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AINSWORTH AND STIRLING

Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Ainsworth are spoken of in the diaries as nephew and niece to John and Eliza (McNeill) Winstanley (see Image 40) by virtue of the fact that Thomas Ainsworth's mother and John Winstanley's first wife were Hatton sisters (of whom there were seven). Thomas Ainsworth (bap. Preston 29 March 1804 – 28 June 1881) was the son of David (c. 1773 – 13 May 1819) and Alice (Hatton) (c. 1776 – 1 December 1827) Ainsworth.¹ They made their home in Preston. David Ainsworth and his younger brother, Thomas, were partners in the cotton-spinning business.² The death of David Ainsworth while his son Thomas was still at school precluded Thomas's going to college, while his extreme youth made it impossible for him to "take his father's place in the business partnership," and resulted in the closing of the business.³ On the death of his mother and shortly thereafter of one of his three sisters (Charlotte [c. 1809 – 18 July 1828]), all younger than himself, Thomas Ainsworth left Preston "with his two remaining sisters" and "went to live at Summer Hill ... in North Lancashire."⁴ He was already engaged in flax spinning in this area and became very successful.⁵ In his religion, he was a staunch Unitarian.⁶ On 24 May 1836, he married Mary Laurie Stirling (bap. 6 April 1808 – 28 February 1867), eldest daughter of the Rev. John Stirling, D.D., of Craigie, Ayrshire, and of Mary (Macquhae) Stirling.⁷ Mary Laurie (Stirling) Ainsworth's father had been moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.⁸ "About the time of his marriage, [Thomas] Ainsworth purchased the mills at Cleator, in Cumberland."⁹ He also bought "the property at The Flosch."¹⁰ In addition to flax spinning, he was a "pioneer in the commercial development of West Cumberland ... one of the first to commence iron-mining ... in that district ... also a large farmer."¹¹ He and his wife were living at the Flosch during the period covered by the diaries, and all of their children were born there.¹² At the time Anna Whistler (see Images 1–5) speaks of meeting Mrs. Thomas Ainsworth, the Ainsworths had two sons, David (1842 – 21 March 1906) and John Stirling (later Sir) (30 January 1844 – 24 May 1923)¹³ and had lost a son named Thomas Hatton (d. 1847).¹⁴ Their fourth son, William Macquhae (20 December 1848 –

26/27 May 1891), was born just after the period covered by the diaries.¹⁵ Thomas Ainsworth was one of the executors of John Winstanley's will.

Mary Laurie (Stirling) Ainsworth had seven sisters: Isabella (bap. 8 October 1809), Jane Erskine (bap. 12 February 1811), Elisabeth (bap. 18 December 1812), Lydia Ainsworth (bap. 18 December 1814), Rose-Sophia (bap. 22 September 1818), Laura Margaret (bap. 1 October 1822), and Annabella Fullerton (bap. 24 June 1824), as well as three brothers: William (bap. 30 August 1816), John (bap. 13 July 1820), and James (bap. 8 October 1827), all with the same parents and baptized in the same place as she: Craigie by Kilmarnock, Ayrshire.¹⁶ At the time of Anna Whistler's meeting with her, she had lost two sisters: Laura Margaret and Annabella Fullerton.¹⁷

For a tribute to Thomas and Mary Laurie (Stirling) Ainsworth and further details of their lives, see Ainsworth, *Memorial*, pp. x–xxiv.

NOTES

1. Ainsworth, *Memorial*, pp. x, xii, xxii; Anthony Hewitson, *History (from A.D. 705 to 1883) of Preston, in the County of Lancaster* (Preston, UK: Chronicle Office, 1883), p. 516.
2. Ainsworth, *Memorial*, p. ix.
3. Ainsworth, p. xi.
4. Ainsworth, pp. xi, xii; Hewitson, *History of Preston*, p. 516.
5. Ainsworth, *Memorial*, p. xii.
6. Ainsworth, p. xii.
7. IGI; Ainsworth, *Memorial*, p. xii gives the year only and states it to be 1837.
8. Ainsworth, pp. xii–xiii.
9. Ainsworth, p. xiii.
10. Ainsworth, p. xiii.
11. Ainsworth, p. xvii.
12. Ainsworth, p. xiii.
13. Ainsworth, p. xxii; IGI; Michael Stenton and Stephen Lees, comps., *Who's Who of British Members of Parliament*, vol. 2: 1886–1918 (Hassocks, UK: Harvester Press; Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1978), pp. 3–4.

14. The death of Thomas Hatton Ainsworth was registered in the Whitehaven District in the March quarter of 1847.
15. Ainsworth, *Memorial*, p. xii.
16. *OPRS*.
17. As the 1846 will of Rev. John Stirling lists all of his children except for these daughters, it seems plausible that they are the two who had died by July 1847, when Anna Whistler met Annie Laurie (Stirling) Ainsworth (Will of John Stirling, Ayr Sheriff Court Inventories 1846, SC/44/14).

ANGEL

It is difficult to trace Miss Angel before December 1842 and after September 1843. As recorded in Eliza Winstanley's diary (Appendix D), she wrote her name in Eliza Winstanley's pocketbook as "Elizth Angel," but is called in a theater bill announcement, it would therefore seem erroneously, "Miss M. Angel."¹ "Elizabeth Angel" may, moreover, have been her stage name. There is thus little to anchor her with and help find her dates; we can nevertheless present a biography of her for this short period based chiefly on non-genealogical sources.²

A "Miss Angel" appeared in productions at the Theatre Royal, Manchester, from December 1842 to 9 June 1843 before transferring to the Adelphi Theatre, Edinburgh.³ Her first appearance there was on 28 June 1843, when she was referred to in a billing as "Miss M. Angel."⁴ Nothing has been found to indicate how long she stayed in Edinburgh, but a "Miss Angell, late of the Theatre Royal, Manchester," made her first appearance in Birmingham in a production on 25 September 1843.⁵ On 20 February 1845, a "Miss Angel" performed at the Theatre Royal in Bath.⁶

At the Theatre Royal, Manchester, in January 1843, Miss Angel appeared as Cora in *Pizarro*.⁷ A benefit in her honor, just before her departure from Manchester, was performed on 30 May 1843: she played the role of Mariana in *The Wife: A Tale of Mantua*, by Sheridan Knowles (1784–1862).⁸ On Wednesday, 7 June 1843, she was to appear in Knowles's *The Secretary* as Lady Laura Gaveston, but she was indisposed.⁹ On 28 June 1843, "Miss M. Angel" made her first appearance at the Adelphi Theatre, Edinburgh, as Desdemona in *Othello*.¹⁰ On 25 September 1843, she made her first appearance as Juliet in *Romeo and Juliet*.¹¹ She may also be the "Miss Angel" who performed at the Theatre Royal, Bath, on 20 February 1845, in *The Dream at Sea* and as "Jane Shore" in *The Tragedy of Jane Shore; or, The Royal Favourite*.¹²

Miss Angel's tutor, "to whom she was apprenticed," was Edward William Elton (London August 1794 – Lindisfarne 20 July 1843; see Image 76), "the well-known actor of the Theatres Royal Drury-lane and Covent-garden."¹³ She lost her tutor when Mr. Elton died in the fatal wreck of the steamer *Pegasus* off the Holy Island of Lindisfarne on 20

July 1843.¹⁴ He left seven motherless children, who became orphans, “the youngest not eight years of age.”¹⁵ A subscription in aid of them, which was enthusiastically greeted by the public, was announced in the *Morning Post* (London) on 7 August 1843.¹⁶

Assessment of Miss Angel as an actress varied according to people’s positions as theater reviewers, theater managers, and theater audiences. In December 1842, she was described after her first performance in Manchester, when she played Desdemona, as someone who would “acquire a position of no little eminence in the company,” if she “continue[d] to please as in this her first effort.”¹⁷ Her appearance and presentation were described in the same review as follows:

She has a clear, transparent face, through which there is seen a mind of no ordinary cast, whilst her manner is at once easy and graceful, winning upon her audience by its very simplicity. We were glad to find so little stage trick about her (for a professed *pupil*), and if she would but discard the false mode of pronouncing some of her words (a mode which we know to be very fashionable among many of our leading actors...), we should be mightily pleased with her, – it was indeed the only little blemish we could discover. Presuming her to be but recently acquainted with the stage, her Desdemona was a beautiful performance.¹⁸

When her benefit was announced, it was stated that “No member of the *corps dramatique* of our Theatre Royal is more deserving of the public than Miss Angell ... Independently of her great accomplishments as an actress, her ladylike demeanour in social life, and her many excellent qualities of heart and mind, entitle her to general support.”¹⁹ “Her style is pure, her manners graceful, and in the lighter shades of tragic character, or in the refinement of high comedy, we know few actresses of the present day who can compete with her. It will be long, we fear, before we have an actress equal to her in merit.”²⁰ It was felt by then that “the higher range of tragedy” was not her *forté*, that while she was “full of exquisite grace and fine feeling – the very perfection of gentleness – she [was] deficient in the grandeur of tragic passion, more

from physical weakness than mental appreciation.” A reviewer’s appreciation of her talent caused him to urge the theater manager, Mr. Roxby, to exhibit “a careful judgement in filling the vacancy” caused by her departure from the company.²¹

In Edinburgh, to which she had gone with Edward Elton, the theater columnist pointed out that her debut there was considered “far from successful.” He felt that the “indiscriminate applause” and “injudicious praise ... lavished upon her in Manchester” had been “fatal to [her] rising talent” and had caused her to wrongly estimate her “present status” as a actress.²²

When Eliza Winstanley met her in the coach, Elizabeth Angel had possibly already moved to Edinburgh, but she had not yet made her debut there. She was also deeply distressed at that point by her relationship with Samuel Lennox, who remained behind in Manchester as a comedian at the Queen’s Theatre, but we do not know whether he had already become involved with the Miss Craven whom he married some eighteen months later. Miss Angel mysteriously alluded to her circumstances and seemed not to care whether she lived or died. This is the background for the concern both Eliza Winstanley and the “old Gentleman” felt for her.

NOTES

1. *The Scotsman* (Edinburgh), June 23, 1843.
2. I am deeply grateful to Michael Welch, London, for finding the newspaper articles and to Christine Manzer, Vancouver, BC, for finding the books and internet references.
3. *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, December 17 and December 31, 1842, January 14, May 27, June 3, and June 10, 1843; *Manchester Times*, May 27 and June 10, 1843; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, June 24, 1843.
4. *The Scotsman* (Edinburgh), June 28, 1843.
5. *Aris’s Birmingham Gazette*, September 25, 1843.
6. *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, February 20, 1845.
7. *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, January 14, 1843.
8. *Manchester Times*, May 27, 1843.

9. *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, June 3 and June 10, 1843.
10. *The Scotsman* (Edinburgh), June 28, 1843.
11. *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, September 25, 1843.
12. *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, February 20, 1845.
13. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, June 8, 1843; *Buxton Herald*, July 27, 1843.
14. For his career, with its tragic end, see Thomas Marshall, *Lives of the Most Celebrated Actors and Actresses* (London: E. Appleby [1848?]), pp. 153–154; *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Elton, Edward William”; J. Murray, “The Wreck of the Steamship Pegasus,” Gregor MacGregor’s website, accessed 27 November 2020 http://www.gregormacgregor.com/Tod&Macgregor/pegasus_story.htm
15. *Buxton Herald*, July 27, 1843.
16. *Morning Post* (London), August 7, 1843. “The chair at a preliminary meeting in London for the purpose was taken by Charles Dickens [1812–1870]” (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Elton, Edward William”).
17. *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, December 31, 1842.
18. *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, December 31, 1842.
19. *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, May 27, 1843.
20. *Manchester Times*, May 27, 1843.
21. *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, June 10, 1843.
22. All quotations in this paragraph are taken from the *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, July 8, 1843. It should be pointed out that Angel had already been assessed while she was with the Theatre Royal there as being too weak physically to play such a heavy dramatic role as that of Desdemona.

*BENSON*¹

The misses Benson – Sarah (b. 27 March 1805; bap. St. Peter's Monkwearmouth, Durham 24 April 1805; d. Hartlepool, County Durham 1 April 1866; buried Mere Knolls Cemetery, Sunderland 3 April 1866)² and Elizabeth (b. 3 March 1804; bap. St. Peter's, Monkwearmouth, Durham 24 April 1805; d. Kingston-upon-Hull, Yorkshire 18 June 1887; buried Mere Knolls Cemetery, Sunderland, County Durham 21 June 1887)³ – ran a boarding house on the English Embankment a few doors down from Ritter's house, where the Whistlers and Ropeses lived.⁴ They were the daughters of George Benson (b. Monkwearmouth, Durham 10 November 1777; d. November or December 1819; buried Monkwearmouth, Durham 2 December 1819) and Barbara (Finley) Benson (b. c. 1783; d. February 1851; buried Monkwearmouth Shore 21 February 1851), who were married by license on 7 June 1802 in St. Peter's Church, Monkwearmouth, County Durham.⁵

The reason they had chosen to come to St. Petersburg may possibly be that their first cousin, Lucy Sherrard Finley (Sunderland, Durham 15 April 1817 – London 13 November 1893; see Image 340) had chosen to go there. Lucy Finley was the fourth child and eldest daughter of the ten children of Mary Ann (York) Finley (b. Southwark, London 1793; bap. St. Saviour's, Southwark, May 1793; d. New South Wales 1877; buried Dubbo Cemetery, New South Wales) and Matthew Smith Finley (Monkwearmouth, County Durham 12 December 1778 – Tower Hamlets, London 24 February 1847), who were married on 25 April 1810 at St. Dunstan's in the East near London Bridge. Required by circumstances to earn her own living, Lucy Finley went to St. Petersburg in about 1840, when she was about twenty-three years old. There, she was employed for eight years as governess to Sofia Mikhailovna Muravieva (1833–1880)⁶ the only daughter of the eminent family of Count Mikhail Nikolaevich Muraviev-Vilenskii (1796–1866; see Image 342).⁷ Her success may have encouraged Sarah and Elizabeth Benson to also venture out of England. One must remember, however, that they were about a dozen years older than she and must have already been engaged in a profession in England, which it has so far not been possible

to establish. When her duties permitted, Lucy Finley spent time with her two cousins at their boarding house, a traditional English governess whose bad teeth the American dentist Edward Maynard, a boarder (see Image 329), operated on without remuneration; and the maker of beautiful embroidered gifts that she gave for Christmas at her cousins' celebrations.

The Benson sisters came to St. Petersburg in about 1841 and in 1855, during the Crimean War (1853–1856), returned to England. On 19 March 1855, Elizabeth Benson “presented a petition for a licence” to run a boarding house, which was granted.⁸ It was called the Mansfield Hotel and was located at 4 Mansfield Street, Portland Place.⁹ On 9 April 1855, Miss Benson announced that “she has taken the above-named Hotel, and hopes to make it as comfortable and convenient to her Guests, as that she has just left in the capital of Russia. N.B. French and German languages spoken.”¹⁰ On 5 January 1856, a Petition in Bankruptcy was filed against “Elizabeth Benson and Sarah Benson ... Spinsters and Copartners, Hotel and Boarding-house Keepers.”¹¹

They were treated with great sympathy by the Bankruptcy Court in its proceedings of 26 March 1856, where it was explained that they were “single ladies [who] had for twelve years carried on business at St. Petersburg, keeping a boarding establishment in that city, but which they had been compelled to give up at the commencement of the war. On their return to England they invested the whole of their capital, about 1500l., in a similar establishment in Mansfield-street, Portland-place, but which proved a failure ... the official assignee said he had no doubt that the bankruptcy had arisen through the bankrupts believing that they would have equal success in London as in St. Petersburg ... [it was] also thought it was a case in which the Court might grant a first-class certificate with the full approbation of the creditors. His honour had much satisfaction in granting a certificate of the first class,”¹² which was the least severe of bankruptcy laws.¹³ On 19 December 1856, “one of Her Majesty’s Commissioners was to sit ... at the Court of Bankruptcy ... in order to make a Second Dividend,” which means that the government would make a second payment to the debtors in England to whom the Benson sisters were liable.¹⁴ In the meantime, they had applied for passports on 12 May 1856¹⁵ and had returned to Russia.¹⁶

Notices in British newspapers confirm that their boarding house was in operation in 1852, 1853, 1854, part of 1855, part of 1856, 1857, 1864, 1867, 1868, and 1869.¹⁷ *Murray's Handbook* which appeared in a completely new edition in 1865, having totally abandoned its 1849 edition, also listed it, with high praise.¹⁸ Sarah Benson died on 1 April 1866 in Hartlepool, County Durham, it would seem in the home of her sister Barbara (Benson) Hunter, on Regent Street.¹⁹ Elizabeth Benson closed the boarding house, located in these years at 78 English Embankment,²⁰ which she had been operating with the help of her nieces, “and sold off her furniture in June [1869], and together with her nieces, left for England shortly afterwards.”²¹

No will has been found for Sarah Benson. She has not been found in any English census, so it seems she was in Russia on the dates of all the censuses during her lifetime (1841, 1851, and 1861). Elizabeth Benson appears in the English censuses of 1871 and 1881. She signed a will dated 3 January 1881 in Kingston-upon-Hull and two codicils dated 14 February 1882. She died on 18 June 1887. Her personal estate, after deduction of expenses, amounted to around £1450. She left, all to relatives, a considerable number of art objects and household items representing substantial wealth. For example, to “Lucy Sherrard [Finley] Atkinson (Widow) the large water colour painting of a Lake in Siberia painted by her late Husband – the two garnet studs – the gold brooch in small diamonds and amethysts and the gold pencil case.” In addition to other paintings by Atkinson, one hundred and twenty-six stereoscopic views of European and English sites and subjects, along with her stereoscopic glass, were bequeathed to other family members, as were portraits of her friend, Charles Blacker Vignoles (1793–1875), British railway engineer, who may have stayed in the boarding house during the period of 1847–1853, when he was building the Nicholas Chain Bridge over the Dnepr River in Kiev, “the longest of its kind in the world” at that time.²²

* * * * *

The extant letters of two Americans residing at the boarding house in the 1840s – John Stevenson Maxwell to his mother and Dr. Edward Maynard to his wife – present amusing and informative impressions of

the establishment located in the house of Rall and sometimes called “the home of the American Sea Captains.”²³ Their correspondence contains comments about the two landladies, some of the other boarders, the internal arrangement of the two floors occupied by the boarding house, its amenities, and the social life it housed. John Stevenson Maxwell (1818–1870), secretary of the American legation in St. Petersburg from July 1842 to November 1844, stayed with the misses Benson for the month of October 1844, after returning from a summer’s tour of Europe and before resigning his post. As a Russian diplomat on home leave with his family required more spacious quarters, Maxwell graciously exchanged his rooms at the request of one of the landladies, but was happy with his new quarters: “My bed room, and my parlour, both very nice rooms, furnished and carpetted after the English fashion overlook the fine English Key (as it is called) and the Neva.”²⁴

Counter to one of the misses Benson’s expectations, he announced that, while he would take breakfast and lunch in his room, he would appear at the public table for dinner.²⁵ Dinner with the other boarders (eleven of the twelve were American sea captains and supercargoes and the twelfth another diplomat) became the occasion for Maxwell’s hilarious rendition to his mother of the Yankee dialect and the patterns of thinking of one of the sea captains, while praising them all for their demeanor:

