

- Porter-Phelps-Huntington Family Papers  
Charles Porter Phelps - autobiography

written 1857

BOX NO. 10 FOLDER NO. 2

In fact to happen, but when a personal offer of himself was made  
 by one son that survived him - Graham -- Theophilus had a large family.  
 After somewhat of a digression, I resume the notice of Sarah  
 Davenport Parsons - the first three pages of these Memoranda brought  
 us to the close of 1794 when the family of Madam Parsons in Boston was  
 separated. But during the residence of Sarah with her grandmother,  
 she frequently visited the family of her Uncle Theophilus at Newbury-  
 port and occasionally spent some months there. While on one of these  
 visits a circumstance occurred which I cannot allow to pass unrecorded.  
 My first arrival at that place when I entered the office of Mr.  
 Parsons as a law student, happened I think on the 26 Jany. and it had  
 been previously arranged that I should board in his family. My father  
 accompanied me, we arrived at the house sometime after sunset, when  
 the following somewhat amusing as well as little embarrassing incident  
 took place. The candles had not yet been brought in, the twilight was fast  
 advancing, and Mrs. Parsons was at that time occupied in another part  
 of the house. When we entered the parlor, a lady was standing there  
 to welcome us. My father, very naturally supposing her to be Mrs.  
 Parsons, presented me to her, remarking that he was happy to be  
 allowed the privilege of introducing his son as a member of her  
 family, and that he took the liberty of committing him with entire  
 confidence to her personal care and guardianship. The lady proved to be the daughter of Moses Parsons of Haverhill,  
 and then residing in her uncle's family. But of course was not then  
 prepared to accept the charge so confidingly tendered to her. Whether  
 this incident, which was sometimes sportively alluded to in the family,  
 had any direct agency in inducing her to assume this responsibility  
 at a later period, I have no means of positively deciding. But it

did in fact so happen, that when a personal offer of himself was some years afterwards made to her, the trust was not declined, and she then consented to unite her destiny with his.

In the autumn of 1792 the town of Boston authorized a general inoculation of the smallpox, and great numbers of the people from different parts of the state availed themselves of the opportunity to take the disorder. Among others were the family of Mr. Parsons. He and his wife with their four oldest children who had never had the disease, went to Boston and resided thro the month of Sep. in the family with his mother. Not having had the smallpox myself, I accompanied them to Boston for the purpose of taking it, and the not living with them, held daily intercourse with them for about 5 weeks, during which time I became quite intimate with the family. Sarah was then living with her grandmother.

Time silently passed on and two rapid years but little varied the monotonous life of the inmates at South St. But a change then came. The death of Madam Parsons closed the scene with the close of the year 1794.

It now became necessary for Sarah to seek another home, and Providence very kindly opened an inviting door in the house of her Uncle Theophilus at Newburyport, to which she repaired shortly after her grandmother's decease. She continued to be a welcome member of his family, except on some few occasional visits, in the same years, sharing the support, care and affection of her Uncle and Aunt, and the love of his children till her marriage, and in fact till 3 months after that event. In return for which she devoted for five years, her time - services to the interest and welfare of the family, and on several occasions having the supervision and management of all the

domestic concerns. The obligations and benefits mutually resulting from that connexion, may perhaps be fairly estimated or balanced on both sides. At any rate, both I believe were satisfied; and certainly a very sincere and uninterrupted attachment and intercourse between the families was always maintained throughout the whole of her life.

From the close of the year 1794, the hopes and the happenings both of Miss Parsons and myself were closely interwoven. The term of my clerkship expired the last of Jany., but as no court was to be holden till April, for the County of Essex, I remained in the office two months longer. The delay however, caused no regret on my part;— and perhaps the intermediate weeks were not on that a/c rendered any the more wearisome to her. On the 1st Sunday in April at the Court of Common Pleas in Ipswich, I was admitted a member of the Massachusetts Bar. I went immediately to Boston and shortly afterwards there opened an office. But an incident which occurred about this time, 1795, demands a full and distinct notice, especially as it threatened for a while to give a new shape and direction to the destiny of each of us. It is said that the current of true love can never flow smoothly on to the consummation of its hopes; but must sooner or later be agitated or impeded by some inauspicious flaw of mind or hidden self, and our case proved to be no exception to the rule.

In the early part of June in that year, 1795, there was to be an ordination at Haverhill; and it was arranged that Mr. Parsons's family, and some of Mrs. Parsons's sisters, the Greenleafs, should attend. What demon of folly — or madness — took possession of me

I know not. But so it was that in an evil hour, I invited Jane Greenleaf to accompany me in my chaise, and left Miss Parsons to get a seat with her Uncle's family as best she might. The party I think were entertained that day at the hospitable mansion of Baily Bartlett, the High Sheriff of the County. Whether I absented myself from the dinner table from a guilty consciousness or from a feeling of unworthiness, I cannot well now decide; but my present conviction is quite strong that I was not one of the company; of this at least, I am fully certain, that I did not deserve to be one.

We returned to Newburyport, and after escorting Miss Greenleaf to her father's, I called in the evening to see my betrothed. It may be presumed that the interview was short. Her countenance was placid, and she barely received me with a chilling and heart-withering recognition. There was no crimination - not a complaint even - not an unkind or hasty word escaped her lips - not a feature of her face betrayed the slightest tinge of an angry emotion. But she would listen to no excuse, could be moved neither by confession nor entreaty, and I soon felt that every attempt to apologize only exasperated the bitterness of the insult. After a brief interview, with a decision admitting neither doubt nor delay she bade me a final farewell. No pen can describe the feelings, I endured for several succeeding days, - the World was all a blank - and changing only a word in the stanza of a then favorite song, I adopted entirely its sentiment and fully realized its force.

"I squandered all my treasure"

"I journeyed many a mile"

"And by my grief did measure"

"The passing time the while."

The next day I returned to Boston, but with little relish either for love or Law. What was the cause or motive for this wanton laceration of an affectionate heart, this cruel attack upon the peace and happiness of her, whom I best loved, or the gratuitous self-infliction of unmitigated evil on myself, did at the time and for more than half a century since has surpassed all my reasoning to explain or fully even to comprehend. Heaven is my witness that nothing could have tempted me - willingly or consciously to have caused her the slightest momentary pang. Yet here was an unprovoked outrage, not merely against the common courtesies of social life. But apparently a premeditated affront to the tenderest sensibilities of the human heart. What could have produced it, but utter madness or folly --.

The most plausible - tho still perhaps not entirely satisfactory explanation of the affair may possibly be found in a somewhat peculiar trait of my mind and character. A morbid and depressing sensitiveness has always marked my feelings, but at that period of my life doubtless acted with greater intensity than in later years. And in addition to this, I have never been able at any time wholly to escape from the withering influence of a strong, tho somewhat singular, proclivity to self-depreciation, and a tendency, at least, to magnify, if not multiply my actual deficiencies. This shrinking sensation has attended me thro life - and tho it may sometimes have been productive of good, yet, having so often become its victim, I have no doubt that on the whole, it has proved baneful and disastrous.

The operation of this peculiar temperament may have had a very considerable agency in shaping my conduct on that memorable occasion; tho I might not at the time have been in any degree conscious of its

influence. The idea of presenting myself before so public an assemblage - and in such a new attitude and character, and of attracting probably the annoying notice of some, or of exciting the unkind - or sarcastic remarks of others, the dread of violating some prescribed punctilio - or of assuming some false position - the apprehension of making myself in some way ridiculous or contemptible, and of subjecting to mortification and perhaps disgrace, her, whom in truth I most desired to propitiate and honor - these and many other absurd and idle fancies of a disordered imagination, might have taken entire possession of me; - and instead of rendering me simply ludicrous, as I feared, critically transformed me into a self-created brute.

Such may have been the origin and progress of the mistakes and errors of that luckless day.

But the separation, whatever might have been its cause, had been but too surely and sadly accomplished - and still more - it had been pronounced final by her - who alone had the power to reverse the decision - and as such had been, however reluctantly, submitted to by myself, nothing of course remained but to bear the evil which could not be removed.--- Months passed away -- I saw her not - and scarcely heard her name, unless when uttered by myself in moments of lonely isolation.

My intercourse with the Parsons families, however, was not broken off - tho' very naturally less frequent and familiar. They continued to treat me with civility and apparent (and I doubt not) sincere kindness. Towards the close of the year Miss Parsons visited her Uncle William's family in Boston. As I had obtained some premonition of the event, I so regulated my movements and conduct as to escape the danger of decomposing the feelings - or disturbing the happiness of either herself

or her friends.

I will now revert for a moment to my own business affairs - after leaving Newburyport in April 1795. I went to Hadley and spent nearly two months. At the general Election in May I again returned to Boston to enter upon my profession. In June I hired an office - by way of experiment in what was then called North End, some few rods below the Mill Bridge, on the East side of which was then Middle St., now I believe Hanover St., and boarded for six or eight weeks with John Russell, a brother of Ben Russell. John was then one of the publishers of the Boston Commercial Gazette, and lived on the east side of Congress St. 3 or 4 rods north of Water St. After a few months trial, I think without having a single client, I quit that office, and engaged one on Pemberton Hill - in Scollay's Buildings. Early in August I took a journey to Berwick, in the then District of Maine, with a view to a new location of myself. But the prospect was not flattering. From Aug. to the close of the year I boarded with Wm. Morrill, on the West Side of Union St., near the Boston Store. I then went to Mrs. McNeil's, in Federal St., two doors South of Round Lane; where I remained a boarder till April 1799, when I relinquished the profession. If Providence had ever intended that I should be a Lawyer, it would have furnished me with the qualities requisite for that purpose, and with fewer of those calculated so entirely to defeat it. My fees in the four years scarcely paid my expenses.

The Spring of 1796 was now far advanced and nearly a year had elapsed since the separation between Miss Parsons and myself had

taken place. But had all my hopes died out at these months had slowly passed away? Probably not ---. There was however but very little foundation that could anywhere be discovered for them to rest upon.

During this period various rumors had been floating about, which had occasionally met my ears, but which could afford me but small encouragement if any such hope had survived. It was said that Mr. Blank - a lawyer from the interior of New Hampshire - had made advances towards her affections. Also that a gentleman from Boston Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ who had two or three years before made her an offer of his hand, which I was aware had then been declined, had recently renewed the offer with hopes of better success -- and further that Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ another Boston gentleman, an officer in the Navy, had made proposals of marriage to her - (tho I am not quite certain at this late day that the last named offer was not made a year or two after this time.)

There had been without doubt a latent hope lurking about the recesses of the heart, the existence of which, I had scarcely dared to acknowledge even to myself, but which had in some degree influenced my feelings and conduct during the whole of this period of our separation. This state of shadowy doubt and undefined hope had now become quite irksome and somewhat perplexing, and I at once resolved to make a final effort, either to restore myself to her forfeited favor or on the other hand to ensure the extinction of all my hopes by a repeated - and what in this case would inevitably prove to be - an irreversible rejection.

In May 1796 my father was chosen Representative for Hadley, and my mother accompanied him to Boston. She was then desirous of visiting her early friend, Mrs. Spring - (the wife of Rev. Mr. Spring of Newburyport, and daughter in Law of the Rev. Saml. Hopkins of Hadley), whom she had not seen for many years. As my law business was not pressing, I took my father's horse and chaise - early in June - and carried her to Newburyport. While there I availed myself of the opportunity to solicit the favor of one more interview with Miss Parsons. The request was not refused. The interview was less brief than our last one, tho it seemed to me but a fleeting moment, - yet it was long enough to restore and confirm the confidence which I had so foolishly forfeited, and to obliterate many unwelcome memories of a sad and sorrowful year. I returned to Boston with a lighter heart than I had borne for many a lingering month. Not long after this Miss Parsons visited her Aunt Mary - Mrs. John Gray - and again the following winter, which she spent with her Aunt Gray till her death, which took place Feb. 1797. She then returned to Newburyport and continued to be a member of her Uncle Theophilus' family till her marriage.

