my children, – is witnessed every minute of time at some point or other on our globe; – and generally it is accompanied with more of mental and corporeal suffering than fell to the lot of our dear friend. The lives of many have been clouded with more vicissitude, – with greater afflictions and deeper sorrows than your Mother ever experienced. were these cases known to us, much sympathy ought to be felt, and much instruction might be had by comparing the circumstances of others with our own. – But by no effort of the imagination can the grief or suffering of others be made <u>our own</u>. Hence the lesson of morality taught us by the death of a near friend cannot be inculcated with equal force and effect by the death of hundreds whom we know not. Other lessons coming also near home it will probably be your lot sooner or later to receive. –Sooner or later as it pleases Him who gave us life, must that life be yielded up;

* Difficult to know with which of her fours sons other than George this interview was held. Edward and Benjamin Pollard may appear to be the most likely candidates as each had had "frequent absences," Edward because he boarded out and BPW because he had been at Harvard. The latter also was moving in religiously liberal circles. But some remarks previously made by Margaret about Isaac, the eldest brother, make him perhaps the most likely son to have been thus singled out: "being of a reserved temperament, and of a timid undecided will, rather overawed by my Father's energy of character, … he shrank from free filial intercourse both with him and even with our most devotedly attached and indulgent Mother" (above, IV, 108). And see also the letter to Isaac from his mother of April 27, 1824 (above, IV, 115-16) as well as Isaac's reply, in which, speaking of her religious advice, says he likes to "keep those subjects like most others indeed, to myself, thinking, however, frequently upon them" (IV, 117). And see also the letter from Margaret's mother to Isaac of June 21, 1828, whish she says contains "quite a sermon" (above, V, 20-22).

† I.e., the day following her death.

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for He has a right to resume[*] it when and how He sees fit. The hand which writes these lines, the head which dictates them, and the heart which now feels a parent's love for his children, must also cease to write, to think and to feel. He also in the course of Nature must submit to the stroke of "that death which has passed upon all men for that all have sinned."[†] When, as will probably be the case, you follow his remains to the grave, may you be consoled as he now is with the reflection, that, – in the words of your dear Mother,– "God takes us at the best time for our own happiness." And may you feel that your father has no other or better trust than she had, the trust in Him "who taketh pity on them who fear Him,–

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on those who trust in His mercy."[‡] With her I can only say, "I hope I have this trust; I am sure I have no other."

May your consolation then be that, notwithstanding the many many imperfections of both parents, – they humbly rest in the hope of a blessed resurrection through Him who is "the resurrection and the life."[§] "As by man came death, by man also came the resurrection from the dead."[**] That this may be your hope in life and in death is the ardent wish and earnest prayer of — Your affectionate father.["]

On the evening of Feb 13th my cousins Eliza and Margaret Houston arrived from Exeter, and stayed with us till near the following April; – their Father having given his consent in this time of affliction for them to remain with their now only surviving Aunt. Both were much affected on finding that they arrived too late to see my Mother alive; as she had always shewn a strong affection for these children of her favorite sister and early companion. Many others of our family friends, acquaintances and relatives came to offer sympathy or assistance, and quite a large number attended the funeral services, which were written by my Father, and read by my Uncle J P Blanchard on the afternoon of Feb 16th, after private prayer by our Father with our own immediate family in the morning, at the bedside of our beloved sleeper. His Sunday services had also been adapted to the event, and in every way he endeavored so to impress the hearts of those around him, especially of his children, on this touching occasion, as to lead them into the path of Religion which he had early chosen for his own eternal portion. — — — — — — — ——— –-

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Services at the funeral of my Mother
Feb 16th 1830.

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[*] *OED*: "To reassume possession of (something which previously belonged to one but which was given or granted to another)." This sense is now rare.

[†] Romans 5: 12: "Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned."

[‡] Psalm 103: 13: "Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him." Or Psalms: 33: 18: "Behold, the eye of the Lord is upon them that fear him, upon them that hope in his mercy."

[§] John 11: 23.

[**] 1 Corinthians 15: 21: "For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead."

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J.P. Blanchard read 1st the six last verses of the 4th chapter 2nd Epistle to the Thessalonians;* and the 15th Chapter 1st Epistle to the Corinthians,† – after which he read the following Address.

Address.

Every day we are reminded of our own mortality by the death of our friends, our neighbors, or our fellow men. – Society continues to exist; but the individuals of which it is composed, daily disappear from among us, and one after another drop into the silent grave, the house appointed for all living.

When not immediately acquainted with those who thus leave us, our feelings are little excited, and our mental impressions only too easily effaced. But when we ourselves are the sufferers, – when the eye of tenderness and love, the voice of truth and friendship, and the features of kindness and affection have all passed away, how strongly do we then realize the extent of this great evil in our world. The dying, individually, may, by the prostration of disease, or, if able to receive them, by the consolations of religion, be enabled to pass calmly from the world and from all which has interested them in it. But the living, we who mourn over our departed friends, we must and do feel what language can very imperfectly express.

Death severs the closest ties, – dissolves the most intimate of earthly connections. Sooner or later the mourner follows the mourned, and we all return to the dust from which we were taken. Of each of us, as of the friend whose loss we deplore, will it, before long, cease to be affirmed that we are.

It is natural as well as profitable then, on occasions like the present, to pause a little from the busy pursuits of life, and to contemplate the remains of those who, but a short time since, were possessed of life and thought, and sense and affections like

ourselves; – who were associated with our joys and our sorrows, our cares and our anxieties, our hopes and our fears: It is well for us to anticipate the period fast approaching when we also must bow our heads to the universal conqueror, and become subject for a time at least to his all subduing power.

Job 14. 2, 12. Man cometh up like a flower and is cut down. However aged, he is yet of a few days and full of trouble. He fleeth as a shadow and continueth not, and shall not be raised out of his sleep till the heavens are no more.‡

* There is no fourth chapter of 2 Thessalonians. Probably she means the first epistle, in which case the verses cited are those that are the chief source for belief in the "Rapture." 1 Thessalonians 4: 16 is quoted below, V, 134.

† All about the Resurrection and a favorite text for funerals and Easter services.

‡ Job 14: 1-12: "1: Man that is born of a woman is of few days and full of trouble. 2: He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down: he fleeth also as a shadow, and continueth not. …12: So man lieth down, and riseth not: till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake, nor be raised out of their sleep."

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Eccles 9-5-6 9-10 12-7 The dead know not any thing. Their love, their hatred, and their envy have perished; neither have they any more a portion forever in anything that is done under the sun.*

There is no work, nor device, nor knowledge in the grave whither thou goest.†

The dust shall return to the earth as it was, and the spirit (or breath) shall return unto God who gave it.‡

In the Old Testament, the word of divine truth thus confirms our natural impressions of the darkness and coldness and silence of the grave, the last dreary and desolate mansion appointed for all living. The dark and lowering cloud of mortality, blackening and deepening as we advance toward the ocean of Eternity extends its thick shades to the verge of the horizon. We all enter the obscure mist and are seen no more; and the eye of reason in vain attempts to pierce the midnight gloom in which all within is shrouded.

But in the new dispensation to the eye of faith, a bright and celestial gleam of light is visible under the dark canopy.

Thanks be unto God that "now is Christ risen from the dead and become the first fruits of those who sleep."§

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Services.

The triumphant Messiah has left the grave and –

– "As by man came death, – by man also came the resurrection from the dead."**

"As sin reigned unto death, so will grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life by Jesus Christ our Lord,"††

The body "Sown in weakness, shall be raised in power; sown a natural body it will be raised" (not merely a body, or an uncompounded spirit) but) "a spiritual body".‡‡

Through the gloom of death the second coming of Jesus is discerned, and "the times of the restitution of all things spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began."§§

"The sun of righteousness shall arise with healing in his wings."***

* Ecclesiastes 9: 5-6: "For the living know that they shall die: but the dead know not any thing, neither have they any more a reward; for the memory of them is forgotten. Also their love, and their hatred, and their envy, is now perished; neither have they any more a portion for ever in any thing that is done under the sun."

† Ecclesiastes 9: 10: "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest."

‡ Ecclesiastes 12: 7.

§ 1 Corinthians 15: 20.

** Again, 1 Corinthians 15: 21.

†† Romans 5: 21.

‡‡ 1 Corinthians 15: 43-44.

§§ Acts 3: 21.

*** Malachi 4: 2.

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"Jesus the reigning Messiah who is the resurrection and the life shall descend from Heaven with a shout, with the voice of the Archangel and with the trump of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first."*

With this long expected guest, do Christians look for the accomplishment of prophecies yet unfulfilled; for "the new Jerusalem into which nothing entereth that defileth":† for "the new Heavens and the new earth in which dwelleth righteousness;"‡ for that blessed period promised to man, when "the name of God shall be great among all nations, – and incense and a pure offering shall be offered thereunto from the rising to the setting sun."

When "men shall not hurt or destroy in all the holy mountain of the Lord, but the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea;"§ and when

"His Kingdom shall come and his will shall be done on earth as it is in Heaven."**

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Interments of herself and family.

Your Mother†† was buried in the Pollard tomb under Trinity Church, being the first new tenant of the new tombs built there in 1829. The old wooden building having been taken down, all the remains in the old vaults were carefully preserved and removed to the new building. The persons buried there were – your Mother's grandfather – Sheriff of Suffolk Co, and 1st Col of Boston Cadets –

Benjamin Pollard, who died Dec 26th, 1756 – born 1696.
Susanna Winslow (his wife's sister)" Ap 3rd–1786 –born 1731.
Margaret Pollard (his wife) —-"March 25th 1814 – born 1724.
Susan Blanchard (his grandaughter) Aug 17th 1814 – born 1784.
Peggy Savage Blanchard (his daughter)– Dec 5th 1815 – born 1753.
Kitty Pease Houston (his grandaughter) – Sept 26th 1815 – born 1780.
and her infant son
Joshua Blanchard (his son in law) Ap 26th, 1826 – born 1751.
Margaret Winslow (your mother) – Feb 13th 1830 – born 1777.

Afterward by request of his daughters, the remains (removed from Exeter NH) of John Houston (husband of Kitty or Catharine Pease Blanchard)– and Charlotte Thomas Houston (his 4th wife) who died in Boston, 18th May, 1849.

Also two premature children of Benjamin P and Mary Quincy Winslow.

P.S.‡‡ All these, except some indistinguishable remains of the two first and the two last, were removed to Isaac Winslow's lot 576, Forest Hills Cemetery, April 24th 1872 – and Nov

* 1 Thessalonians 4: 16.

† Revelations 21: 27: "And there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth."

‡ 2 Peter 3 13: "Nevertheless we, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness."

§ Isaiah 11: 9.

** Matthew 6: 10 (the second line of the Lord's Prayer).

†† It appears that this document was written by Isaac, but it is not clear if it was appended to his "Recollections of a Mother" or was prepared separately. I would guess the latter and that Margaret deemed it appropriate to be inserted here.

‡‡ Evidently written by Margaret (because after her father's death).

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10th & 11th of the same year the solid granite structure under which they had lain so long, was utterly destroyed in the great Boston fire.*
My Uncle Joshua Pollard Blanchard lies near his 2nd wife Mary Cotton, in lot 613 Forest Hills.

The remains of Mr Houston and Charlotte his 4th wife are in the right hand corner of my brother Edward Winslow lot 577 – where also those of my Uncle Benjamin Winslow were interred in 1863.