These men were all respectable men, and after all my wandering I sat down with pleasure among them and found myself among eleven of the most intelligent persons I had dined with in a long time. It was quite exciting for me to hear them talk, and I went into politics – Tyler, Clay and Polk with a vehemence which had long lain dormant. Most of them were Whigs – all had their views original and striking. Some were temperance men, even to tea and coffee, tobacco and segars [*sic*: cigars] – others were full of fun, and all were entertaining. There was one character ... who was a perfect specimen of far down East, a regular Yankee who looked more like a parson than a sailor. You should hear him talk. You would die. It is his first trip to Russia. “I’ve hearn tell,”

says he, “on this country afore – but I’m astonished some I guess. I’ve hearn tell in the newspapers all about Russy but amazing sake’s they didnt tell one half. Wall, now, it is wonderful I’ll swan (swear). I went down to old Virginny once, and I thought that bad enough, kinder inhospitable like, nothing but agie (ague; sickness) hung on till I took *Kinine* [*sic*: quinine] enough to kill a horse. But I guess Russy is worse than old Virginny, any how. It looks agie like here, and kinder inhospitable too – Jist to see now, them ere people in the streets, eating black bread and salt, why the niggers to hum (at home) or do better than that. Do you call that living? do you tell me that them people in sheep skins are human critters? No you dont, no you cant any how you can fix it, I wish my wife and my dater Mealey Ann (Amelia Ann) could jist see the nasty fellers a chawing up of that black bread, they would open their eyes some and have something to tell to the folks down to Salem.” [Probably concerned over the icing up of the river], ... leaning forward to Miss Benson, he said “Can you tell me marm how many days is required before I can receive my papers of clearance from the Custom House? No sir – said Miss Benson – Wall “said he, the gals to hum beat all the gals in this world for sailing afore the wind. My dater Mealy Ann couldn’t live no how, no where on earth, without knowing such things, as well as as teaching Sunday school.” This will give you some idea of this Yankee Captain and although he is such a queer one, I hear he is a man of means and a good merchant.²⁶

A few days later, when the sea captains had mostly sailed, there were “only one or two Americans left.” But Maxwell, along with two other diplomats – the Russian diplomat with his wife, sons, and daughter; the other diplomat alone – “shed quite a diplomatic lustre around the banquet hall of the men who go down to the sea in ships; [they occupied] the upper part of the table and the Captains [were] seated below ... All

goes very well, nobody has been choked, nobody lost an appetite.” The social difference seemed not to matter. There was, however, an awkward moment. “The conversation [was] general and often turn[ed] upon the United States.” While Maxwell was talking to the Russian diplomat about the probability of the election of Mr Clay [see Image 281] ... one of the Captains, informed the company that he had won a chest of tea here upon the election of General Harrison and would be very happy to make the same bet upon the election of Mr Clay, and informed the [Russian diplomat], who was speaking English at the moment, that if he had any doubts as to it he would like to be taken up. Of course this was a stumper to his Excellency, but as it was said with good grace, it was taken in good spirit. Some of these strangers can scarcely credit that these men are sailors, so well behaved and well dressed are they.²⁷

Maxwell’s most charming vignette, however, captures the personality of one of the misses Benson as well as revealing more of his own. With the departure abroad or elsewhere into the city of its boarders, [e]very noise has hushed in the now deserted rooms and our landlady looks quite woful [*sic*], with the end of the travelling season, which has been by no means profitable ... A few minutes since I had a visit from Miss Benson, who seemed in considerable trepidation – She is a kind landlady, but unfortunately very fat and ugly. Nevertheless I was glad to see her and directed the man in waiting to place a chair for Miss Benson. Miss Benson, then proceeded to unravel her mystery and like all women who have really any thing to say was sometime coming to the point – The amount of her story was, that no less a person than Sir Dyce Sombre [see Image 321] was in the house and she had heard dreadful things about him and wanted to know if he was really mad or not. I informed her that Sir Dyce Sombre was the produce of an Englishman crossed upon a woman of

Hindustan, that his mother was a princess of India of great rank and wealth and that he had inherited her titles and her money – That he was educated partly in India partly in Gt Britain, that upon his visit to the latter country he married the daughter of the Earl of Somebody and soon after his marriage evinced such a jealousy and acted so strangely in consequence thereof, that he was pronounced a ~~mad~~ madman by the family of his bride, who took proceedings not only to effect a divorce but to deprive him of the disposal of his property – and that in the discussion that ensued thereon the opinions of the faculty both in London and in Paris, were decidedly that Sir Dyce, from constitutional or[ganization] or from Eastern habits and ways of thinking, was mad upon the subject of his wife, but perfectly sane in all other particulars. It was true he had challenged Sir Robert Peel, and the Prince Albert ~~with~~ for having criminal conversation with his lady but all this arose from his diseased state of mind at the moment – Miss Benson seemed relieved upon my statement. Oh M^r Maxwell, how I wish you had been home to dinner yesterday to see what a dark complexion he has. I was sure he was a Prince all the time – one of the real old fashioned princes such as they used to have in the Arabian nights – and then such big black eyes. looking seven ways for Sunday – What said I, did his eyes glare. Yes they did indeed – they shone like mahogany tables – Beware then, said I, for these Indians are terrible fellows after the girls and if you should strike his fancy, what might not happen. Miss B. tried to look killing and said with a sigh, Ah, M^r Maxwell I have seen too much of the world and grown too wise to marry, and I wouldn't have such an old fellow any way – Well, I replied, take care, there's no telling – and there's no immediate danger from your lodger. Did you ever hear of Shakspeare [*sic*]? Didn't I, said she. I saw him play *Helmet* [*sic: Hamlet*] in

Lannen [*sic*: London] once – Well, Shakspeare said once upon a time, “beware of jealousy, tis a green eyed monster,” and there is nothing so correct. so whenever you see anything green in the eye of M^r. Sombre, look out for a storm, keep out of his reach and lock up all the servant girls – Oh law M^r. Maxwell is he so bad as that, oh the wretch must be worse than a Frenchman I had here last year; how his poor wife must have suffered. Well said I, there is no danger, and he will reward you handsomely if you make him comfortable, for his allowance as directed by the English Court of Chancery is £100 per day, about \$500 – Miss Benson having satisfied her curiosity as to the history of her new guest, arose, courtesied [*sic*: curtsied] and disappeared – she ~~capita~~ captivated the heart of Carter the lion tamer²⁸ who was here last year, and who knows but her dumplings and puddings, may not successfully “minister to a mind diseased.”²⁹

* * *

Dr. Edward Maynard³⁰ spent the period from 20 September 1845 to 20 April 1846 at the misses Benson’s. He described the sisters as being “fat enough to be what they seem – very good people.”³¹ And so they were. During his seven months with them, they looked out for his every need, e.g., supplying him with steel pens when his broke and he had to use a quill instead.³² During “a rather threatening illness – brought on by a cold in the head,” they gave him the best of care.³³ When he was preparing to leave St. Petersburg, they offered to “procure anything for [Mrs. Maynard] or the children that [he might] direct and have all packed and shipped in order” after his departure.³⁴

His expenses were to be “about \$2.20 per day” and he expected that there would be “extra charges; as in England, enough to double it:– so much for candles, ... soap, ... washing bed linen...”³⁵ He described and drew his room from the point of view of sitting at a table, where he was writing, naming what was to the left, right, back, and front of him:

On my left in the corner is the “peeckky” or stove – following around toward the left, comes next the door from the passage – in the corner the wash stand, – towel stand – bed with its two pillows one atop the other, by the head of which is the candle stand where I lay your picture that I may see it the last thing every night – a closet in the partition wall (2 feet thick) made by closing the door that leads through to the next room and hanging another so as to enclose the 2 feet depth – bureau and in front of it my guncase and trunk; – then comes 3 windows towards the quay with 2 pier glasses and tables – an operating table and chair before the centre window – a sofa behind me, (closing another doorway) and chairs in various places. The walls you see are very thick – yet such is the marshy nature of the ground that the passage of a carriage rapidly on the pavement in front of the house will make the whole house vibrate and the dishes rattle on the table. This house had, like many if not most houses here, no passages like those in use with us at home; and the thin partition between my room and the passage now existing, has been recently made by the present occupants and account for this partition being so thin. Before the fire is a yard and a half of common carpeting, and under my feet some 6 by 8 of carpet in one piece something like a Brussels carpet but not so rich – woven with a border all around. There is another yard or so of ingrain before the bed, and the rest of the floor is naked and polished with wax every week by fellows who wax all the floors in the house (except the kitchen, etc.) at so much a month or year. My floor is one of those figured [inlaid] ones of which I wrote and of which I have made sketches.³⁶

Breakfast is on the table ... from 8 to 10 or 11.
Lunch at 1 or half past, dinner at half past 5, and tea

about half past 9 or 10. Go to bed somewhere between 11 and 2 and get up in time for breakfast. The good custom of having a cup of coffee about 10 minutes or so after dinner prevails here; with the coffee, Turkish pipes or cigars – quite after the manner of the Asiatics.³⁷

(For the floorplan of Maynard's room, see Image 330.)

After learning that the emperor was not in town nor expected back in less than a month, Maynard and his fellow dentist, George Washington Parmly (b. 22 October 1819; d. London 15 August 1892; buried Brompton Cemetery, London; see Image 339),³⁸ a family friend practicing in Europe, who had accompanied Maynard from London, engaged a “valet de place,” an Englishman who had been living in Russia for some twelve years; this man was their guide and interpreter when they went sightseeing. They needed him, as the “very waiters of the house where we board do not seem to have, all of them put together, a dozen words of English or anything else except Russian.”³⁹

Maynard “did not attempt anything but English” at meals, where, in addition, French, Russian, and German were spoken, but he listened “very attentively to the pronunciation of all others and [could] generally know what [was] the subject of conversation.”⁴⁰ He admired the presentation there of meals: “They have a good way of serving at the table – the meats are cut and put on a dish, *nichey*, and the dish (with a knife or fork or spoon or all) is carried to each one, that he may take such a piece as he pleases.”⁴¹

He enjoyed the performances put on at the misses Benson's establishment. One such entertainment was a group of about twenty soldiers whom an army officer brought there

to sing national Russian songs ... The soldiers (in uniform – they are never out of it) stood in a knot facing each other, and at the conclusion of each song the time was quickened – one struck in with a tambourine, a little circle was formed, open on one side to the view of the audience, and another commenced a peculiar sort of noisy, shuffling dance – then another joined him, holding in each hand a stick a foot long on which were

arranged little bells and red bits of cloth so as to make them look like 2 bouquets of flowers at a distance – these he flourished about as he danced – the two moving about in the circle and dancing not merely with their feet and legs, but *all over*, and putting themselves into queer and amusing attitudes – very greatly to the gratification of those who had the good luck to see him.⁴²

During the Christmas and New Year's season of 1845–1846, Maynard “was requested to go upstairs (where the boarders usually spend the evening) and see a Russian custom,” the mummers:

I ... went up and saw five men in masks and fantastic dresses – one played a guitar while four danced a simple but peculiar figure and step – for about five minutes, when they bowed to the company and withdrew. Miss Benson tells me this is one of the ways in which the Russian servants amuse themselves at this time of year, – they mask [see Image 333] and go about from house to house where they have acquaintances in the kitchen and so amuse themselves, each other, and the company.⁴³

On Christmas Day, they had a Christmas dinner, including champagne.⁴⁴ On Sunday, 30 December 1845, when the emperor returned to St. Petersburg, the boarders and one of the landladies “filled four sledges and took a nice ride about the city” to see the illuminations.⁴⁵ In the evening, another group of mummers, “not servants like the others but respectable people, probably some acquaintances of the Bensons, but *n/ho*, nobody knows, came in and danced.” Because of some robberies that had taken place, the mummers were now required to include among them at least one person known to them. These mummers “were 3 men or 4 women – one woman played the piano while the rest of the party paired off with some of [the boarders] and danced quadrilles.”⁴⁶

On New Year's Eve (OS) 1845, the boarders
had a great merry-making. First of all, in a separate room
there were privately arranged several tables covered with

presents of candy, bon-bons, jewelry, and all sorts of things usually given away at such times. The presents were divided into parcels or lots and the name of the person for whom it is designed written upon a label and placed by the side. In the centre of the room is a pine (or other evergreen) tree, like those in our door-yard for size, the branches all hung with candles, kisses, bon-bons, fruit, etc. etc., and on the branches are placed a dozen or two little wax candles of various colors, all burning and lighting up the tree most beautifully. Some of the presents last night were of considerable value – sets of silver table spoons, ditto gold-band china plates, etc. – made to the Misses Benson by two brothers who visit them frequently. Having been of some service professionally to three of the family, gratuitously, I came in for a liberal share of their favors – the more valuable for having been, most of them, wrought by the hands of the givers with a feeling of gratitude. My presents were – from Miss Elizabeth Benson a black velvet Greek hat, elaborately worked with a pattern in chain stitch (from a design I gave) lined with pink silk, and decorated with a splendid variegated silk tassel. From Miss Sarah Benson a pair of purple velvet slippers wrought in chain stitch and bound with the fur of the gray Siberian squirrel; – From Mrs. Flood an elderly lady, a pair of red woollen knit cuffs to draw over the hand above the gloves to keep the wrists warm. From Miss Lucy Finley (cousin of the Bensons [see Image 340]) a gilt morocco case or box to hang against the wall and contain matches; – the front of the box being a running flower piece beautifully wrought in fine worsted. Beside these I had a plate full of little sugar bon-bons, etc, etc. After the company was admitted to the room and the presents had all been admired, thanks given, congratulations received, jokes passed etc., etc. we returned to the dining room (it being large) and there we danced until about 2 o'clock;

stopping just before 12 long enough to fill our glasses with champagne all around and as the first stroke of the clock announced the New Year, wishing each other a happy new year and many return of it – touching our glasses with those of the ladies, etc. – etc. – etc. – etc. – we drank bumpers. I ought to have mentioned before that from another lady, a boarder, a Miss Spershott, I received a present of a purse at Christmas as a token of gratitude for services in saving some of her teeth and taking out a half dozen others.⁴⁷

The Benson sisters also took Maynard shopping and to visit their friends, such as Mrs. Flood, whom he came to call “mother,” because she was close in age to his wife’s mother.⁴⁸

The passing years show that the Benson sisters and their establishment in St. Petersburg continued to be praised by boarders for hospitality and kindness.⁴⁹ The sisters themselves gave the “first impression ... (confirmed on near acquaintance)” of being “a couple of good hearted, jolly, old (no elderly) maids; fat, fair, and forty or fifty.”⁵⁰

NOTES

1. I am deeply grateful to Michael J. Welch, my London researcher, for supplying genealogical information about the misses Benson and historical detail of their careers in the boarding house business, thereby enhancing Maxwell’s and Maynard’s descriptions of the sisters and the inner life of their St. Petersburg establishment.

I wish also to express my gratitude to Cynthia McGrath, descendent of Edward Maynard, for her permission to publish his drawings from his original letters, which are in her possession. When her cousin, Rodney S. Hatch, published his copies of the letters, he was not aware that the originals were still extant. Because his typewritten copies of the letters contained no drawings, Hatch had a professional artist create drawings for his book based on Maynard’s verbal statements that he was including drawings he had made of certain persons, places, and objects. I have not used these drawings not only because the originals exist, but because Hatch’s artist created drawings that Maynard himself never included. For example, the stunningly handsome portrait in Hatch’s book, said to be of Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich,

brother of Emperor Nicholas I, is not of him; Mikhail Pavlovich was not attractive, as Maynard himself has shown, and the words he wrote next to his own portrait of Mikhail Pavlovich – “isn’t he a beauty?” – were facetious. Maynard also did not draw a portrait of Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna, wife of Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich, while Hatch’s artist did. See Images 330–337 of Maynard’s drawings of his room at the misses Benson’s boarding house, of Emperor Nicholas I and Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich, and of other aspects of his life in St. Petersburg.

2. *England, Select Births and Christenings, 1538–1975*, IGI; *Shields Daily Gazette*, April 6, 1866; Mere Knolls Cemetery Burial Index. No will has been found for Sarah. Sarah Benson probably died at the home of her sister Barbara (Benson) Hunter, who was living in Regent Street, Hartlepool, at the time of the 1861 Census.
3. *England, Select Births and Christenings, 1538–1975*, IGI; *Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette*, June 20, 1887; Mere Knolls Cemetery Burial Index. At the time of probate (30 November 1887), Elizabeth Benson’s estate amounted to £1620, 2s., 3d., in addition to which, her valuable bequeathed possessions were considerable (*National Probate Calendar* [UK], 1887).
4. Their boarding house was numbered 240–241 English Embankment according to the departure notices concerning the Bliss family published in the *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 103, Saturday, May 10 [May 22 NS], 1847, p. 476; 104, Sunday, May 11 [May 23 NS], 1847, p. 480; and 106, Thursday, May 15 [May 27 NS], 1847.
5. Baptism of Elizabeth Benson, in Bishop’s Transcripts for Monkwearmouth, County Durham, held in the Durham University Library; transcript of parish registers, IGI; *National Burial Index for England and Wales*; 1841 Census; England, Select Births and Christenings, 1738–1975, IGI.
6. Sofia Mikhailovna Muravieva married in 1856, as his second wife, Sergei Sergeevich Sheremetiev (1821–1884), a colonel in the Cavalier Guard Regiment and Master of the Hunt (P. Dolgorukov, *Rossiiskaia rodoslovnaia kniga* [*Russian Genealogical Book*], 4 vols. [St. Petersburg: Tip. III Otdeleniia Sob. E.I.V. Kantseliarii, 1854–1857], vol. 3, pp. 504–523).
7. Count Mikhail Nikolaevich Muraviev-Vilenskii (Moscow 12 October 1796 – St. Petersburg 12 September 1866) was called by the Russians “the supressor” for his stifling of uprisings and Polish nationalism and by the Poles and Lithuanians “the

oppressor” and the “hangman of Vilnius,” for the same reasons. Both assessments refer to the forced russification of the Poles and Lithuanians of Northern Krai (today, Belarus and Lithuania) after the uprising in November 1830. “Vilenskii” in his name is based on the name of the capital of Lithuania, Vilnius. Feeling that the Roman Catholic priests and the Polish students were chiefly “responsible for the spread of Polish nationalism, ... he made it his priority to close Vilnius University and to expel Catholic priests from other educational facilities” (“Mikhail Muravyov-Vilensky,” *World Heritage Encyclopedia*, accessed 26 April 2021, http://self.gutenberg.org/articles/Mikhail_Muravyov-Vilensky; Alexandr Bendin, *Mikhail Muraviev-Vilenskii Usmiritel' i reformator Severo-Zapadnogo kraia Rossiiskoi Imperii* [*Mikhail Muraviev-Vilenskii: Suppressor and Reformer of the Northwestern Region of the Russian Empire*]. Names Achieving Russian Glory [Moscow: CIS-EMO, 2017], title page).

In her employer's home, Lucy Finley came to know of his otherwise politically inclined relatives, Sergei Ivanovich Muraviev-Apostol (St. Petersburg 28 September / 9 October 1796 – St. Petersburg 13/25 July 1826), who was hanged as one of the five ringleaders of the Decembrist Rebellion (1825) (Lincoln, *Nicholas I*, pp. 17–47), and Sergei's brother Matvei Ivanovich Muraviev-Apostol (St. Petersburg 25 April / 6 May 1793 – Moscow 21 February / 5 March 1886), who was exiled to Siberia for his participation in that rebellion, and whom she later visited, when traveling there with her husband. She met as well in her employer's home the families of other exiled Decembrists (Nick Fielding, *South to the Great Steppe: The Travels of Thomas and Lucy Atkinson in Eastern Kazakhstan, 1847–1852* [London: FIRST, 2015], pp. 42n23, 75–76). Fielding's book is the first biography of the Atkinsons and is based on papers in the possession of their descendants.