In the month of Sep. 1798 she accompanied me on a visit to my father's family in Hadley where we spent four weeks and the last of which was saddened by the death and funeral of my grandmother Porter, which took place early in Oct. Having in the following winter concluded to relinquish the legal profession, I closed my office and business on the 1st of April 1799 and removed to Hadley, where I was occupied till late in the autumn superintending the alterations and repairs of my father's home to render it convenient for the accommo-

dation of two families, as I proposed bringing a wife there in the  
 ensuing spring. ~~arrangements were making to form a connection in business~~  
 The wedding day was at length named; and on Wednesday the 1st  
 of Jany. 1800, and in the family of Theophilus Parsons Esq. in  
 Newburyport, my long desired - tho long delayed, union, with Sarah,  
 Davenport Parsons, was indisolubly, and surely on my part, most joy-ly  
 fully ratified and confirmed. ~~of some more things, had now arrived~~  
 The ceremony was performed by the joint services of Rev. Mr.  
 Cary and Rev. Mr. Andrews - the associate ministers of the first  
 society in that town. Mr. Cary pronounced the marriage formula.  
 The distance was such that none of my family were able to be  
 present, except my sister Betsey, who accompanied me. Nearly all  
 Sarah's relations attended and many of her friends. Mr. and Mrs.  
 Hitchcock, then living at Brimfield, at whose house we passed a  
 night on our journey down, sent by me to Mrs. Parsons, a fine haunch  
 of venison which he chanced to have on hand as a wedding present.  
 And what greatly enhanced the favor - He - having forgotten to  
 mention his design before our departure - followed us nearly six miles  
 on a very cold freezing morning in midwinter in order to overtake us  
 with his forgotten present. ~~of my business at that time. It was~~  
 Then after a lapse of eight years, the Lady, who had so long  
 before been typically, if not prophetically, constituted my tutelary  
 guide and protectress - had now voluntarily assumed the trust - had  
 been duly invested with all its attributes - and was thenceforth to  
 be my adviser - my comforter - my solace - my unflinching Friend -  
 And all this she was till the last hour of her life. The plan

of life which I had been the last year preparing to carry out was now changed, and arrangements were making to form a connection in business with Edward Rand, who had served his clerkship in the store of Mr. Eben Parsons, and who for a year or two past had been in Mr. Parsons's employment abroad. The vessel had been taken by the pirates of Africa, and he had been some months a captive in Tunis, but having been recently redeemed, as was then the mode of doing those things, had now arrived in Boston. Shortly after my marriage this agreement was completed, and went into effect on the 1st of April following. We then commenced business at No. 3 Cadman's Wharf, at the head of what was then the town dock, and on the site (or very near it) where the 3 stores on So. Market St. now stand.

This partnership, while it lasted, was very successful and promising, but was abruptly closed by the death of Mr. Rand, who fell in a duel by the hand of Chas. Miller Jr. of Boston, about the middle of June 1801.

Mr. Rand possessed uncommon business talents and had gone thro mercantile education - and had he lived would probably have been a distinguished merchant.

In the transition state of my business at that time, it was thought best that my Wife - for such I could then proudly call her - should remain with her aunt till April; accordingly on the first of that month she bade adieu to her long cherished home and with moistened eyes took a parting view of her native soil. We proceeded to Boston and spent about two months there in the families of Mr. William Parsons

and Mr. Gorham Parsons, the greater part of this time as the guest of her Uncle. Early in June she accompanied me on a visit to Hadley to my father's family. I remained there with her about three weeks and then rejoined my partner Rand in Boston. In Aug. I hired a house of Mr. Josiah Knapp next South of his own on the East side of Orange St. a few rods South of the east end of Elliot St. Sally, as my wife was then usually called, returned with me to Boston in Augt. At her Uncle Eben's invitation we became his guests for two or 3 weeks, while making preparation for going to Housekeeping. At length on the 1st of Sep. 1800 the furniture having all been duly removed to our future residence, a square three foot table was set out and spread, and we seated ourselves with due dignity and decorum on opposite sides of it with an excellent beef steak between us, and thus joyously and gratefully shared together our first meal in our own welcome home. It is somewhat pertinent to the occasion here to state that Mr. Wm. Parsons on the same day removed from his hired house on the North side of Summer St. to his own new house built on the Easterly corner of Summer and South Streets.

It was probably only a few weeks previous to this that Mr. Theoph. Parsons say early in Aug. removed his family from Newburyport to Boston to L. Geo Cushing house in Bromfield's Lane, where the Hotel now stands.

Soon after this my father and mother made us a visit and gave us a quarto family Bible, which has been in constant use from that day to the present - having been rebound many years since.

Mr. Eben Parsons having in the latter part of the year purchased the small estate in Summer St. next westerly of his own dwelling house, and offering it to me at a much cheaper rent than I was then paying, about Christmas we left Orange St. and removed to that location. On the 1st of January following we attended the wedding of my sister Huntington at

Hadley and returning to Boston, then a two days journey, on Tuesday the 6th arrived in season to be present at the marriage of James Carter to Ann Roberts, at Mr. Wm. Parsons's house in the evening - which had many years been her home.

In the summer of 1800 the Firm removed to a very eligible store on Long Wharf, no. 28, and our business, which was done on commission, had now become, through the patronage and influence of Mr. Eben and Gorham Parsons, and the practical agency and talent of Mr. Rand the junior partner, quite extended, and gave a flattering promise of soon becoming prosperous and profitable. But all our own bright prospects and the exhilarating hopes of our friends, were in one fatal moment blasted and swept away by his untimely and shocking death.

Late in the afternoon of Saturday, June 13, or possibly a week later, Mr. Rand met me in State St. and taking from his pocket-book a parcel of Bank Bills observed that as he should probably go out of town in the morning, I had better take charge of them - it being then too late to deposit them in Bank. I took them and he passed on. It was the last time I ever saw him. The next morning, Sunday, the 14th, Charles Bradbury, a fellow boarder with Mr. Rand at Mrs. Carter's boarding house, called upon me about 9. and said that there was a report in town that Mr. Rand had been dangerously wounded in a duel with Charles Miller - at Dorchester Point, as it was then called. He professed to know little about the facts, but hearing the rumor, he had called to apprise me of it. I immediately proceeded to investigate the

affair - and soon ascertained that a meeting had taken place and that Rand was killed. I informed Mr. Eben Parsons of such facts as I could collect, at his request, and with his horse and chaise, I went to Brighton where Gorham Parsons then resided. After a consultation with him, I returned by the way of Roxbury to Dorchester Point, where I arrived at 3 or 4 o'clock and found a large number of people assembled.

The body had been previously removed from the Beach just opposite Fort Independence, from which place the whole affair was witnessed, to a barn on a farm nearby -- a Coroner's inquest had been already held, and the body was delivered to my care. I had it brought to the house. About dark, Mr. G. Parsons and several other friends arrived with a coffin, and the body was taken to Boston across the harbor. A small procession was formed at the foot of Summer St. and the body with the clothes on as it fell, was placed in a tomb in the Granary Burying Ground, opposite to Bromfield's Lane at about 11 o'clock in the night. Thus ended an eventful - sad and solemn Sunday.

It was reported at the time as a fact, stated by the sentinels at the fort, that Rand had the first fire and missed, and that then Miller took deliberate aim, (which may or may not have been true) but at any rate the aim was fatal, the ball passed through the heart and the left shoulder, a spasmodic effort raised him instantly into the air and he dropped lifeless upon the ground. There were coaches in waiting, and Miller and his second, whose name I cannot now call to mind, tho I believe he was in some way connected with the Army or Navy, both fled to New York, where Miller lived for several years in a sort of private exile. Rand's second was his brother Isaac - a most improper and ill judged selection on every account, for if Rand had killed Miller, the two brothers must both have fled; and as it was, Dr. Rand was

of his two sons, for Isaac disappeared, and I certainly never heard of him afterward. The next day Miller's challenge was found among the papers of Mr. Rand and at the sitting of the Court for Norfolk County soon afterwards Miller was indicted for the murder - but he took good care never to place himself within reach of the civil officers and I presume the indictment now lies in the files of the Clerk's office in Dedham.

I never was able to obtain any satisfactory account of the origin and progress of the quarrel. It was not till after his death that I even heard of its existence - tho doubtless some of Mrs. Carter's boarders were well acquainted with all the circumstances. But after the terrible catastrophe, few were found willing to admit that they knew much about the affair. A lady of Rhode Island was probably the innocent cause of it. One day at the table I suppose Mr. Rand made some piquant, or at any rate heedless, remark upon a lady in whom Miller it seems felt some interest, tho I never heard of any special attachment. This Miller resented, and excited feelings soon became apparent. Instead of smothering the flame, as probably might easily have been done, some of the boarders seemed willing to enjoy the snort, and the man, who was afterwards Miller's second, I thought there was always good reason to believe, was as really a party in the contest as was Miller himself. A challenge was sent and accepted, and in three days the short drama was closed. But the change wrought upon my own condition and prospects by this event cannot be told, either for good or evil - that knowledge rests only with Him who does all things right.

My time during the remainder of the year was chiefly employed in

closing up as fast as possible the business of the late firm, for which I was almost as poorly qualified as I had been for originally carrying it on. In proof of which I may state a difficulty that arose in settling our accounts with Gorham Parsons. In my ignorance of the proper mercantile formulas of drawing off accounts, I had happened to close one of our accounts, unwittingly, indeed, at a month, which according to the entries in our books when footed up, gave a nominal balance against him - while the next a/c when drawn off would have placed the business in its true and exact position, and given him the large balance, which really belonged to him. After looking at the account, which I presented him merely for the purpose of ascertaining its correctness thus far, without asking, or expecting, or desiring any payment or settlement, he broke forth in the most angry, violent and as seemed to me unprovoked, strain of personal abuse, that I ever received from any man in my life,- several persons being present in his counting room at the time. After that, months and perhaps a year, passed without the least recognition of each other. Ill feeling at length subsided, but I do not remember how, tho there was never any explanation or apology on either side. In point of strict mercantile propriety, I was doubtless wrong - but as the error was one of ignorance and not of design, it might have been entitled to some small share of leniency.

Not long after the death of Mr. Rand, my wife and myself made a visit to her father, at Haverhill. We found him very feeble and much reduced, and immediately after our return, arrangements were made for his removal to Boston, where he died on the 1st of Aug. 1801, as is more fully stated in the special notice of his life.

On the eighteenth of Sep. 1801, Friday, our first child, Charles, was born and of course there was great rejoicing, - he being the first born of that generation. My business and family concerns passed quietly on through that and the succeeding year, with no special interruption, or noticeable incident. In March 1803 (or possibly March 1802) I was confined about three weeks with the measles, a disorder which I was always supposed to have passed through in early youth. It proved to be about as severe an illness as I ever suffered. In the latter part of the year 1801, I engaged under the auspices of Mr. Wm. Parsons, in some mercantile transactions on my own a/c, and during the following year sent several adventures to Europe - not indeed to any very great amount, but the profits of which had enabled me to support my family. But the peace which was about that time patched up between England and France, had in a great degree destroyed the profitable commerce, which had so long been carried on by the United States with the European Continent - With the view therefore of reducing my expenses, I concluded to remove my family to Hadley. The house I then occupied was owned by Mr. Eben Parsons; we had lived in it about two years and a third, at a rent of two hundred dollars a year. On settling with him for the last third, he said he wished me to take the money and invest it for the benefit of my son Charles, then about a year and a half old. Accordingly adding 8.33, making the sum 75 dollars and twenty five \$ more, which my sister Huntington gave me for the benefit of her son Charles, I purchased a share in the Boston Bank, just then going into operation. The boys thus became partners, tho not in equal degree. I received the dividends for them till 1812 when the share was sold and the money divided. When

the share was sold and the money divided. This laid the foundation of the little snug thousand or so, which Charles P. calls his own.