My Mother's remains were laid at my father's left hand, a little in advance, at the foot to the large Oak tree: – those of the others at the left hand of Henrietta Winslow his second wife, except the small box containing the remains of Catharine Houston and infant, which is in front of the stone bearing their initials.

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On a departed wife. From an Elegy in "Christian Songs"†
partly altered by IW.

"Hushed in the grave, – life's busy dream
Disturbs no more thy breast, –
Nor empty joys which, substance seem,
Conspire to thwart thy rest.

Nor sin nor anxious cares invade
That land of long repose,
Where mortals rest in death's calm shade,
Released from human woes.

We hope that heavenly life once more
Shall warm this mouldering clay; –-x (note)
New light to these closed eyes restore, –
The light of endless day.

Hail glorious day of lasting rest!
Fraught with unfading joy, –
When heaven and earth, renewed and blest,
Yield bliss without alloy.

O bright millenial morn, arise!
To thee, – to us, –- — to those
Who, expecting Jesus from the skies, –
In this blest hope repose.["]

* Above, V, 103.

† 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), 138-39. This elegy is the one Margaret has identified as her father's favorite, above, IV, 6. Isaac's revisions (including omitted stanzas and brand new ones) are so extensive as to constitute a complete rewriting.

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note X Although we cannot suppose that the body which decays and is resolved into its original elements will ever be restored, there is every reason, both from Natural analogy and Divine revelation, to believe that a germ from it will, sooner or later, expand into the spiritual body.*

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"Thou sowest not that body which shall be: But God giveth to every seed its own body." 1 Cor 15th Chap.†

"O fool‡ to judge that He who from the earth
Created man, – cannot his form restore.
The scattered elements from every shore
Call back and clothe with a celestial birth.
See from its sheath the buried seed break forth; –
Blade, – stalk, – leaf, – bud, – and now the perfect flower,
Changing and yet the same, – and of His power
A token each; –- –- and art thou counted worth
Less than the meanest herb? —— Changed from the dust,
And little lower than the angels made. –
More changed by sin, – to death itself betrayed,
Yet heir of Heaven by an immortal trust, –
Doubter unwise in reason's narrow school, –
Well might the great Apostle say – "Thou fool." ["]

Note on the future life as revealed by Nature

Yet reason is not opposed to Revelation upon this or any other subject; – and if any doubter of the latter, ever in his or her hour of tribulation, longs for a hope which is there, as Christians think, revealed by The Divine word, let such consider from what we came into existence: – and who would ever have dared to conjecture the development of such a being as man, especially in his highest grade of bodily and intellectual power, from a globule? Not to speak of the far less wonderful developments of the Animal, Vegetable, and even Mineral creation, the last of which would be a startling and incredible miracle to us, if our own eyes did not continually attest the result; – though the process is equally hidden with that of the future germination, from, perhaps, a minute globule, gathered and preserved by invisible hands, when the outward seed decays. How soon this process takes place after death, probably depends upon conditions; as does the germination, development, or change of every substance and every mental quality with which we are acquainted.

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* It is difficult to know whether this is Isaac's note or Margaret's as it carries on the intense interest in the question of "the spiritual body" that both have manifested. (Above, IV, 129-31). But I believe it is Margaret's.

† This is whole page appears to be a continuation of the note on the preceding page. The quotation is 1 Corinthians 15: 37-38: "And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other grain. But God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him, and to every seed his own body."

‡ This sonnet, inspired by 1 Corinthians: 20, is by George Lunt (1803-85). See his *Poems* (Boston: Cupples, Uppham and Co., 1884), 261. I have found it anthologized as early as 1851, sometimes under the title "Resurrection."

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Lines by Edward Winslow, partly altered by his father:
In memory of a Mother's request to a daughter not to forget her.
Feb 13th 1830.

1

"Forget thee mother? – No! that spell
Of grief forbade, when thou wast not.
Remember what thou saidst? – full well:—
Ne'er be that last request forgot!
O that thy voice, thy gentle call,
Deep sunk in filial hearts may be!
And treasured there by each, – may all
Remember thee.

2

Yes! every heart will still renew
And keep the treasures of the past; –
That kind, that mother's love review,
Which even lingered to the last.
That last fond look! and ever still,
Those last kind words so worthy thee! -
While life remains, we surely will
Remember thee.

3

At the calm hour of rest, when night
Her sable curtain draws o'er all,
Our happiest dreams till morning light,
Will be of thee, –- will thee recall: –
Thee shall we meet in woodland bowers,
Or, walking by some tranquil sea,
We shall through all the silent hours,
Remember thee.

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4

'Tis Spring; – fast fly the rolling years; –
Winter retreats, - his reign is past: –
Spring, emblematic Spring appears,
Like that, to gladden Man at last.
Again the flowers she loved will spring, -
Again be robed each shrub and tree; –
And nature's voice will ever bring
Our thoughts to thee.

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5

'Tis summer; – Twilight over all
Has spread the mellow hues of even,
And soothing sounds our thoughts recall
From earth to thee, from thee to heaven.
When all is hushed below, above, –
When eve's fair star is shining free, –
In that calm hour, with peaceful love
We think on thee.

6

'Tis autumn now, – and every dell
That summer decked is cold and drear:
The wild winds sweep, and sadly knell
The requiem of the dying year:
All nature feels its withering power; –
The fallen leaf from every tree, –
The gathered fruit, the faded flower,
Resemble thee.

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7

"Tis winter; – yet his dreary reign,
Cold pallid face, and deathlike sway,
But a brief time their power maintain; –
They fly as comes the length'ning day.
So pass the shadows of the grave, –
Before the morning light they flee;
May He who has all power to save,
Remember thee.

8

And when <u>our</u> race of life is run, –
The last look cast on all below, –
On all we love, – earth, air, and sun, –
When ebbing life shall faintly flow, –
With the last pulses of the heart,
In its last throbbings, – then shall we
In hope to meet and never part, –
Remember thee."

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Letters on occasion of my Mother's death,
to and from my Father.

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From Mr Samuel Sparhawk, then quite ill at Portsmouth, NH

Portsmouth Feb 21st. 1830.

"My Dear Sir,

Although incapable of much exertion either bodily or mental, I cannot forbear expressing the sympathy we feel for you on the present melancholy occasion. The sorrowful event, though we knew your dear wife had been for some time in a weak state, was wholly unexpected to us. I have often thought that the separation of a married pair by the death of either of the parties, – where any thing like the affection and harmony exists which ought to, – is one of the severest trials which human nature is called to endure; indeed it has often proved more than it <u>can</u> endure; yet it is what most of us must, sooner or later, experience

I hope, my dear friend, you will be supported and comforted by the gracious hand of Him who makes all things work together for good to them that love Him, and who can administer comfort under the sorest trials and calamities that can happen to us.."

This was the language of an experienced Christian, who had, through many trials and sufferings, himself sought and found the consolations here pointed out. But singularly enough, two professed unbelievers in Christianity wrote my Father in nearly the same strain, shewing, I think, that <u>all</u> men have, by the very constitution of their nature, to resort in times of trouble to the same source, however they may affect to despise it –- One of these persons was Consul Jarvis of Weathersfield Vermont; the other was Mr Erving who wrote from Philadelphia a remarkable letter expressing much esteem for my Mother, and bringing forward the very hopes and consolations of that religion which he could not embrace, as "a compensation."*

to my Father in his bereavement. The latter says in his reply "Dear Sir, – I acknowledge with much satisfaction your kind and friendly letter of Feb 25th. The sympathy which you express in the affliction I have been called to partake of is very grateful, because I know it is sincere; and though it is unreasonable because unnatural to expect our friends to feel on such occasions as we do who stand so near to our departed friends, it is neither unreasonable nor unnatural to feel a confidence that out friends sympathize with us in those events of life beyond the control of human power, – in which the little we can do is to participate in and thus alleviate that sorrow of which time generally, but in many cases <u>Hope</u> presents the only effectual alleviation.

There is a good deal in your doctrine of "compensation." In my own case, as regards the blessings of life only, – the compensation has been so immeasurably above the services rendered or the obedience performed, that not a murmur against the dispensation of Divine Providence ought to exist, if not only the blessing of a true friend is withdrawn, but also the other blessings of many remaining friends, – health, – competence, -peace, – a sound mind! — — Are not these, <u>gifts</u> rather than "compensation?" – gifts calculated to call forth the best feeling of our nature, <u>gratitude</u>; – and will not <u>gratitude to that Being</u> who throws far and wide his blessings, not to a few only, but to all mankind, – lead us to hope for

* Without the letter we cannot be sure, but it seems likely that Erving had used the word in the sense of a *moral or spiritual reward or feeling or sense thereof*, whereas in the letter that follows Isaac uses it in the sense of *payment for value received or service rendered*, which is rhetorically effective if somewhat perverse.

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circumstances where that feeling will have a more ample scope in which to expatiate. If placed in these circumstances, is it "compensation"? In the language of, I think, Dr Franklin, "Can we expect to be rewarded by a rich Prince or Nobleman, with a magnificent palace and estate, because we have given

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to one of his children, a cup of cold water?"

For myself, I prefer the opinion of my late wife, – "trusting to the goodness of the Donor, – not at all to the merit of the recipient". – We love those who are dependent on us, more than those on whom we depend. Hence, as I take it, the love of Parents to their children is greater than vice versa; – and though both you and I were tenderly attached to our respective fathers, – I apprehend that their love to us was greater than ours to them.

Hence I reason, that if God dispenses so many blessings to man in this state, – not necessaries merely, – but every thing to gratify the senses and enlarge the mental faculties, – and that from a mere regard to the happiness of man here, — this goodness will certainly induce Him to enlarge the sphere of human happiness hereafter, by an enlargement of the capacity of enjoyment, whether mental or corporeal.

Yet it does seem as if, – at least in many cases, your theory of compensation is founded in truth, and I suspect it is only in reference to the state of things visible, that you mean to apply it. For, according to your doctrine, "we know nothing of what is to be". But we who believe that the Maker of the world has been at least as thoughtful as were Lycurgus* and other Legislators in leaving some directions for the benefit of after generations, also believe on this ground that "Invisibilia non decipiunt."† By things seen, we judge the things unseen, and think that we shall not be deceived therein,

I am, dear Sir,
Yours very truly & faithfully
Isaac Winslow"

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There are interesting letters on the death of my Mother from Miss Harriet Sparhawk, from Mrs McKeige, Mrs Alsop of Middletown Conn. Mrs Helen Ostrander, late Pierce, – Mrs Ochiltree Florida, Miss King of N Carolina Judge Potter of Portland, David Lewis of Philadelphia an eminent Quaker merchant, and Thomas Masters of the firm of Masters, Marcoe & co, N York. The latter was father to the young lady with whom my brother Isaac

* The very ancient and quite possibly merely legendary legislator of Sparta, who was responsible for the austere and militaristic reforms embodied by the term "Spartan." Legend has it that, having created his laws, he decided to visit the oracle at Delphi to make a sacrifice and consult the Oracle. But on the eve of his departure he gathered an assembly and demanded that all the citizens and nobles swear to uphold the laws he had given them until his return. He made his trip, was told by the Oracle that his laws were exemplary, and was never heard from again, leading to the natural supposition that his disappearance was intentional and had as its goal to force the Spartans to obey his laws for all time.

† *The things unseen do not deceive us* (with the implication that things *seen* often *do*). Edward Young (the author of "Night Thoughts," a favorite poem of Isaac's, had painted in his garden against a wall a depiction of an alcove with a bench in it. So skilful was the representation that only upon approaching it very nearly would a visitor realize the deception and be able to read this motto, also painted upon the wall.