In 1846, Lucy Finley's life took a turn that would change it forever. She met (it is not known where) (Fielding, p. 40) Thomas Witlam Atkinson (Cawthorne, near Barnsley, West Riding, Yorkshire 1799 – Lower Walmer, Kent 13 August 1861; see Image 341), an architect and artist about to become, with the personal permission and endorsement of Nicholas I (see Images 420–423), a traveler and explorer in Siberia and Central Asia. From the time Thomas Atkinson left on his travels in March 1847 until the beginning of January 1848, he wrote Lucy sixty-six letters. Returning to Moscow on 7 February 1848, after an eleven-

month absence, he wrote to her again, asking her to come to Moscow. She arrived there on 16 February and on 18 February, “with the consent of General Mouravioff’s [Muraviev’s] family,” they were married in the Chapel of the British Consulate from the home of Actual State Councilor Ivan Vasil’evich Kapnist (c. 1794 – 10 October 1860), the civilian governor general of Moscow (2 May 1844 – 13 September 1855) and a relative of the Muraviev family: “Thomas Witlam Atkinson, native of Silkstone in the county of York in England, widower, artist by profession, of the English church, and Lucy Sherrard Finley, spinster, late resident in St. Petersburg, also of the English church, were married according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England this 18th day of February” (Fielding, pp. 69, 159; copy of the Register of British Deaths and Marriages Belonging to the British Chapel in Moscow, Ms. 11, 193/11, fol. 936, Guildhall Library, London; Mrs. Atkinson [Lucy Sherrard Finley Atkinson], *Recollections of Tartar Steppes and Their Inhabitants* [London: John Murray, 1863], pp. v–vi). Lucy Finley married Atkinson not knowing that he was committing bigamy, nor becoming aware of it until after his death. They set off together on travels until 1853 “through Siberia, south to the Kazakh steppes and eastward as far as Irkutsk and the Chinese border,” covering over forty-thousand miles. They arrived back in St. Petersburg on 24 December 1853 and remained in Russia throughout the Crimean War, returning to Britain in 1858 (Fielding, *South to the Great Steppe*, p. 159). On 4 November 1848, early in their travels, a son was born, whom they named Alatau Tamchiboulac Atkinson (Kapal, now eastern Kazakhstan 4 November 1848 – Hawaii 24 April 1906) (*The Hawaiian Star* (Honolulu), April 24, 1906). Thomas Atkinson wrote two books based on their travels: *Oriental and Western Siberia: A Narrative of Seven Years’ Explorations and Adventures in Siberia, Mongolia, and Part of Central Asia* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1858) and *Travels in the Regions of the Upper and Lower Amoor and the Russian Acquisitions on the Confines of India and China* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1860). In neither of them did he mention his wife and son, because of the potential legal consequences of their bigamous marriage, but he did write of them warmly in his diaries (Fielding, *South to the Great Steppe*, p. 50). After his death, Lucy Sherrard (Finley) Atkinson published her own memoirs of their travels: *Recollections of Tartar Steppes and Their Inhabitants* (London: John Murray, 1863). For a different assessment of the Atkinsons’ lives and the reflection of their personalities in the books they wrote, see Anthony Cross, “The

Testament of a Forgotten ‘Wife,’” in *Anglo-Russian Aspects of Cultural Relations between Great Britain and Russia in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: Selected Essays*, ed. Anthony Cross (Oxford, UK, and Providence, RI: Berg, 1993), pp. 245–255.

In *BRBC STP 1845* (fols. 19, 20), Lucy Finley is identified as “Finlay, Miss Companion.”

8. *The Era* (London), March 25, 1855.
9. *Morning Post* (London), June 9, 1854.
10. *Home News for India, China and the Colonies* (London), April 9, 1855.
11. “In one year in [England] they lost £1,270, and became involved to the amount of £850. The assets amount[ed] to £454, bad debts to £804, including a debt of £684 from Mr. W. Reece, late of St. Petersburg, and £50 from Count Skolkoff” (*The Era* (London), February 24, 1856, quoted in *The London Gazette*, March 28, 1856, p. 1217).
12. *London Evening Standard*, March 28, 1856.
13. *Bankruptcy and Insolvency*, vol. 161: Debated on Monday 11 February 1861, col. 294, House of Commons Hansard, UK Parliament website, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1861-02-11/debates/fa985347-ebcd-4167-9322-233a6c4b4dc2/BankruptcyAndInsolvency>
14. *The London Gazette*, March 28, 1856, pp. 4066–4067.
15. Index to Register of Passport Applications 1851–1903 for the year 1856, FO 611/6, NAUK.
16. A letter to Glasgow from St. Petersburg published in *The Glasgow Herald* for 17 December 1856 announced:

The Miss Bensons are stout elderly ladies, who used to have a boarding house here; they had made pretty well, when the war came and sent them home. They had to sell off when nobody wanted to buy, so they lost nearly all. They have now set up again in a very nice house on the Neva. I can tell you it is rather a pleasure to get back to open fires, blankets (sheets and feather bed we had at Moscow), *Times* uneffaced from the embassy, and other minor comforts.
17. “Local Intelligence. Banbury Mechanics’ Institute. Sketches of Foreign Travel,” *Banbury Guardian*, November 25, 1852; “Letters from the Continent, Letter III,” *Liverpool Mail*, June 25, 1853; *Newcastle Journal*, February 15, 1854; *Home News for India, China and*

the Colonies (London), April 9, 1855; *The Era* (London), February 24, 1856; *Alloa Advertiser* (Scotland), March 7, 1857; *Manchester Courier and Lancaster General Advertiser*, December 26, 1864; *Morning Post* (London), April 11, 1867; “Skating at St. Petersburg,” *Field: The Country Gentleman’s Newspaper* (London), April 18, 1868, and January 1, 8, 11, 15, 22, and 29, 1870.

John Shaft, mentioned in the *Liverpool Mail* (June 25, 1853) as working for the misses Benson, is listed in the *BRBC STP 1845* (fol. 52) as “Commissioner, married, [living at] 47 Galernic, three males, two females [in household].”

18. “The English traveller who prefers home comforts and the use of his native tongue to a foreign mode of life and speech, is strongly recommended to the boarding-house kept by the Misses Benson. No. 78 on the English Quay (*Angliskaya Gostinitsa, Angliskaya Naberejna*). The apartments are quite English in their neatness and cleanliness. The table-d’hôte is well loaded with substantial English fare, varied with dishes taken from the “Diner à la Russe.” The charges vary from rs. 3’50 to rs. 4’50 per diem for bed and board. The waiters understand English, and the worthy and obliging proprietresses are ever ready to assist the helpless traveller with their knowledge of the country and its language, particularly with information respecting the sights of the capital. A commissioner in attendance. The Queen’s messengers put up at this house” (*Murray’s Handbook for Travellers in Russia*, p. 54).
19. 1861 Census for Hartlepool, County Durham.
20. “Skating at St. Petersburg,” *Field: The Country Gentleman’s Newspaper* (London, January 22 and 29, 1870.
21. “Skating at St. Petersburg,” *Field: The Country Gentleman’s Newspaper* (London), January 29, 1870.
22. 1861 Census for Hartlepool, County Durham; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1887; *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Vignoles, Charles Blacker.”
23. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 30, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 43.
24. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, entry for October 16 in letter of October 15, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 45.
25. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 30, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 43.

26. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 30, 1844.
27. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, October. 15. 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 45.
28. James (John) Carter (c. 1813 – 11 May 1847), called “the American Lion King,” who died at the age of 34, was an American animal tamer who performed in Britain, Europe, and the USA. In Britain, he was employed by Astley’s Royal Amphitheatre. In comparison to his predecessor’s act, which involved actual physical contact with the animals, “Carter’s act was criticized because the lions and tigers seemed too tame,” even though he worked “behind a wire screen with horses, zebras, crocodiles, ostriches, lions, tigers and leopards, and at one point even drove a harnessed lion like a chariot horse” (Peta Tait, “Ferocious Lion Acts,” in *Fighting Nature: Travelling Menageries, Animal Acts and War Shows* [Sydney, Australia: Sydney University Press, 2016], p. 21).
29. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, entry for October 17 in letter of October. 15. 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 45.
 “David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre [Sardhana, Bengal 18 December 1808 – London 1 July 1851; see Image 321] was an Anglo-Indian held to be the first person of Asian descent to be elected to the British Parliament” (“David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre,” *World Heritage Encyclopedia*, accessed 26 April 2021, http://self.gutenberg.org/articles/David_Ochterlony_Dyce_Sombre). His lineage and background are too complex to be elaborated upon here (see “David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre,” *World Heritage Encyclopedia*). After his mother “died in 1820, ... David was taken over and brought up by [his maternal grandmother, Begam Sumroo] as her son and heir ... She transferred to him her wealth, and the administration of her principality but her attempts to have him accepted by the British as ruler on her death were to no avail. ... He married in [England on] 26 September 1840 the Honourable Mary Anne Jervis, third daughter of the second Viscount Saint Vincent. ... He also got himself elected as MP for Sudbury in July 1841, and was then deposed in April 1842 after objections from the loser [*The Dictionary of National Biography* states that he was “unseated for ‘gross, systemic, and extensive bribery”’ (s.v. “Dyce-Sombre, David Ochterlony”).] He accused his wife of adultery with various men including her own father, [resulting in her having]

him certified insane and held under restraint, with the support and consent of his sisters ... and their husbands. ... David escaped his guards and fled to France, where an attempt to have him extradited failed” (“David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre,” *World Heritage Encyclopedia*). He then traveled extensively throughout Europe, which possibly explains why he was in St. Petersburg. He was examined by numerous doctors during his travels, and judged to be sane, “but his attempts to reverse the judgement were brushed aside. ... Finally, with a change of Government [in England], there seemed a chance of success. He returned to England with indemnity from arrest, but a few days before the case was due to be heard he died suddenly in excruciating agony from a septic foot on 1 July 1851” (“David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre,” *World Heritage Encyclopedia*). He had disinherited his wife, who contested his will; she “won the case sometime around 1856, and became the richest woman in England.” Conflicting reports say that he “was buried in the catacombs at Kensal Green cemetery on 8 July [1851]” (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Dyce-Sombre, David Ochterlony”) and – more confusingly – that he was “buried at once in an unmarked grave, which has not been touched since – yet his body was also returned to India to be buried in Sardhana” (“David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre,” *World Heritage Encyclopedia*).

30. See Maynard in this Appendix and Image 329.
31. Edward Maynard to Mrs. Ellen Maynard [hereafter, Maynard], letter no. 1, p. 2, St. Petersburg, Russia Sunday September 21, 1845, in Hatch, *Dr. Edward Maynard*, p. 33.
 In citing Maynard’s letters, the date given is that of the entry within his letter; letters were written over the course of a week, until the next diplomatic courier departed.
32. Maynard, letter no. 9, p. 1, St. Petersburg, December 1/12 [*sic*: 13] 1845, in Hatch, p. 71.
33. Maynard, letter no. 7, p. 1, St. Petersburg, December 26, 1845 / January 7, 1846, in Hatch, p. 82.
34. Maynard, letter no. 8, p. 9, St. Petersburg, Friday 11, January 1846 / 23, January 1846, in Hatch, p. 96.
35. Maynard, letter no. 1, p. 2, St. Petersburg, Russia Sunday September 21, 1845, in Hatch, p. 33.
36. Maynard, letter no. 3, p. 10, St. Petersburg, Wednesday night, October 22, 1845 1845, in Hatch, p. 63.

37. Maynard, letter no. 3, p. 12, St. Petersburg, Sunday night, November 16, 1845, in Hatch, p. 65.
38. Memorial ID 207541926, findagrave.com.
39. Maynard, letter no. 1, p. 2, St. Petersburg, Russia Sunday September 21, 1845, in Hatch, *Dr. Edward Maynard*, p. 33.
40. Maynard, letter no. 1, p. 18, St. Petersburg, Russia Sunday morning, October 12, 1845, in Hatch, p. 49.
41. Maynard, letter no. 1, p. 20, St. Petersburg, Russia Thursday night, October 16, 1845, in Hatch, p. 51.
42. Maynard, letter no. 3, p. 8–9, St. Petersburg, Saturday morning, November 8, 1845, in Hatch, p. 61–62.
43. Maynard, letter no. 7, p. 2, St. Petersburg, December 26, 1845 / January 7, 1846, in Hatch, p. 83.
44. Maynard, letter no. 7, p. 2, St. Petersburg, December 26, 1845 / January 7, 1846.
45. Maynard, letter no. 7, p. 3, St. Petersburg, Monday, December 31, 1845, in Hatch, p. 84.
46. Maynard, letter no. 7, p. 3, St. Petersburg, Monday, December 31, 1845.
47. Maynard, letter no. 7, p. 3–4, St. Petersburg, Tuesday, January 1, 1846, in Hatch, p. 84–85.
 Later, Maynard found that Miss Spershott was “rapidly acquiring a very bad reputation – almost everyone in the house [including him] suspect[ed] her of improper intimacy with one of the boarders.” He regretted that he had given her “many hours of labor that might have been bestowed upon some more deserving person.” While he did “not wish to make an enemy of her by returning the purse *now*,” he intended to do so just before he left Russia, as he did “not wish to have any such remembrances from *such* people. God forgive me if I do her an injustice” (Maynard, letter no. 8, p. 6, St. Petersburg, Monday P.M. January 14, 1846, in Hatch, p. 93). Miss Spershott left the boarding house for Moscow around 18 February 1846, after announcing that she was going to marry a Frenchman there, news greeted by other boarders with much doubt (Maynard, letter no. 11, p. 8, St. Petersburg, Monday night, March 18, 1846, in Hatch, p. 119).
48. Maynard, letter no. 8, p. 2, St. Petersburg, Saturday evening, January 12, 1846, in Hatch, p. 89.

49. “Letters from the Continent, Letter III,” *Liverpool Mail*, June 25, 1853; *Newcastle Journal*, February 15, 1854; *Home News for India, China and the Colonies* (London), April 9, 1855; *The Era* (London), February 24, 1856; *Alloa Advertiser* (Scotland), March 7, 1857; *Manchester Courier and Lancaster General Advertiser*, December 26, 1864; *Morning Post* (London), April 11, 1867; “Skating in St. Petersburg,” *Field: The Country Gentleman’s Newspaper* (London), April 18, 1868, and January 1, 8, 11, 15, 22, and 29, 1870.
 John Shaft, mentioned in the *Liverpool Mail* (June 25, 1853) as working for the misses Benson, is listed in the *BRBC STP 1845* (fol. 52) as “Commissioner, married, [living at] 47 Galernie, three males, two females [in household].”
50. “Local Intelligence. Banbury Mechanics’ Institute. Sketches of Foreign Travel,” *Banbury Guardian*, November 25, 1852.

*BLISS*¹

The Bliss family were friends of the Whistler family (see Images 1–21) from the years when the latter lived in Springfield, Massachusetts (1838–1842).

The Honorable and Colonel George Bliss (16 November 1798 – Springfield, MA 19 April 1873) graduated from Yale College in 1812 and was admitted to the bar in 1815, having studied law in the office of his father. He began his practice in Monson, Massachusetts, then went into partnership with his father-in-law, Jonathan Dwight, as the law firm of Dwight and Bliss.

His title of colonel was the result of his service as an aide to General Jacob Bliss in the War of 1812. He was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1827, 1828, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1839, and 1853; in 1853, he was speaker. In 1835, he was a member of the Senate and for a time president of the Senate.

Colonel Bliss was one of the projectors of the Western Railroad, which brought him into close contact with Major Whistler. He became the general agent of this railroad and president of it from 1836 to 1842. He took part early in the movement to build the Springfield and Hartford Railroad. He was president of the Michigan Southern Railroad from 1850 to 1852 and again from 1853 to 1860, and of the Chicago and Mississippi Railroad in 1853 and 1854.

He was a director and the first president of the Chicopee Bank in Springfield, which opened in 1836, and president of the Springfield Cemetery from 1847 to 1872. He was also a philanthropist.

On 20 April 1825, he married Mary Sheperd Dwight (24 February 1801 – 12 February 1870), daughter of his law partner. They were the parents of two children.

Their daughter, Sarah Dwight Bliss (3 June 1826 – North Hartley, QC 8 September 1896) was a close friend of Deborah Whistler. Sarah Bliss married George Walker (1 April 1824 – Washington, DC 15 January 1888) on 24 October 1849 in Springfield, Massachusetts. They are both buried in the Bliss family plot in Springfield Cemetery.

The Blisses' son, George Bliss Jr. (b. Springfield, MA 3 May 1830; d. Wakefield, RI 1 September 1897; buried Springfield, MA 4 September

1897), a lawyer, married, as his first wife, Catherine Van Renssalaer Dwight (29 March 1835 – 28 September 1884) and, as his second wife, Anais Casey (30 July 1848 – 9 April 1939). He was a convert to Catholicism in his second marriage. George Bliss Jr. produced an autobiography. In it he referred to the love affair between Deborah Whistler and a Russian officer that was the cause of her traveling with the Bliss family in Europe in 1847. He also referred to the fiery James: “I remember at St. Petersburg greatly disgusting one of major Whistler’s young sons, a boy, as I remember, of twelve or thirteen years, because I had never had on a pair of boxing gloves and could not box. The aforesaid disgusted Jimmy – then a handsome curly headed boy – has since become famous as Whistler, the artist.”

The Bliss family was also close to the family of Capt. William Henry Swift, Major Whistler’s brother-in-law. When Capt. Swift’s first wife died, their daughter, Mary Swift, was brought up in the Bliss home.

NOTE

1. This biography of the Bliss family is a composite from the following sources: Chapin, *Sketches of Old Springfield*, pp. 59, 62; George Bliss [the son], typed copy of his autobiography to 1876, N-YHS: Bliss Papers, fols. 39–40. See also Whistler ... Fairfax and Stoeckl, Howard, Swift, Ironside in this Appendix.