The last week in April 1803, having made all the necessary arrangements, including a strong, high mettled and valuable horse, for 200 \$ and a chaise for a 120 \$ (which had been made upon the true principle of Peter Pindar's verses for sale) we started for Hadley. The roads at that day were in a condition very different from the state in which they are now seen. We had ascended the high hill, which rises on the West side of Waltham Plain, about 12 miles from Boston. I had nearly reached the foot of it on the West Side, when the wheel passed over a stone on one of the sharpest pitches of the hill. In an instant we found ourselves (my wife, myself and Charles) lying at the horse's heels, with the chaise top closed down upon his tail. The horse, of whose disposition and habits we had not the slightest knowledge, stood as still and immovable as the rock we had been passing, and we were completely shut in between the chaise top and the horse's hind legs; but a good tempered and well trained horse, and a kind and watchful Providence, saved us in our peril. With difficulty we raised the chaise and worked our way once more into daylight. We had to repass the hill on foot to reach the nearest house at a quarter of a mile's distance, where we found a shelter. We were heavily loaded, besides having a trunk strapped across the forward bars; and in passing the abrupt descent with so sudden a jolt, the pressure became too violent for the Pindaric shafts to resist and they snapped like two pipe stems. At length we got back to Waltham Plain, and having there lashed on a couple of poles for false shafts, we slowly crawled back to Boston, and reached Uncle Theoph's in Pearl

St. (whence, we had started in the morning) at early tea time. Mr. Eben Parsons declared his entire conviction that such a wonderful interposition of Providence betokened that Charles must have been preserved to accomplish some great and important design in the coming future. Having repaired the chaise putting in bars behind to hold a trunk, and securing the shafts against a similar fracture, by an iron bar on the under side of each of them, on the first week in May, we again took our departure from Boston, and arrived at Hadley without further accident.

On Sunday the 8th day of May we had a severe storm and snow fell to the depth of several inches. Though much earlier than usual, the apple trees were then in full bloom and the weather quite cold and frosty; yet the crop of apples in autumn did not appear to have suffered the least injury. On the same day (8th) Elisabeth Huntington was born at Litchfield, my father and mother being both of them there. In August a cashier of the then "New Boston Bank" was to be appointed and Mr. Theoph. Parsons advised me to apply for the office. I accordingly went to Boston and arrived there on Monday morning the 15th, the day on which the choice was expected to be made; but for some reason the meeting was adjourned till the next week, when the choice fell upon Joseph Chapman, a much better man for the office than myself. This was the first request I ever made for an office in civil life, and it ought to have been the last. From some conversation that had taken place between Uncle Theoph. and several of the Directors, he had strong hopes of my success. But David Sargent Jr. was one

of the board. During my stay in Boston on this occasion, our 2nd Son, Edward, was born at Hadley on Wed. the 17 of August 1803 - a most beautiful child. ~~He was very hot and red~~ May 13, 1857.

The unsteadiness of my brain and the tremulousness of my eyes have prevented me from making much progress in the memoranda, which I have been recently attempting to note down; and as the difficulty seems to have increased considerably within the last two or three weeks, I may probably be unable to enter into any minute or regular details of incidents that occurred in our family history subsequent to the birth of Edward. I will try however as I may have opportunity and ability, to state a few of the more prominent events that took place in the remaining years of our residence in Boston, which was closed simultaneously with the life of my beloved Sarah.

My family was now at Hadley. Edward was born and I continued my business in Boston, making my home at the Wm. Parsons's, and visiting Hadley every two or three months. One of these visits early in Feb. 1804, Edward in his mother's arms and in perfect health, was seized with a convulsion fit on the 7th of the month. It was not a severe one nor of long duration, but it produced a sudden and unwanted feeling of insecurity and dependence upon a higher power which neither of us had ever felt before. In the course of the ensuing 12 months, he had perhaps six or eight similar attacks; but I think he had none afterwards till the fatal day of his death in 1807.

In August 1804 I removed my family again to Boston to the house No. 59 Orange Street next South of Dr. Dix, and owned by him. There

Sarah was born on Sat. 16th of March 1805. Early in Sep. following I took my wife and baby on a visit to Hadley. On our return the 11th and 12th the weather was very hot and sultry during the day; but the eveg. of the 11th in which we were obliged to ride till late at night in order to reach Worcester, was very chilly; and my father, who took the two Sarah's to Worcester, kept the back of his Phaeton up the whole evening. The next morning Sarah arose with a bad head ache. We were of course obliged to proceed on our journey at any hazzard.

My father returned home, and I put Polly C. (now Mrs. Wells) who was going to reside with us in the Stage for Boston, when we all arrived late in the afternoon of the 12th, Sarah with a violent head ache and other strong symptoms of fever.

The next day she was taken down with typhous fever, which confined her to her bed for several weeks. The baby Sarah was put out to nurse and the Mother, through the attention and skill of Dr. Rand, and the blessing of a kind and heavenly father upon his efforts, was at length restored to health. Polly Cooley was then perhaps 19 years old, and her visit at that juncture seemed quite providential, as she took the entire charge of the family through the whole sickness.

About this time, probably the 1st of Sep. 1805, I formed a connexion in business with Wm. Belcher, formerly a merchant in Savannah, but then living in Boston and engaged in the Georgia trade. We employed two fine Brigs in the trade, which constantly ran between the two ports, bringing cotton, rice and tobacco - which

was usually consigned to us for sale, our business being that of Commission Merchants, in addition to the freighting trade by those two packets. I think we occupied store No. 3 on India Wharf, which had been then just completed. It was a double store including the one in the same range on the north front of the same block; being No. 3 in the South side, and I believe No. 18 on the north side. We continued the business about two years, but as it did not prove to be very successful in the Summer of 1807 the partnership was dissolved by mutual consent, Mr. Belcher still carrying it on in his own name. I retired from the firm without any pecuniary loss, receiving a few hundred dollars for my share of the balance on the settlement of the accounts.

I now go back to our family affairs.--- As my business was now to be confined entirely to India Wharf, at the foot of Fort Hill, and as Josiah Quincy had just finished a block of dwelling houses on the West side of Oliver St. on the very summit of the hill, and within gunshot of our store, I hired of him the middle one, and removed there from Orange St. about the 1st of Nov. 1805. The following year passed off without any special incidents that I remember, except the total and remarkable eclipse of the sun in June 1806, when the day was so dark that the fowls went to roost. The next, 1807, was a marked one. On Sat. the third day of Jany., our third son, Francis, was born on Forthill ----- On Sunday the 17th day of Feb. between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, Edward was siezed with a violent convulsion fit, while sleeping on the sofa. He had complained of a headache during the forenoon and his face had been much flushed. He had

been so long free from an attack of this kind, and had for a long time seemed in such perfect health, that we had almost ceased to have any apprehension of a return of his disorder. We called in Dr. Rand, the usual remedies were applied - the spasm at last subsided - and at evening he fell in a quiet sleep. His slumbers were so tranquil that toward 11 o'clock at night we were preparing to retire to bed. I was at that moment sitting on the sofa holding him on a pillow in my lap, - and his mother just preparing to leave the parlor - when a sudden shock seemed to lift him from the pillow - a tremulous groan - a long, long drawn breath - and the dear spirit - Edward himself had left us forever.

On Friday following his body was placed in Uncle Eben's tomb by the side of his Grandfather. Whether or not we were made better by this bitter chastisement, God only knows. At any rate, it was grievous in the endurance, and a sorrowful winter followed it.

We remained on Forthill till the last of July. In the meantime our house had become associated with many sad recollections, and my business at India Wharf being soon to be closed, we left Forthill the 1st of Aug. and went to the house, making the corner of Milk St. and Rath Alley, nearly opposite the north west corner of Pearl St. In July I had embarked in business again on my own account. By shipping 200 boxes of Havanna Sugar to Rotterdam, in Holland, costing about 8000 \$, when it had the good luck to arrive in safety in spite of English orders in Council, and the French Milan decrees, sometime in Autumn. The trade to Europe having become exceedingly hazzardous and our own commerce being threatened with a total and indefinite, if not perpetual, embargo, I had resolved for a while to withdraw from

all mercantile pursuits, and retire once more to our old quarters at Hadley. ~~part of Europe for nearly a year past.~~ Of course all West India. About the last of Nov. 1807 Charles took a bad cold, which ~~event~~ settled into a lung fever. This was a second time of his being attacked with that disease - the 1st attack had been about Jany. 1806 on Forthill, and had been a very severe one. But Dr. Rand, ~~little~~ through a kind Providence proved successful in both cases. He bled him early on each occasion. Before he was well of the fever in this instance, he was ~~seized~~ seized with whooping cough, which was taken also by Sarah and Francis ~~and~~ at the same time. We had now reached the latter part of Jany. 1808 and business prospects still becoming daily more discouraging, and all the three children down with whooping cough, (not very bad) we lost no time in preparing for our journey to my father's, where we safely arrived about the middle of Feb. after a three day's ride. The weather was mild - no sleighing - but a smooth icy path - and I think Andrew Morton, himself drove us up in one of his own hacks. On this occasion we noticed as a singular and certainly unexpected fact, that the children were rarely heard to cough, after the first day, and that on our arrival at Hadley, they seemed at once to be entirely recovered. In April I believe, the general embargo commenced, which was rigidly enforced for 12 months. In May I hired a house, garden, etc. in Hadley West St. of Jonathan Edwards Porter, who was just removing to New Haven, for one year at a rent of \$120, which we immediately entered. Judge Parsons attended the Court in Northampton in Sep. and we had the pleasure of several short visits from him on that occasion. I am not sure whether his wife accompanied him or not; my impression is that she did. About this time I heard of the sale of my sugar in Rotterdam at a very high price. The embarrassments to

trade were so oppressive that scarcely a cargo had reached a port on the continent of Europe for nearly a year past. Of course all West India produce now commanded enormous prices; and Mr. Cremer, my agent in Holland, was shrewd enough to foresee it, and accordingly held on. Accordingly when he thought the proper time had come he disposed of my sugar and the adventure which in 1807 cost me a little over 8000\$ was sold in 1808 for somewhat more than 26,000 \$ after deducting all the expenses of freight, and other foreign charges, giving me a clear profit of above 18,000 dollars. This I thought was doing a pretty good business, and it set me on my legs again. We received the God Send with sincere and great joy, and I trust with heartfelt gratitude to Heaven. On my return to Boston the following Spring I received the whole amount from Samuel Williams of London in whose hand it had previously been placed. In this autumn there was a grand military review in Hadley, of at least one Brigade, if not the whole, of the fourth division of Militia under the command of General Mattoon, a very fine affair. The then County of Hampshire, which constituted the 4th division, embraced an area of fifty miles square in each direction, including the whole of the present three counties of Hampshire, Hampden and Franklin. The 1st bridge over the Connecticut River at Northampton was opened, say in Oct. of this year. A new meeting house had been raised very near the old one, and had been covered the preceding year; and having now been finished was dedicated in Oct. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Austin of Worcester, son-in-law of Dr. Hopkins, whose age and infirmities had, to say nothing of any other reason, disqualified him from officiating himself. This house was removed to Middle St. in 1842 or 1843.

On the 4th day of Dec. 1808 (Sunday) our second daughter Elisabeth was born in the Porter house in Hadley. She seemed to be a healthy child at first - but in the course of a month or two, either from constitutional debility, or too much overdoing or other mismanagement on our part, she became delicate and sickly through her life.

In the last of Dec. I visited Boston, and while there I ventured, on the strength of our recent success to incur a little more expense than had been usual for a year or two past. I procured several articles for my wife and children, and treated myself to the first and only dark suit that I ever owned. I purchased also a horse and chaise, which being unnecessary, was in fact an extravagant expense. I returned home and passed the winter in Hadley. During the preceding summer I had tried my hand a little at the law, but could not make it go, and my time was occupied chiefly in attending to the garden and house. The winter was passed in idleness. About April the embargo was taken off, and we began to think of preparing for a return to Boston. In May I hired of Cornelius Coolidge, a house in what was then Round Lane - leading from Federal St. to Atkinson St. The house stood on the north side, and was the 2nd east of Sister's(?) St. To this house I removed my family in the last week of May 1809. During this residence in Hadley, of 15 months, I made 5 or 6 journeys to Boston, each costing 10 or 12\$ for travelling expenses only.