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was so much pleased during his first visit to NY – and was a very upright Merchant and truly Christian man. His letter contains these words, –

"The breach made in the domestic happiness of an endeared family circle by the death of a wife and mother, is indeed most afflicting. In this world I conceive there is nothing to which we can turn for consolation. We are compelled to realise that here we have no continuing city, and exhorted to seek one to come;* – even an heavenly where friends meet to part no more.

The consolations of religion alone in such circumstances support the soul from sinking. These I trust you have found to sustain you, and that you have by divine grace been enabled to say "The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away. Blessed be the name of the Lord."† x x x x x x x x x x x x x

"In the view of the glorious and happy change which a prepared soul makes from time to Eternity, – there is no room left for overmuch sorrow. It imparts its own consolations, and permits us only to weep over the desolations of those who remain, and are still exposed to the trials and cares of this life."

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Miss Harriet Sparhawk writes thus from Portsmouth NH

Feb 17th 1830

Dear Sir,

You and your family are in affliction. Such an event as this, teaches us how little it is in our power to give or receive consolation. – It is grateful to some to speak much and often of their departed friends. – To others it brings such a flood of grief that they avoid mentioning them. For my own part I think that in time every event in which they were concerned or bore a part becomes endeared to us, and there is a melancholy pleasure in retracing every action. I have <u>many</u> kindnesses of Mrs Winslows to remember and shall always cherish her memory with gratitude. I know how much all her family must be affected, for I know how much she loved them.

The extract you made from Mrs W's diary must be consoling to her friends. I do not doubt, as I have said before, that Mrs Winslow thought a great deal of a future state; and as you very justly observe "Religion of the heart is of infinitely greater importance than the religion of the lips."

My Uncle Edward (father of Admiral John A Winslow) writes from Charleston SC as follows – Speaking of the letter from my brother George which announced my Mother's death, he says,

"While I accord most fully and respond to his estimate of the virtues of his Mother, it is to me a melancholy source of satisfaction, retracing an intercourse with her of thirty years, to reflect that not a trace of coolness has ever existed between us, but on the contrary, there are a thousand little incidents and instances of uniform kindness evinced on the part of the lamented deceased during my early life, indicating an affectionate and sisterly solicitude for my future welfare, the recollection of which cannot be obliterated.

* Hebrews 13: 14: "For here have we no continuing city, but we seek one to come."

† Job 1: 21.

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And since I became settled and have taken upon me the cares and duties of life, the same consistent course has ever marked her conduct towards me and mine from the moment when Mrs E W's family first visited the North till my son Edward left Boston in the fall of last year. – At a period too, of much personal trial of feeling, when I removed my two eldest to the North, her maternal care of them when they were in want of absolute necessaries, I cannot forget; since which time my children have been almost forced through the influence of her Motherly care, to lose the remembrance of their other home in the realization of all that makes Home valuable, in your Hospitable dwelling." Believe me ever

"Your affectionate brother

Edward Winslow."

From Joshua Winslow (father of Commander Francis Winslow,* USN, who died of yellow fever off Key West, Florida, during the war of the Rebellion, 1863.)

S^{t}Croix, March 25^{u} 1830

Your letter, my dear Brother, – with Isaac's of Feb 20th were not unexpected announcements of the decease of your lamented wife. Your previous letter of the 10th had prepared me for them, and I first learned the sad reality in "the Albion" of Feb 20th. I had supposed that she had outlived the tendency to lung complaints; but such is the trying nature of our native climate, that if these are once seated, nothing but change of air can be of service. I can easily conceive of the suffering from having felt the same symptoms myself. Nothing, perhaps, is more difficult to bear than want of sleep, When deprived of it long, the restlessness and anxiety which

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supervene, make the suffering almost intolerable. But there is a termination to all earthly sufferings, and it must be a great consolation to you that her departure was so tranquil and easy, as also that the state of her mind with regard to the future, was so satisfactory. This must be of great service to all her children with whom I sincerely sympathize in the severe loss they have experienced. I hope and trust you all will find consolation in the true source. I think as we advance in life, our attachments become stronger to the few with whom we are connected by the strongest ties, and that we feel much more the rupture of these, than of briefer connections in our early days. Habit strengthens our attachments – We become necessary to each other, and a great void is left by separation, which time only can fill. It is, however, a great consolation if we can feel that we have not been neglectful of our duties to those who have departed; but that we have contributed so far as weak human nature will allow, to their welfare comfort and happiness, while united to them in this world.

I little thought when I left home, that so many melancholy changes would occur before my return." (note Return, he never did.) "Indeed my own state of health was at that time so precarious, that I might well have expected to be called hence first of all. But

* Still "little Frank" in 1830, when he was only eleven or twelve years old. He died in fact in 1862.

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through the mercy of Providence I have been preserved, while many are deceased who were apparently well when I arrived here.

I always liked the unaffected frankness of character of your late wife; which when joined to the Christian humility that, as you observe, appears in the papers she has left, must be a source of consolation to you all. I am with best wishes for you all

Your affectionate brother Joshua Winslow.

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The last letter from which I shall make extracts is from my Uncle John D Winslow residing in New York, to my brother George in Boston, Feb 26, 1830.

"My dear Nephew,

The event which your letter announced, was not altogether unexpected. On your poor Mother's last visit to N York her appearance, – during my long absence from her, had undergone such an alteration that it required some effort of self command to avoid shewing my surprise. To you and the rest of the family who were in daily intercourse with her, the inroads of disease were probably less apparent. I know, as in the case of my own Mother, we become accustomed to the debilitated state of a near connection, and the alteration in looks is so gradual as to become almost insensible to us. In this manner the blow, as you say, always falls with severity.

What is the peculiarity, my dear George, which impedes us from realizing this ultimate consummation of our being in respect to ourselves, and even to friends who seem to hold their lives by the frailest tenure? This event always at hand, and inevitable in the sequel? – We shall go to the dead; - they will not return to us. Sometimes when I sit down and reflect upon these <u>realities</u>, – upon my own preocupation, and upon that of mankind in general, <u>old</u> as well as young; – when I call to mind the pursuits, passions, and frivolities which so exclusively engross us; – the avarice, ambition and pleasure seeking of such an evanescent existence, -- in sober truth it seems as if we were all stark, staring <u>mad</u>."

["]Such an event as the death of a parent, and that a <u>Mother</u>, – judging from my own experience, will probably be an

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epoch in the lives of you all. It is commonly one of the first calls of young people to that feeling of isolation of which they have so many reiterated experiences in their future career through the world. The wound, although it admits many lenitives,* and though its severity will, surely be assuaged by time, yet leaves a great void which, however we may reconcile ourselves to it, – we almost daily realize.

With my kind regards to Aunt Henrietta, and affectionate remembrances to all the rest, I am, my dear nephew, – with much sympathy in your affliction, – Your Uncle

J. D. Winslow.

* *Webster's 3rd Unabridged*: "a means of mitigation or alleviation."

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Closing Chapter.
Concluding remarks.

I have now carried down the "Family History" begun by my dear Father, – for a period of near thirty years, viz[t] from his marriage to my Mother in 1801, to the time of her death in 1830. During this interval, the young family of which she had taken charge at her entrance into the home of my Father's lately deceased Mother in Hawkins S[t], had grown into life, gone abroad, settled, married, and become the parents of adult children all of whom, as is shewn in my Uncle E Ws letter from Charleston, S.C, – continued to make her home their constant resort like their Parents before them. In the midst of these, her own children had now come forward into life; but although many little romances and some serious attachments had occurred in this circle of young people about her, none of them had as yet assumed an independent position, or taken upon themselves the serious duties of life.

But the next ten years of our Boston life from 1830 to 1840, brought with them momentous events in our generation: events common indeed, to every generation; but of which the form and complexion influenced not only our whole lives, but those of the descendants for whom, if they ever stop to cast an eye upon these pages our Family History is written. And let them remember that our History and theirs are <u>one</u>. Whatever they are in character or circumstances, they have been at least <u>partly</u> made, by the characters and circumstances of their Ancestors; And as these are not "past and done with," but present now <u>with God</u>, in whom is our only true life, – and as all will be reproduced hereafter, to explain and justify His dealings with us, and with all connected with us now or hereafter, it is plain that even setting aside family regard, we <u>ought</u> to value these memorials as part of God's great revelation of Himself to man.

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Family marriages from 1830 to 1840.
My Uncle Benjamin and cousin Eliza Houston.

If my life is spared and health suffices, I may supplement at some future time the foregoing pages, with a more particular account of the incidents to which I refer. But lest the opportunity should not be granted me, I will here state that several weddings occurred in the family within a few years after my Mother's death.

The first was that of my Uncle Benjamin Winslow to my cousin Eliza Houston. He had seen a great deal of her during the six weeks of her stay at our house after the funeral, and in the summer of 1830 he followed her to Exeter, and urged his suit very perseveringly until, notwithstanding the disapproval of all her friends and the bitter opposition of her father, she consented to marry him. He was a handsome man, young both in appearance and character, although really twenty years her senior, and with daughters grown up and entering into society, who required all his means and attention. They were married in Portsmouth NH, Feb 8[th] 1831, in presence of my Aunt Pickering, my brother Edward, Arthur Pickering and my cousins Benjamin D Amory and Catharine Winslow, all of whom returned with the bride and bridegroom to Boston. The latter took his bride to board in Colonade Row,[*] where he and his two elder daughters already were residing, and disliking

[*] Colonnade Row was designed by Bullfinch and built 1811-12 on Tremont St. running from the south corner of West Street to the opening of Mason Street.

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Exeter as she did it was pleasant to be near Aunt Henrietta and all her friends in Boston, though not pleasant to be separated from her sisters, and under her father's displeasure. However, she was a great deal at our house, and the girls also. Catharine was very pretty and lively and her younger sister Lucretia after she left boarding school was also much admired – Their brother Benjamin was at that time very amusing, and all made my Uncle's rooms a pleasant visiting place, after our Friday evening parties had ceased with the life of her, who gave life to them. Very different was our home after her departure, at least to me during that first year of bereavement.*

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My Father to Aunt Henrietta Blanchard.

Yet gradually, as my Father had said, the duties and pleasures of life again seemed to absorb those who had mourned for a time, no doubt sincerely, but transiently. My brothers went abroad into the world of travel and of business, and soon began to interest themselves in other than home connections. And even at the very hearthstone, new ties were forming. very dear and blessed to me afterward, but which seemed, when first made known to me, almost to banish, as it were, the loved image which still lingered there, to my longing fancy.

In the spring of 1831, my Father first mentioned to me his contemplated marriage to my Aunt Henrietta Blanchard who had, at his earnest request, assumed the headship of his household after my Mother's death. How faithfully and self-denyingly she performed this office, at the sacrifice of time, and health, and intellectual tastes, and favorite religious associations,† may be seen in the Manuscript written by me soon after her decease in 1858, – entitled "Recollections of a second Mother," which I purpose to append to these volumes.‡

The marriage took place at our house in Leverett S^{t} on the 16th of June 1831; Dr Gannett, colleague of Dr Channing, of whose church Aunt Henrietta had long been a member, performed the ceremony, and all the family connections were present. Every one seemed to think the marriage a natural transition from the position held by the parties toward each other, and they themselves, besides a high esteem and sincere attachment, were influenced to the step, I know, by their habitual regard to what they conceived to be the welfare of all around them, and, so far as they could perceive after earnest seeking, the apparent will of God. To all around them, especially to me, the event, as I have said, proved a blessing. – I trust it will be so to them hereafter.