BOBRINSKII

Count Aleksei Alekseevich Bobrinskii (Bobrinskoi) (St. Petersburg 6/18 January 1800 – Smela, Government [Province] of Kiev 4/16 October 1868; buried in the Church of the Annunciation, Alexander Nevsky Monastery; see Image 86) was the eldest surviving son of Count Aleksei Grigorievich Bobrinskii (Winter Palace, St. Petersburg 11/23 April 1762 – Bogoroditsk 20 June/2 July 1813; buried at Bobriki; see Image 87) and Anna Dorothea von Ungern-Sternberg (Reval 9/20 January 1769 – St. Petersburg 28 March/9 April 1846; buried at Bobriki).¹ His father was the illegitimate son of Empress Catherine II (Catherine the Great), born Princess Sophie-Augusta-Friederike of Anhalt-Zerbst (Stettin 21 April / 2 May 1729 – St. Petersburg 6/17 November 1796; see Image 414), and Prince Grigorii Grigorievich Orlov (Liutkino, Tver' Province 6/17 October 1734 – Neskuchnoe 13/24 April 1783; see Image 312).² “The name Bobrinskoi is derived from that of the country place of Bobriki, which Catherine the Great bestowed upon her son; but a more fanciful derivation is that the first Count was smuggled out of the Winter Palace hidden in a beaver muff, the Russian word for beaver being *bobr*.”³

Count Aleksei Alekseevich was a “Lieutenant in the Regiment of Hussars of the Guard 15/27 October 1817; transferred to the Chevaliers Guardes Regiment 1818; retired from military service with the rank of Captain and was appointed Equerry to the Imperial Court 17/29 April 1824; entered the Department of Crown Lands 21 January/2 February 1827; transferred to the Ministry of Finance 31 October/12 November 1827; built the first Russian sugar mill on his estate at Smela 1838; Privy Counsellor 17/29 October 1841; built the first Russian railway between St. Petersburg and Tsarskoie-Selo [1838]; Actual Privy Counsellor 25 April / 7 May 1845; Master of the Horse 9/21 April 1854; Knight of the Orders of St. Stanislas (1st class) 30 June/12 July 1846, St. Anne (1st class) 6/18 December 1848, St. Vladimir (2nd class) 17/29 April 1863, and the White Eagle (1st class) 31 October/12 November 1865; his statue in bronze by Schroeder was erected at Kiev in 1872 by public subscription as a tribute to a great pioneer of Russian industry.”⁴

He married at St. Petersburg on 27 April/9 May 1821, Sofia Aleksandrovna Samoilova (4/15 October 1799 – Paris 11/23 November 1866; buried in the Church of the Annunciation, Aleksandr Nevsky Monastery), daughter of Count Aleksandr Nikolaevich Samoilov and Princess Ekaterina Sergeevna (Trubetskaia) Samoilova. Sofia Aleksandrovna was maid of honor to empresses Maria Fyodorovna (see Images 415–416), wife of Paul I (see Image 417), and Elizaveta Alekseevna (see Image 419), wife of Alexander I (see Image 418), and “a close personal friend of the Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna, consort of the Emperor Nikolai I, and Zhukovskii dedicated several of his poems to her.”⁵ They had three surviving sons.⁶

Although he possessed enormous capital and was very close to the Court, Bobrinskii was not at all ambitious and always preferred useful labors to court life.⁷ He was “an enlightened landowner” with an interest in scientific and technological advances.⁸ He was always ready to make those material and moral expenditures that he thought could be useful to the prosperity of Russia and mankind.⁹ He was “a millionaire, owning up to twelve thousand serfs.”¹⁰ He “had large landholdings in Tula and Kiev provinces,” for example, “forty thousand desiatinas of land (1 d. = 2.7 acres) in Tula Province.”¹¹ “On his estates in Kiev Province he had introduced sugar refining factories”¹² with much success. He was one of the best Russian agronomists, and other branches of agriculture on his estates were also in model condition: the improvement of agricultural machinery; deep cultivation and rational fertilization of fields; model cultivation of grains in general according to the climatic conditions of that part of the country; artificial meadows and the sowing of grasses.¹³

In addition to sugar refining, his interests lay in the development of Russian industry, specifically, in exploration for coal deposits and the building of railroads. Given the high cost of firewood, he explored for and found on his estates both peat and lignite and, subsequently, in Tula Province, coal, for running his factories.¹⁴ He also sought publication of his book *O primenenii sistem okhranitel'noi i svobodnoi torgovli k Rossii i o znachitel'nom ponizhenii tamozhennogo dokhoda po vvedenii tarifa 1857 goda* [*Concerning the Application of Systems of Protective and Free Trade to Russia and Concerning the Significant Decrease in Customs Income After the Introduction of the*

Tariff of 1857], which appeared in July 1868, a few months before his death.¹⁵

He was chosen by Nicholas I (see Images 420–423) to serve on the Construction Committee of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway “because he was an enthusiastic supporter of railways.”¹⁶ Although he “had little knowledge of the technological aspects of railways, ... he had ... considerable experience in economic and financial matters” and had exhibited outstanding ability in his service since 1832 in the credit division of the Ministry of Finance, where “he continued to report to Count Kankrin,” the Minister.¹⁷ He had helped provide the private financial backing needed by Franz Anton von Gerstner, who built “the first railway in Russia except for factory and mine railways,” between St. Petersburg, Tsarskoe Selo, and Pavlovsk, completed in April 1838, “an experiment to show the advantages of railways” for Russia.¹⁸ He gathered economic data and “was entrusted with calculating the potential costs of construction” of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway.¹⁹ He was one of the two men instrumental in the “eventual authorization of the railway in January 1842.”²⁰

In posthumous testimonies to him at an extra-ordinary session of the Committee of Sugar Refiners in 1868, he was described as an excellent family man, good-humored, iron-willed, of an enquiring mind, patriotic, selflessly working for the good of his country, industrious, modest in the extreme and a fanatic about honesty. His trustfulness went so far that he seriously told a colleague he could not believe that an honorable person could ever tell a lie, a gullibility that sometimes cost him dearly.²¹

NOTES

1. David Geoffrey Williamson, comp., *The Counts Bobrinskoi: A Genealogy*, foreword by Count Bobrinskoi (Edgware, UK: James V. Poate, 1962), pp. 17, 18, 28; Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*, vol. 3, pp. 112–113; Iu. M. Lotman, N.A. Makarenko, and E.V. Pavlova, *Litsa Pushkinskoi èpokhi v risunkakh i akvareliakh. Kamernyi portret pervoi poloviny deiatnadsatogo veka* [Personages of the Pushkin Era in Drawings and Watercolors: The Chamber Portrait in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century] (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 2000), pp. 331–332, 347–348.

2. Williamson, *Counts Bobrinskoi*, p. 17; Kuz'min, *Rossiiskaia imperatorskaia familiia*, p. 302.
3. Williamson, *Counts Bobrinskoi*, p. 17.
4. Williamson, p. 28. He bought 250 thousand rubles' worth of shares in the Tsarskoe Selo Railway (Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*, vol. 3, p. 113).
5. Williamson, p. 28.
6. Williamson, pp. 28–30.
7. Moskovskoe o-vo sel'skogo khoziaistva [Moscow Agricultural Society]. Komitet sakharovarov [Committee of Sugar Refiners], *Ėkstraordinarnoe sobranie Komiteta g.g. sakharovarov v pamiat' grafa Alekseia Alekseevicha Bobrinskogo: Protokol zasedaniia, vospominaniia S.A. Maslova, N.P. Shiskova i rechi M.D. Tolstogo, I.I. Polimistova, N.D. Bernadaki, S.A. Pakhomova* [Extra-ordinary Meeting of the Committee of Sugar Refiners in Memory of Count Aleksei Alekseevich Bobrinskoi: Protocol of the Session, Recollections by S.A. Maslov and N.P. Shiskov and Speeches by M.D. Tolstoi, I.I. Polimistov, N.D. Bernadaki, and S.A. Pakhomov] (Moscow: V universitetskoi tipografii [Katkov], 1869); title on cover: *Vospominaniia o grafe Aleksee Alekseeviche Bobrinskom* (hereafter, *Vospominaniia ... sakharovarov*), p. 24.
8. Haywood, *Beginnings*, p. 97.
9. *Vospominaniia ... sakharovarov*, p. 24.
10. *Vospominaniia ... sakharovarov*, p. 20.
11. Haywood, *Beginnings*, p. 97; *Vospominaniia ... sakharovarov*, p. 20.
12. Haywood, *Beginnings*, p. 97.
13. *Vospominaniia ... sakharovarov*, pp. 24–25.
14. *Vospominaniia ... sakharovarov*, pp. 13–16.
15. *Vospominaniia ... sakharovarov*, p. 13; Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*, vol. 3, p. 113.
16. Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 18.
17. Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 18.
18. Haywood, *Beginnings*, pp. 85, 102, 103, 108; Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*, vol. 3, p. 113.
19. Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 23, 60.
20. Haywood, *Beginnings*, p. 169.
21. *Vospominaniia ... sakharovarov*, pp. 22, 35.

*BODISCO AND WILLIAMS*¹

Baron Aleksandr Andreevich Bodisco (Moscow 18 October [OS] 1786 – Georgetown, DC 23 January [NS] 1854; see Image 283) began his government service on 12 April (OS) 1799, when he was registered as a titular cadet (14th and lowest grade in the Table of Ranks) in the State College of Foreign Affairs. On 29 August (OS) 1804, he was made an interpreter. In 1806, his services were made use of to bring foreigners in St. Petersburg to take the oath of allegiance to the emperor. On 31 December (OS) 1808, he was made a collegiate assessor (8th grade). In 1812, he was sent as a courier to Erebro to General of Engineers P.K. Sukhtelen (Suchtelen) and appointed to serve under him. On 29 December (OS) 1812, he was promoted to court councilor (7th grade). In 1813, he was twice sent with despatches from Stralsund to the main headquarters of Emperor Alexander I. On 29 January (NS) 1814, he was sent from Kiel to the emperor in Langres with news of the conclusion of peace between Sweden and Denmark. On receiving the news, the emperor decorated Bodisco with the Order of St. Anne (2nd class). On 21 February (NS) 1814, Bodisco went from Hannover to Berlin with the treaty of peace concluded between Russia and Denmark, after which he again served under General Sukhtelen, who sent him to Stockholm and Paris with news of the conclusion of talks concerning Norway. In 1817, he temporarily carried out the duties of Russian consul general in Stockholm, for which he was awarded the diamond insignia of the Order of St. Anne (2nd class). On 13 August (OS) 1818, he was made a gentleman of the emperor's bedchamber [*kamerger*]. On 3/15 January 1820, he was appointed councilor of the embassy in Stockholm. On 20 January / 1 February 1820, he was sent as a courier from Stockholm to St. Petersburg. On 5 February (OS) 1824, he was appointed gentleman-in-waiting [*kamerherr*] of the Court of His Imperial Majesty. On 22 August (OS) 1826, he was promoted to state councilor (5th grade). On 5 April (OS) 1830, he received the Order of St. Vladimir (3rd class). On 10 April (OS) 1832, he attained the rank of actual state councilor (4th grade). On 18 November (OS) 1832, the country house “Vanenhof,” in Kurland, which had been granted to him for twelve years by the Ukase of 10 September (OS) 1827, was ordered to be returned to the State as

of 12 June (OS) 1833. He was instead granted from the State Exchequer for twelve years eight hundred silver rubles per year. On 5 December (OS) 1834, he received the Order of St. Stanislav (2nd class, with star). On 17/29 January 1836, on the death of Count Sukhtelen, he was confirmed temporarily as *chargé d'affaires* at the mission in Stockholm. On 16/28 March 1837, he was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the United States of America. He arrived in Washington, where he presented his credentials to President (1837–1841) Martin Van Buren (1782–1862) on 5 May (NS) 1838. He remained in this post until his death. On 14/26 April 1840, just after his marriage, he was promoted to privy councilor (3rd grade). On 13/25 March 1844 (during the period in which the Bodiscos are mentioned in Anna Whistler's diaries), Baron Bodisco was awarded, in addition to the eight hundred rubles per year awarded him in 1832, a further twelve hundred rubles, starting 12/24 June 1845; from that date for six years he was to receive two thousand silver rubles per year. On 15/27 April 1844, in consideration of his zealous service and insufficient income, he was further awarded, as an addition to his salary, two thousand silver rubles per year. On 22 August / 3 September 1846, he received a badge of distinction for forty years of flawless service (he had received similar badges of distinction every five years, beginning with his twenty-fifth year of service). On 21 April / 3 May 1847, he was made cavalier of the Order of St. Anne (1st class). On 24 February / 8 March 1850, as a manifestation of Imperial favor for his long and zealous service and useful labors, he was made a cavalier of the Order of St. Vladimir (2nd class, large cross). On 13/25 August 1851, he was awarded two thousand silver rubles per year for six years, beginning 12/24 June 1851 (this is the pension he refers to in his will). On 22 August / 3 September 1852, he was awarded a badge of distinction for forty-five years of flawless service. His service record also indicates that his mother owned 400 serfs in Moscow and Kaluga provinces, and that he was of the Lutheran faith.²

Harriet Beall Williams (c. 1824 – Southsea, Portsea Island, Southampton 20 June 1890; see Images 284–285) was the daughter of Rebecca (Beck) (c. 1804 – buried at Oak Hill Cemetery, Washington, DC 26 April 1880) and Brooke Williams (c. 1790 – Georgetown, DC 1 September 1843), who were married on 4 September 1822.³ She had the

following brothers and sisters: Caroline Virginia (c. 1826 – buried Oak Hill Cemetery 17 March 1854), Brooke B. (c. 1828 – buried Oak Hill Cemetery 20 November 1894), Eliza (27 June 1830 – 14 January 1850), Edward (15 November 1834 – buried Oak Hill Cemetery 28 February 1890), William Lewis (19 November 1837 – buried Oak Hill Cemetery 22 August 1887), Bodisco (b. 13 September 1841).⁴ Their father was chief clerk in the Adjutant General's office.⁵

Harriet Beall Williams's marriage on 7 April 1840,⁶ at the age of sixteen, to Baron Alexander Andreevich Bodisco, then fifty-three years old, was an exciting social event.⁷ The story is told that in 1838, when Harriet, some fourteen years old, was a day student at Miss English's Seminary in Georgetown, Baron Bodisco, who also lived in Georgetown (at 3320 O Street), and who had only recently arrived to take up his diplomatic post, gave a sumptuous Christmas party for his nephews, at which Harriet was a guest. The Baron became interested in her, courted her, and in April 1840 they were married. Although her father was alive⁸ and the marriage took place in her family's house (on The Heights in Georgetown), he did not give the bride away. Whether the Baron, who chose statesmen his own age as his ushers while the bride's attendants were young like herself, made the decision to have Senator Henry Clay of Kentucky replace Harriet's father in giving her away, or whether her father refused to participate in the wedding, remains a mystery. Her father died on 1 September 1843; his funeral was held at Christ Church on 2 September 1843,⁹ but the location of his grave has continued to elude researchers.

The splendor of the trappings of the wedding, brilliant reception, and extensive festivities, all planned by the Baron and so exciting to onlookers and participants alike, gain a different perspective when set against the moment of truth experienced by one of the young attendants. Seeing the Baron and her own handsome father together, she became aware of the former's "curious ugliness," "his manner at variance with all [her] ideas of dignity," and "suddenly had an instinct into another aspect of this gay marriage."¹⁰ But the marriage "was a happy one to [Baron Bodisco] and evidently of contentment to [his wife]."¹¹ He dropped "much of the frothiness of his ways," "made all her family his,"

and gained “in every way the respect of many who thought it a risky marriage.”¹²

They had seven children:¹³ Nicholas Alexander (b. Georgetown, DC 6/18 April 1841; bap. Christ Church 18 December 1841); Alexander André (b. 10 October 1842; bap. Christ Church 9 April 1843; d. Georgetown, DC 2 September 1843; funeral service Christ Church 3 September 1843); Constantine (b. 8 December 1844; bap. Christ Church 12 June 1845; d. May 1896); Alexander (b. Georgetown, DC 26 November 1846; bap. Christ Church 9 June 1847); Athenais Septimanie (b. 17/29 August 1848; bap. Christ Church May 1849); Olga Georgianna (b. 10/22 February 1851; bap. St. John’s Episcopal Church 1851); and William Corcoran (b. Argayl Farm¹⁴ 21 July 1852; bap. Christ Church 8 January 1853).

In his will, written in French and dated 1 July 1853, Baron Bodisco did not enter “into the details of the Education that I desire to be given to our Children,” because of the “unlimited confidence” he had “in the principles and in the excellent qualities of my dear Wife.” However, after stressing that they must first of all “become good Christians,” he went on to emphasize that they must “become ... good Russians, for the happiness to belong to that great Nation, must be considered by them, as a favor from Heaven, and as a distinction for their future life and their destiny.”¹⁵ It has not been possible to obtain much information about the Russian aspect of the Bodisco children’s lives. There is a file in the RGIA in St. Petersburg, dated 3 November 1866 – 28 January 1867, about Alexander Bodisco’s appointment to the Chancery of the Ministry of the Imperial Court that shows he completed the course of studies at the Imperial Alexander Lyceum with the right to the rank of 10th grade (collegiate secretary).¹⁶ It is said that Constantine also received his education in Russia and “came to Washington as third secretary of the Legation.”¹⁷ He married an American, Charlotte Elizabeth Barton, on 9 July 1867 in the Church of the Epiphany, Washington, DC.¹⁸

Harriet Beall (Williams) Bodisco was received at Court in Russia and given the sobriquet “the beautiful American.” An exquisite portrait of her in the luxurious robes of state she wore when presented to the Imperial Russian Court was painted by Johann Conrad Dörner (1809–1866) in 1844 (see Image 285). The Bodiscos were married about

fourteen years. Baron Bodisco died on 11/23 January 1854¹⁹ in Georgetown, DC, and was buried in a plot bought in that same year at Oak Hill Cemetery, as were subsequently many members of both sides of the family.²⁰ In his will, Baron Bodisco stated that his fortune, which was to be divided into seven equal parts for his wife and six children, consisted of “the income of two thousand silver rubles derived from the Pension I obtain from the Kindness of the Emperor since the 24 June 1851 until 24 June 1857, of all the salary due to me on the day of my decease, of all my personal property or furniture, of all my Silver, of a house at St. Petersburg, and of 10 shares of the 1st Insurance Company against fire.”²¹ He encouraged his wife, who would “likely become a Widow at an age when it would be still convenient for her to marry again,” to “take for a husband only such a man as will be worthy of her and whose social position and well established fortune will be able to assure to my Wife and to the Children issue of the second marriage, a becoming and perfectly independent existence.”²² His fortune and the second marriage were thus very exactly separated, in the interest of protecting his own children’s inheritance. If his widow remarried, her guardianship of the children of the first marriage would at once cease and, should she die, her portion of the inheritance would revert to the children of the first marriage.²³

On 29 May 1860, Harriet Beall (Williams) Bodisco, then about thirty-six years old, was given in marriage by President (1857–1861) James Buchanan (1791–1868) at Christ Church, Georgetown, to Captain Douglas Gordon Scott²⁴ (Aldridge, Staffordshire 20 December 1827 – Walton, Surrey 6 November 1911) of the Madras (Indian) Army. Scott’s career is as follows. He was appointed to the Eighth Regiment Native Infantry (Madras) on 15 June 1846 with the rank of ensign. He was appointed captain on 23 October 1857. For part of the period 1859 to 1862 he was recorded as being “On Furlough.” He was appointed lieutenant colonel at the Madras Staff Corps on 4 February 1872 and retired on 20 November 1878 as major general.²⁵ The Scotts had a daughter, Frances Mary Douglas, who was born on 8 October 1861. She married on 16 May 1886 Henry Philip Picot (d. London 29 August 1937).²⁶ Harriet Beall (Williams) (Bodisco) Scott died intestate on 20 June 1890 at the age of sixty-six at Southsea, Portsea Island,

Southampton. Her name on her death certificate is given as Henriette Belle de Bodisco Scott (Beall is pronounced Bell) and on her probate record as Henrietta Belle de Bodisco Scott.²⁷ Her personal estate amounted to about £882.²⁸ Douglas Gordon Scott died on 6 November 1911 at the age of eighty-three at Walton, Surrey.²⁹ His personal estate amounted to about £9,000.³⁰

When Anna Whistler (see Images 1–5) met “the beautiful American” during the St. Petersburg winter season of 1843–44, the latter was between nineteen and twenty years old, had been married some three-and-a-half years, and had borne two children, one of whom had died. Her lack of interest in religion and her love of the social events so much a part of diplomatic life were totally at odds with Anna Whistler’s style of living. Her frank preference for Russian society over American Anna Whistler found shocking. Maxwell considered her “pretty ... weak and ignorant.”³¹ But she took her part in the life she had chosen “amiably and well,”³² and had “one great and happy quality. Whatever she cannot avoid, she makes the most of.”³³ Most women, including Anna Whistler, wrote of her beauty and her magnificent clothes and jewelry. Jessie Benton Fremont, in her memoirs, spoke with respect of the late Baron Bodisco, the real focus of her essay, but was restrained in her comments on the still-living and remarried widow, commenting only on her continuing outward beauty and her stoutness.³⁴

Major Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21) was already acquainted with Baron Bodisco, who had negotiated the contract between him and the Russian government in 1842 in Washington, DC. Anna Whistler entertained Baron Bodisco and his wife at the Whistler home in St. Petersburg after meeting them at Colonel Todd’s (see Image 278), but she commented only on Mrs. Bodisco and her child.

NOTES

1. I am deeply grateful to the following persons for supplying biographical and genealogical information for the Beall and Bodisco families from American sources: Jane C. Sween, librarian and genealogist of the Montgomery County Historical Society, Rockville, MD; Robert W. Lyle, curator of the Peabody Room, Georgetown Regional Branch of the District of Columbia Public

Library; Matthew Gilmore, reference librarian at Martin Luther King Memorial Library (MLKML), Washington, DC; Bonnie Hedges of The Historical Society of Washington, DC; Marilyn A. Duncan, assistant library director of the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution (NSDAR), Washington, DC; and the records of Christ Church in Georgetown, DC, provided by its director of administration and archivist, Glenn A. Metzdorf.