I now engaged again the somewhat cautiously in my former line of business - making some small shipments of goods to Europe in freighting vessels, of which there were usually enough to be found. Our family affairs in the meantime going smoothly along. Through the

summer and fall Elisabeth's health was gradually falling, and in Oct. we concluded to try the effects of a journey upon her. We went first to Hadley - thence to Middletown, where brother Huntington was then settled. From there we proceeded easterly to Norwich. Thence thro Rhode Island to Providence, and on to Boston, where we arrived the day latter part of Oct. after an absence of more than a fortnight. A journey like this of about 300 miles, in a chaise, through a strange country for the most part, with a sick child in her arms, was of course wearisome and sad to an anxious mother, and to myself was anything but pleasant or agreeable. Elisabeth had made no improvement in health - if anything was more feeble - and we were truly rejoiced to find ourselves once more at home. A month passed on, and Thanksgiving Day arrived on the 30th of November. We had dined alone. Not long after dinner, while we were sitting in the parlor, Elisabeth was taken with a convulsion fit. It did not seem to be severe, but it shocked her whole system and left her in great distress, which continued pretty much thro the next day. I carried her about the parlor in my arms nearly 24 hours, while she was screaming in agony almost the whole time. At length she fell gradually into a state of entire exhaustion, in which she lingered till about 5 o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday the 5th of Dec., when she ceased to breathe, thus closing a short, sickly, and, as it seemed to us, a suffering life. The funeral was probably attended on Friday the 8th and her body was laid by the side of that of her brother Edward. About two months after this came the memorable cold Friday of 1810. There had been for several days a warm, misty spell of weather, and the streets were covered with mud, when about 10 o'clock in the evening of

of Thursday the wind instantly changed from So. East to North West, and the biting blasts of winter were at once down upon us in the short flight of an hour from the frozen forests of Canada. It blew tempestuously thro the night, and in the morning of Friday the mercury ranged at 5° below 0. The wind raged violently thro the day and the whole of Boston Harbor smoked like a huge boiling cauldron. On Sat. morning the harbor was frozen solid to the Lighthouse, and for 3 weeks the cargo of every vessel that arrived was unladen at Nantasket Roads, and transported on sleds over the ice to the stores in Boston. I had an adventure then on board a vessel, which was prevented from sailing nearly 3 weeks, till the latter part of Feb. In June I visited Hadley to attend the ordination of Mr. John Woodbridge, and immediately after my return my wife and Sarah accompanied her Aunt William Parsons on a visit to Aunt Gray at Epsom. Mr. William Parsons her uncle, having kindly offered them a free passage.

Soon after this I hired a house of John Prince No. 4 in a block which he had erected at the lower end of Pearl St. on the East side, which we entered early in Aug. 1810. Here Marian, our third daughter, was born on Thursday the 13 of Sep. following - apparently a fine healthy child. Having become at this period somewhat less straightened in our pecuniary means, with a seemingly fair prospect ahead as to business affairs, we ventured upon a somewhat less economical style of living than we had heretofore indulged in. A new and larger house of course required new and better furniture to correspond with it, and a considerable expense was soon incurred

in that direction. Mr. Edward Crafts' family occupied the adjoining house No. 5 and Uncle Theoph Parsons owned the large house and garden next above Craft. Our neighbors were all kind and friendly, and the months passed pleasantly along thro the autumn and winter without any special occurrence to interrupt their tranquility. The annual State Election and meeting of the Legislature took place at period and until 1830, on the last Wednesday of May. In the latter part of 1810, a new corps of Cavalry - "The Hussars" - had been organized and were now in May 1811, prepared to make their first public parade. Their dress and equipment conformed in all respects to those of European corps of a similar class. They numbered in all about 50 men, and were many of them of the Elite of Boston, and were commanded by Josiah Quincy; with the exception of 2 or 3 (very clever fellows), they were every one of them full blooded Washingtonian Federalists. Elbridge Gerry of Cambridge had just before in the same month of May been elected Governor - always a violent anti-federalist - and from that year handed down to all future generations as the author and progenitor of the and mutilating plan of districting for party purposes, since known as the "Gerrymander system" - such was then the Gov. Elect of Massachusetts! The new corps of Hussars, tho almost to a man uncompromisingly opposed to the Governor's Politics, yet with the doubt intent of doing honor to the highest office in the gift of the Commonwealth, and of improving so eligible an opportunity of introducing themselves to the public, unanimously tendered their services to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, as an escort from Cambridge on his official entry into Boston. The offer was accepted, Public expectation had been greatly raised, and was doubtless fully gratified, as the corps attracted

much admiration and applause, as well on account of its martial aspect and discipline as the novelty and splendor of its uniform. Its first formation in line in its full dress, happened to take place in front of our house in Pearl St.

The current of our domestic affairs seemed to glide smoothly on thro the remainder of the year and the following winter, with scarcely a ripple on its surface, excepting that in the fall of 1811 Marian was attacked with a slight convulsion fit, giving us at the time considerable anxiety, calling up first in our minds sorrowful recollections of many distressing scenes that we in years previous had already passed through. And tho this attack was by no means severe, yet a sense of danger would be frequently returning upon us. We remained in Pearl St. thro the winter, and left it on the 1st week in April 1812, when we entered the house then making the northerly corner of High St. and Summer St. just north of the end of South St. and owned by Judge John Phillips. The surrender of Prince's lease, which had sometime to run, cost me about 350 \$, which was in a considerable degree made up in the reduction of rent paid for several years to Judge Phillips. My family expenses for the years 1810 & 11 had each a little exceeded 3100\$ a great deal too much. On Sat. 27th of June 1812, Louisa, our seventh child and fourth daughter, was born - a healthy and promising infant. As the country was now actively engaged in a useless war with Gt. Britain, all our commercial business was in a great degree suspended, and those who had been fortunate enough to make money, and who had been prudent enough to save it, had now something to live upon. All others had to live by their wits. Having little else to do, the people on the seaboard assumed somewhat of a military character and made preparations

for the defense of the cities on the coast against the threatened attacks of the British Navy. The Hussars also adopted a working uniform and played the soldier, tho they could not exactly foresee how or when their services could be very advantageously employed. Gov. Strong had very wisely, as the federalists of that day unanimously declared, refused to let the Militia of Massachusetts be marched out of the State, except under the command of their own State officers (which President Madison would not consent to) and they were of course all kept at home for the purpose of defending our own shores. This service they alone effectually performed, the War department having on the commencement of hostilities withdrawn every soldier from the State, excepting a company at the Fort Independence, which the United States were unwilling to abandon, and it would then of necessity fall under the military possession and control of Massachusetts - an event which Mr. Madison would probably have dreaded about as much as if it should have fallen into the hands of the British themselves. The whole expense of defending the extensive seaboard of Massachusetts and the then District of Maine, amounting to many hundreds of thousands of dollars were defrayed from her own treasury - about one half of which only has been repaid to her by the United States after a long refusal - the balance at this time, 1857, being still a repudiated debt of more than 40 years standing against the federal government (1812).

Louisa had been committed the care of a wet nurse, Mrs. Chittington, who resided in the family, and continued in that capacity about a year. The first half of Sep. was spent in a journey to Connecticut. We passed several days with Brother Huntington at Middletown, visiting

also New Haven and the College, where Professor Silliman put a practical joke upon my wife, by asking her to plunge her hand (having a gold ring on one of her fingers) into a large vessel of quicksilver. The ring came out of the immersion perfectly black; she thought it was spoiled; but I believe it was finally restored to its proper color. I had hired for the occasion a light carriage, and a pair of horses of Spurr & Holmes, stables of some note in Boston, and Henry Stewart, a black fellow, who had lived in my family several years, and who was one of the best house servants I ever knew, was mounted on my white Hussar charger as a sort of outrider. Thus equipped we made quite a display for us, in journeying thro the country. While at Middletown Henry was very much delighted and wonder struck at the rhapsodies and shoutings of the Methodists, several of whose meetings he there attended, and Zack, Brother Huntington's man, and some other of his cronies, were astonished at his wonderful knowledge of the world, and especially of the charms of city life, which he narrated in terms of most fascinating eloquence, he having formerly been a denizen of the noted village of Comminapaw on the Jersey Shore, somewhere below New York. In the prosecution of our plan we took Hadley in our route, and arrived at Boston about the middle of Sep. after a very pleasant journey of nearly 400 miles. Charles and Sarah accompanied us on the journey and possibly Francis - but of this I am not at all certain.

(Note: I was one of the party - I remember it well. F.P.)

The expenses of this peregrination amounted to 176\$, Spurr & Holmes' bill more than 100\$.

The remainder of the year passed away without any noticeable event in my business or domestic concerns. Gov. Strong who had been formerly elected for seven successive years, - 1800 - 1806 inclusive, had been this year again chosen in opposition to Elbridge Gerry, for the 8th time. He took strong ground against any offensive measures in support of the War just declared against England, but was willing at all hazards to defend the Commonwealth against all aggression. Our mercantile business was of course much embarrassed and cramped - but means were found - more or less indirectly - thro the whole course of the war, by which there was a considerable commerce carried on between the northern states and the northern continent of Europe, and which, so far as I was concerned in it, proved on the whole quite profitable. My family expenses this year ran up to a very high figure, having somewhat exceeded 3600 dollars, but the loss of 350\$ on the Pearl St. lease and nearly two hundred on the Connecticut journey were included in that amount, which will reduce the regular expenditure to about the usual amount, say less than 3100\$. The year 1813 brought with it no special occurrence. Mr. Strong was elected Gov. for the ninth time and New England politics remained unchanged. After the democrats had involved the Nation in War, the federalists, especially those of the middle and eastern states, for the purpose of concentrating more effectually their views and feelings, united in what they called "Washington Benevolent Societies" - embracing nearly all of that party. Their meetings were frequent, and very fully attended, and doubtless a very important political effect was thus produced. In the spring of 1813 the Boston Society resolved to have a grand

parade of all the various crafts - trades - and professions in the community. The great attractive spectacle of the day consisted mainly in a vast procession formed of the different orders and classes among the people - arranged in some twelve or fifteen divisions each with its appropriate symbols and ganners, including also a very large division of lads taken from the several schools in the town, in a nearly uniform costume. The show came off on the 30th of April - was well got up - and was indeed a most brilliant affair. Happening a few days since to take up the original programme and the orders given in reference to the conducting of the procession - of which I had the honor of being appointed Chief Marshall - I thought that the occurrence might not be inaptly noticed among these memoranda. The original paper containing all the details of the procession, list of marshalls, and the description of banners, etc., is among my documents on file.

Towards the close of the year, Chief Justice Parsons's health was evidently failing, and about the middle of Oct. he fell into a kind of lethargic condition and became somewhat stupid and comatose - these symptoms gradually increased for 10 or 12 days, till I think on Sat. the 30th of Oct. about 1 or 2 o'clock P.M. his great mind forsook its frail tenement of clay and soared to a higher sphere of illimitable expansion. I left him about half an hour before he died. The last conscious recognition of his family was exhibited two or three days before his death while in the evening, several being present, he made an effort, and reaching out his hand to his wife, who was sitting on the bed by his side, he inclosed her hand in his - audibly uttering the words "the hand of my marriage".- The news of his death cast a

deep gloom not only over Boston, but over the States of New England generally.

Soon after this the unwelcome guest visited once more our unprepared family. I have now no recollection that Louisa had ever before had a sick day in her life. But on Sunday, either the 19th or a week later, the 26th - but I believe on the latter day - on returning home from meeting, we found her drooping and something feverish. We thought that she had taken some cold and accordingly nursed her up. The fever held on and the disorder gained strength, and in a few days, as I listened in the night watches, as she lay by our side, her burning flesh - her quick pulse - and her short and rapid breathing, filled me with anxious foreboding as to the result. They are all now as vivid in my recollection as if the events had taken place during the past night, tho in fact the dim and dusty shadows of more than 43 long years lie between. She sank gradually away till Friday the 31st of Dec., when about 9 o'clock in the evening, her gentle spirit, after a few faint struggles, was released from suffering - and I trust also from all future exposure to sin. She left us indeed to weep for ourselves, but to rejoice in her account, that another of our dear little ones had almost without any probation been called to swell the number of the blest and glorified before God in Heaven. She died when she was just eighteen months and 4 days old, at a period of life when most children are becoming deeply interesting especially to their parents. Louisa was not a beautiful child - technically speaking - but she was lovely and affectionate. I see her at this moment, in my mind's eye, sitting on my knees in the morning, as she usually did sometime before her death, while her mother combed and parted and smoothed her light and

glossy hair - her mild blue eyes watching the features of her  
 mother's face - she herself being always as placid and tranquil  
 as the twilight in June, and seeming to be the very personification  
 of quietude and gentleness. In somewhat less than 4 years from  
 this time, that mother, I trust rejoined her three departed child-  
 ren - the loved and the - Lost, shall I say? Oh no! the pen  
 falters at the withering word ---- But a deeper and more solemn  
 question still presents itself --- Shall I ever be permitted to  
 rejoin them? God alone can solve the question; and no clear and  
 full and clear response will be given, till we pass behind the  
 veil which separates them seen from the Unseen - "Wait the great  
 Teacher - "Death" ---

The departing year left us with sad and sorrowing hearts.  
 The war with England still continued - tho with few practical results,  
 except the closing up of the regular channels of our commerce - and  
 giving to our Naval Officers and seamen occasional opportunities of  
 proving their valor and skill in sinking or capturing several fine  
 British ships of War; and thus redeeming the character of our Navy,  
 which had been somewhat tarnished by the loss of the Chesapeake  
 frigate in the early part of the War. My own business was now  
 chiefly connected with the trade of northern Europe, more especially  
 with the iron business at Gettenburg in Sweden, - some of my shipments  
 of that kind having been quite successful - and during the two coming  
 years my business was almost wholly in that line. Indeed, during  
 the war I kept quite a respectable wholesale and retail Iron Store  
 on Long Wharf.----- My family expenses for the year 1813 amounted

to about 3210 dollars. The cost of many articles deemed necessaries was at that period enormous. I notice a recurring to my entries at that time - 14 - 15 - and even 16.50 paid for a barrel of flour, and in the same year 1813, I find a charge of 61 dollars and another of 64\$ each for a barrel of sugar - weighing probably about 200 lbs. each barrel. The coasting trade between the north and the south was indeed for several years almost wholly destroyed, and the Southern business was chiefly carried on by the rivers and other interior communication. In regard to our public affairs the year 1814 progressed for a great part of it as the preceding one had done; and the business of the country went on in much the same manner.