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My brother Isaac to Miss Abby Barrell.

The third wedding in the family was that of my brother Isaac, who after establishing himself in business at New York became intimate in the family of Mr Theodore Barrell, a family who formerly lived in Boston, and before the revolution were connected with the

* After "departure," the script is in pencil, later inked over (in a different color ink and new quill), but under "bereavement" (in ink) had been written "motherless existence" in pencil.

† She has often been mentioned as going to listen to Dr. Channing, and as early as 1824 was identified in the family as a "Channig-ite"—i.e., a Unitarian (above, IV, 114).

‡ But evidently never did.

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Sandemanian society there. An Uncle of Mr Theodore Barrell owned the fine estate where now stands the Mclean Asylum* at Somerville as I think my Father mentions in his Pre-Revolutionary reminiscences Mr Barrell was well connected and had at one time been wealthy, but was at this time living in the village of Saugerties about † miles up the Hudson river, on a reduced income, with his wife and three daughters, the eldest having married an Italian gentleman, Mr Massa, by whom she had two children, all making a part of Mr Barrell's household.‡ Mrs Barrell was from Barbados, and her sister Mrs Benjamin, afterward Mrs Judge Landman, was the Mother of Mrs Lathrop Motley.§ At the marriage of my brother Isaac to Abigail Elizabeth, second daughter of Theodore Barrell, which took place at Saugerties Nov 3rd, 1832, this young lady, afterward the distinguished wife of the Historian of "the Dutch Republic,"** and US minister to England, was one of the bridesmaids, and returned under the care of my brother Edward to Norwich Conn where her mother then resided. I was also present at this wedding in the little Episcopal Church of S, and came down the Hudson with all the wedding party to N York, where we staid for a few days, and then left the bride & groom to the company of her sister and our brother T S W, who had established himself in N York with my brother Isaac, under the firm I & TS Winslow, Commission Merchants. They all went to a private boarding house for the winter, and the bride did not come to Boston till the ensuing summer, so that none of the family became acquainted personally with her, except my brother Edward and myself. She appeared quite an invalid, even at the time of her marriage, and has been so ever since.††

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Children of my brother Isaac Winslow and
Abigail Elizabeth Barrell

From the marriage last recorded, sprang nearly all the family descendants now living in New York, or who have been born in that vicinity– viz[t]

Margaret Elizabeth Winslow born Oct 18th, 1833.
Isaac Stayner born May 29, 1836, married Kate Everson Sept 10th 1862.
Children
Isaac Everson, born Nov 8th —— 1865.
son Stayner Barrell born June 3rd 1872 — died Aug 12th 1872.
George Blanchard born Aug 11, 1843. married Maggie Chapin Ap 3rd 1865
Children
(Albert Stayner born Feb 25th 1866
(George b Jan 17th 1868 _____died Aug 11th 1869

* Mentioned above, IV, 91, as where Uncle Joshua Blanchard's wife Timmins was hospitalized for a time, but not by Margaret's father.

† A small blank here evidently meant later to be filled in. Saugerties is about 90 miles north of the city as the crow flies.

‡ Recall that we have been told about Isaac's visit in July of 1828 to the Barrells in Saugerties and that he "was quite smitten with some of the young ladies there" (above, V, 12).

§ Mary Benjamin, who in 1837 married John Lothrop Motley (1814–1877), historian and diplomat.

** *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, 3 vols. (New York: Harper & Bros., 1855).

†† But appearances evidently were deceiving; she did not die until 1890.

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(Thomas Lathrop Mar 27th 1870 _____died June 27th 1872
(son Reuben Moffatt, Aug 11th 1872
Theodore Barrell, born Mar 9th 1848 died Dec 28th 1851.
Interred in Greenwood Cemetery LI – as are all the above children deceased.
Florence Ellora, born Oct 2nd 1852.

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Marriage of my Brother
Benjamin Pollard Winslow, to
Mary, Timmins Quincy Hill.

My brother B P W's acquaintance with Quincy Hill commenced, as has been recorded, before the death of my Mother, – and was facilitated by various meetings arranged by their mutual cousin Amory Winslow at her Father's rooms and elsewhere, until it culminated in an engagement about the winter of 1830-31. BPW however, having relucted* from the profession for which my Father had sent him to college,† was not in a situation to marry. And Quincy Hill, having been kept out of her share of her paternal grandfather's property and neither her Mother or the Miss Callahans being able to make it good to her, was equally situated in respect to worldly affairs. "Love, Hope, and Beauty,"‡ therefore, constituted the only possessions, and indeed prospects of the devoted lovers, who nevertheless contrived to subsist upon these for two rapt years of daily intercourse, (with the unimportant addition of certain grosser aliments imbibed at the separate houses of the otherwise ethereal pair.) "Love, Hope, and Beauty" however, being, at the end of these two years, discovered to be too airy a nourishment for permanent use, it was thought desirable to supplement these by three less romantic but more enduring possessions, entitled by the vulgar, "food and raiment, and pretty good clothes."§ So, by the kind permission of the ruling powers at 13 Leverett St, these six deities of youthful worship were combined unto one, and the shrine of domestic happiness was created in the best spare chamber of our old mansion, on the 27th of December, 1832.

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* *Webster's 3rd Unabridged*: "to make a determined resistance."

† He was intended to become a physician (above, IV, 43.)

‡ Perhaps a reference to the poem of this name by Letitia Elizabeth Landon (1802–1838). There is also a well-known and much reproduced (even in the nineteenth century) allegorical 1627 painting by Simon Vouet depicting "Father Time Overcome by Love, Hope, and Beauty" that might have been in Margaret's mind.

§ 1 Timothy 6: 8: "And having food and raiment let us be therewith content." Margaret is no doubt referring also to a joke she assumes her readers will be familiar with, though I can find her quotation turning up only much later in *"Salvation": A New Evangelical Monthly*, III, (1901) in an article exploring possible revisions to the King James version, where the writer, taking up the case of the word *raiment*, says that "Revision yields nothing, unless garments be a clearer term than raiment, for the common people: an amendment by the Revisers that might have been suggested by the humble profession reported of a certain woman, that all she wanted in this world was "food and raiment, and (pretty good) clothes." (266)

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The wedding took place in Trinity Church between 10 and 11 AM and the ceremony was performed by Mr Croswell, Rector of Christ Church.* It was attended by the immediate relations only, as the parties wished it to be quite private. The bride was dressed in a brown silk travelling suit and bonnet, as the pair were to leave in the 12 o'clock stage for Providence, thence to proceed next day to Norwich Conn, where Mr & Mrs John Callahan and daughter were expecting to receive them. My brother Edward, then boarding at Miss Betsy Lecain's stood up as Groomsman and I as bridesmaid: Uncle Blanchard the bride's stepfather gave her away, and the event is recorded in his Diary as follows. –

"1832. Dec 27th Benjamin P Winslow married to Mary, Timmins, Quincy, Hill, daughter of my wife L.C.T Blanchard, at Trinity Church at 10¼ oclock AM by Rev Dr Croswell; I gave her away."†

The young couple returned from Norwich about the 10th of January and took up their residence at my Father's house in Leverett St Boston, where the bride received her callers, and where her Aunts constantly visited her though quite a distance from their house in Washington near Beach St. At the present date 1873 – one only of those ladies survives, one only of <u>all the elder generation</u> who witnessed that marriage, and many then young, have already followed or preceded them to the house appointed for all living. Even the generation following theirs, Love Hope and Beauty of a younger race, then unborn and unthought of, have contributed their quota to the great procession ever marching from the cradle to the Altar, from the Altar to the Grave.—And even the very Altar itself, and the graves beneath it to which we followed the bridal and the funeral trains are now mingled in ashes.

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(**note.** By the great fire of Nov 9th & 10th, 1872, the whole of Trinity Church, except the massive Tower and West wing, was laid in ruins. The remains of my Mother and her family had, on the previous spring, been removed to Forest Hills, so that she may be said to have occupied it <u>during its whole existence</u>, its first tenant and one of its last.)‡

Thus the wheels of active life, its pursuits, interests, and enjoyments began once more to revolve around our hearth stone. <u>Our</u> "Love and Beauty," I am bound to say, made themselves very pleasant inmates in our old Homestead, and in due time a very youthful Hope§ was introduced who still further enlivened it. After two disappointments,** <u>another Hope</u> appeared, just on the verge of our declining life in Leverett St whereof I must

* William Croswell (1804-51), rector of Christ Church 1829-40.

† The bride, as has been noted, was descended from Capt. John Callahan. She was also the descendant of the first Quincy to come to America (hence cousin to all the New England Quincys, the Sewalls, and Adamses), including Col. and Judge Edmund Quincy (1681-1737), Solicitor General of Massachusetts Samuel Quincy (1735-89), as well as Maj. Daniel Gookin (1612-87), who along with the Rev. John Eliot championed the "Praying Indians" during King Philip's War, which he also chronicled in an important history of the War, though not published until 1836.

‡ Above, V, 135.

§ William Henry Winslow (1834-1909).

** The two premature children mentioned above (V, 135) buried in Trinity Church, but not removed to the family plot at Forest Hills.

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postpone the particulars to another volume if such should ever be permitted me.* Meanwhile a fifth, sixth, and seventh marriage occurred, in which that Homestead had a part, besides innumerable loves and flirtations which will never be recorded on earth. Cousin Margaret Houston came there in the summer of 1833 to prepare for her marriage to Mr Alfred Haven of Portsmouth, NH, which took place that year at her father's house in Exeter. – My cousin Catharine was married thence† Oct 18, 1837: her sister Amory being also with us after the failure of her father; and there came in the summer of 1839, June 10 the bride of my brother Thomas S Winslow on their wedding trip from N York.**X** Several births occurred in the family between 1833 and 40: – many business disasters among our own friends and throughout the whole community. Political agitations began to shake the country, between slavery propagandists and Anti Slavery Reformers. In short, these ten years were crowded with events and interests far too numerous to be recorded in the small space which remains for the present volume.

[written sideways bottom to top at left margin]
X my cousin Benjamin D Winslow also married 1838 to Augusta Barnes
in Burlington N Jersey – He died Nov 1839 – leaving one son.

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The descendants of the marriages here mentioned are as follows,

Children of Benjamin Pollard Winslow, and M T Quincy Hill.

William Henry Winslow born April 8th 1834
married Oct 26th 1862 to Elizabeth Kempton
Their children
Kenelm born Aug 10th 1863.
Willard " Ap 1865
Marion Quincy Oct 1868
Florian Thouron Mar 1872
called Harry

Erving Winslow born Nov 19th - 1839 married to Miss Kate Farran 1861
Son Erving Quincy, born March 1863. – died Aug 14, 1863.

Thomas S Winslow married to Miss Maria Eaton June 10th 1839
Daughter Olivia born May 29 – 1840
married Jan 12th 1871 to Mr George H Gould.

TSW married (second wife) Adelia E Conant May 27th 1842
Daughter Adelia Isabel, born Nov 4, 1853.

* The new "Hope" was Erving Winslow (1839-1922). But no new volume was written, even though Margaret would live for almost another two decades.

† I.e., from Leverett St.