2. AVPRI: Fond DLS i KhD, f. spiski, op. 464, d. 402. Formulirnyi spisok o sluzhbe Chrezvychainogo Poslannika i Polnomochnogo Ministra pri Soedinennykh Amerikanskikh Shtatakh Tainogo Sovetnika Bodisko. Sostavlen 5^{go} Oktiabria 1853 goda [Fond DLS and KhD, Service Records, op. 464, d. 402. Service Record of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America Privy Councilor Bodisko. Compiled on 5 October 1853] (hereafter, AVPRI: Bodisko).
3. Eleanor Mildred Vaughan Cook, *The Brooke Beall Family and the Johns Family*, July 1986 (hereafter, *Beall and Johns*). Birth dates here are inferred from age at death and death dates. Information about the family burial plot at Oak Hill Cemetery is from *Olographe Testament*. See also the obituary of Brooke Williams in the *National Intelligencer*, September 2, 1843; *Abstracts of Marriage and Death Notices from the National Intelligencer* (Washington, DC), 1800–1850, Roll 2: 1835–1846, 2 September 1843, NGS Special Publication no. 41, The Historical Society of Washington, DC; *Old Marriage Records of the District of Columbia*, vol. 22, p. 381, NSDAR; and Mrs. Thaddeus M. Jones, *Oak Hill Cemetery Records*, Vinnetta Wells Ranke and Caroline Nugent Miller, comps., *Report to the Genealogical Records Committee, D.C.D.A.R.* [District of Columbia Daughters of the American Revolution] 17 (1936), ts, p. 69.
4. Inscriptions from Tombstones in Rock Creek Cemetery, section C, p. 63, NSDAR; Mrs. Carroll Power, “Christ Episcopal Church, Georgetown, D.C.” Mrs. Elmer Curry, comp., *Report to the Genealogical Records Committee, D.C.D.A.R.* 27 (1936), ts, p. 9; list of family members buried in Plot 396½ in Oak Hill Cemetery in *Olographe Testament*.
5. See the obituary and *Abstracts of Marriage and Death Notices* cited in Note 3 in this biography. Brooke Williams died “in the 53rd year of his age, after a severe illness of some months.”
6. *Daily National Intelligencer*, Friday, Apr. 10, 1840, p. 4, col. 5 (*Olographe Testament*); Mrs. Carroll Power, “Christ Episcopal

- Church” and “St. John’s Episcopal Church, Georgetown, D.C.,” Mrs. Elmer Curry, comp., *Report to the Genealogical Records Committee, D.C.D.A.R.* 27 (1936), ts. The marriage license was dated 7 April 1840. This is the date given for the actual marriage, however, in *Old Marriage Records of the District of Columbia*, vol. 22, p. 382, NSDAR.
7. For later accounts, see John Clagett Proctor, “Count Bodisco, Russian Envoy, and Young Bride Made Social History Here,” *The Sunday Star* (Washington, DC), September 8, 1940 and John Clagett Proctor, “How We Bought Alaska from Russia,” *The Sunday Star* (Washington, DC), February 28, 1943. See also the following books and articles about old Washington, DC: William A. Gordon, “Old Homes on Georgetown Heights,” *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 18 (1915): pp. 81–82; Grace Dunlop Ecker, *A Portrait of Old Georgetown* (Richmond, VA: Dietz Press, 1951), pp. 289–295; Sally Somervell Mackall, *Early Days of Washington* (Washington, DC: Neale, 1899), pp. 311–328; Wilhelmus B. Bryon, “Some Myths in the History of Washington,” *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 31–32 (1930): pp. 49–51; Mary Mitchell, *Chronicles of Georgetown Life, 1865–1900* (Cabin John, MD: Seven Locks Press, 1986), pp. 49–50; Ben. Perley Poore, *Perley’s Reminiscences of Sixty Years in the National Metropolis*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Hubbard, 1886), vol. 1, pp. 305–306; Jessie Benton Fremont, *Souvenirs of My Time* (Boston: D. Lothrop, 1887), pp. 7–33; Deering Davis, Stephen P. Dorsey, and Ralph Cole Hall, *Georgetown Houses of the Federal Period, Washington, D.C. 1780-1830* (New York: Architectural Book Publishing, 1944), pp. 74–75; Virginia Clay-Clopton and Ada Sterling, *A Belle of the Fifties: Memoirs of Mrs. Clay, of Alabama, Covering Social and Political Life in Washington and the South, 1853–66* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1905), pp. 25, 31–34. The reader should be aware that there are many factual errors among these sources as well as in the newspaper articles referred to in this biography.
 8. The mistaken idea that Brooke Williams was not alive was given as an explanation of why Henry Clay gave the bride away (Allen Diehl Albert Jr., “Baron Bodisco’s Gorgeous Wedding to Harriet Williams,” *National Illustrated Magazine*, June 1904).
 9. Glenn A. Metzdorf, Christ Church, DC, to E. Harden, 14 September 1994.
 10. Fremont, *Souvenirs*, pp. 19–20.
 11. Fremont, p. 31. In his will, he said, “I thank my dear Wife for having embellished my life and wish with my whole heart that

hers may continue without clouds until the last moment of her Existence” (*Olographe Testament*).

12. Fremont, *Souvenirs*, p. 31.
13. All baptismal information and most birth date information about the Bodisco children has been supplied by Glenn A. Metzdorf, director of administration and archivist, Christ Church, DC (letter to E. Harden, 22 August 1994). There is no birth or baptismal record at Christ Church for Olga. Her date of birth is taken from her father’s service record (AVPRI: Bodisko). Her baptism, indicated only as having taken place in 1851, and her second name, Georgianna, are recorded in Power, “St. John’s,” p. 7, Power, “Christ Episcopal Church,” pp. 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12. The children are recorded in their father’s service record as Protestants. Some of the other children’s birth dates in the service record and *Olographe Testament* are confusing. In the service record, where all dates are given in Old Style, some of the birth dates are actually New Style. In his will, Baron Bodisco made a mistake in citing the birth date of at least one child. In the two documents, Harriet Beall (Williams) Bodisco is called either Harriet Brooke or Henrieta Brooke: i.e., her father’s name, Brooke, is given in observance of the Russian use of a patronymic. Excerpts from Baron Bodisco’s will appeared in “Great Grandson of Count Bodisco Replies to Roland Carr’s Query,” *The Georgetownner*, February 2, 1956, a response to “Who Is ‘Annett Bodisco’? Query by Roland T. Carr, Vice Pres., Riggs Bank,” *The Georgetownner*, January 5, 1956, MLKML.
14. Land Records Libery, WB 120, fol. 9, MLKML.
15. *Olographe Testament*.
16. RGIA: Fond 472, op. 36, d. 75. O prichislenii k Kantseliarii Ministerstva Imperatorskogo Dvora okonchivshago kurs nauk v Imperatorskom Aleksandrovskom Litsee, s pravom na chin X klassa Aleksandra Bodisko 3 noiab. 1866–28 ianv. 1867 [Concerning the appointment to the Chancery of the Ministry of the Imperial Court of Alexander Bodisco, who has completed the course of studies at the Imperial Alexander Lyceum, with the right to the rank of 10th grade 3 November 1866–26 January 1867]. During the period in which the file was compiled, he reached his twentieth birthday. The file contains his father’s final service record, compiled on 30 January (OS) 1854, and a Russian translation of the proof of baptism of Alexander Bodisco attested to on 6 June (NS) 1847 by Rev. S.G. Gassaway of Christ Church,

Georgetown. The final service record contains the same information as AVPRI: Bodisko.

17. *The Georgetownner*, February 2, 1956, MLKML.
18. Power, “St. John’s,” p. 24; *The Georgetownner*, February 2, 1956, and a list of children born to Constantine and Elizabeth (Barton) de Bodisco, MLKML.
19. He is buried in lot 396½ (purchased 1 March 1854) at Oak Hill Cemetery. On the base of the monument, his date of death is given as “11/30 Jan. 1854” (list of family members buried in Plot 396½ in Oak Hill Cemetery in *Olographe Testament*). This is not possible because of the 12-day difference between the Julian and Gregorian calendars in the nineteenth century. According to his final service record, and to his biography in Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheskii slovar’*, he died on 11 January Old Style, the New Style equivalent of which is 23 January. His funeral took place on 25 January (*The Star* [Washington, DC], January 26, 1854).
20. List of family members buried in Plot 396½ in Oak Hill Cemetery in *Olographe Testament*.
21. A codicil dealt with his U.S. property: the Georgetown house, Argayl farm, and some two hundred sixty-six thousand dollars (“Codicil to My Olographe Testament,” provided by Robert W. Lyle, curator, Peabody Room, Georgetown Regional Branch of District of Columbia Public Library).
22. All the foregoing quotations from his will come from *Olographe Testament*. See also *The Georgetownner*, February 2, 1956, MLKML.
23. If all the children of the first marriage died before their mother, she would inherit everything; however, at her death it would go to Baron Bodisko’s adopted children, who were his nephews, Waldemar and Boris, and their sister, Caroline (*Olographe Testament* and “Codicil to My Olographe Testament” [see Note 22 above]). Caroline de Bodisco had married Harriet Beall (Williams) Bodisko’s brother, Brooke B. Williams (at Christ Church, Georgetown, on 2 December 1847) (Glenn A. Metzdorf, Christ Church, DC, to E. Harden, 22 August 1994 and 14 September 1994).
24. Glenn A. Metzdorf, Christ Church, DC, to E. Harden, 22 August 1994; Proctor, *Sunday Star*, September 8, 1940.
25. The *India Register* for the years 1847–1897, India Office Library, London.

26. Foreign Office Lists, NAUK; Biographical Index, India Office Library, London.
27. Certified copy of an Entry of Death for Henriette Belle de Bodisco Scott, Registration District: Portsea Island, Sub-district of Landport, County of Portsmouth, GRO; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1890.
28. *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1890.
29. Certified copy of an Entry of Death for Douglas Scott, Registration District, Chertsy, Sub-district of Walton, County of Surrey, GRO.
30. *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1911.
31. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, Wed. June 5 in letter of Sunday, June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36.
32. Fremont, *Souvenirs*, p. 31.
33. John S. Maxwell to Mr. Hugh Maxwell, St. P., Wed., June 5 in letter of Sunday, June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36. He went on to say: "... and now that she must go back to Washington, she says there is no place like it on earth, and desires to be off immediately."
34. Fremont, *Souvenirs*, pp. 31, 33.

*BRENNAN, BERGIN, KEEFE*¹

Mary Brennan (bap. 20 May 1828 – 25 May 1895) had a brother, James (1 February 1822 – 4 September 1886), who emigrated to the United States, arriving in New York on 9 May 1840.² Both were born in Ballyhale, Kilkenny, Ireland, the children of Martin and Mary (Maher) Brenan [*sic*].³ It seems plausible that Mary Brennan, because she was a minor, arrived in the United States with James.

James Brennan took out initial naturalization papers in 1842 in Springfield, Massachusetts, and became a citizen of the United States on 20 February 1849 at the Hampden County Court of Common Pleas in Springfield.⁴ He resided in Springfield until his death.⁵

His occupation in the 1840s was probably that of laborer.⁶ In the early 1850s, he was employed by the Western (Boston and Albany) Railroad, and from the 1860s to 1880, his occupation is listed specifically as both fireman and engineer for the Western Railroad.⁷

James Brennan married Mary Hogan, but it has not been possible to locate a marriage record for them. Mary (Hogan) Brennan, who was born around 1827, died in Springfield on 26 July 1889, at the age of sixty-two.⁸ She as well was born in Ireland. According to the 1860 U.S. Federal Census (where the surname is spelled Brinnan), they had five children: Anna (14), John (12), Mary (9), James (6), and Margaret (1). Their daughter, Mary, married John Barrett, had three children, and lived in Springfield until her death at the age of eighty-one on 2 June 1931.⁹ It is to Mrs. Barrett that her aunt gave or ordered to be given (it was not bequeathed) the portrait of James Whistler painted in 1844 in St. Petersburg by C.A.F. Fiessler¹⁰ (see Image 24) and presented to Mrs. Barrett's aunt by Anna Whistler (see Images 1–5).

Another Brennan brother, Patrick, was a carpenter, living in Stonyford, County Kilkenny, Ireland, not far from Ballyhale.¹¹ His interest in emigrating to the United States in 1850¹² may have been connected with the fact that their mother died in Ireland in late 1849 or early 1850.¹³ But Mary received a letter from him on 25 June 1850, saying he had decided “to remain in Stoney Ford.”¹⁴

While we know when Mary Brennan was baptized, we have no birth date for her, and documents for her marriage and death and the 1860

U.S. Federal Census give her age variously.¹⁵ All of the ages given indicate that when she went to work for the Whistlers she had to have been less than ten years old, which seems unlikely. If we assume that she was baptized in the year in which she was born, she would have been about fifteen in 1843, when we know for certain that she was in their employ. She may have been in their employ, however, from at least October 1842, when Anna Whistler and the children moved from Springfield to Stonington after Major Whistler's (see Images 7–8, 21) departure for Russia.¹⁶

She traveled to Russia with Anna Whistler and the children in August 1843. Not long after their arrival, partly because of the death of Charles Donald, who had been her particular charge, she proposed returning to her brother James in Springfield, but then decided not to.¹⁷ Anna Whistler made efforts to arrange for her to have the companionship of nursemaids in the employ of other Whistler family friends, such as the Ropeses and Ellerbys. Mary became more courageous about making friends, but she seemed to seek out only other nursemaids.¹⁸ Arrangements were made on several occasions for her to travel to the United States and to visit her family in Ireland.¹⁹ She accompanied Anna Whistler and the children to England in the summers of 1847²⁰ and 1848, and remained in London in 1848 with Deborah Whistler Haden (see Images 17–19, 21),²¹ who was expecting her first child in December of that year. Thus, like James Whistler (see Images 24–29), Mary never returned to St. Petersburg again.

When Anna Whistler returned to the United States in the summer of 1849, she lived in Stonington with the Palmers (see Image 37) while deciding upon a more permanent place of residence, and Mary remained with her.²² Mary continued in the employ of Anna Whistler throughout most of the 1850s, but her situation was somewhat unstable. There are unexplained outbursts of rude behavior toward Anna Whistler recorded in the latter's diary for January 1850, when they were living in Pomfret, their first move,²³ but they may have been connected with the death of Mary's mother.

The peripaties of Anna Whistler's life and her financial difficulties seem to have been the cause of the instability of Mary's life. Anna Whistler was poor after Major Whistler's death, and the visits she made

to family and friends were partly intended to save her money. Mary did not accompany Anna Whistler when the latter traveled to England for extended stays with family, nor when she went to visit her brother, Charles Johnston McNeill, in Florida. Anna Whistler also made visits in the United States to close friends – such as the Eastwicks, Harrisons, and Winanses – but it is not always clear what Mary did then. She may have gone to stay at these times with her brother James, whom she frequently visited.²⁴ Both she and Anna Whistler suffered on these occasions.

At Christmas 1852, Anna Whistler was in London with the Hadens and did not return home until May 1853.²⁵ She was concerned about having to write twice to Mary Brennan because she had not heard from her.²⁶ In April of 1854, Anna Whistler and Mary were in Stonington when the former received an invitation to visit Baltimore. This left Mary disconsolate, and the offer to take her along drew only great indignation because Mary was afraid “to meet any *linked* with our breaking up.”²⁷ Nevertheless, despite her fears, Mary was with Anna Whistler in Baltimore in autumn of 1854.²⁸ Although she told Anna Whistler in December 1854 that she wanted to return to her New York connections,²⁹ she stayed on. In 1855, because of her poverty, Anna Whistler shared a house with her nephew Donald McNeill Fairfax (see Image 35) and his first wife, Virginia Cary (Ragland) Fairfax, in Baltimore until April, but Mary was with her.³⁰ In late November – early December 1855, with Anna Whistler’s permission, Mary visited her brother James for two weeks.³¹ In December of 1856, expecting that Anna Whistler would go to visit Charles Johnston McNeill in Florida, Mary informed James Brennan that he might “hope for her spending the winter in Springfield.”³² Mary found herself forced to stay in Springfield, to the mutual trial of herself and Anna Whistler, while Willie Whistler contemplated where he would next pursue his studies.³³ Anna Whistler hoped Mary might find employment in Springfield with Mrs. Barnes, until she herself could “see [her] way clearer,”³⁴ but that does not seem to have happened. Mary “cheered herself with the hope that Willie” might induce his mother “to keep house for him in Phila. and that she [might] be [their] fag again! never to leave [their] house!”³⁵

In the winters of 1858–59 and 1859–60, Mary Brennan was again or still living in Springfield and was unable to leave there to help Anna Whistler move before spring 1860.³⁶ She apparently had taken a new position in the late 1850s, for in 1860 she was registered in the U.S. Federal Census for Springfield and enumerated as a servant (Brinnin, age twenty-eight) living with Ellen Child [*sic*], a widow, at 6 Chestnut Street.³⁷ The interesting fact in this census return is that one of the other two female servants in the Childe household was an Ellen Bergen, nineteen years old. She was most likely a relative of Martin Bergin, whom Mary Brennan married on 9 June 1861, at St. Michael's Roman Catholic Cathedral in Springfield.³⁸

Martin Bergin (25 September 1834 – 4 May 1897) was also born in Ireland and was, like the Brennans, from Kilkenny.³⁹ He arrived in New York in July 1851 and note was made that he was a minor.⁴⁰ He was “naturalized in the Superior Court of Hampden County in Springfield. No specific date is given, but the naturalization occurred between 1853–1867.”⁴¹ It had to have occurred before 1862, when Anna Whistler refers to New Haven as the Bergins' domicile.⁴²

His occupation is given in the marriage record as “grocer.” Although his place of residence is given there as Springfield, his name does not appear in the Springfield directories at all. In their marriage record, in 1861, Martin and Mary both give their age as twenty-six, making Mary two years younger than she was in the 1860 U.S. Federal Census. Their witnesses were James Welsh and Anne Bergin, and the officiating cleric was M.P. Gallagher. Martin's parents are given as Stephen and Ellen. His mother's maiden name was Murphy.⁴³ The names of Mary's parents are not given.