In the winter of this year my father's health had evidently been declining; and he felt unable to superintend the management of his farm, which he had for forty four years done in a skilfull and profitable manner. He accordingly leased on shares to two men - Smith and Daniels - a great proportion of his home estate for a year, he boarding them thro the summer and fall, and Daniels through the following winter. This arrangement went into effect on the 1st of April. Mrs. Hitchcock and her two children were then members of his family, Charles being then 15 or 16 years old. My father had also a hired man himself, and with the aid of these he carried on the residue of the farm. But this measure, tho probably the best, if not the only one which could have been adopted under the circumstances, was never satisfactory to him, and was, while he lived, a constant source of regret and discomfort. In plain phrase, he thought they didn't work it right, and I have no doubt that it wore upon his health. Early in Sep. I went to H. and assisted in repairing the floor of the front entry over the cellar, the timbers having become rotten, and the floor sunk several inches.

He was then quite feeble - tho he afterwards took a journey to Middletown. Sometime in Oct. he sent Charles Hitchcock to Boston with a wagon load of pork, which Mr. H. says he assisted in loading. This was his last effort - he returned to his house, and took to his bed - from which he never arose.

On my visit to Hadley just mentioned, I saw John Morison for the last time. He was then bloated with dropsy, and just able to creep about. He was found dead in his bed a few mornings after I left him.----- Morison, according to his own account, which was all we ever knew of him, and I never heard of his having seen in America any Scotchman that he ever saw at home, was born in the vicinity of Aberdeen in Scotland and was brought up a gardener by trade, and worked some years in the garden of the Nobility in the north of Scotland. At the commencement of the Revolutionary War, he joined a highland regiment under the command of Col. Archibald Campbell - a name of long standing and high repute in Scotch military history. This regiment was ordered to Boston, and arriving there a few days after it had been evacuated by the British troops in 1776 without any notice of that event - the ships sailed directly into port - and the whole Regiment were instantly made prisoners of war. John said that he was the Colonel's Waiter and he probably might have been. At any rate he was an excellent gardener. He had been two or three years in the country before he came to my father's, but with occasional exceptions of perhaps two or three years in all at various times he continued in my father's employ till his death - which I think took place Sep. 12, 1814. He was slightly tinctured with the national superstition, and seemed somewhat, if not fully, to believe in the

second sight - but I have no recollection of hearing him converse on these subjects except when questioned. The business concerns of the Nation had been constantly growing worse, and the political aspect had become not only gloomy, but seriously alarming. The five New England States had in the earlier part of the year resolved upon holding a convention at Hartford to consider the state of the country, and this assembly was now on the point of assembling. The wisest - ablest - and most patriotic of her statesmen had been selected for the purpose, and the eyes of the Nation were anxiously fixed on them. The National Treasury was exhausted, and the National Credit had sunk so low that not a dollar could be obtained in Europe at any price, nor in this country unless at a discount of some 30 per cent, and the stock of the United States, I believe, was actually sold at less than 70 cents for the dollar. France had been conquered and overrun - Bonaparte exiled to Elba - Europe at Peace - and Great Britain left free with all her vast armaments now employed to carry on the war against the United States. Madison and his Cabinet were fully aware of the impending dangers. A large body of commissioners - five, I think - were dispatched to Ghent, in Belgium, to negotiate a peace, and the result was now waited for with a somewhat fearful suspense.

In the latter part of Oct. 1814 I received such accounts of my father's sickness that I at once resolved to remove my family to Hadley, and there spend the winter. Accordingly on Sunday the 6th of Nov. we left the corner of High and Summer St. after an early breakfast, and riding the most of the day in a heavy rain we reached Leicester, and on Monday about dark we arrived at my father's, whom we found very feeble

and confined to his bed, but suffering little or no pain. He expressed great pleasure and gratitude at once more seeing us all, around him. Caroline, our fifth daughter, had been born on Monday the 22nd of August preceding - a fine health child - and was now about three months old, an infant in her mother's arms. She was ~~old~~ then the only grandchild that my father had never seen. He welcomed the little stranger and gave her a grandfather's blessing. Tho there was not usually any daily perceptible change in my father's condition, yet the close of every week gave decisive proof that he was constantly failing. His mind was unclouded to the last, and he took at times ~~at~~ some interest in passing affairs. Some few days before he died, having made no written disposition of his property, he expressed his wishes on that subject, making a special request that Mrs. Huntington and myself should immediately after his decease convey by deed to Mrs. Hitchcock and her son Charles two pieces of land; which was of course ~~of~~ strictly complied with - five or six acres lying just below the ferry in the Upper Meadow to Mrs. Hitchcock and five acres to Charles, being the lot south of the road to Amherst, on which Mr. Dickinson's house now stands. ~~It is assumed to entitle him to a commission as Justice of the Peace.~~

In the evening of Monday Nov. 28 we felt a slight shock of an ~~an~~ earthquake, it was however only momentary. Thursday the 1st of Dec. was Thanksgiving Day. In the course of the next day there was a ~~was~~ decided change in my father - and he then sank rapidly. On Sat. ~~3~~ evening his breathing became difficult, and he seemed in great ~~loss~~ distress - which increased thro the night - every breath being heard thro the whole house. In the morning the paroxysm gradually gave way - he lingered for a few hours longer, and about 3 o'clock in the after-

noon of Sunday the 4th of Dec. 1814 he ceased to breathe. His sufferings might not have been really so great as they seemed to be, but it was certainly a relief to those about him to know that they were now ended.

My father, Charles Phelps, was born at Hadley Aug. 14, 1743, old style - and was therefore 71 years old in the preceding Aug. He was altogether a self made man, having had none of the advantages of education except those of a very common school in his native place. He was endowed with good - plain - practical common sense, and possessed a pretty accurate knowledge of human nature. He considered himself an experienced farmer, and never made any pretensions beyond what his actual position and influence in society fairly authorized him to assume. His usually correct judgment as to all the ordinary concerns of life was sufficiently known and appreciated to make his opinion and personal services frequently useful and acceptable especially in that portion of the county composed of its more central towns. It appears, however, from an old "Massachusetts Register", of 1797, that the state authorities did not at that time consider him as having a sufficiently high standing to entitle him to a commission as Justice of the Peace, for in that year, the same authority gives but a single person as holding that office in the town of Hadley, and that was Eleazar Porter, the then Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Hampshire, which then consisted of the present 3 counties. But I well remember that in 1799 several justice actions were brought before him, which he decided. In politics he classed himself with the straightest sect of the old School Federalists, and

*His father was admitted Justice of the Peace by John Hancock in 1772 for the County of Hampshire. He was also Justice of the Peace for the County of Hampshire by the first succeeding Legislature.*

such for a long succession of years was the political character of the town, there having been nearly - and I think in some cases, an unanimous vote returned for Gen. Strong - Alas - for the change! We knew nothing then of the midnight orgies and unprincipled party cabals. In his religious opinions my father probably ranked with the moderate Calvinists of that day. He eschewed the new Hopkinsian doctrines altogether - and perhaps might have been a very little inclined to Americanism, as his old minister, Mr. Hopkins, was after his death, accused, by Mr. Woodbridge his successor, to have been. But tho my father was fully persuaded of the truth of his own religious opinions, as regarded himself, he was catholic and tolerant of the opinions of others. I never heard him denounce any one for entertaining religious opinions differing from his own.

Soon after my father's death, it became necessary to make some provisional arrangement for a division of the estate, as a final one could not be made during the life of my mother, who held by descent in her own right a very considerable share of the real estate occupied by my father. This division was completed about the close of Dec. and was substantially the same which was finally established and confirmed after my mother's death. In the month of March in this year, the new South Religious Society, of which I had long before my marriage, been a member, took down their old wooden meeting house, and erected what was at that time thought a splendid stone church. It was finished during the year and was dedicated I think on the 29th of Dec, my family being all at Hadley, were none of us present on the occasion. My family expenses this year were very considerably reduced - having amounted only

to the sum of 2343 dols.

About this time the Hartford Convention had closed its labors, and appointed a respectable Committee of its members to repair to Washington for the purpose of laying before the Government and Congress some propositions with regard to a more successful and satisfactory mode of prosecuting the war with Great Britain.

The meetings of the Convention had always for obvious reasons been private and confidential; the results at which they arrived were all that the public had really any interest in knowing. The various discussions and opinions and arguments which ultimately led to those results were of course of little real consequence to the community, but the patent fact of their secret deliberations was at once seized upon by the administration of the South generally as conclusive evidence of the treasonable designs, not merely of the members of the Convention, as individuals, but of the hostile and treasonable views of the New England States collectively. The people of the East were no doubt very generally opposed to the war, both in its commencement and progress, but they were neither enemies to the Union, nor the adherents of England, and to charge them as such was a gross - malicious slander, and falsehood. They tho't the war was unnecessary - unjust and ruinous; but they resolved from the first to withhold neither services - time - nor money necessary for their defence, or for preventing and successfully resisting all the hostile aggressions of the enemy.

They had in fact long since called into the field large portions of their militia, and expended vast sums of money for the common defence. True indeed it was, that these efforts were intended for, and actually applied to, the immediate and necessary defence of their

own territory. But were they not a part of the common country? And by whose neglect and premeditated dereliction of duty were they thus thrown back upon their own unaided, and even to this late day of nearly half a century of unrequited services and pecuniary losses? And was any other portion of the Nation thus abandoned to its fate!

Not one! But had this been all the east would have made but small complaint. The disgraceful injustice, the crying sin the government perpetrated against New England consisted, not merely in leaving them to defend themselves, which they were well able and willing to do, but in the further requisition made upon them of paying into the federal treasury their full proportion of the public revenues, derived as well from the direct taxation at that time imposed upon all the States of the Union to the amount of nearly the whole regular expenses of the government, as also from the Custom House duties that were collected from the little commerce then carried on in the several Atlantic States - of which New England then furnished her full share - besides laying upon her the additional burden of protecting her own soil - and defending a maritime seaboard of the United States to the length of many hundred miles - with scarcely so much as a single sentry or gun belonging to the nation on the whole line. A trail of history somewhat similar to this may perhaps be found in the treatment of the Hebrews by their oppressors and taskmasters in Egypt.