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Catharine Amelia Winslow married to John Ancrum Winslow
Oct 18. 1837.
Son Ancrum born 1838
Chilton Rhett born July 1840 died Aug 7 – 1872 –
Randolph –- born died
Fanny Amory born died
Mary Callahan born
Herbert born
Randolph married to Kate Eveleth
son Eveleth born

Margaret Houston married to Alfred W Haven
1833

Daughter Catharine Margaret, born Sept 5th 1834
Son Alfred Houston ”
Daughter Eleanor Balfour ”
” Elizabeth Winslow July 16 1840 died 1866
John Houston ”*

Benjamin Davis Winslow married to Augusta Barnes
1838
died 1839
Son George Doane born 1839

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Reminiscences of Life in Leverett St from 1830 to 1840

It was during these ten years that we had the tableaux and the fancy dances, the theatre, concert, and Home parties in winter, – (strangers still coming and going) the rides and lionizings,† the journeys and excursion in summer, of which our, successors have heard such glowing accounts, as to have drawn forth many wishes that they had been of our generation.‡ It is true, our regular Friday evening receptions had not been renewed and in general, our

* The ditto sign here meant to stand for “born,” not the date on the line preceding, which was evidently inked in later.

† Probably meaning parties at which there was a guest of honor who was treated as a celebrity or perhaps meaning parties in honor of a celebrity.

‡ Since Margaret is now (in 1873) recounting the events of an evidently happy period thirty to forty years before, it must be the case that her nephews and nieces and cousins have already heard many stories from that time.

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domestic life was more quiet than during my Mother's life time, its chief entertainment being to assemble in the afternoons and evenings for reading aloud. Yet whenever any of the absentees returned for a time to our circle, or when strangers were to be especially noticed, – the round of family sociables began anew, both at our own house, and often at the rooms of my Uncle Benjamin and my Aunt Pickering, although both were at board. My cousin Frank Winslow then in the Navy, came home from an Ocean cruise, with John A W, also in the Navy and the Pickerings from the Western prairies to mingle in the family life and to extend the family acquaintance. My Uncle Benj[n] and his daughters, my Aunt Pickering and her sons each brought friends, strangers, or fellow boarders to introduce into the family meetings, some of whom, as Mr Hach, an estimable young German, and others, became habitues of our hearth stone. Music, whist, round games, chess, conversation, dancing, varied the usual quiet of our domestic reading parties, and of the solitary or united studies carried on in "the back parlor" by my Father, and sometimes by Father and daughter, before the nine o'clock supper partaken with hungry relish by all the family except "Aunt H," as we continued to call her. The twilight hour by the parlor fireside, or in my Father's chamber during his long confinements with Gout, – was devoted to the entertainment of young master Harry;[*] and his broken words "now, Danpa, pease to inspain"-, will perhaps some day recur to his recollection, with a tender thought of those early days, and a desire to transmit their influences to his children, and perhaps his children's children, even to the third and fourth generation.[†] May God in His mercy grant it!

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Summary and Reflections.

To the old nest also, were brought the little fledglings of other and newer homes. In the old cradle which had rocked us all, slept at times little daughters of the New York and Portsmouth families, and, as they grew older, little feet pattered about the halls and stairways, where we had long ago played "hide and seek." To it, as to "an Ark" of refuge,[‡] came also their elders in time of trouble, and found an ever ready shelter, – until at length heavy troubles of our own, from which there was no one but God to shelter <u>us</u>, – drove us forth from that dear old "Ark," and finally scattered all but <u>one</u> from the blessed rooftree[§] of Home.

Those ten years also may be said to have formed the character and determined the destiny of nearly all the then young people of the family. My brothers Isaac and Thomas, as I have said, began the business and family connections in N York which have stamped their circumstances and characters ever since, and those of their descendants. My brother Edward

[*] William Henry Winslow.

[†] An inversion of sorts of the Old Testament formula that first appears in the Ten Commandments, indicating how far down the iniquity of one generation will be passed along; here it is the virtues, or at least the pleasant influences, that it is hoped will be thus far passed down. I cannot fail to notice that I am the fourth generation down from young master Harry, nor that I am hopeful that these same influences may pass even unto the fifth generation, that of my children, Cat and Andy.

[‡] Noah's Ark was often referred to as "the Ark of refuge."

[§] *Webster's 3rd Unabridged*: "the highest horizontal timber in a roof and the receiver of the upper ends of the rafters, or metonymically, simply roof."

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taking up his residence in a fashionable bachelor boarding house, and entering into fashionable society, in a measure, though, thanks be to God, not permanently,[*] gave himself a worldly bias, which I have never ceased to regret; so important to our true happiness is it, early to seek that wisdom which is most fully given then. So true is it, that "they who seek her early, shall find her;"[†] find her in all her joy, her loveliness, her lifelong truth and fidelity, her overcoming might, – her everlasting strength; her boundless beneficence for time and for Eternity.

Faithful to daily plodding duty in my Father's Compting room, my brothers Benjamin and George supported him in his many business trials, and chiefly in the great trial of 1839-40,[‡] which drove us from our beloved Boston Home. Thus they prepared the way for their own moderate success in business, and for a respectable position in society, which was all their Father ever desired for his children.

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Mercantile and Political events.

Meanwhile, as I have said, my cousins William and John Pickering went out to try their fortunes in the then "far West," now one of the most populous parts of Illinois. John A and Francis or Frank entered the Navy and cruised to various parts of the world, and my cousin Catharine or Kate Winslow, after her father's failure, entered a family in Virginia as governess until she was married from my Father's house to her cousin John A, now Admiral Winslow, of "Kearsage[§] and Alabama" fame. Her father and his wife, my cousin Eliza were, for a time during his second troubles and embarrassments, inmates of our house, as also was his daughter Amory. Sad months were those and very anxious ones to my Father –

But still more distressing ones followed when, in the disastrous mercantile years of 1837 to 1839, my brothers in N York leaned toward their subsequent failure,[**] and finally when his own courage and strength of mind gave way under the heavy burdens bearing him down on every side – Then came the crisis which compelled a separation from the responsibilities of business, and a search after a new and more economical home in the country. But a few extracts from BPW's and my Uncle Blanchard's record books, and perhaps from one or two letters, must sum up this volume of my Family History.
J.P.Blanchard's Record 1833.

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[*] He eventually married Elizabeth Sparhawk, and as has been previously noted (above, IV, 15) the U.S. Census of 1880 lists Margaret as living in his household in Boston.

[†] Proverbs 8: 17: "I love them that love me; and those that seek me early shall find me."

[‡] The great "Panic of 1837" led to a depression from which the country did not recover until 1842 or '43. In the fall of 1839, following a slight recovery, there was a further severe contraction in the U.S. economy that is no doubt what Margaret is referring to.

[§] Misspelling of *Kearsarge*.

[**] One of the few pieces of evidence I have found of their business in New York is a bill enacted by the 26th U.S. Congress in 1840 (HR 270) "For the relief of Isaac and Thomas S. Winslow" indemnifying them in the amount of $754.91 (almost $20,000 in today's dollars using the CPI) "for duties exacted from them upon a quantity of gin, which was improperly landed by the custom-house officers from the brig Amphritite [surely a misspelling of *Amphitrite*], on the first day of June, eighteen hundred and thirty-seven, at the port of New York, and which was destroyed by fire a few hours thereafter, before the same was entered at the custom-house, and while in the custody of said officers, and upon which the insurance against loss by fire was prevented by the irregular conduct of said officers."

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"June 21 – Entry of President Jackson in Boston – Procession &c,"
Note This was a great event to the Democratic Party who had elected him, and the very noisy demonstrations which they made, were rather disgusting to the Federals or Whigs as they now began to be called; who were or thought themselves a much more respectable portion of the community, and certainly the vulgar element of American politics then began rapidly to develop itself. That element which comprises rum shops, "Tammany rings"* "Repeating voters", foreign dictatorships, &c, resulting in the domination of Slavery, the war of the Rebellion, and since then in the corruption of all city, state, and general officials.

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Great Meteoric Shower of 1833.

Birth of 1st Grand child to my Father, in N York, Amity St.

In my brother Benjamin's Diary under date of Oct 20th 1833 this entry occurs. Letter from TSW (N York) with information of birth of a daughter to Mr & Mrs IW Jr– 12 o'clock night of 18th Oct.† Nov 13th same year, he records the remarkable meteoric shower‡ so widely spoken of, as follows. "At 3 AM thousands of beautiful Meteors appeared in the N West for an hour, like bursting and scattering stars or superb rockets. Their trains formed a network, they were so numerous". The N York Evening Post said, – "Many superstitious people in the country looked on this as a portent of some great calamity about to befall the city; An unusually small number of country people attended the market this morning, although the weather was so fine – Others made as much haste as possible to dispose of their commodities, and get into the boat again to Jersey or Long Island." The Shower was seen even as far as N Orleans – In Richmond Virginia it continued for two hours, and a slight fire alarm in the Armory having previously called out many of the citizens, it was extensively witnessed; some people would say, as a prognostic of the war which desolated that city, more than thirty years afterward, when her own citizens fired it, upon the eve of its surrender to the Northern troops. "Everyone," says the Richmond Gazette, "had an opportunity of witnessing a scene of Nature which never before was displayed in this part of the globe, and which probably will never appear again. One ball of fire from the zenith appeared to be eighteen inches in diameter, and it lighted for several seconds the whole hemisphere. During the continuance of this remarkable spectacle, a hissing noise in the air was plainly heard, and several reports resembling the discharge of a pistol."§

* After about 1830, Tammany Hall, affiliated with New York City's Democratic Party, controlled electoral politics in the city until its influence was much diminished by the arrest of "Boss" Tweed in 1872. But it remained dominant in New York Democratic politics until the mid-twentieth century.

† Margaret Elizabeth Winslow.

‡ The Leonids are an annual meteor shower lasting several days and peaking in mid-November. The "storm" in 1833 was indeed spectacular and led to the first accurate account of their cause, when it was realized that they are caused by the earth passing through a region of the solar system filled with material associated with comets (in the case of the Leonids, the comet Tempel-Tuttle). Weather, moonlight, and city lights interfere with viewing, but in 1833 the moon was new on November 11, and city lights, of course, were virtually non-existent. But the intensity of the showers is highly variable and rather unpredictable, everything depending on how dense is the portion of comet's debris field which the earth happens to pass through.

§ Margaret is much mistaken. This account, originally published in the *Virginia Gazette* in Richmond on April 23, 1803, describes the April Lyrids of thirty years before. All of the accounts from which she quotes excepting her brother's and that from the *New York Evening Post*, but including this one from Richmond, appear in an article on "Shooting Stars" in *The Western Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences*, ed. Daniel Drake, M.D., Vol.

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A correspondent of the New York Commercial Advertiser says he first saw it at 4½ AM and it continued till 6 AM. (daylight) "From a point in the Heavens about fifteen degrees S Easterly from the zenith the meteors," (he continues) ["]darted to the horizon at every point of the compass. Their paths were described in curved lines, similar to those of the parallels

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of longitude on an artificial globe. One in the N East was heard to explode with a sound like that of a distant sky rocket. The time from explosion to the hearing was about twenty seconds which give a distance of about five miles – It left a serpentine cloud of a bright glowing color which remained visible for about fifteen or twenty minutes. Millions of these meteors must have been darted in this shower."

Professor Olmstead in a communication to the New Haven Herald, wrote as follows;

["]To form some idea of the Phenomenon, the reader may imagine a succession of fire balls resembling sky rockets, - radiating in all directions from a point in the heavens near the zenith and following the arch of the sky towards the horizon, leaving after them a vivid streak of light, and usually exploding before they disappeared. The balls were of various sizes and degrees of splendor; some were mere points, but others were larger and brighter than Jupiter or Venus, and one was judged to be nearly as large as the Moon. The light was usually white, but was occasionally prismatic, with a predominance of blue". The next morning in Boston the sun rose red in a mist which hung over the town like smoke. Lightened, rained and blew hard the ensuing evening.