Mary (Brennan) Bergin died at 586 Grand Avenue in Ward 6, New Haven, Connecticut, on 25 May 1895.⁴⁴ Her death certificate lists her age as fifty-six, but the age she gave on her marriage record in 1861 would have made her sixty years old at her death, and her baptism date suggests she was sixty-seven. The death notice in the *New Haven Register* states that Mrs. Martin Berigan [*sic*] would receive a solemn requiem mass at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New Haven.⁴⁵ Her body was brought by train to Springfield on 27 May 1895. After her funeral service, she was buried in

“cemetery plot #1259 in the Hill Section of Calvary Cemetery in [nearby] Chicopee.”⁴⁶ The plot was purchased by her husband when she died.⁴⁷

Martin Bergin “was in the grocery and meat business” in New Haven.⁴⁸ At some time, he served as an alderman.⁴⁹ He sold his business there, apparently after his wife’s death, “and intended to open a store in [Springfield] or Holyoke.”⁵⁰ On 4 May 1897, while visiting his relatives in the Holyoke area, he died tragically in a hotel in Holyoke owned by a niece of his. The gas jet in his room “had not been turned fully off,” and he died of asphyxiation.⁵¹ His funeral took place on May 5 at the Church of the Holy Rosary, and he was buried in the same plot as his wife.⁵² They had no surviving children.⁵³

Mary Brennan was devoted to the Whistler family. Her particular faithfulness to Anna Whistler was exemplified on Christmas Day 1845, when she gave her mistress “a carved ivory seal for [her] desk” with her initials on it in silver and “a chaste cart dog at the top.”⁵⁴ On route to England in June 1847, Anna Whistler wrote her husband, assuring him for some unclear reason that Mary was not spoiled, but “modest, humble & trying to anticipate all our wants.”⁵⁵ Mary seemed to justify this assessment when she offered to sleep on the floor of the cabin because of a lack of berths.⁵⁶

When Major Whistler died, Mary communicated to Anna Whistler that she would not leave her and perhaps offered to take a smaller salary, for Anna Whistler wrote to James: “Tell my good Mary how gratifying it is to me to hear such proofs of her attachment to me—she will cheerfully then lighten my toils—for we must all do our part upon a very small income.”⁵⁷ Anna Whistler described the hardworking young woman as “a host in herself.”⁵⁸ And, as late as 1874, she received proof “of the faithful and loving attachment of [her] good old servant Mary who altho a very respectable M^{rs} Bergin residing in New Haven ... sign[ed] herself [your] ‘Servant Mary’.”⁵⁹ To this Anna Whistler responded: “There are not many like her.”⁶⁰

A third surname needs to be grouped with Brennan and Bergin: that of Keefe (O’Keefe, Kief, O’Kiefe). Anna Whistler referred to a Thomas in 1849 when she wrote of James Brennan.⁶¹ While identifying James as Mary Brennan’s brother, she did not clarify who Thomas was. But, as a sister of Martin Bergin later married a Thomas Keefe, also from

Ballyhale, Kilkenny,⁶² it seems plausible to assume that the abovementioned Thomas was Thomas Keefe. He was born on 9 August 1824 and arrived in New York on 1 August 1841,⁶³ about a year after James Brennan. He made his domicile in Springfield, Massachusetts, from at least 1842, and became a citizen of the United States on 15 February 1847.⁶⁴ In 1852, he was working at the Springfield depot.⁶⁵ He married Margaret Bergin on 8 May 1853 in Cabotville (now Chicopee), Massachusetts.⁶⁶ The names of Margaret Bergin's parents are not given in the marriage record⁶⁷; only the name of Thomas Keefe's father, Richard, is given. Thomas's occupation is given in the U.S. Federal Census for 1860 (Chicopee) as mason.⁶⁸ At that time, the Keefes had three children: Mary (6), John (4), and Ella (2).⁶⁹ Thomas Keefe is not recorded in the 1870 U.S. Federal Census, so he may have died between 1860 and 1870. Neither the statewide nor the local vital records record his death, but Margaret (Bergin) Keefe is listed as a widow in the Holyoke city directories in 1876.⁷⁰ She continued to appear in the Holyoke city directories until 1911.⁷¹ The Holyoke City Clerk's Office has no death record for her.⁷²

A final intriguing question arises from these biographies. All the persons were from Ballyhale, Kilkenny, the population of which in the 1830s was 369.⁷³ Who or what could have been the impetus for the departure of these three families from this tiny town in Ireland with the specific destination of Springfield, Massachusetts?

NOTES

1. I am deeply grateful to Margaret Humberston, supervising librarian of the Genealogy and Local History Library, Connecticut Valley Historical Museum, Springfield, Massachusetts, for the painstaking research she carried out on my behalf in Springfield, Massachusetts, and New Haven, Connecticut, on the Brennan, Bergin and Keefe families.
2. Mary Flood, Kilkenny Archaeological Society (KAS), Kilkenny, Ireland, to E. Harden, 7 March 2002; Death Certificate for [Mary] Bergin, Bureau of Vital Statistics State of Connecticut; *Springfield Daily Republican*, September 6, 1886; Naturalization papers for James Brennan, Waltham, MA, NAUS. The KAS found only one baptismal record for a Mary Brennan in Ballyhale in the period

1823–1833. This Mary Brennan had three siblings, born in 1830, 1832, and 1835. Anna Whistler never refers to them in her correspondence, so perhaps they died. That this Mary Brennan is the one we are looking for seems borne out by the fact that a James Walsh was a sponsor at the baptism in Ballyhale, and a James Welsh was a witness at her wedding in Springfield (M. Humberston, Springfield, MA, to E. Harden, 11 January 2002).

Anna Whistler said her Mary “was a farmers daughter in the north of Ireland” (Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, 1205 Arch St., Philadelphia, Nov. 11th [1858], GUL: Whistler Collection, W495). Anna Whistler was mistaken. Kilkenny was a town in Kilkenny County, located in the south of Ireland (Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1985], frontispiece map).

3. Ballyhale Catholic Parish records, Register 1, p. 73 for Mary Brennan. “We can confirm that all Catholic Baptisms marriages and burials prior to 1900 have been computerised. However in relation to the Catholic Parish of Ballyhale the very earliest baptisms date from 1823, and marriages from 1855. Hence we are not in a position to provide the marriage of Mary’s parents if this took place in Ballyhale” (Mary Flood, KAS, to E. Harden, 7 March 2002). For James Brennan’s birthplace, see NA: J. Brennan.
4. M. Humberston, Springfield, MA, to E. Harden, 2 April 2002; NA: J. Brennan.
5. *Springfield Daily Republican*, September 6, 1886.
6. His initial application for naturalization in 1842 gives his occupation as laborer (NA: J. Brennan). In August 1849, he and someone named Thomas offered through Mary Brennan that wherever Anna Whistler chose to live they were willing “to leave their work for a few days if [she needed] their assistance in unpacking the furniture” arriving from Russia. James Brennan promised that he would help his mother “if he can get the same wages he had formerly,” because “his work is increased and his profits reduced under the present system” (Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Stonington. Aug. 23rd. 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W389).
7. When James Brennan acquainted Anna Whistler with his situation in 1849 (see previous Note), she felt she had to ask her step-son, George, to write to a Mr. Gray about a job for him (Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Stonington. August 23rd.

1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W389). Henry Gray (c. 1814 – 19 December 1870), a brushmaker in Boston, had received “proprietorship of one of the restaurants” on the Providence and Stonington Railroad in 1838 through Major Whistler. He later joined Major Whistler in Springfield and became a collector on the passenger trains of the Western Railroad, succeeding to master mechanic. On the retirement of General James Barnes as superintendent of the Western Railroad in 1850, Henry Gray was appointed to the position, which he held for seventeen years (“Death of Henry Gray,” *Springfield Daily Republican*, December 20, 1870). He apparently did help James Brennan, as the latter was employed by the Western Railroad starting in the 1850s. See *Bessey’s Springfield Directory for 1851-1852* (Springfield: M. Bessey, 1851), p. 44 (name spelled Brannon). James Brennan is not indexed in the 1850 US Federal Census. The 1860, 1870, and 1880 censuses all identify his occupation.

8. *Springfield Daily Republican*, July 28, 1889.
9. *Springfield Evening Union*, June 2, 1931, p. 4; *Springfield Daily Republican*, June 3, 1931, p. 4. According to the records of the Diocese of Springfield Catholic Cemeteries, she was buried in St. Michael’s Cemetery in Springfield, Section 6, Lot 37, Grave 4E (Lynn Carney, Springfield, MA, to E. Harden, 10 April 2002).
10. This watercolor portrait has already been described in the biography of James Whistler in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s.” It would seem to have been gifted rather than bequeathed to Mary Barrett, as neither Mary Bergin’s will nor that of her husband contains any reference to it (Estate of Mary Bergin, no. 13, 171 and Estate of Martin Bergin, no. 13, 172, New Haven Probate District, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, CT).
See William Whistler to James Whistler St. Petersburg 10th May 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W978, in which reference is made to the packing up of Mary Brennan’s pictures. See also *Springfield Daily Republican*, July 8, 1934.
11. George Henry Bassett, *Kilkenny City and County Guide and Directory*, facsimile edition (Kilkenny, Ireland: Grangesilvia, 2001), pp. 288, 289.
12. On 1 May 1850, Anna Whistler had received twenty dollars for Mary Brennan from Captain William Henry Swift, her late husband’s brother-in-law, who had power of attorney to act for Anna Whistler in financial matters. The money, an “advance of [Mary’s] next quarters wages [was] to be applied by her for

sending for her brother in Ireland” (entry of May 1st: April 29, AMW 1850 Diary). Mary Brennan was also receiving interest on three hundred dollars invested for her by Captain Swift (entry of July 23: July 21, AMW 1850 Diary).

13. Entry of February 26: February 24, AMW 1850 Diary.
14. Entry of June 25: June 23, AMW 1850 Diary.
15. Marriage Record (1861), *Massachusetts Statewide Vital Records*; Certificate of Death for [Mary] Bergin, Bureau of Vital Statistics, State of Connecticut; 1860 US Federal Census.
16. It is known that the Whistlers had a nursemaid named Mary while in Stonington, and that she left their employ to marry. Her marriage took place on 12 January 1840. A Mary Russell was traveling on the ill-fated *Lexington* (see Image 46), which burned at sea on 13 January, while on route from New York to Stonington. Her purpose in traveling to Stonington had been to take leave of the Whistlers (*Boston Transcript*, January 25, 1840; *Salem Gazette*, January 28, 1840). It seems plausible to assume that Russell was her married name. The details of this terrible disaster, in which only 4 passengers were saved, are to be found in Benjamin F. Thompson, *History of Long Island from Its Discovery and Settlement to the Present Time*, ed. Charles J. Werner, 3rd ed., 2 vols. (New York: Robert H. Dodd, 1918), vol. 1, pp. 411–420. The Whistlers moved to Springfield in the summer of 1840. There is no evidence, however, that Mary Brennan, who had probably arrived in the United States in May 1840 with her brother and would have gone with him to Massachusetts, replaced Mary Russell. I wish to thank Colonel (retired) Merl M. Moore of Falls Church, Va., for the *Boston Transcript* reference. Colonel Moore, when we met in the late 1980s, was engaged in research on American artists up to 1860 and was affiliated in his project with the National Portrait Gallery in Washington, DC.
George Washington Whistler was doubly grieved by the death on 1 January 1840 of his fifteen-year-old son, Joseph Swift Whistler, and by the loss of a friend and acquaintances on the *Lexington*. He did not, however, refer in any way to Mary Russell (George W. Whistler to General J.G. Swift, Springfield, 31 January 1840, NYPL: Swift Papers).
17. Entry for January [1/13] 1844, NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
18. Mary Brennan “soon became friendly with [the] English nurse” of the Princess Dolgorukii on board the ship to England in 1847 (Anna Whistler to Major Whistler, Tuesday morning June 8 1847).

- Steamer Nicolai, GUL: Whistler Collection, W353). She was also witness at the marriage of Jane Morris (nursemaid in 1845 “at Mr. Morgan’s,” *BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 40) to John Tilt at the English Church on 20 May/June 1, 1848 (PREC STP, no. 582[8]).
19. In addition to Anna Whistler’s diary entries, see, e.g., Anna Whistler to Mr. Harrison 62 Sloane St. June 19, 1849, LC: P-W, box 34, in which it is reported that Mary is going “to visit her friends in Ireland while I am in Liverpool the week previous to our embarking for N York”; Anna Whistler to Mr. and Mrs. Harrison Fleetwood. Monday. July 15th 1849, in which it is reported that “Mary is now visiting her mother in Ireland.”
 20. Anna Whistler to Major Whistler, Tuesday morning June 8th 1847. Steamer Nicolai, GUL: Whistler Collection, W353.
 21. Anna Whistler to James Whistler. In my room. St. Petersburg. tuesday evening Sept 26th 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W361: “I promise both you and Mary we shall send for you to come to us.”
 22. Anna Whistler to James Whistler Stonington Aug 23rd. 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W389. Mary has returned from a trip to her brother James with the report that both he and someone named Thomas have offered to take off a few days to help Anna Whistler unpack her furniture wherever she decides to live.
 23. Entries of Friday, January 18: January 16 and Monday, January 21: January 19, AMW 1850 Diary.
 24. Anna Whistler to James Whistler Scarsdale Monday evening Dec. 15th [18]56, GUL: Whistler Collection, W472.
 25. Anna Whistler to my own dear friend 62 Sloane Street Christmas Eve 1852, LC: P-W, box 34, fols. 35–36; Anna Whistler to my own dear friend 62 Sloane St. Feb. 21st, 1853 Monday afternoon, LC: P-W, box 34, fols. 37–40; McDiarmid, *Whistler’s Mother*, p. 132. The “dear friend” is Margaret Getfield Hill.
 26. Anna Whistler to my own dear friend 62 Sloane St. Christmas Eve 1852, LC: P-W, box 34, fols. 35–36. The “dear friend” is Margaret Getfield Hill.
 27. Anna Whistler to James Whistler Stonington. Thursday afternoon 27th. 1854, GUL: Whistler Collection, W436. The 27th fell on a Thursday in April and July in 1854. As James was preparing for a June exam, this letter would seem to have been written in April.
 28. Anna Whistler to James Whistler Monday morning Oct. 30th [1854], GUL: Whistler Collection, W439. The letter cannot be

dated earlier than 1853, as the death of Willie Wyatt [McNeill], referred to in it, occurred on 4 June 1853. It is connected with W436 and should probably be dated 1854. Anna Whistler expected in W436 to stay at the Perrine family's dacha. Mary made a sacrifice in coming to Baltimore with her, expecting to see James, but James was evidently preferring the luxurious life at "Alexandroffsky," the Winans estate in Baltimore, to being with his mother and her in more modest accommodations. Both Mary Brennan and Anna Whistler were very upset. For Mary's attachment to James see also Anna Whistler to James Whistler, 176 Preston St. Jan 1st. 1855, GUL: Whistler Collection, W443; Anna Whistler to James Whistler [Baltimore] 8 January 1855, W444; and Anna Whistler to James Whistler Baltimore 15 January 1855, W445.

29. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Baltimore, 7 December 1854, GUL: Whistler Collection, W442.
30. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, 1 & 2 January 1855 [Baltimore], GUL: Whistler Collection, W443; Anna Whistler to James Whistler Monday evening Jan 8th. 1855 [Baltimore], W444; Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Monday PM Jan 15th 1855 [Baltimore], W445. Anna Whistler suffered in this arrangement, as she and Virginia Fairfax did not like each other (Anna Whistler to James Whistler 20 or 21 March 1855 [Baltimore], GUL: Whistler Collection, W450; and Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Pomfret and Stonington, 2–5 November 1855, W464.
31. Anna Whistler to Deborah Haden, Scarsdale, 10 Dec. 1855, GUL: Whistler Collection, W465.
32. Anna Whistler to James Whistler Scarsdale Monday evening Dec. 15th [18]56, GUL: Whistler Collection, W472. Mary wrote to her brother on the 14th. She went in February 1857 (Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Scarsdale Cottage, Thursday Jan 29 [1857], GUL: Whistler Collection, W475).
33. Anna Whistler to James Whistler Richfield Sulphur Springs July 13th [1857], GUL: Whistler Collection, W480. W481, also written from Richfield Springs, is dated July 15, 1857; thus the tentative year assigned to W480.
34. Anna Whistler to James Whistler. Alexandroffsky Villa April 27. [18]57, GUL: Whistler Collection, W478.
35. See Note 33 in this biography. Also Anna Whistler to James Whistler St Johns River E Florida March 23rd 1858, GUL: Whistler Collection, W490. For Mary's attachment to Willie, see

- the poignant letter from Anna Whistler to James Whistler, 13 February 1855, GUL: Whistler Collection, W447.
36. Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, 1205 Arch St., Nov. 22, [18]59, GUL: Whistler Collection, W502; Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, 1205 Arch St., March 27, 1860, W503; and Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, 148 Joralemon St., Brooklyn, May 7, 1860, W505.
 37. Ellen Childe was the widow of Captain John Childe (30 August 1802 – 2 February 1858), a graduate of West Point, Class of 1827. He resigned his commission on 1 December 1835, and went on to become an eminent builder of railroads, beginning with the Western Railroad. He was, therefore, a colleague of Major Whistler, to whom he had rented the property at 6 Chestnut Street in the early 1840s. On 27 September 1854, Captain Childe's first wife, Laura (Dwight) Childe, and their eldest daughter, Lelia, were lost at sea in a ship's collision. He next married on 23 October 1856, Ellen Wills Healey, who, at his death on 2 February 1858, was left with their son, John Healy Childe, born 18 January 1858, and her step-daughter, Mary, twelve years old (1860 US Federal Census; Charlotte Edwards Warner, *A Chronicle of Ancient Chestnut Street* [Springfield, MA: C.W. Bryan, 1897], pp. 24–25; Chapin, *Sketches of Old Springfield*, pp. 140–141; IGI).
 38. Marriage Record (1861), *Massachusetts Statewide Vital Records*.
 39. Marriage Record (1861), *Massachusetts Statewide Vital Records*; *Springfield Daily Republican*, May 5, 1897.
 40. M. Humberston, Springfield, MA, to E. Harden, 9 May 2002; Naturalization papers for Martin Bergin, Waltham, MA, NAUS.
 41. M. Humberston, Springfield, MA, to E. Harden, 2 April 2002. Margaret Humberston “tried to get copies of his papers from the Supreme Judicial Archives, but they wrote back to say that their records are incomplete for that period.” See also the record card for Martin Bergin, noting Certificate Number 552 1/8 – Vol. 1 – Yr. 1853–1867, with the date of naturalization not shown, Waltham, MA, NAUS.
 42. Anna Whistler to Mr. Gamble, Northampton, February 19, 1862, GUL: Whistler Collection, W512.
 43. *Massachusetts Statewide Vital Records, 1841–1905*, vol. 472, p. 736. The KAS reports “no ‘match’ for him with parents as given,” but “a search of county database records revealed a family of Stephen Bergin and Ellen Murphy recorded in the Catholic Parish of

- Lisdowney.” Among the children is an Ellen Bergin (bap. 1 September 1837) (Mary Flood, KAS, to E. Harden, 19 February 2004, 31 March 2004). The figures for Ellen Bergin’s age also vary, like those for Mary Brennan.
44. Death Certificate for [Mary] Bergin, Bureau of Vital Statistics, State of Connecticut.
 45. *New Haven Register*, May 25, 1895. St. Patrick’s was a church, not a cathedral. Its death records did not begin until 1951, and it closed in the 1960s (Maria Medina, Archdiocese of Hartford, to E. Harden, 16 December 2004).
 46. *Springfield Sunday Republican*, May 26, 1895, p. 8. The first Catholic parish in Springfield was not established until 1847, while the earliest Catholic church in the area, Holy Name of Jesus Church, located in Chicopee, was established in 1838 (Rev. Richard F. Meehan, Springfield, MA, to E. Harden, 27 February 2002). Mary Brennan would have attended the Chicopee Church, and this may be why she wished to be buried in Chicopee.
 47. M. Humberston, Springfield, MA, to E. Harden, 2 April 2002.
 48. *Springfield Daily Republican*, May 5, 1897.
 49. *Springfield Daily Republican*, May 5, 1897.
 50. *Springfield Daily Republican*, May 5, 1897.
 51. *Springfield Daily Republican*, May 5, 1897; *Massachusetts Statewide Vital Records, 1841–1905*, vol. 472, p. 736. His death was deemed accidental.
 52. *Springfield Daily Republican*, May 6, 1897: p. 8, col. 4; M. Humberston, Springfield, MA, to E. Harden, 2 April 2002.
 53. *Springfield Daily Republican*, May 5, 1897. The baptismal records for St. Patrick’s Church, New Haven, now kept at St. Michael’s Church, New Haven, were searched from 1861 to 1868, but no Bergin children were located.
 54. Entry of Saturday night, December 27 [1845], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
 55. Anna Whistler to Major Whistler, Tuesday morning, June 8th, 1847. Steamer Nicolai, GUL: Whistler Collection, W353. She had expressed similar sentiments in the entry for Thursday [Sept.] 26th [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.