The heart and soul of New England had resolved to relieve itself, if practicable, by fair - honorable and legitimate means, from so unjust and disgraceful a bondage. The great mass of the people were desirous of adopting some plan for the future conducting of the war, which, while

it should secure a fair and just remuneration to the North, for their efforts and sacrifices, should at the same time be advantageous and honorable to the whole Country. Such, as I have always understood the subject, was the great leading principle in which the Hartford Convention originated, and which dictated and governed all its deliberations and measures. St. Germain had been duly signed. This was truly a 30 With this view they resolved to submit to the federal government a proposition, substantially to this effect: - that as the New England States had been required to furnish their full assessed share of the direct taxation imposed upon the Nation during the whole war, and had thus far actually paid it into the U.S. Treasury - and had during the same period been left to defend their whole line of sea coast and territory against the common enemy - by their own unassisted and unrequited military services and pecuniary expenditures - they might be allowed during the remainder of the contest which seemed to give little hope of a speedy termination - to collect and appropriate the whole - or at least a stipulated share of the revenue accruing from the direct taxation of the New England States towards defraying the great expense they were compelled to incur for the necessary defence of the inhabitants - their homes - and their soil. The responsibility of a war, to the success-ful This I suppose I was the sum and substance of that great treasonable conspiracy - "conceived in sin", nearly consummated by the clandestine efforts of a body of Northern traitors (slanderously so called by the South) whose names had till then stood - and, thank God! did still stand thro life - foremost among the beloved able - true hearted - and unflinching patriots and statesmen of the land --- This is the Hartford Convention! The terrific Northern Phantoms conjured into being by the fears and

jealousy and rancor of the Southern leaders, and which was allowed to frighten a few weak minded honest men out of their proprieties - the whole democracy of the south out of all its senses. Thus closed the third year of the war. About the 1st of Feb. 1815 intelligence was received at Washington from our Commissioners at Ghent that a treaty of peace with Gt. Britain had been duly signed. This was truly a God send to the Administration. The government might have expected it - but the Nation at large was probably not more rejoiced than surprised at the event. The news was forwarded instantly by expresses to all parts of the country, and was every where hailed with the most enthusiastic joy and delight. The federalists rejoiced in the event as the termination of a war, which they thought not only unnecessary, but destructive to the best interests of the country - and also as reopening the channels of a peaceful at least - if not a very profitable commerce - while it would also call back the industry of the nation to its accustomed pursuits and occupations. The administration and all the democracy of the land rejoiced as they well might - that the Peace had rescued the country from the utter bankruptcy and ruin, which had threatened it; - and still more, that they were thus relieved from the responsibility of a war, to the successful management of which, they had unequivocally proved themselves incompetent - and those disastrous effects had already so nearly overwhelmed them in irretrievable disgrace. In the exuberance of their joy and self gratulation they overlooked (ignored) the humiliating fact that not a wrong was righted by the treaty, nor the least allusion made to any - for the ostensible redress of which, the war had been declared. There was indeed sincere and universal thanksgiving throughout the Union

that the evils of a protracted and oppressive war were now about  
 to cease. Sterne and David Jones, and east got far from 500 Galle.  
 The 22 of Feb. 1815, Washington's birthday, was named for the  
 celebrating the event in Boston - when all the usual demonstrations  
 upon these occasions, such illuminations - fireworks - military  
 parades - balls and feastings - were there displayed in great  
 splendor and magnificence. An occasion like was of course interest-  
 ing to the sojourners at Hadley, who had been with some impatience  
 waiting for an opportunity of returning home. As soon as peace had  
 been proclaimed, I took Charles and went to Boston, to be present at  
 the coming celebration - and while there initiated some measures for  
 our return - and for resuming any business. On recurring to my books  
 of that date, I find that even on that visit, after peace was pro-  
 claimed, I paid 42\$ for a barrel of sugar - probably not less than  
 20 cts. a pound. I believe that it was in the preceding Dec. that  
 our house at the corner of High and Summer Sts. had been broken into,  
 but it would seem merely for the purpose of stealing a very valuable  
 flute, as nothing else was ever missed; tho' there were some slight  
 marks of an attempt at one of the closets, which would have been  
 bootless, if it had been successful, as no silver had been left there.  
 But the thief to this day remains, not only undetected, but even  
 unsuspected, - for the only persons I knew, who had probably sufficient  
 knowledge of its locality - and who would have been likely to covet  
 its possession - I always believed to be perfectly honest.  
 Towards the latter part of April we left my mother's home and  
 returning to Boston, commenced business again in a small way, having  
 previously engaged a man - John White of Hatfield - to carry on my

part of the Hadley farm. The barn and cowhouse were built this year by Richard Osborne and David Jones, and cost not far from 600 dolls. cash. About the 22nd of Sep. we visited Hadley again - and while there experienced, perhaps the most severe southeasterly storm - the equinoctial - I ever knew. It proved very destructive in its ravages throughout New England. Many isolated trees and buildings were blown down and destroyed, and many acres of large forest timber were prostrated to the earth. On our return to Boston two days afterwards, there was scarcely a town thro which we passed, that did not furnish melancholy evidence of the violence of the tempest. At Watertown, 7 miles from Boston, the trees were all covered, and the leaves seared and scortched by the sea spray which the wind had furiously driven from the Harbor of Boston; and in that place as well as many others, chimnies were blown down and much damage sustained by the shipping.

The Unitarian controversy was this year maintained with great heat and vigor by both parties - the great orthodox guns - Dr. Worcester of Salem - and Stewart and Woods of Andover bearing down with all their force upon poor Unitarianism - while Ware - Channing and Thacher nobly sustained its defence.

This year 1815 was signalized by the great and decisive battle of Waterloo on the 18th of June, which was followed in about three weeks by the complete investment of Paris by the allied army, the entire overthrow of the imperial government, and the flight of Napoleon, and surrender of himself, as a voluntary prisoner on board a British ship of the line - in preference to falling into the hands of the Allied chiefs - the Duke of Wellington and Prince Blucher, the Commander of the Prussian forces, thus closing the long and sanguinary war of France

running thro more than a quarter of a Century. At this period the commerce of Europe and America was fast, resuming its usual peaceful relations. Men bred to the business and well established in it, might indulge reasonable hopes of success - but the untrained - desultory shipper must now expect as a matter of course to pocket more losses than gains - and the truth of this was fully verified in the business in which I allowed myself to engage, as small as it was, for the two succeeding years, such being the aspect of things, I was induced at the close of the year to accept the office of Cashier of the Massachusetts Bank, which had been vacant since Mr. Thwing's embezzlement and dismissal, its duties having been performed meanwhile by Mr. Head, one of the directors. Mr. Wm. Parsons - another director - whether influenced by a strong feeling of personal friendship, or by a settled conviction of my fitness for the office - or both, partly by both, was quite desirous that I should take it. There is, in fact, no doubt that thro his influence alone, it was offered to me. I trust that I duly appreciated his kindness. It was indeed but one, tho a marked one - of an uninterrupted series of kind and friendly acts - sometimes I fear not highly deserved - which began with our early acquaintance, and continued for more than forty years - till his death. But if Mr. P. did really think me possessed of any qualification for the office beyond moral honesty and fidelity of purpose, he committed almost the only mistake, with which I ever knew his judgment to be fairly chargeable. But whether the choice was a judicious one or not, there can be no doubt it was prompted by the kindest feeling possible towards myself. And as Sarah's feelings and views so entirely coincided with my own, that a plan of life, which would seem to promise us a competent support in

Boston, would be much preferable to falling back upon the Hadley farm, it is not surprising perhaps, under all the circumstances, that I concluded that the old maxim applied to poetry, did not necessarily apply to Banks - and that a man who would go to work in earnest, might make himself a passable cashier - altho he could not lay any possible claim to having been born one - I accepted the office.

On the 1st of January 1816 I became Cashier of the Massachusetts Bank, and took formal possession of its Keys and Treasures. The directors were friendly and courteous, and the clerks all very civil, attentive and obliging. I believe there was no change of directors or Clerk, while I remained in the office - and my relations with all of them were of the most friendly character, and I believe were mutually satisfactory. But the change of life was not on the whole pleasant. I was for six days of the week confined to the Bank from 9 to 3 o'clock, which often brot me to a cold - and always to a solitary dinner -. After a while, the confinement itself became not merely irksome, but positively injurious - my health suffered for the want of exercise - of which I have needed a great share thro life. Many persons can obtain all the exercise required for their health by a daily walk of several miles - but all such, I imagine, feel an interest in, and derive a real pleasure from the very fact of locomotion, and beholding a great variety of objects. It is not so with me - I can perform labor as a duty - I can journey to visit my friends, or on business - and can thus gain the incidental benefit of restoring or increasing my health ; but to ride or walk for the specific purpose or aim of passing over so many miles of space - and receiving therefor so many ounces of flesh,

is a kind of drudgery which I never could have any heart to submit to, and which if I had done it, could only have defeated the very end and object attempted. Of course my health continued to decline - I became nervous - irritable - and desponding - till at length, after a wearisome effort of twenty one months, I resigned an office which neither physical energy - technical education - appropriate talents, tact or taste ever enabled me properly to fill. The resignation had been a subject often talked of in my family for weeks, if not months before it took place, and I had no doubt was fully expected by my wife. But when I announced it to her as a fact accomplished - the effect upon her was so visible - impressive - and lasting - that I would willingly, if practicable, have withdrawn my letter to the Directors. But more probably of this in its proper place.

Having thus gone thro with my cashiership, I now resume the events of 1816; about the last of April I visited Hadley for the purpose of arranging the farm affairs and making preparation for building a house etc. John White was again employed, who continued in charge of the farm for a year longer. Having contracted with Rich. Osborn to build me a house, I was occupied during a part of the time in laying out the foundations and digging the cellar. I then returned home and saw nothing more of it till its completion in Nov. following. It was raised, I think, on the 4th of July 1816 (I find <sup>by</sup> my mother's diary that it was raised on the 3rd being Wednesday, the prayer made after sunset) and a prayer was made at my request on that occasion by brother Huntington, who had previously removed from Middletown to

Hadley with his family.

Towards the close of Nov. I took my wife to see what I thought might at a future day become her residence. The buildings were then about completed, and I then settled up the accounts with Osborn, giving my note according to the original agreement for the balance - (about 1500\$) - payable in the succeeding April. But when the note was paid him, he proved himself a knave - by absconding with the money, and cheating many of the persons whom he had employed, out of their just dues. I have also even entertained strong suspicions that he defrauded me out of large sums, but having no positive evidence of the fact, I of course make no direct charge. Of his dishonesty, however, no one had the least doubt.

Previous to our return to Boston, we installed Mrs. Hitchcock with Charles and Martha, her children, in their new dwelling; and my wife and myself lodged in the southwest chamber, the nights preceding our departure, as their guests. The first and the last time for her!

Sometime about mid summer, the Rev'd. Mr. Thacher, finding his health fast failing, was advised to try a voyage to Europe as a last resort, and he soon sailed for England, thence again for the Cape of Good Hope, where he resided during the winter of 1817, and after a long and distressing voyage in April and May reached England again in June. His physicians then sent him to the South of France where he arrived in the autumn and fixing himself at Moulines (I believe) lingered out for a few months longer a suffering existence till some of the first days of Jany (the 2nd) 1818, when he thankfully

yielded up his gentle spirit to his heavenly Father.---- "He died", said his servant, "like an angel". The last of Aug. 1816 or early in Sep. I left the house at the corner of High and S. Street and removed to that of Mr. Eben Parsons opposite the new church. My last residence had been on the whole much the pleasantest, which we had ever occupied. The house was convenient and well accommodated our family, and afforded a beautiful and uninterrupted view down thro South St. It stood on what was then thot to be the Garden Street of Boston - in a very agreeable neighborhood - and from which, within a distance of about twelve rods, we could visit three families of our most intimate relations, those of Mr. Eben - Wm. and Gorham Parsons - and what we deemed still further advantage, it placed us within a two minutes walk of the church in which we worshiped. There was also a chaise house and barn, and a small garden attached to the premises. These and many other untold comforts and helpings bestowed by a kind Providence upon us were, I trust, in some degree gratefully appreciated at the time. But their true worth and importance even afterwards, were sensibly felt by us, in the contrast so distinctly realized in the coming future. We had occupied the house four years, from April 1, 1812, to April 1, 1816, under annually renewed leases, from Judge Phillips. But about this time he had sold the estate to Ralph Haskins, and I held the occupancy under him for about 5 months, till Sep. 5, when he took possession of it himself. This was by far the longest occupation of any house in which we had ever lived, and this period of time may truly be called the Halcyon days of our Boston

housekeeping. And even now, after the lapse of more than 40 years - my memory recalls many of the scenes and events of that day as old-familiar - and welcome acquaintances.