This meteoric shower was seen by my Aunt Pickering from the North window of her house at the corner of McLean and Chamber S^{ts} now a Hospital.

Dec 9th* Mr Theodore Lyman elected Mayor of Boston. A violent storm on the 8th Much damage to shipping and at the wharves. Also another Dec 17th and yet another Jan 27th – in fact a very stormy winter – also a very depressed one in the business community – Many calamitous failures, and universal scarcity of money.

Jan 30th Last duel ever fought near Boston – the parties Hooper of Mass and Jones of N Carolina – fought in Providence but quarrelled in Boston. Brother Edward knew all the firsts and seconds of the affair.

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Birth of my Father's eldest Grandson.
and first visit of his grandaughter.

VII, Second Hexade, Vol. I (Cincinnati, Ohio: E. Deming, 1834), 368-84. It is an unlikely volume to be in her possession. http://books.google.com/books?id=gtpXAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA368&lpg=PA368&dq=%22Account+of+a+remarkable+exhibition+of+Shooting+Stars,%22&source=bl&ots=WPjwc8Oni-&sig=NDu-698_Rec392YJoRdDRy6x0yU&hl=en&ei=8Z31S5KJKoXwsQPQteSHBQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result& . To complicate matters further, although Deming's article contains the account of Professor Olmstead below, it does not identify it as a communication to the *New Haven Herald* as Margaret does. Both Deming and Margaret may be drawing upon a common, but unidentified source.

* It is not at all clear what Margaret's source is here.

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Notwithstanding the Meteors, the Storms and the failures of 1833-34 – Master William Henry Winslow appeared in undisturbed serenity, asleep by the side of his pretty young Mother of nineteen on the morning of April 8th 1834. His birth thus recorded by the happy young Papa, not yet 24 years of age.

April 8th 1834 "Son Wm Henry born at 10 minutes past 1 AM – His mother having been ill only about three hours – Mr Alexander physician Mrs Allen nurse. Remarkably favorable circumstances, and by Divine Goodness both my dearest wife and child appear in the fairest way to get through this perilous time in safety. In my hurry to run for a coach to bring the nurse and Dr, I tore my best coat up to the collar." – (Note, "Thus begin with parental joys, parental losses also; – more rents going out than coming in, – unless filial love makes all up to them. Reader, please apply the moral.)

Young Master Harry was a precocious gentleman in the conversational line, if the following extract of a letter from his Mama to my Father then at Newport, gives an accurate report of him.

"Meg wishes us to write, my dear Father, though she has related all the <u>important events</u> which have taken place since you left. I was very much obliged for your love, <u>as also the baby</u>. He is very good, <u>talks faster than ever</u>, and almost takes care of himself in this hot weather. He is lying on the floor, and, as well as he can, sends many kisses to all."

This letter was dated July 16th 1834 – and the conversational genius on the floor had attained the ripe age of <u>three months</u> and <u>eight days</u> exactly.

Aunt Henrietta and Aunt Pickering accompanied my Father in this excursion to Newport, undertaken for the already failing health of the former, and during their absence we had a visit of long duration from Miss Burgwyn of N Carolina, daughter of an old correspondent of my Father, whose family had been much at our house. She remained after their return home, and then we had also a visit from my brother Isaac, his wife and infant prodigy or <u>prodigess</u>, Miss Margaret Elizabeth Winslow, who ought to have written as her cousin <u>talked</u>, at the age of three months. "Poeta nascitur" etc.*

1834 Family Births.
1835

In September of this year 1834 Mrs Alfred Haven introduced a young lady into the family who was named for her grandmother and mother, Catharine Margaret. And in the following summer she was brought to pay us a visit – saluting her cousin Henry with the admiring exclamation, "How b'ack his eyes is"! A letter, soon after she was taken home, says, "Miss Kate has quite gained all our hearts by her gentleness and good nature. She has become quite acquainted with all of us, and was much more funny and amusing than when she first came."

1836 – This year opened with the birth of another little Leverett St-baby. – BPW's daughter, a premature child, who lived only 2 hours; and this was followed in July 1837, by a son, whose brief existence terminated in a similar manner. Aunt H and I were absent at Framingham when this last event took place; it was thus announced to us in one of my Father's characteristic letters.

Boston July 17. 1837

My dear Daughter,

* *Poeta nascitur, non fit*: a poet is born, not made.

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I suppose your brother Ben will have written you that his wife was rather unexpectedly confined yesterday. The child (a boy) lived about two hours, – and having lived, – I think it fair to judge, – is or will be one of the redeemed company. Thus the parents, – by a change of terms, may say with Cowper in his apostrophe to his Mother's picture,

Higher far my proud pretensions rise
The son of parents passed into the skies,*

in the present case

Parents of Children passed into the skies.

I say "is or will be"; for I doubt much whether the commonly received opinion of the soul passing at once (that is the souls of those who trust in God) – into a state of happiness, – may not be true in regard to infants, "those who have not sinned after the similitude of Adams'

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1837. Letter of IW on the future state of Infants.

transgression."† They have no associations connected with the body as Adults have. All our associations of good and evil, – of sin and forgiveness, of happiness and peace are necessarily connected with the body, – and by no human reasoning can they be dissociated so as to preserve a sense of identity. Hence the Scripture doctrine of the resurrection of the body seems to me perfectly consonant to the natural notion of sameness or identity hereafter. May not the opinion of the Roman church on this point, be the Scriptural one? – viz – that such children pass at once to what they call "the Beatific vision." That is, as I understand it, into the Divine presence, and that they become "the Angels which are in Heaven.["]‡ Blessed indeed! But far less so than those whose sins are forgiven through Christ's imputed righteousness. "There is more joy in Heaven over one sinner who repenteth, than over ninety nine Just." (not "just men" as our translators have rendered it) "who need no repentance".§ – Can those who need no repentance be others than infants and children who have not committed actual sin? These sinless natures are indeed made happy; but far less so than sinful natures who by the Divine Spirit obtain the victory over the Devil within."

Br BPW says, under same date, – Leverett S[t] July 17[th] 1837

"I was reading to Q at 3 AM and at five the child was born. She** is doing well; Has an excellent nurse, but feels our disappointment very

* William Cowper, "On the Receipt of My Mother's Picture" (1709).

† Romans 5: 14: "Nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, who is the figure of him that was to come."

‡ Mark 12: 25: "For when they shall rise from the dead, they neither marry, nor are given in marriage; but are as the angels which are in heaven."

§ Luke 15: 7. "I say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance." "Men" is indeed the word used in the Geneva Bible.

** I.e., "Q," BPW's wife, Quincy.

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much. I have just returned from putting the little thing into our tomb;["] (under Trinity Church where the former child was laid) ["]The child was very thin and died of weakness."

Meanwhile a grandson to my Father had been born in N York Isaac Stayner Winslow at this time more than a year old. He had been brought to Boston quite sick the previous summer, his mother also being very ill for a long time at our house, nursed by Aunt H, a wet nurse and her baby being also there, besides brother Isaac, Miss Charlotte Barrell, and little Mag.*

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Business Depression of 37-38–and 39

In regard to the distressing state of business about this time my brother George writes to his cousin Ellen Houston (afterward his wife[)], as follows; His cheerful, hopeful, active spirit is plainly shewn in the words – "I see you are much troubled about the Major's unfortunate affairs: It is now, under all the circumstances of the case, taking the best turn, not only for himself, but for all concerned. We are all doing all that we can for him.

In the commercial world things are in a terrible state; failures every day – Whitwell Bon & C the great auctioneers, Livermore and Kendall a great wool House Freeman, Cobb, & Co, dry goods, Grant & Seaver; James Vila, &c, &c John Bradford I am very sorry for; he is a very worthy man and has, as you know, a large family. To quit any fears you may have about us I will only say, that if all who owe us, (and it can hardly be that all should go,) were to fail, it would not cause our failure, nor, so far as we can judge, that of Isaac and TSW; but it is almost impious to say so: We can only hope that human prudence may be accompanied by a dependence on the divine will."

Nevertheless that Will, holy and just and good, ordained a chastisement heavy and bitter even for the Christian who had taught his children to seek and serve it. The calamities of 1837-38 so shook the mercantile community that the most cautious and moderate were crippled in their resources and prostrated in their reasonable expectations of profits. In such a state of things, the too anxious if not too conscientious mind of my Father was sure to be affected. He dreaded to risk by too long a delay of insolvency the small properties of widows and single women in his hands, and he reasonably relucted from taking such a step after forty years of unbroken mercantile credit,

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Birth of Erving Winslow – 1839.

And family afflictions.

to the grief of his sons, and the injury of his large dependent family. The conflict nearly destroyed his reason,† and soon after the birth of another grandson in his house, Nov 19th

* I.e., Margaret Elizabeth Winslow.

† This is the second reference to a breakdown or near breakdown on Isaac's part, the other having occurred above, V, 162, where Margaret has told us that "his … courage and strength of mind gave way under the heavy burdens bearing him down on every side." It should be recalled, however, that 1837 is the year in which Isaac most probably began to write the Memorial in earnest. We cannot know if this coincidence is mere coincidence or if the writing of the Memorial was undertaken perhaps because the constriction of trade gave Isaac more time in which to work at it or perhaps because it was felt to be therapeutic. If the latter, it seems to have been successful, for there are few signs of mental problems in the work that followed.

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1839, in the midst of sickness and sorrow, it was apparent that the twenty four years of our sojourn in the dear old Leverett S[t] "Ark" (for so some of the connections had named our Patriarchal home) must be forever abandoned,[*] with all its associations of youth and manhood, of joy and grief, of life and death. A Home it had indeed been, with that fulness of meaning which seems now daily decreasing among us, with the disappearance of that sacred altar of Home, the cheerful fireside, the gathering hearthstone; now banished before the blank "register" of modern civilization.

Around that Hearthstone of our childhood's Home, how many faces still cluster, whose earthly semblances have passed away or wholly changed their aspect. The then old to us, the middle aged, the young, the child, the infant! Kindred and friends, Visitors and strangers! – The genial simple feast, the song, the jest, the tale, the merry dance and merrier laughing game, lighting up blooming cheeks and, sparkling eyes with glee, – alternate these with touching scenes of slow decline or sudden separation, of tearful sobs, and broken prayers, and last farewells. Beside the marriage festivity and the rejoicing parents welcome, – appears the still, shrouded form, lying mute among the mourning circle around. And while the light laugh dies upon my ear, the solemn Patriarchal prayer ascends from a true heart to Heaven, and the words float forth which shall at length unite "all the home voices in eternal strain,"[†] – where our true Home may be;–

"Blessing and Honor, Glory, Power,
By all in earth and heaven,
To Him who sits upon the throne,
And to the Lamb be given."[‡] Amen and Amen.

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[This and the following page were pasted together at the corners, no doubt by Margaret shortly after she wrote them. Separating them reveals that they contain a much-corrected and revised draft of the first nine stanzas of the poem "The Old Home," the final version of which begins on p. 172. Margaret probably had begun actually to compose her poem on these pages, but when she realized her first draft would be rough and need revision, she pasted these pages together, used other sheets (now lost) to write her poem, and then returned to make a fair copy . Pages 170-71 are therefore are not here transcribed.]

[*] It is unclear if Isaac did actually declare himself bankrupt or insolvent. The fact that the family evidently moved to quite a comfortable house (probably in Roxbury and what is now the separate town of Jamaica Plain), as suggested by the poem on the various family Homes that follows, raises the possibility that he may have been able to stop short of that, perhaps by selling the Leverett St. house.