56. Anna Whistler to Major Whistler, Tuesday morning, June 8th, 1847. Steamer Nicolai, GUL: Whistler Collection, W353. This Anna Whistler would not permit.
57. Anna Whistler to James Whistler Alexandroffsky May 10th 1849. Thursday, GUL: Whistler Collection, W388; Anna Whistler to Mr. Harrison, 62 Sloane St. June 19th 1849, LC: P-W, box 34.
58. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Pomfret tuesday night Feb. 10th, GUL: Whistler Collection, W406. They were preparing to move to Scarsdale. Although no year is given, it is most likely 1852. Anna Whistler also informed James that “Mary was delighted to hear from [him].” See also Anna Whistler to Meg, [Stonington] Friday afternoon 20th, LC: P-W, box 34, in which Mary’s labors to make things nice in their “dwindled circle” are reported.
59. Anna Whistler to Mary Emma Eastwick, Albyns Essex Sept. 8th, 1874 [Sept.] 9; [London] 2 Lindsey Houses Sept. 23 [1874], LC: P-W, box 34. The “dear Sister” addressed here is Mary Emma Eastwick.
60. Anna Whistler to Mary Emma Eastwick, Albyns Essex Sept. 8th, 1874 [Sept.] 9; [London] 2 Lindsey Houses Sept. 23 [1874]. See other comments about their mutual attachment in GUL: Whistler Collection, Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, 1205 Arch St., Nov. 22, [18]59, W502; Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, 1205 Arch St., March 27, 1860, W503; and Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, 148 Joralemon St., Brooklyn, May 7, 1860, W505.
61. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Stonington. Aug 23rd. 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W389. She also referred to a Thomas in 1838 (Anna Whistler to Catherine McNeill, Stonington, Ct. May 1st 1838, GUL: Whistler Collection, W345). We know, however, that he was not Thomas Keefe, as the latter did not come to the United States until 1841. Kate McDiarmid says that the Stonington Thomas, an Irishman, worked for the Whistlers for eight years: first in Lowell, Massachusetts, going with them to Stonington, when they moved there in 1837, and to Springfield in 1840 (McDiarmid, *Whistler’s Mother*, pp. 30, 31, 32). She recorded some of Thomas’s reminiscences of the Whistler family, but, as she often did not cite her sources, we have only her tantalizing statement that these reminiscences were published in the newspapers (p. 30).

62. Marriages registered in the Town of Chicopee County of Hampshire for the year 1853, p. 367.
63. Naturalization papers for Thomas Kief, Waltham, MA, NAUS. The KAS reports “no record of Thomas (O)Keefe’s baptism noted from Ballyhale Catholic records which commence in 1824, understandably they may be incomplete for the early years” (Mary Flood, KAS, to E. Harden, 19 February 2004).
64. NA: T. Kief.
65. Anna Whistler to James Whistler Pomfret tuesday night Feb. 10th [1852], GUL: Whistler Collection, W406. Although no year is given, it is most likely 1852, as, in the 1850s 10 February fell on a Tuesday only in 1852.
66. Marriages registered in the Town of Chicopee County of Hampshire for the year 1853, p. 367.
67. However, the abovementioned county database records revealed that Stephen Bergin and Ellen Murphy had a daughter, Margaret (bap. 22 May 1831) (Mary Flood, KAS, to E. Harden, 19 February 2004, 31 March 2004).
68. US Federal Census for Chicopee 1860.
69. US Federal Census for Chicopee 1860.
70. M. Humberston, Springfield, MA, to E. Harden, 9 May 2002.
71. M. Humberston to E. Harden, 9 May 2002.
72. M. Humberston to E. Harden, 9 May 2002.
73. M. Humberston to E. Harden, 9 May 2002; Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, Comprising the Several Counties, Cities, Boroughs, Corporate, Market and Post Towns, Parishes, and Villages, with Historical and Statistical Descriptions*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing, 1984), first published in 1837.

BUTTATS

Ivan Frantsevich Buttats (Bouttatz)¹ (Moscow 2 June [OS] 1809 – 25 July [OS] 1876)² was the son of Frants Buttats (c. 1774 – after 1824), a medical doctor. His father was one of the first doctors engaged in large-scale smallpox vaccination in Russia.³ Buttats had a brother, Aleksei Frantsevich Buttats (c. 1810 – 23 March 1846), also working for the railroads.⁴ They were therefore often referred to in their files as Buttats 1 and Buttats 2. Ivan Frantsevich was a Russian citizen, born in Moscow. He was of the Lutheran faith, gentry class, and a bachelor.

He entered the Institute of the Corps of Transport Engineers on 8 February 1826. On 5 December 1827, he was made sub-ensign (2nd class), and on 19 July 1828 sub-ensign (1st class). On the basis of his performance on examinations, he was promoted to ensign on 2 July 1829. He was made second lieutenant on 19 June 1830 and lieutenant on 14 June 1831. He was made captain on 2 December 1835 and, for excellence, major on 6 December 1841.⁵

Among the projects he was engaged in were the following: on 5 March 1830, he was appointed a coach (*repetitor*) in the Institute; on 29 July 1831, he was appointed to help build the highway from Pulkovo to the Krasnoe Selo highway; on 27 March 1833, he was sent to Sestroretsk to engage in work on the munitions factory there; in 1834, he was appointed to work on the reconstruction of the cupola of Trinity Cathedral of the Izmailov Regiment; on 4 January 1841, he helped build the Anichkov Bridge over the Fontanka River; on 22 February 1842, he was temporarily put at the disposal of the Committee for the building of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway.⁶

Probably the most desirable and interesting assignment he received was being selected to travel to the United States to help persuade Major Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21) to accept the post of consulting engineer for the building of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway. He had made known to P.P. Mel'nikov (see Image 247), when the latter was seeking someone to accompany him to the United States in 1838, that he knew English. Mel'nikov had said he would choose Buttats if his Institute colleague, N.O. Kraft (see Image 248), declined, but Kraft accepted.⁷

Buttats's later appointment⁸ to the post, in 1842, gave him the opportunity to see London, where he bought geodesic instruments for the Russian government.⁹ Accompanying Major Whistler back to Russia, he had the further opportunity to see Paris and Brussels.¹⁰

On his return to Russia, Buttats was appointed head of the Drafting Department of the railway and taught drafting courses in the Transport Institute.¹¹ He held the rank of lieutenant colonel as of 6 December 1843.¹²

In his report of 12 December 1844 to the emperor, Count P.A. Kleinmikhel' (see Image 243) said that Lt. Colonel Buttats had requested permission to retire from the service for personal reasons. As his service record met the requirements for retirement in the rank then held by him, with the right to continue wearing his uniform, Kleinmikhel' requested this, and Nicholas I (see Images 420–423) approved his request on 28 December 1844 / 7 January 1845.¹³

In 1845, when the last Whistler child was born and baptized John Bouttatz, Anna Whistler (see Images 1–5) recorded that Major Bouttatz was engaged in some mines on the border of Russia and China. With this announcement, he disappears from her diaries.¹⁴

Buttats's brother, Captain Aleksei Frantsevich, who was in the Construction Division of the Corps of Transport Engineers, held in 1845 the post of head of the Sixth Distance of the IVth Section of the Eleventh District of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway. He was married and had at least two daughters. One was named Vera, and in 1845 she was four years old. On 23 March 1846, he died, and Ivan Frantsevich took on the support of these daughters, in whole or in part, for the next thirty years.¹⁵

On 28 May 1874, the director of the St. Petersburg–Warsaw Railway requested that retired Engineer Lt. Colonel Buttats be confirmed head of the newly re-organized Stores Administration with compensation appropriate to his rank. Buttats was confirmed, receiving a salary of three thousand rubles per year with travel expenses of six hundred rubles.¹⁶

Buttats died on 25 July 1876 at 2:45 p.m.,¹⁷ and on 26 July 1876 a telegram was sent to the chairman of the Council of the Administration saying that the entire staff of the Stores Administration wished to be

present at the carrying out of the body of Buttats on Wednesday, 28 July, and asked that while they were absent the store be closed.¹⁸

On 2 August 1876, the director of the St. Petersburg–Warsaw Railway, writing to the Council of the Administration, explained the overwhelming circumstances of Buttats’s professional and family life. The deceased’s grave and prolonged illness was in many respects brought on by the constant and unrelenting labors he bore for the good of the Railway Society. On being confirmed in the position of head of the Stores Administration in May 1874, during the reorganization of the stores he had to assume special duties connected with introducing the new order of clerical work, given the complete lack of preparedness of his staff. These labors, together with his declining years, resulted in destructive consequences for his health. Fires in the workshops in 1876 required further increased efforts on the part of the Stores Administration, and Buttats spent whole days and nights in the store trying to avert further misfortunes. His ceaseless efforts resulted in a physical and emotional breakdown, and soon after the fires he took to his bed permanently. But he had one further moral obligation that he had taken on, when he promised his dying brother that he would assume the support and care of his brother’s daughters. Until his very death, he gave them the larger part of his relatively small salary. With his death, one niece was again reduced to no means of support. The director therefore petitioned the Council for funds to cover the deceased’s burial expenses and to maintain the niece until she could find further means of support. On 4 August 1876, the Council voted to support the director’s two requests by giving Buttats’s niece three months’ financial aid, equal to 750 rubles of his salary.¹⁹

This, then, was the man for whom Major and Anna Whistler named their last child, John Bouttatz Whistler.

NOTES

1. His name will be spelled as Buttats throughout this biography. It will be spelled Bouttatz when reference is made to Anna Whistler’s diaries and to the child the Whistlers named for him.
2. His birth and death dates are taken from his final service record in RGIA: Fond, 258, op.1, d. 2995. Glavnoe Obshchestvo

Rossiiskikh zheleznykh dorog. Lichnyi sostav. Buttats Ivan Nachal'nik magazina. [Main Society of Russian Railways. Staff. Buttats Ivan Head of the Store]. All dates are cited Old Style, unless otherwise indicated.

3. Information about Frants Buttats is taken from RGIA: Fond 207, op. 16, d. 15. Formulirnyi spisok o sluzhbe Doktora Statskogo Sovetnika Buttatsa [Service Record concerning the service of Doctor and State Councilor (5th grade) Buttats] (In pencil on the cover is written “Frants Buttats”); and from Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*. As his age in this service record was given as fifty, and that of his sons Ivan and Aleksei as fifteen and fourteen respectively, and we know Ivan Frantsevich Buttats was born in 1809, the year of this service record should be 1824.
4. For Aleksei Frantsevich Buttats, see RGIA: Fond 207, op. 16, d. 15. Formulirnyi spisok o sluzhbe Doktora Statskogo Sovetnika Buttatsa [Service Record concerning the service of Doctor and State Councilor (5th grade) Buttats] and Fond 207, op. 16, d. 15. Formulirnyi spisok o sluzhbe i dostoinstve Korpusa Inzhenerov putei soobshcheniia Kapitana Buttats 2. 11 Okrug putei soobshcheniia Za 1845 god [Service and Merit Record of Captain Buttats 2 of the Corps of Railway Engineers of the 11th District of Transport for 1845]. There is also a service and merit record for this brother for 1841, in which he is erroneously identified as Andrei Frantsov. As the name of his wife in these records is identical, both service records are for Aleksei Frantsevich.
5. RGIA: Fond 200, op. 1, d. 6133. Formulirnyi spisok o sluzhbe i dostoinstve Korpusa Inzhenerov putei soobshcheniia Maiora Buttatsa 1820 1842 goda [Service and merit record of Major Buttats 1 of the Corps of Transport Engineers. 1842].
6. RGIA: Fond 200, op. 1, d. 6133.
7. Mel'nikov, *Svedeniia*, fols. 193r, 193v.
8. RGIA: Fond 219, op. 1, d. 3347. O posylke v Ameriku Maiora Buttatsa dlia vyzova v Rossiiu Maiora Uistlera [Concerning the sending of Major Buttats to America to invite Major Whistler to come to Russia].
9. RGIA: Fond 219, op. 1, d. 3347. O posylke v Ameriku Maiora Buttatsa dlia vyzova v Rossiiu Maiora Uistlera. V Stroitel'nuu Kommissiiu SPb – Moskovskoi/zheleznoi dorogi Korpusa Inzhenerov Maiora Buttatsa Raport. No. 1. 25 Marta/4 Aprelia 1842 [To the Construction Commission of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway. Report of Major Buttats of the Corps of

- Engineers. No. 1. 25 March / 4 April 1842]. The Report was written in London.
10. George W Whistler to Major William Gibbs McNeill, Adelphi Terrace, London, August 15, 1842, NYPL: Swift Papers; William H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, Springfield, September 4, 1842.
 11. RGIA: Fond 200, op. 1, d. 2884. Ob opredelenii v Institut KPS uchitelem chercheniia planov KI Maiora Buttatsa. Nachalos' 6 Sent., 1842 g. Resheno 18 Sent. 1842 g. [Concerning the appointment of Transport Engineer Major Buttats to the Institute of the KPS as teacher of drafting. File started on 6 Sept. 1842. File concluded on 18 Sept. 1842].
 12. RGIA: Fond 446, 1844, op. 13, d. 4. Vspoddanneishie doklady GUPSiPZ 12 Dek. 1844 g. 1229 Buttats [Most Devoted Reports of the Main Administration of Transport and Public Buildings 12 Dec. 1844, 1229 Buttats].
 13. RGIA: Fond 446, 1844, op. 13, d. 4 (see previous Note for document title) and Fond 446, op. 6, d. 1. Vysochaishie prikazy [Imperial Orders], 15 Dek. 1844 g. – 26 Dek. 1844 g., fol. 3v.
 14. Entry for October 23rd [1845], NYPL: AWPd, Part II.
 15. RGIA: Fond 207, op. 16, d. 15 (see Note 3 above for document title); Fond 446, op. 6, d. 1. Vysochaishie prikazy 15 Dek. 1844 g. – 26 Dek. 1846 g., fol. 62v; *Adres-Kalendar', ili, Obsbchiu Shtat Rossiiskoi Imperii na 1844g* [*Address Calendar, or, the General Staff of the Russian Empire for 1844*], pt. 1, p. 287.
 16. RGIA: Fond 258, op. 1, d. 2995 (see Note 2 in this biography for document title).
 17. Institut russkoi literatury Akademii nauk (Pushkinskii dom) (IRLI) [Institute of Russian Literature of the Academy of Sciences (Pushkin House)] Fond 2/B-93 6696 contains a photograph of Buttats from an old portrait album (indicated on the photo itself) with the time of his death among the brief information written on the back: "Inzhener-Polkovnik Ivan Frantsovich Butats, stroitel' anichkovskogo mosta, skonchalsia v Peterburge 25 Iulia 1876 g. v 2 ch. 45 m. po poludni [Engineer Colonel Ivan Frantsovich Butats, builder of the Anichkov Bridge, died in Petersburg on 25 July 1847 at 2:45 in the afternoon]." On the front of the photograph is written: "Stark au coin de Liteine and Panteleimonovskaya No 25/23 [Stark on the corner of Liteinaia and Panteleimonovskaia streets]." A request for

permission to publish this photograph has not been answered at the time of publication of this manuscript.

18. RGIA: Fond 258, op. 1, d. 2995.
19. RGIA: Fond 258, op. 1, d. 2995.

CHAPMAN

The Chapman family were friends of John and Eliza Winstanley (see Image 40), and neighbors on Fishergate.¹ The father of the family, James Chapman (9 April 1791 – Preston 20 May 1861), entered the Royal Navy on 1 October 1805, as first-class volunteer. He attained the rank of midshipman on 22 June 1806, and, except for a period of about four months in 1809–1810, served under Captain Robert Campbell from 1805 until July 1814. Having passed his examination on 4 December 1811, he was promoted to lieutenant on 24 October 1814. “He was placed on half-pay, after serving for some time at the blockade of the Chesapeake, August 16, 1815,” and was not since that time “officially employed.” His name appeared “as a supernumerary for passage, on the books of no fewer than 73 ships of war, owing to the circumstance of his having been appointed Master of 18 or 19 different prize-vessels.”²

He seems next to have worked as a master of merchant ships until 1830. In 1818 and 1826, he wrote to the Admiralty concerning leave from the Navy in order to take command of merchant ships sailing from Liverpool to Calcutta belonging to Messrs. Cropper, Benson and Company of Liverpool.³

He then became a railway company secretary. On 16 June 1830, at the first general meeting of the Wigan Branch Railway Proprietors, he was appointed treasurer, secretary, and superintendent of the railway at a salary of £300 per annum.⁴ In October 1833, it was resolved that the Wigan Branch Railway Company and the Preston and Wigan Railway Company be consolidated to form the North Union Railway Company.⁵ At the first meeting of the new North Union Railway Company on 4 June 1834, it was resolved that James Chapman be offered the office of secretary with a salary of £500 per annum, which he accepted.⁶ Among the names associated with this railway company were Charles Swainson, John Winstanley and Edward Cropper (see abovementioned merchant ships). The final memo by James Chapman, dated 1 April 1856, states that he left the Company’s service.⁷ He died at Preston on 20 May 1861, aged seventy, leaving effects under £16,000.⁸

On 31 October 1826, he married Eliza Hatton (1805 – Preston 18 February 1850), third daughter of Thomas Hatton, Esq., a Liverpool

wine-merchant. They had three daughters and six sons:⁹ Emily (20 July 1828 – Liverpool 25 September 1909), Rose Walbran (18 September 1829 – 9 March 1905), Eliza Adelaide (20 November 1830 – 28 March 1901), James Gregson (1 June 1832 – 20 October 1902), George Robert (18 July 1833 – 4 May 1880), Edward Charles (b. c. 1834; bap. 16 January 1835), Alfred (b. c. 1838 – 11 July 1917), Valentine Walbran (b. c. 1842; bap. 13 October 1848 – 1 May 1915), and Thomas Skipwith (b. c. 1844; bap. 13 October 1848 – after June 1881).¹⁰ On 18 February 1850, Eliza (Hatton) Chapman died of tuberculosis, leaving her husband with nine children.

The beginnings of what were to be life-long friendships between the Chapman and Whistler children are recorded almost immediately upon the latter's arrival in Preston. In August 1843, James and Willie "went with the little sons of Mr. Chapman to ride on their donkey." The bouquets for Deborah Whistler's (see Images 17–19, 21) wedding in October 1847 were the gift of Mrs. Chapman. The only guest who attended the wedding service, aside from the bride's family, was a Chapman child called Johnnie, who may have been James.¹¹ In the autumn of 1848, James Whistler (see Images 24–29) and George Chapman, both fourteen, "were sent to a school at Portishead, near Bristol."¹² "George Chapman, who developed a talent for portraiture, remained on close terms with [James] Whistler for most of his life."¹³ Thomas Chapman also painted. He "was invalided out of the navy," later "went to Sarawak for the climate ... where after 'commanding' Rajah Brooke's 'Army' for a while he died."¹⁴ An undated letter from James Whistler to Tom Chapman, presumed to have been written in summer 1881, around the time Tom was invalided out of the Navy, explains to him how to paint a portrait.¹⁵ Emily, who did not marry, recorded in her diary, covering the years 1857–1893, that James Whistler and her family had "regular contact."¹⁶ Edward, whose age was given as six in the 1841 Census for Preston, is probably the Charles whose age in the 1851 Census is given as sixteen, and who is listed as "surgeons pupil." *The Medical Register* for 1860 contains the name of a Charles Edward Chapman, who became a member of the Royal College of Surgeons of England in 1857, joined the Register in 1859, and had as his address the Islington Workhouse, where presumably he was the medical officer.¹⁷

He last appears in *The Medical Register* in 1872, with the same address.¹⁸ A curious fact of his biography is that both he and Alice Thornton Chapman, a child adopted by the Shaw sisters (see Shaw and Wardrop in this Appendix), were associated with Islington.¹⁹ He “recommended [James] Whistler to make a recuperative journey to the Pyrenees in 1862, after he had supposedly absorbed white lead while painting *The White Girl*.”²⁰

Eliza Adelaide Chapman married on 20 August 1851 John Gerald Potter (Dinting, Derbyshire July 1829 – London 9 January 1908), who, together with his father, ran a wallpaper-manufacturing business in Darwen, Lancashire, with London and eventually Paris branches and “a large foreign trade.”²¹ Her brother, Alfred, was apprenticed as a mechanical engineer in 1854, and later specialized in designing sugar-processing plants, which resulted in an international career.²² Both John Gerald Potter and Alfred Chapman became major collectors of James Whistler’s works.²³

NOTES

1. The family’s address in the 1841 Census for Preston is Fishergate, and in the 1851 Census “Railway House” on that street (1841 and 1851 censuses for Preston).
2. The foregoing information about Lt. James Chapman’s naval career is taken from O’Byrne, *Naval Biographical Dictionary*, p. 186. See also Spencer, “Whistler’s Early Relations with Britain,” p. 219n45. His date and place of death is taken from a certified copy of an Entry of Death for James Chapman, Sub-district of Preston, County of Lancaster, PRO.
3. Letters from Lieutenants 1818, ADM 1/2829, no. C 66, and letters from Lieutenants 1826, ADM 1/2833, nos. C 45 and 83, PRO.
4. Wigan Branch Railway Proprietors Minutes, 1830–1833, RAIL 534/1, PRO.
5. Wigan Branch Railway Proprietors Minutes, 1830–1833.
6. North Union Railway Board Minutes, 1834–1839, RAIL 534/4, PRO.
7. North Union Railway Board Minutes, 1841–[18]56, RAIL 534/29, PRO.