My Family expenses for 1815 (which I have omitted to state at the proper time) amounted to the very moderate sum of 2078.92 - an economical expenditure! While, I know not for what reason, the expenses for this year, 1816, rose to the enormous sum of 3352.70 !! - being the largest expenditure for the family in any year of my house-keeping from my earliest marriage down to this present year of grace - 1857. From the experience of the preceding year we had some ground for hoping that my salary as Cashier (7000 \$) would nearly, if not quite, support my family; and that prospect was a strong inducement to the acceptance of the office. But sometime before the close of the current year, it became sadly apparent that we were far outrunning our income. This result was, however, in no degree connected with the farm, for every charge and expense in any way applicable to the farm, was carried to that specific account. I find, however, among the minutes of this year, an analysis of the family expenses, which gives the whole in detail, and shows that the subject attracted particular notice at that time - but affords no explanation of the increased expenditure. In addition to all this, I had during the year, engaged in five different shipments to Europe, the most of which, if not all, threatened me with serious losses. In this discouraging state of things we closed the outgoing year. -----

The commencement of the disastrous year - 1817 - found my family in four months occupation of Mr. Eben Parson's dwelling house

where we remained 4 months longer - till the last of April. In this house, on Sunday the 16th day of Marcy, 1817, our 4th son Arthur was born - the ninth and last child of his mother, and the only one who survived her without remembering her. A fair and healthy child - who drained the last precious drops that flowed from his mother's breast. In April we took another step on the downward track, and hired a house in Eliot St. of Adam Smith, the leading truckman of Boston. The house was barely passable - the greater portion of the neighborhood below that. I had calculated upon our removal on the 1st of May - and on the last week in April made a short visit to Hadley to arrange matters with Charles Hitchcock about the farm. During my absence, however, my wife, who had but just dismissed her nurse, undertook and accomplished the removal herself, and on my return to Boston, I found a new home in Eliot St. comfortably arranged for my reception. On this first night of my return, I had retired prostrate and exhausted from sickness and fatigue, and the family all quiet and still, when I was roused by a loud call from the street to preside at the meeting of a Military Company for the choice of officers - to which duty I had been detailed by a special Brigade order of Genl. Welles. I pleaded fatigue and physical inability - but all in vain. If the Election was not held and the return was not signed on that day, the officers to be chosen in that corps would of necessity lose their relative rank as compared with others in the Brigade to be elected on the same day - and it was now too late in the night to allow an order to pass its various stages detailing another presiding officer. I, therefore, very reluctantly

I confess, obeyed the order - my uniform was all to be looked up, and my whole military attire to be donned. After all this preparation I marched forth, and arrived at the Exchange Coffee House near State St. not far from 11 o'clock and completed the Election before the clock struck the hour of midnight. The weeks passed away, and my flesh and strength seemed to be passing away with them. About this time the intention of President Monroe to visit New England was officially announced, and measures were at once adopted for his reception in Boston with all the honors due to his official rank and station. Orders were issued - (I think from Head Quarters) detailing the Battalion of Cavalry attached to the 3rd Brigade - (The Boston 1st Division of the Massachusetts Militia to assemble at the Southern termination of Washington St. - then called Boston Neck - to receive the President of the U.S. whenever he should arrive at that point and to escort him and his suite to his lodgings at the Exchange Coffee House in Boston, through certain streets - named in the order of procession as arranged for the occasion. Notice having been accordingly received that the President would probably reach the Boston line on Wed. the 2nd day of July, at such an hour in the forenoon - the Corps was early on the ground - drawn up in order of reception, with their right of flank resting front, guarded by pickets and sentries. In this position they awaited the President and his Cortage.

At length the rear of the cannon near Roxbury Meeting House announced the fact that the President was then passing the summit of the Hill, and in a few minutes he was at the Line - about 12 o'clock.

He halted just long enough to receive the customary Cavalry second salute, and three flourishes of trumpets, and signified his readiness to proceed. The escort then wheeled into marching order of threes, posting a few files on the right and left flank of the President's carriage, as a guard of honor, and took up the line of march - in reversed order the left of the escort leading the whole - thus bringing its commanding officer on its right, directly in communication with the personage or the functionary thus escorted. (I have been thus particular, because many persons, out of military life, and some of those in it, seem not to understand clearly the true principle of escort duty. At least it so appears to me).

As soon as the President and those more immediately associated with him in his journey had opened sufficient space, the Municipal government of Boston, at that time Selectmen - and the various deputations in attendance - with the invited guests both civil and military - all in carriages, successively fell into the procession in his rear. After them came an immense assemblage of splendid carriages filled with the aristocracy, if I may call any of the inhabitants of the plain-sober - Republican Town of Boston - and these were in turn succeeded by a vast cavalcade of mounted citizens - - thus closing what seemed to the eye, an almost interminable line of living and breathing pageantry. The escort at length reached the Exchange, wheeled into line - and after paying the honor of a passing salute to the Chief Magistrate of the Nation - as he entered his lodgings - were dismissed.

After this splendid reception given to the President on his entrance into Boston, it was concluded further to honor the occasion by a grand military review of the troops, and Monday 7th of July was the day selected for the purpose. The weather proved to be very fine, tho rather uncomfortably warm for field duty, as it usually is at that season of the year. The Huzzars were of course in the field - with the light Dragoons. This was my last appearance in a military capacity. Just 40 years ago, this day, I commanded the Cavalry, at the Presidential Review on Boston Common - and contributed my last efforts to do honor to what I deem to be the most exalted office known to the Nations of the Earth - The Presidency of the Glorious Union of the United States. (Such at least was then my conviction - and full faith - whatever may be thought of it in 1857) ---- At the close of a sultry and somewhat fatiguing day's service, I threw aside a uniform - which I had worn, I must say, with some degree of pleasure, if not pride, and I trust without discredit to myself or others - for a period of seven years, and bade a final farewell to all my fantastic greatness and bloodless mimicry of war. Shortly after this I resigned my commission and received from the Commander in Chief, on the 27th of September 1817 - an honorable discharge.

(The following paragraph should have been inserted in the account on page 83, between the 2nd and 3rd line from the bottom - after "living and breathing pageantry", p.69 of typing-)

The pupils of the Boston schools made a most conspicuous part of the arrangements of the day. They were drawn up in two lines, the boys on one side, and the girls facing them on the other,

from the foot of the Common at the south east corner at Boylston St. extending up the whole distance to Park St. Church - leaving a wide space between the ranks - and numbering about 4000 of both sexes. Between these lines, the whole procession passed, entering the avenue from Boylston St. - just east of the Burying Ground. The boys formed the west line, and the girls the east one - next to the Mall on Colonsde Row. The girls were all dressed in white, and each one wore a red and white rose, to indicate that both political parties were united on this occasion. The President was so struck by this display on the Common, that he stopped the procession to gaze at the sight. It was doubtless by far the most interesting spectacle of the day. Francis recollects being present. Benjamin Russell's Columbian Centinel of that period furnishes a detailed account of the President's reception and his whole visit, which was said at the time to have equalled a Roman Triumph.

The removal of my family to Hadley, which had frequently been a subject of conversation, had now become a question of serious interest.

The few shipments I had made in 1816, except one, which had barely saved itself, had all been closed up with a loss somewhat exceeding the sum of \$2100. This year I had engaged in no business beyond that of the Bank - and my family expenses for the first six months had already amounted to 1200 \$ - being \$200 more than I had earned - while the expenses of the last half of the year would doubtless, as usual, exceed those of the first some two or three hundred more. Retrenchment is quite a familiar topic for discussion, but it seldom happens what families or individuals are very successful in carrying out its

its practical results.- In our case at least, further efforts seemed hopeless and removal presented itself father as a little necessity than a measure of choice. It was clear that my salary would not support us in Boston. My own health was evidently failing - and a home, - tho at that time not a very inviting one, was ready for us at Hadley, but one which would at any rate give us shelter, without rent charge. About the close of August I had therefore, tho reluctantly, concluded to leave Boston. I have no date to enable me to state the exact time when I resigned my office, but it was probably early in Sep. and we were soon after making preparations for our departure. Some time in the summer Dr. Lyman of Hatfield called upon us. The conversation turning upon the buildings which I had recently put up at Hadley - I remarked that I had built a house for my wife, which I hoped might be a happy home for her in her old age. The words were still passing my lips, when an involuntary shudder, thrilled thro my whole frame, which seemed to say in all but audible language - "Your hopes are blasted. She will never enter it"--- I state this simply as a fact - without allusion to either cause or effect - and this is the first and only notice ever taken of it. Another incident, having however no connection with the preceding one, is also now fresh in my memory, and which made a deep impression on my feelings at the time. It occurred probably on the 2nd or 3rd Sabbath in Sep - perhaps a fortnight before our expected removal. The children after breakfast were all dressed with scrupulous care and neatness, and they all excepting Arthur,

the infant, accompanied us to meeting at the "New South" in Summer St. Charles - Sarah, Francis - Marianne and Caroline - a precious little band - in which, including Arthur, were centered the fondest hopes and the warmest affections of both Mother and Father. After the morning services, as we were walking home through Essex St. my dear wife remarked to me with a degree of emotion not usual with her, that she had brought all the children with us that day, who were able to attend, as she felt a strong desire that we might all once more go together to the Sanctuary, where we had so long and often worshiped - and that she might, for the last time thus publicly dedicate anew to God, those, whom He had kindly given, and thus far had graciously spared to her; for it was not probable that, as a family, we should ever meet there again. ----- She expressed her devout gratitude that the opportunity had been granted to her. "Their future rests with God, and is hidden from us" --- I shared deeply in her sentiments and feelings. The conversation had been serious, and the occasion ought to have resulted in a more tranquil frame of mind -- but I reached home sad and dejected.

The two following weeks were chiefly occupied in preparation for our removal; and the last day of Sep. had been named as the day for Ellet St. I can find no minutes which will enable me to determine the day on which my wife had been taken sick; but it was probably about Monday the 22nd of Sep. In the midst of all the confusion and turmoil of taking down beds, packing trunks - and boxing up furniture, she was struck down by a violent typhous fever. Surrounded by

all this unavoidable noise and tumult, she lay for several days prostrate upon her bed, and for two days at first racked by intense pain in the head, back and limbs, with a raging fever parching up her frame; and yet occasionally giving directions, about the work then in progress. At length the arrangements were completed, and on Tuesday the 30th of Sep. with much difficulty and greater anxiety on my part, she was placed in a coach, and carried - a very sick woman - to her Aunt Theophilus's house in Chauncy Place; where she was attended and nursed with all the care, tenderness and solicitude, which love and affection could possibly bestow. We were now entering upon Oct. and this was the week, in which we had hoped to find our family comfortably settled at Hadley. But "Man appoints - and God disappoints" -- we were not to leave Boston so soon, and one of us never. The three girls were at Aunt Theoph's, with their sick mother. Uncle Wm. Parsons invited Charles, Francis and myself to stay with him - and Arthur was sent to Mrs. Woodman(s to be nursed, I think once or twice daily. The few things we had still retained were now shipped for Hartford, and the bills collected for such articles of furniture as had been sold. There was one circumstance connected with this sale, which gave me at the time considerable uneasiness. We had a pair of mirrors quite large, for common families at that day, one of which (being the fellow of the one, which has for about 40 years occupied the space between the south windows of the parlor in which I am now writing) it was thought best to sell, as there was no room for it in this house, as it was at first built. The measure itself was reasonable and proper - but

the idea forced itself on my mind that it was but a presage of  
the sundering of a Union of far deeper interest and character.  
The depressed state of my feelings doubtless greatly fostered  
such impressions. But however foolish and simple the idea might  
be, it had not been reasoned into my mind and I could not entirely  
reason it out. The disease of my wife had now settled down into  
a regular fever, and we had only to watch from day to day, its  
gradual progress - and full often in the silence and gloom of the  
midnight were counted in anxious suspense - - - - - on horse-  
back rode The tedious hours that slowly crept away I took it, the blood  
curdle Till "on the weary night dawned wearier day." But God sus-  
t At length towards the middle of Oct. the fever relaxed its grasp, and  
more favorable symptoms encouraged our hopes. About the 15th a  
young woman, Mary B. Spear - was engaged as a wet nurse for Arthur-  
and they both, at Uncle and Aunt William's took up their abode in  
his family till we left Boston. For a week Sarah was evidently  
better - she was regaining both her appetite and strength - tho  
slowly - and on Sat. the 18th the Doctor thought she was so far  
improved that I might safely <sup>leave</sup> have her, and go to Hadley, where my  
presence was then very much needed. Accordingly on Monday the 20th  
in the morning, I commenced my journey with Charles and Francis for  
my companions. I had seen my wife at an early hour in the morning -  
had found her apparently very comfortable - and had parted with her -  
still on a sick bed - yet with encouraging hopes of her speedy  
recovery. But I had parted with her for the last time. It was  
fine Oct. weather and we accomplished our journey with-

out accident, and arrived at what I could only call my half home, on Tuesday about dark. But the journey had been to me anything but pleasant - it had indeed been sad and oppressive - a dread of impending evil was pressing me down thro both days - and the burden seemed to be no lighter on the third. I was then, however, a poor downcast Hypochondriac, and all these depressing feelings were naturally to be expected.