[†] Perhaps she is thinking of the hymn "The strain upraise of joy and praise," which contains the line "This is the strain, the eternal strain, the Lord Almighty loves: Alleluia!"

[‡] The final stanza of the hymn "Thou, God, all glory, honor, power," based upon Revelations 5: 13: "And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying, Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever."

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The Old Home. Childhood.*

A sunny morn of May! –
Along the now close thronged and busy street
Where dingiest walls and tramp of dusty feet
Have thrust fair Nature far from man away, –
Then blossomed gardens sweet.

Where stretches, range oer range,
The City's realm of brick – green pastures smiled,
And sleek haired Kine† to pastoral dreams beguiled
The sauntering schoolboy, – wisting‡ not the change
Which greets his children's child.

Rippling and sparkling blue
The river rolled, and lashed its pebbly beach, –
While calm beyond, curved round the misty reach
Of distant hills, receeding soft from view,
Yet love-linked each to each.

Till with capricious turn
The stream re-mingles in the marts of trade
Where at its quay the rocking mast is swayed
And eager youthful eyes white sails discern,
On Ocean's rim displayed.

O'er peaceful scenes like these
Gaze six fair faces, radiant with the glow
Of Youth, and Hope, and Change; –while tottering slow,
Old age – and Infancy on parent knees.
To the new Homestead go.

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A Homestead fair and bright
Where tree and flower and childhood joyous grew
Beneath a kindly nurture; – where the dew

* The poem is hardly great poetry, but has its moments and is interesting as Margaret's best attempt to convey the sweeping changes that the family and neighborhood experienced during their residence in Leverett St. It also makes poignant if mysterious reference to the heartaches of young lovers, "inward chains that bound us" and "passions wildly raging," all of which makes me wonder about the things her narrative has left out.

† An archaic plural form of *cow*.

‡ *OED* labels *wist*, meaning *to know*, as "pseudo-arch[aic]," even though it is first recorded in 1580.

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And sunshine of a Christian love and light,
Each day and hour they knew

So, in blithe healthful sport,
And laugh and shout of innocent boyish glee, –
With mimic shows, and structures strange to see
Passed on those childish ages, long yet short
To yearning memory.

The skyward soaring kite,
The football* race, – the plunge at summer noon, –
The skate, the course when winter, o'er too soon, –
Braced every nerve to guide the downward flight
Beneath the clear cold moon.

Within, – the storied lore
Of voyagers afar, – or fireside game, –
Or marshalled hosts of infantry, to maim
With the small cannon's mimicry of war,
In noise, and smoke, and flame.

Ah! careless blissful days! –
Who can recount in age those early joys, –
All childish griefs forgot, – nor feel, like boys,
Again the magic of those eager plays,
Unmatched by manhood's toys!

The Old Home. Youth.

Forward! Onward! – Ever changing,
Childhood into youth has grown:
Past, its active restless ranging; –
Youth doth all its sports disown.

Changing too the scenes around them, –
Pebbly strand and river blue; –
Now imprisoning walls surround them,
Closing all things from their view.†

Gone the sweet breath of the clover
Cropped of yore by banished kine; –

* A predecessor of soccer, not American football.

† The pebbly beach across the street from the Winslows and behind the City Jail had begun to be filled in by 1835 for use as a railway terminus receiving trains from the Charlestown and Cambridge side of the Charles.

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Many a garden bloom is over, –
But, old Homestead, – not quite thine.

Thus though childhood's hills no longer
Childhood's sunsets no more greet
Gazing eyes, – yet magic stronger
Draws toward home their willing feet.

Summer moons, through vines oe'r drooping,
On fair faces softly smile;
Youth and maiden there are stooping, –
Whispering Willows list, the while.

Or, from song and dance withdrawing
In the casement's deep recess,
Low voiced tones are earnest pouring
In the ear of Loveliness.

Yet full oft, mid jest and laughter,
Hid by sparkling lip and eye,
Beat sad hearts, no more thereafter,
Leaping with Hope's pulses high.

Who, of all the friends around us,
Watching steps which seemed so fleet, –
Dreamed of inward chains that bound us,
Faltering souls and failing feet?

Smiling on the gay flirtation,
Gazing on the merry game,
Could they guess the future station
Of each cherished household name?

Would those hands and hearts be severed,
Joining now in careless mirth? –
Like the strangers who endeavored
Home to image, round our hearth.

Far o'er Oceans would they wander?
Farther still from Hope and Heaven?
Or the paths of Wisdom ponder, –
Seeking Peace where Peace is given?

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Yearningly if this they questioned,
Sadly taught in Life's stern school, –
We the thoughtless, yet unlessoned,
Masking played the madcap fool.

Actors on the curtained staging, –
Feigning parts, we little dreamed
Of the passions wildly raging, –
While so fair the outward seemed.

So passed on Youth's changeful morning, –
Sunshine, rain, – and storm and calm.
So, still deaf to other warning,
Its own wounds pierced, – and found their balm.

——— ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— ———

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The Old Home. Manhood.

Years wing their never ending flight; –
Youth's skies still narrowing on the sight; –
But wide expanding pavements feel
The rattling of life's busy wheel: –
And Warehouse piled with goodly store
From many a fair and foreign shore.
The hiss of Steam, just mingling, strange
With canvassed masts, where stretch yon range
Of busy Quays, – or Iron road
From whirring Spindle, Reel, and Loom
To deck the City's humblest home, –
Each, all proclaim wealth's breathless race,
The manhood of our native place.

Thick throng – around that little spot
Where tree, and flower, and verdure dot
Yet undisturbed, the dusty way, –
Each lingering gazer to repay, – –
Close and more close, the encroaching crowd
Of mortared walls and workmen loud,
The creaking dray and laboring team,
Successors of our childhood's dream;
Those pastures green! that river blue! –

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Could e'er such visions have been true?
Those distant hills, our fancied heaven, –
Had they in dreams alone, been given?

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Even thus had Youth's fair fancies fled.
Dear forms were mingled with the dead; –
Hearts warm with love had long grown cold,
Clasped hands would ne'er again enfold;
Feet that with ours the dance had trod,
Roved far oe'r sea, – or Prairie sod:
Where youth and maiden whispered low,
New infant prattlers tottering go; –
Where laughed the girl in frolic wild,
Comes, sobered now, the matron mild; –
And, flirting follies cast aside,
The fop leads home his new made bride.

Now, launched on trade's tumultuous sea,
Full many a human bark must be
Or anchor dragged, or stranded soon,
Or foundered fathoms deep, ere noon; –
And he who, – long their pilot true,
The rescue dared, – had perished too,
But one strong bower[x] endured the shock,
Fixed to the ever lasting Rock.[*]

x bower bow anchor of a ship.

In that fierce wave and awful blast,
To stranger hands, the Old Home passed; –
Yet rallying brave, – the shattered crew
Near one stout heart together drew; –
And when the Pilot of our bark
Rode safe; – he steered a new found "Ark."

179

Retrospection.

No dream were those fair hills**!** –
We saw them now around us. –– –– –– –– Near they seemed
When our new Ark first rested on their slope,

[*] Although clearly a reference to the crisis of the family business and sale of the Leverett St. house, it is not clear exactly what "perished" here means. Probably it refers to the demise of the business following an attempt by Isaac to rescue it and tells us that it was the everlasting rock of his religion that enabled him to pull through.

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The expanse of heaven above them; near and real
When joyous eyes, from city vapors cleared,
Looked forth upon their freshness: – Nearer now
As still toward Sunset's ever golden gates
Our onward feet remove; – soon soon to rest
Where, forest crowned, they fringe the horizon bright,
With winter's twilight glow. — — —
Again a Home
Rises recalled before me; –- Fairer far
In wealth of bounteous Nature, – in the joys
Of Nature's earliest taskwork, Eden toil,
Man's first pure pleasant labor, – than the old
The earlier home of childhood: Fair in scenes
Of varied loveliness, – wide field and wood,
And outstretched meadow green, the eye which led
As to its brink, where Ocean blended blue
With the pale vault of heaven; – or rounded swells,
Or rocky heights, gay fringed with vine and flower,
Or shadowy dells of verdure soft and deep,
Lured to the amber West; to Isles of light
That gently followed toward his realm of bliss
The glorious sun descending.

So, toward <u>him</u>,
Our sun of childhood's nurture, – turned the feet
Which roved oe'r sand and land; – though in their turn,
Givers of seed and harvest, still they sought

The central light of <u>Home</u>: – And thither came
New brides and manly sons, – and friends yet spared,
From other homes returning. — — Merry bands
Of children played with joyous household dog
Beneath the spreading Elms, – or watched his sport
In brook or woodland pond, – or, clambering rocks,
Exulted in the rural castle reared
By skillful hands, – or sat the prancing steed,
Or reined the humbler donkey. – Eager arms
Flung wide the barn yard gate to watch the pail
Receive its foamy whiteness; – Eager feet
Ran fast to strew the scattering corn or grain
For all the feathered flocks, and eager eyes
Searched orchard, field and wood for hidden stores
Of nut, and fruit, and flower.

Nor Autumn's chill

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Nor winter snows deserted left the Manse
Of blithe and frequent guests. – Around the board
Where yet our white haired Patriarch reverent prayed,
New England's glad Thanksgiving feasts were spread
As in our earlier home. – There youth and age,
The matron and the maid, – from One who filled, –
As kind, as dear, – the long deserted seat
Of careful Motherhood which once was hers
Who shared our childish mirth, – to youngest rogue
With festal frolic wild, – all gathered round
The bounteous meal, or by the blazing fire
In bonds of kindly kinship: ——There the song,
The tale, the toast, the jesting as of yore
Beguiled the evening hours, – till gliding sleigh

181

Perchance, if winter had assumed his reign,
Bore them, warm cloaked and hooded, to their homes,
With merry chime of bells. — — — — — — — —

But, <u>change</u> once more!
Change <u>ever</u>, in this world's kaleidoscope
Of strangely shifting hues! ———The shades grow dark
Across the sunlight of that fair abode. –
Illness and Age crept on; till, sapped at last,
That brave old Oak beneath whose sheltering branch
So many a sapling sprung, – swayed at its root, –
Stretched forth to Heaven its feeble arms, —— and fell,* –
An awful blank around it. — — — Then sharp blades
Of keenest suffering laid another tree†
Prone by his prostate trunk, – and they who clung
Around their stem as human hearts <u>will</u> cling,
Lay perishing and torn. – The might of Home, –
The shelter and the stay had passed forever.

And passed <u>that</u> Home as well.‡
A fair bright dream, like those of childhood's hours, –
Such is its image now: – "The place thereof
Knows it no more",§ – nor forms of many a loved,

* Referring no doubt to Isaac's death in 1856.

† Most probably referring to the death of Aunt Henrietta in 1858.

‡ Suggesting yet another move or rather perhaps moves, as it is implied that with the deaths of Isaac and Henrietta the family circle was finally broken and dispersed. I do not know when BPW and George left Isaac's household.

§ Psalm 103: 16: "For the wind passeth over it, and it is gone; and the place thereof shall know it no more."

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Whose seats on earth are void. — Yet live they still,
Live always; – Live in that pure quickening life
Which raised from earth the bleeding heart to love
And bound to new supports; – that central link
Of past and present, and the great to come,
That bond of Spirit-thought which spans all space; –
That chain electric from God's throne above,
Where life and death are one.

182

Age. Last Home.