The next morning, Thursday the 23rd, as I was standing at the North door in the washroom about seven o'clock a stranger on horseback rode up to the door and gave me a letter. As I took it, the blood curdled at my heart - and I seemed sinking to the floor. But God sustained me. "My wife is dead?" "Yes Sir" was the reply. "When did you leave Boston?" "Yesterday at one o'clock afternoon". He declined rest and refreshment here and returned to Benj. Smith's tavern.

At half past 10 Charles, Francis and myself were on our way to Boston where we all arrived at the same hour on Friday, riding (with several relays of stages from Brookfield) a great part of the night. Brother Huntington and I think Edward followed us in the afternoon, and reached there Friday evening. The letters which I had received by the express on Thursday were from Dr. Rand and Mr. Wm. Parsons. The first was dated at 11 o'clock Wed. forenoon, and gave an account of my wife's condition till that hour. On Monday she had been considerably agitated, but on Tuesday her aunt thought she looked better than she had seen her at any time before, and had passed a good night. She sat up in bed to eat her breakfast - but before she finished it, was siezed with a violent spasm in the right groin which brought on severe

pain. He visited her three times during the day, and his prescriptions having all operated kindly, she appeared in the evening much relieved, and exhibited no remaining external symptoms of the morning's attack except a soreness of the parts. Her night, however, was restless and about 3 in the morning she was seized with a spasmodic attack of the heart, which was soon succeeded by a difficulty of breathing - and at last by cold sweat, which betokened a speedy dissolution. When he closed his letter, she was rapidly sinking - but in the full possession of her reason. The other was a very affectionate and sympathizing letter from Uncle William dated at one o'clock Oct. 22 informing me that "Our dear dear Mrs. Phelps has left us one hour since - she died without a groan or a sigh"----- 1817 we took joint possession with my sister. I believe that Aunt Theoph has told me that on Monday forenoon it had been arranged that Sarah should have taken a short ride - but that when the hour came she tho't herself unable to make the effort. (The above mentioned letters are on file with many others, in my secretary) Mr. William Parsons had relieved me from the task of making all the necessary preparations for the funeral, and it accordingly took place on Sat. the 25th of Oct. 1817 from the house of Aunt Theophilus Parsons in Chauncy Place. It was the home in which of all others my wife would have wished to die, if, as in this case, she might have died away from her own ----- Her body was placed in her Uncle Eben Parsons' tomb in the "Common Burying Ground" by the side of her father and our three deceased children.

On the next day, - Sunday - President Kirkland preached an occasional discourse from James 4th, 13th and 14th verses, which was tho't to be of very pertinent application.

We had now accomplished the work which had been left us to do in Boston; and on Wed. the 29th our cousin Charlotte Parsons and the nurse (both of whom passed the winter in Hadley) together with myself, and those whom a kind as well as righteous Providence had left to me, took our final departure - as a family - from Boston, and on Friday the 31st of Oct. arrived without accident at Brother Huntington's for the night.

My mother who was then quite feeble and helpless sat at the supper table with us for the last time. She was greatly affected at our arrival and died the 11th of Nov.

On Saturday the 1st of Nov. 1817 we took joint possession with my sister Hitchcock, of our new - sad - and disconsolate home - which thro' God's kind providence and blessing has been my resting place for almost 40 years of my long life and which has proved to have been a much happier home than I ever expected, and most certainly a far - far better one than I ever deserved.

Having thus brought down such personal reminiscences, as I could readily wake from their long slumber, from my first acquaintance with that lovely and beloved woman, whom it had been my privilege - my pride - and my happiness to call my wife - to that sad and mournful event, which dissolved forever our earthly connexion - a connexion of unfaltering love and uninterrupted harmony through the whole period of our wedded life;--- I cannot lay aside my pen without sketching a brief memorial of her worth and excellence.

To say that her figure was perfectly symmetrical, that her walk was dignified and graceful - her manners bland and easy - and her face more than attractive, would all be true; but would add nothing to her intrinsic merits. Yet a few additional particulars may not be wholly irrelevant or uninteresting. Her person was of full average height, and at the age of seventeen, much inclined to corpulency - but at twenty was a model of female form and proportion. Her complexion fair and clear - with a slight occasional tinge of the rose; her eyes were grey, rather mild than piercing, and the combined expression of her countenance indicating at once the soundness of her understanding, and the tenderness of her heart. Her intellectual powers were strong and vigorous, tho' as has been before stated, not highly cultivated - her lot thro life having been chiefly cast among her near relations, many of whom possessed distinguished talents, but none of them mingling much in the fashionable walks of society. Indeed her connexions all belonged to what were then called country towns, till she had become several years of age. Many of them were devout christians - and she had been trained to a conscientious discharge of every social and religious obligation. As her disposition and temperament were unusually gentle and conciliatory, her deportment was of course never obtrusive, but rather retiring; and among her friends in the social circle, she was always welcomed as a favorite companion. Her passions and affections were ever in harmonious action, and seemed to be always subjected to the entire command of her Will. I never saw her angry - and I never knew her fond. She united herself with the New South Church in Boston, then under J. T. Kirkland's care, I believe early in the year 1801 - (of which I had been a member from the 1st of

(Jan. 1798)---- It need not be recorded that she was a dutiful and affectionate daughter, both to her parents by marriage, (adoption?) as well as to her natural father; a discreet, the devoted mother to her children - and a kind and considerate mistress to all under her charge. Residing for many years in the family, and under the eye and direction of her Aunt Theophilus Parsons, she was fully instructed in all the duties of domestic life - and perfectly conversant with all its details. Home, indeed, with its cares - its interests - and its joys - was the element in which she found her highest gratification and delight. The poor shared her bounty, the sick and the sorrowful her sympathy and aid. And in all the varied scenes and relations of life, in which Providence called her to act, it was her earnest desire and her unceasing endeavor to discharge every duty with scrupulous fidelity, and as one who expected to render an account.

The same air of dejection - - - - - was attended her during the  
 At the bottom of the 70th page (middle of page 63 typing) alluding was made to the effect produced upon my wife by the announcement of my actual resignation of the office of Cashier. The following observations are now added as a marginal note to the reference there made.  
 On hearing the statement she stood for some moments silent and motionless. --- Being informed that Mr. Payson was to be my successor, she remarked that there was at least one person - Mrs. Payson - who would rejoice at my resignation. And from that moment, I have no recollection that she ever opened her lips on the subject. She rarely indeed, if ever, alluded to Hadley as her future residence; and her attention was now mainly occupied, as it very properly should be, with

the objects immediately surrounding her. Indeed neither of us could then be charged with entertaining any undue hopes of happiness from a country life - nor with even a desire to try the experiment any farther than necessity demanded. All our predilections were in truth concentrated in the boundaries of Boston.

From our earliest acquaintance, she had always manifested a cheerful and boyant acquiescence in every present condition, and bright and hopeful anticipations for the future. But a visible change seemed now to have passed over her aspect and feelings. There was no failure in duty, nor any relaxation of effort, but there seemed to be little interest, and still less pleasure, manifested in its performance. She was sad and discouraged, and appeared as if thought her task nearly ended, and that her only aim and purpose should thenceforth be to discharge the few remaining duties of life with scrupulous fidelity, and a calm and humble resignation to the Divine Will.

The same air of dejection and hopelessness attended her during the whole course of her sickness; and from her first attack, I very much doubt if she ever for a moment entertained any real expectation of recovery. This desponding apprehension however was never expressed in the language of her lips - but her daily looks and actions spoke a language that no attentive observer could fail to understand. I perceive that I have sketched a somewhat gloomy picture. A morbid imagination may possibly have given to some of it too dark a shade; but the impression made nearly 40 years ago by the sad realities, which I then saw and felt, is still much too deep to allow the pencil to be dipped in much brighter colors.

For the picture. - - - - -

Having mentioned at the foot of the 87th page (middle of page 78 in typing) the death of my mother, which followed that of my wife in such quick succession, that it might well be called the concluding scene of the drama, I now subjoin a short notice of her family and character, as a fitting close of these imperfect and desultory recollections of bygone years.

and in later life somewhat inclined to a full figure - the last  
 corpulent.

Elizabeth (Porter) Phelps - my mother - was a direct lineal descendant of Samuel Porter, one of the original proprietors and first settlers of Hadley; and his descendants have composed many of the leading families of the town during the last two centuries. The first Samuel - the settler - arrived in Hadley near the close of the year 1659. The second Samuel was born in the following April, and was the first male child born in the town of European parentage. The third Samuel was born in 1685. (He had a brother born in 1693, the first Eleazer). The fourth Samuel was born in 1709. He had a younger brother Moses - born in 1721. The three Samuels last named were, I believe, each of them the first-born child of their parents. My mother was the only child of Moses. She was born Nov. 15th 1747 - old style - and was married to Charles Phelps of Hadley June 14, 1770. (In her diary she says she gave hand to Charles Phelps a few moments before 4 o'clock - Polly Porter and Dorothy bridesmaids - 30 couples at the wedding.) This connexion, I believe, was thought by the Porter families of that day as somewhat beneath her rank and standing. But it proved to be a very fortunate and happy union for both parties.

Among other groundless apprehensions it was feared that he would squander her estate; but it was managed by him with great prudence, judgment and foresight; and at his death, he had greatly increased the number of its acres - besides having vastly enhanced the intrinsic value of the original property. My mother was said to have been comely in person, tho of less than the average height, and in later life somewhat inclined to a full figure - tho not corpulent.

For many years before her death, she suffered much from shortness of breath, and was frequently quite feeble and diseased - though not often confined to her house. Her mental powers were good and well adjusted, but not remarkable for strength or brilliancy. In mixed society she was cautious and guarded in her conversation, and I never heard her speak evil of any one. The law of kindness dwelt always upon her lips. With strangers she was rather reserved and silent, but among her friends and familiar acquaintance she was free and communicative, and ready to sustain her share of the conversation. She was a most indefatigable reader, and at some periods of her life, frequently allowed the evening to run far towards the morning before she laid aside her book. Her reading embraced almost all subjects, but was directed more especially to novels - better letters - and Theology. Her religion was deep seated in the heart, and was rigidly Calvinistic, as was then the prevailing creed of all New England. From the early impressions of my childhood - derived most probably from her teachings - I think she must have viewed the power and sovereignty of GOD as overshadowing all his attributes of Love and Mercy. The earliest idea that I remember to

have formed of God in my childhood and Youth, represented him as a being of human form - of large dimensions - sitting on his throne - clothed with terrific power - angry with all his creatures and threatening vengeance and destruction upon the whole guilty and rebellious race of Adam.

These characteristics were not indeed all regularly drawn out in detail in my youthful mind; but the one dread image that rose to my view was - an all powerful, angry - and World hating God. And yet this was the Being required to love - a Being whom, with such conceptions as I could then form of him, I could not possibly regard except in the light of an enemy, who was ready with uplifted arm to crush and destroy me. Indeed such is the image, which even to this day to this day is very apt to rise spontaneously in my mind, when the thought of God presents itself. The reasoning faculty may do much to produce true and correct results at last, but I have to this day found it impossible wholly to obliterate the deep impression made upon me by the teachings, feelings, and associations of my early youth. And even now, when standing on the verge of life, a cloud of doubt and despondency often settles down on the mental vision - and almost for the time, extinguishes every hope that the Gospel would inspire.---- But perhaps all this may be only the natural working of the carnal and unrenewed heart.

Let the effect however upon myself have been what it may, I have no doubt that a shade of gloom often overspread the usually bright and cheering prospects of my mother's religious experience.

Her views of religion I think had become in some degree modi-