So, mid these hills
Of beauty, – close around me now, –
Earth fair, and Heaven all cloudless and serene, –
I grateful stand; – my song, of love divine,
High as the arching blue, and reaching wide
As wheels the Sun's bright car from East to West.
Shall goodness cease when one weak faltering tongue,
Life's praises o'er, – lies mute in yonder turf? –
Or shall it tune the old home strains anew
With angel harmonies, when on the Eternal Hills,
All wanderings o'er, – all tempests safely past, –
Our last bright Home we hail.

[This is the last page of the bound album upon which Margaret has written. The page following has been cut out, and there are after that two bound blank leaves. The remaining pp. are inserted loose leaves in the order in which I found them when the manuscript came down to me. The first (183), on a different stock of lined paper, has writing on the recto only; the remaining four(184-87), on what appears to be the same stock of paper as the album and also to have been cut from a bound album, are written on both sides. But given their unifying theme of "peace," these pages evidently were considered by Margaret as a unit and fitting close to her portion of the Memorial.]

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183

Haste from the confines of the world
From farthest realms unknown,
Haste to the flag of Peace unfurled
And shout to see Wars' monster hurled
Beneath he rightful throne.

But ere the Prince of Peace with power
To all your hearths can come,
Brothers, make every heart His tower,
His temple, sacred from this hour,
His pure and holy home.

M.C.W.

note written in 1872.*

From the Peace of 1814-15 to the war of France England & Austria against Russia, (or "the Crimean War" as it was called) in 1853-4, – (about 40 years) occurred the longest general peace which Europe ever saw. The Philanthropic Peace Societies,† believing that the world had outgrown war, – held a Peace Congress at Brussels in 1851,‡ as a sort of preliminary to the "Congress of Nations" which they thought (like Henry 4th)§ might be formed to settle all difficulties. Alas for their hopes! Since then four of the most destructive wars have occurred, ever known in the world. The Crimean, the Sepoy, the Austro Prussian, and the Franco Prussian wars, besides our own four years of the Southern rebellion! – not to mention the Communist rebellion in France, the short Italian and Spanish revolutions, the Abysinian struggle with England, the Mexican S American, W Indian Chinese and Japanese revolutions, – all destroying millions upon millions of men within the last twenty years.

184

written to please Uncle Blanchard.

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* We were told above (V, 156) that Margaret was then writing in 1873, so we may assume that this poem was written earlier and not originally conceived as a close to the Memorial.

† In which her uncle Joshua Pollard Blanchard, as we have noted above (IV, 49n), played a leading part. It is odd that his very important role in these organizations is not mentioned. Was Margaret herself not a pacifist? Or did she feel that her uncle's lifetime of work in the cause had come to nothing, and therefore the less said the better? What was her father's attitude towards his brother-in-law's pacifism? The Sandemanians were certainly inclined that way, but also believed that it was every Christian's duty to serve and obey the secular powers that be, including the call to military service. The fact that the following poem was written, as we learn on the page following, "to please Uncle Blanchard" hardly clarifies the question. Is the implication that it was written to please him, but not her (nor her father)?

‡ See the note below regarding Elihu Burritt.

§ Based upon the memoirs of Maximilien de Béthune, duc de Sully (1560–1641), it was for long widely believed that King Henry IV of France (1553–1610), whom Sully had faithfully served as his most trusted adviser, had conceived a utopian "grand design" that would unify Europe. But the design was much more Sully's than Henry's.

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For Burritt's Citizen* May 3, 1851 Vol. 8 No 28

Flag of Peace.

"Hush'd was the strife on Gallia's† shore," but the exordium which ought to have begun this is as follows‡

The Kings first care (Henry 4th of France)- was to put an end to the religious disputes, which had so long distracted the Kingdom —— Soon after he concluded peace with Spain upon very advantageous terms – This gave him an opportunity of restoring peace, order and justice throughout his dominions, of repairing all the ravages occasion'd by the civil war, and abolishing all those innovations which had been made, either to the prejudice of the prerogatives of the crown or the welfare of the people. His schemes of reformation indeed he intended to have carried beyond the boundaries of France. He imagined that the European powers might be formed into a kind of Christian Republic, and that this Republic might be maintained in perpetual peace, by bringing all their differences, to be decided, before a Senate of wise disinterested and able judges –- But if he really had such a design he was prevented by death from attempting to execute it – "He was stabbed in his coach by one Ravillac on the 12th of May 1603." See Sully's memoirs

1§

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* *Burritt's Christian Citizen* was published in Worcester, MA from 1846 to 1851 by Blanchard's close friend Elihu Burritt (1810–1879), also an ardent pacifist and anti-slavery activist. He had been trained as a blacksmith, but became a prolific writer and leader of the organizations Margaret has mentioned. The Peace Congress in Brussels was held in 1848 (not 1851 as Margaret has it), and a second congress was held in Paris presided over by Victor Hugo the following year. It was attended by James Freeman Clarke, who writes about it thus:

> On the whole, the Peace Congress probably did just as much good as any man could reasonably expect. The effect of these meetings is often exaggerated. To bring together those who hold certain opinions, by means of a convention, does not necessarily increase the number holding such views. Indeed, if violent, weak, or extreme opinions are expressed, the convention may injure the cause instead of helping it. The members, however, are seldom aware of this; they enjoy each other's sympathy, and mistake the sentiment of the meetings for public opinion.

(Edward Everett Hale, ed., *James Freeman Clarke: Autobiography, Diary and Correspondence* [Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, the Riverside Press, 1891], 172.) Hale believes his account was intended as a communication to his parishioners back in Boston, who would have included Benjamin Pollard Winslow and perhaps others in the family circle. Clarke's gently skeptical account perhaps lends credence to the view that Margaret and perhaps BPW too would have viewed their uncle's pacifism as naïvely idealistic and a case of preaching to the choir, which would have run very much against Clarke's more pragmatic philanthropic grain, which always ran towards achieving tangible results. And Clarke was no pacifist.

† I.e., Gaul, or France.

‡ Although only the final sentence of the prose introduction that follows is in quotation marks, this "exordium" is entirely taken from the article on "France" in the 3rd (1798) edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, though Margaret has made extensive cuts. It is hard to tell if she actually means to pass off this language as her own or if that would matter very much in any case inasmuch as it merely provides an historical introduction. That she puts the phrase "Henry 4th of France" (which is not from the encyclopedia) in parens suggests she has just been careless, since parentheses are her, as well as her father's, usual instrument for marking editorial insertions. But the last sentence's being in quotation marks, as well as the pointer to Sully's memoirs (as though the quotation were from him and not the encyclopedia), perhaps suggests otherwise.

§ The stanza numbers are very faintly pencilled in.

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Hush'd was the strife on Gallia's shore
Two hundred years ago
Where rending hearts and homes no more
Gleam'd red with fratricidal gore,
Or rang with shrieks of wo.

2
Past was the slaughter of "Jarnac,"* *****
The rage of "Montoncour",†
Oh hap'ly past the siege, the sack
The demon yell, the fierce attack,
Which spared nor Knight, nor boor.

***note – In fact Henri quatre became establish'd on the throne of France in 1597 254 years ago.**

185

2

3
Bartholomew‡ had wrapp'd in shame
His ghastly gory night
A tombstone mark'd the fiend like name
Which fired that hell begotten flame
In Europe's blasted sight.

4
***** Her race of tyrants thrice accurs'd,
Lay mouldering by her side,
The Leagur's§ bigot bonds were burst,
And feuds of blood, by hatred nurs'd
Sank in oblivions tide.

5
Then dawn'd the brightness of a day,
Not yet advanc'd to noon,
When safe beneath great Henry's sway,
The Vine clad hills of Gallia lay,
Blest with his heavenly boon; –

6
That boon of peace which brighter seems
From Henry's gracious hand; –

---

* Battle of Jarnac (13 March 1569).

† Misspelling of Moncontour, as in the Battle of Moncontour (October 3, 1569).

‡ Not referring to an actual Bartholomew, but to the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in 1572, which chiefly targeted French Hugenots and was so named because it began on August 23, 1572, the eve of the Saint's feast day.

§ A reference to the Catholic League, which played a large part in the French religious wars and was dedicated to the destruction of the Hugenots.

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And through the gloom of ages beams, –
O'er all the darken'd land.

7

Now safely o'er the dewy mead,*
The Shepherd leads his flock:
The herdsmans steer no longer bleed,
By those who trample on his need
And all entreaties mock.

_____ ***** The infamous, Catherine de Medicis of whom Voltaire says Chacun de ses enfans, nourri sous sa tutelle,
Devint son ennemi, des qu'il regna sans elle.†

186

8 3

Once more the husbandman in peace
Strews wide his harvest hope, –
No tyrants bid his labors cease,
No warriors crush his fair increase, –
On every sunny slope.

9

Again the housewife smiles with joy
Her cottage-lord to greet; -
The mother, fearless, clasps her boy:
The rustic maiden hastens coy
Her trysting Love to meet.

10

But fruits of peace not now should spring
On Gallia's shore alone!
Oer many a land, her new made King
Sought wisely, gloriously to bring
The blessings of his own.

11

That gentle influence, long forgot
By Europe's parching plains,
Those dews which brighten every spot, –
Mercy with truth that changeth not,

* I.e., *meadow*.

† Margaret uses the French spelling of Catherine de Medici (1519–1589), consort of Henry II and mother of several children who became kings and queens, including Henry III, who ruled at the time of the massacre. She was widely believed to be responsible for the viciousness of the massacres. The lines declare that each of her three sons, raised under her guidance, turned against her as soon as he could rule without her. The lines (from Voltaire's "*La Henriade*") appear as an epigraph to a chapter of the historical novel dealing with this period *The Queen's Poisoner* (1841) by Louisa Stuart Costello, and possibly it is from that novel that Margaret got these lines.

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And love which never feigns,

12

United in one Christian faith,
Link'd in one Christian lie, –
No more to work each others scathe,* –
States "side by side," great Henry saith
"All Europe now shall lie".†

187

4

13

He saith; but Asreal‡ spreads his wings
And bends his bow of gloom; –
Abroad, the fatal scroll he flings,
His mandate from the King of Kings,
And Henry seeks the tomb.

14

Not then were nations to achieve that bright angelic plan; –
not then, could Europe's thought believe,
Nor Europe's war-crushed heart receive,
This brotherhood of man.

15

But Europe since, – baptiz'd in blood, –
Two hundred years hath seen,
Of plague, and famine, fire and flood
Foul train of War's insatiate brood,
Voracious, gaunt, and keen.

16

And now, no monarch's voice hath hush'd
Their clamoring cries to rest; –
The million brows such deeds have flush'd, –
The million hearts those crimes have crush'd, –
Make bare the Manly breast.

---

* *To work (or do or make) scathe* is an archaic expression meaning *to do harm*.

† I.e., those "dews" of mercy, truth, and love are united in one Christian faith and lie in one (particular) Christian—Henry IV. The mixed or at least awkward metaphor (dews that lie) might mislead the reader into thinking that something about a Christian falsehood is here asserted. Likewise, the final two lines assert that all European states shall henceforth lie side by side in unity, not that they are about to start fibbing.

‡ Misspelling of *Azrael*, one of the names for the angel of death, derived from Arabic.

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17

They bare the breast, they nerve the arm
Of nations, for a blow,
Which in its Justice strong, but calm,
Shall sound o'er earth a wide alarm,
And lay their tyrant low.*

* Odd concluding lines to have been endorsed by pacifists like Burritt and Blanchard.

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