8. *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1861.
9. O'Byrne, *Naval Biographical Dictionary*, p. 186.
10. Registers of baptisms at St. Nicholas, Liverpool; Registers of baptisms at St. Philip, Liverpool; Register and transcription of the register of baptisms at the Parish Church, Preston; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1880, 1901, 1902, 1905, 1909, 1915, and 1917; *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, May 8, 1880; *Torquay Times and South Devon Advertiser*, June 24, 1881; 1841 and 1851 censuses for Preston.
11. Robin Spencer has told me that James Whistler later called James and Alfred "Jack."
12. Spencer, "Whistler's Early Relations with Britain," p. 220. The article supplies copious detail for the biographies of several of the Chapman children.
13. Spencer, p. 220.
14. Notes by Joseph W. Revillon [grandson of George William Whistler] identifying Thomas S. Chapman, roll 4601, LB 13, AAA: JMcNW.
15. James McNeill Whistler to TS Chapman [summer 1881] (from the original given to Joseph W. Revillon by Mary O' Mellor, granddaughter of Gerald Potter), roll 4601, LB 13, AAA: JMcNW.
16. James McNeill Whistler to TS Chapman [summer 1881]. See also extracts from Miss Emily Chapman's Diary, LC: P-W, box 280, fols. 563–570. She wrote Elizabeth Pennell that "though [she] saw a great deal of both Mrs. Whistler, and her sons for many years, [she could] only find here and there short notices, which might perhaps be of use in settling a date" (fol. 561).
17. *The Medical Register: Printed and Published under the Direction of the General Council of Medical Education and Registration of the United Kingdom* (London: General Medical Council, 1860) (hereafter, *Medical Register* and the year), p. 60l. The 1861 Census for Clapham does not show a Charles Edward Chapman at the Islington Workhouse.
18. *Medical Register* (1872). The 1871 Census for Clapham does not show a Charles Edward Chapman at the Islington Workhouse.
19. 1881 Census for Clapham, Ecclesiastical Parish of St. James, RG 11/636, fol. 48, p. 8).
20. Spencer, "Whistler's Early Relations with Britain," p. 220.

21. Spencer, p. 221.
22. Spencer, p. 220.
23. Spencer, pp. 221–222.

CRUFT AND FITCH

Of the members of the Cruft and Fitch families who traveled to Europe, at least four of whom Anna Whistler (see Images 1–5) met, the two males have the fullest biographies. William Smith Cruft (Boston 17 February 1815 – Paris 16 July 1851) and James Jackson Cruft (Boston 20 December 1826 – Boston 25 August 1849) were the sons of Elizabeth Storer (Smith) and Edward Cruft, a well-known Boston shipping merchant.¹ William graduated from Harvard College in 1834, having “entered ... very reluctantly,” “passed [his] time there very unpleasantly,” and left “very gladly,” because he really wanted to be a businessman.² After graduation, “he entered the counting-house of R.G. Shaw and Company,” where he worked until 1836.³ At the end of 1836, he moved to New York and formed a co-partnership with Cleayton Newbold, “a New York merchant, under the firm name of Newbold and Cruft, as general commission merchants.”⁴ Their firm, at 65 Broad Street, was destroyed by the great fire of 19 July 1845, and they moved to 47 South St. but were listed at the old address in 1846–47. From 1847–48 to 1852–53, although William Smith Cruft had died in 1851, the firm appears as Newbold and Cruft and was located at 4 Broadway. In 1854–55, the name of the firm appears as Newbold and DeGroot, William De Groot having been a partner since at least 1851.⁵

Harvard records show that William S. Cruft received an MA in 1837.⁶ In that year, he “visited Europe to make his house known and establish correspondence.”⁷ He returned to the United States in 1838, but because of failing health went again to Europe in 1841.⁸ Recovered, he returned home and on 22 November 1842, married at Trinity Church in Norwich, Connecticut, Sophia Ingram Fitch (New Hartford, NY 10 December 1817 – no later than 1881), the daughter of Mary Ingram (Rogers) and Stephen Fitch.⁹

Stephen Fitch manufactured iron and farmed in Bozrah, Connecticut, until his marriage in 1817, at which time he settled in New Hartford, Oneida County, New York, until 1832. In that year, he moved to Norwich, Connecticut, and when his wife died in 1837, resettled in his birthplace of Bozrah. Here, together with his brother Asa, he manufactured cotton goods.¹⁰

In 1844, William S. Cruft's health failed again, and he and his wife embarked on a two-year trip, first to the milder climate of Madeira and then to the Continent, including Russia, from late December 1844 until September 1846.¹¹ His condition did not improve, and on 19 April 1850, they again applied for passports.¹² William S. Cruft died in Paris on 16 July 1851 at "Meurice's Hotel ... after a lingering attack of consumption," with his "father, sister and wife ... present."¹³ His body was brought home and buried on 14 August 1851 in Mount Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, Massachusetts.¹⁴ It has not been possible to ascertain the further biography of Sophia Ingram (Fitch) Cruft.

While the Crufts were on their 1844–46 European trip, William's sister, Annah Pickman Cruft, and his brother, James Jackson Cruft, applied for passports, on 1 December 1845 and 20 May 1846, respectively.¹⁵ The only further biographical information available for Annah P. Cruft is that she was also buried (on 21 July 1888) in Mount Auburn Cemetery.¹⁶ James Jackson Cruft graduated from Harvard College, BA in 1846.¹⁷ In June 1846, his health failing, he sailed from New York for Marseilles, afterwards joining William, and returned home in September. In October, he entered the Medical School in Boston, but his health failed again and he withdrew in September 1847. From May to October 1848, he again traveled extensively. In April 1849, he sailed to St. Petersburg, where he suffered soon after his arrival a severe hemorrhaging of the lungs, necessitating his return home. He arrived on 21 July and on 25 August died.¹⁸ He was buried in Mount Auburn Cemetery on 27 August.¹⁹ The Harvard records show that he was awarded an MA in 1849.²⁰ It is possible that he was in St. Petersburg in 1846, as the record of the 1849 trip says he "again set sail for St. Petersburg."²¹

The final family member whom Anna Whistler met in Russia was Sophia Cruft's sister, Mary Elizabeth Fitch (New Hartford, NY 27 July 1827 – after 1881). She married twice: first, on 9 February 1854, Richard Henry Winslow (d. 14 February 1861); second, Dr. R.C.M. Page, both of Westport, Connecticut.²²

NOTES

1. Cecil H.C. Howard, "Thomas and Esther (Marlowe) Carter and Their Descendants," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 66 [1930]: pp. 124, 260–261; "Marriages and Deaths," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register (NEHGR)* 3, no. 4 (1849): p. 407; "Marriages and Deaths," *NEHGR* 6, no. 4 (1852): p. 390; "Marriages and Deaths," *NEHGR* 21, no. 1 (1867): p. 79; Ann Smith Lainhart, "John Haven Dexter and the 1789 Boston City Directory," *NEHGR* 140, no. 3 (1986): p. 247.
2. 1834 Class Book, HUD 234.714OF, Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, MA (hereafter, HUA).
3. Quinquennial File, HUA.
4. Quinquennial File, HUA.
5. New York City directories, N-YHS.
6. Quinquennial File, HUA.
7. Quinquennial File, HUA.
8. Quinquennial File, HUA.
9. IGI; Biographical File, HUA; Lorraine C. White, comp., *Barbour Collection of Connecticut Vital Records* (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing), vol. 1, p. 90.
10. D. Hamilton Hurd, *History of New London County, Conn., with Biographical Sketches* (Philadelphia: J.W. Lewis, 1882), p. 380.
11. Quinquennial File, HUA.
12. M1372: Passport Applications 1795–1905, no. 4409, NAUS.
13. Consular Letters. Paris, France. Vol. 10 (January 14, 1851 – December 1857). July 18, 1851 S.G. Goodrich, US Consul, to The Hon. Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, NAUS
14. Mount Auburn Cemetery record for Lot no. 476.
15. NAUS: Passports, M1371, roll 2, p. 17, passport no. 630, and p. 28, passport no. 1069.
16. Mount Auburn Cemetery record for Lot no. 476.
17. Biographical File, HUA.
18. 1846 Class Book, HUD 246.714 OF, fols. 155–156, HUA.
19. Mount Auburn Cemetery record for Lot no. 476.
20. Biographical File, HUA.
21. 1846 Class Book, HUD 246.714 OF, fol. 156, HUA.

22. IGI; Hurd, *History of New London*, p. 380; Joanna Foster, “Recollections: Pride of Westport and True Hospitality,” *Carousel* (November 1989): pp. 10, 38.

DESTREM

Engineer General Jean-Antoine Maurice Destrem (31 July 1788 – 10/22 November 1855; see Image 246), called Moris Gugonovich by the Russians, was born in Fanyeau, France in July 1788. In April 1810, at the request of Alexander I (see Image 418), he and three other graduates of the Polytechnic School in Paris and the École de Ponts et Chaussées [School of Bridges and Roads], “entered Russian service ... with the permission of Emperor Napoleon I,” to teach in the newly founded Institute of Transport Engineers. Destrem and Bazaine (1786–1838) were sent to build ports on the Black Sea: specifically, to design the project for the port of Eupatoria and to construct hydraulic works in the port of Odessa.¹ When the War of 1812 broke out, all four Frenchmen “were placed under surveillance and then exiled for two years to Irkutsk.”² At the war’s end, “they returned from exile and decided to remain permanently in the tsar’s service.”³ “Fabre [1782–1844] and Destrem resumed their work in the south, taking command of expeditions of Institute graduates and other officers to build the port of Taganrog, complete the Georgian Military Highway and improve waterways between the Volga and Don and along the Kuban and Riom.”⁴ Later, Destrem was sent to the Institute of Transport Engineers, where he taught mechanics⁵ and became professor in 1818.⁶ In 1820, he published *Principaux de Mécanique* [*Principles of Mechanics*] in French, an account of S.D. Poisson’s *Traité de mécanique* [*Treatise on Mechanics*] (Paris: Courier, 1811), expanding the sections on engineering.⁷ He was the first editor of *Zhurnal Putei Soobsbcheniia* [*The Journal of Transport*], which began to appear in 1826.⁸ In 1833, he published *Mémoires sur divers objets relatif à la science de l’ingénieur* [*Thoughts on Diverse Topics of Engineering Science*] (St. Petersburg, 1833).

Starting in the early 1830s, for a decade Destrem had been against the building of railways, as opposed to canals, in Russia.⁹ In autumn of 1841, however, “he submitted a special report favorable to the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway, disagreeing with his colleagues in the Main Administration of Transport and Public Buildings.”¹⁰ Both of his positions were viewed by his contemporaries as opportunistic, reflecting in each case the opinion of his superior.¹¹ As chairman of the Temporary

Technical Commission of the Department of Railways, of which Major Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21) became a member in February 1843, Destrem, apparently on the instruction of Count Kleinmikhel’ (see Image 243), continually supported Major Whistler’s proposals for building the railway.¹²

Destrem eventually became director of the Department of Planning and Estimates. He was instrumental in building the fortifications of Cronstadt.¹³ He participated as well in the construction of the Annunciation Bridge (see Images 140–142), for which he was promoted to engineer general on 22 November / 4 December 1850, the day after it was officially opened.¹⁴ He also “direct[ed] the engineering work of the defence of Sebastopol.”¹⁵ *The Times* (London) reported in December 1854 that “he is spoken of as an engineer officer of the greatest merit and ... has a remarkable talent for poetry, united to profound mathematical knowledge,” and that while “he is the author of several beautiful compositions ... his best work is said to be a translation into French verse of the fables of the Russian Lafontaine, Kriloff [see Image 186].”¹⁶ Such cultural accomplishments prompted Anna Whistler (see Images 1–5) to describe him as “very intellectual.”

He was married to Françoise Tenant de la Tour (1806–1855), and they had three children: Dmitrii, Sofia, and Hugo.¹⁷ General Destrem died in Tsarskoe Selo on 10/22 November 1855.¹⁸

NOTES

1. A.N. Bogoliubov, V.E. Pavlov, and N.F. Filatov, Augustin Betankur (1758–1824) *Uchenyi, inzhener, arkhitekt, gradostroitel’* [*Augustin de Bethancourt (1758–1824): Scholar, Engineer, Architect, City Builder*] (Nizhnii Novgorod: Nizhegorodskii gos. un-t, 2002), p. 106; Dmitrii Gouzévitch and Irina Gouzévitch, “Des ingénieurs français au service de la couronne russe au début du XIX^e siècle: sources en Russie et en Ukraine” [“Concerning Some French Engineers in the Service of the Russian Crown from the Beginning of the 19th Century: Sources in Russia and in Ukraine”], in *La France et les français en Russie: nouvelle sources, nouvelles approches (1815–1917)* [*France and the French in Russia: New Sources, New Approaches (1815–1917)*], ed. Annie Charon, Bruno Delmas,

- and Armelle Le Goff (Paris: École National des Chartes et Archives Nationales, 2011), pp. 103–138.
2. Alfred J. Rieber, “The Rise of Engineers in Russia,” *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 31, no. 4 (1990): p. 548.
 3. Rieber, p. 548.
 4. Rieber, p. 548.
 5. Bogoliubov, Pavlov, and Filatov, *Augustin Betankur*, p. 106.
 6. Bogoliubov, Pavlov, and Filatov, p. 111.
 7. Bogoliubov, Pavlov, and Filatov, p. 113.
 8. Bogoliubov, Pavlov, and Filatov, p. 141.
 9. Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 19.
 10. Haywood, p. 19.
 11. Haywood, p. 19.
 12. Haywood, p. 155.
 13. *The Times* (London), December 19, 1854, p. 8.
 14. Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 364, 365.
 15. *The Times* (London), December 29, 1854, p. 8.
 16. *The Times* (London), December 27, 1854, p. 8.
 17. “Destrem Moritz Ivanovich (Jean-Antoine-Maurice Destrem) (1788–1855),” *Napoleon and Revolution* (blog), accessed 10 January 2022, <https://impereur.blogspot.com/2017/05/jean-antoine-maurice-destrem-1788-1855.html>; “Burial: Destrem Jean-Antoine-Maurice,” *Destrem Maurice Gugovich (Jean-Antoine Maurice)* (blog), Smolensk Lutheran Cemetery, accessed 10 January 2022.
 18. Obituary of Engineer–General Destrem, in “Rossiia” [“Russia”], *Otechestvennye Zapiski* [Notes of the Fatherland] 104, no. 11 (1856): p. 115; see also Amburger Datenbank, ID 87766.

EASTWICK

Andrew McCalla Eastwick (14 September 1810 – 8 February 1879; see Image 233) was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He “attended the public schools until his twelfth year,” then took a job and went to night school.¹ After first working “in a machine shop,” he went to work for Philip Garrett, a Philadelphia locomotive builder, where he was shortly made foreman, and at twenty-one became a partner.² On 12 April 1832, he married Lydia Ann James (14 February 1815 – 15 December 1890; see Image 234), daughter of Maria (Quicksall) James (1793–1855) and John T. James (1780–1832).³ In 1835, the firm of Garrett and Eastwick took on as foreman Joseph Harrison Jr. (see Image 226), who in 1837 became a partner.⁴ On Garrett’s retirement in 1839, “the firm was reorganized as Eastwick and Harrison.”⁵

Harrison, as is explained in the Winans and Harrison family biographies in this Appendix, was invited to Russia in early 1843 to bid for the contract to build the locomotives and rolling stock for the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway. He went without Eastwick, met Thomas DeKay Winans (see Image 229) on route, and together with him bid successfully for the contract. Their new firm was called Harrison, Winans and Eastwick. Once the contract was signed, “Eastwick closed down entirely the American operation, thereby ending the existence of Eastwick and Harrison,” and set out for Russia, “bringing with him tools and instruments from his factory.”⁶

Eastwick was issued a U.S. passport (no. 1857) in Washington, DC, on 6 March 1844, and another (no. 959) for himself and a son, who, family letters show, was his eldest son, Edward Peers Eastwick (12 January 1833 – 1926; see Image 235)⁷ in London, where he was made the bearer of dispatches to St. Petersburg.⁸ Mrs. Harrison and the two Harrison children were under Eastwick’s care on the boat to England, where they were entrusted to Joseph Harrison Jr. (see Images 226–227).⁹ Andrew and Edward Eastwick arrived in St. Petersburg on 22 May 1844.¹⁰ Their living quarters were in a house that they shared with the Harrisons at the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works (see Images 223–225). Andrew Eastwick made the acquaintance of John Stevenson Maxwell, secretary of the American Legation, on 24 May 1844.¹¹ In

September 1844, Eastwick learned that his wife had given birth to a stillborn daughter, Julia, on 12 August 1844.¹² Once Lydia Eastwick recovered, she decided she would come to Russia with their remaining children (see Images 236–237). Her mother, whom both she and Andrew Eastwick hoped would join them in Russia, decided not to do so because of her age. Encouraged by Andrew Eastwick to bring a governess with her to Russia, Lydia Eastwick was unable to persuade a Miss Valance, one of the children’s school teachers, to accept the position¹³; however, a Miss Anna G. Melish, a Scotswoman and a friend of Miss Valance’s, who seemed very qualified, agreed to go with her and the children.¹⁴ The group departing the United States consisted of Mrs. Lydia Ann (James) Eastwick; the five other Eastwick children: Joseph Harrison, known as Hass (2 or 3 December 1834 – 15 February 1917), Charles James (27 October 1836 – 31 May 1908), Philip Garrett (18 June 1838 – 1 February 1905),¹⁵ Margaret (1840–1862), and Maria James (11 August 1842 – 1926), all described by R.G. Fairbanks as “beautiful”;¹⁶ and Miss A.G. Melish, their governess. Lydia Eastwick was issued a U.S. passport (no. 2785) for the group in Washington, DC, on 4 February 1845.¹⁷ She and her charges reached London on 27 April 1845 and were met by Andrew Eastwick.¹⁸ Two U.S. passports were issued in London for St. Petersburg on 9 June 1845: one to Mrs. Eastwick and children (no. 1638), the other to Miss Melish (no. 1640).¹⁹ Andrew Eastwick was issued passport no. 1639 and made the bearer of dispatches.²⁰ They arrived in St. Petersburg sometime in June 1845 and took up quarters at the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works, where Andrew and Edward Eastwick lived on the first floor of the house they shared with the Harrisons (see Images 239–240).²¹

Miss Melish did not fare well in Russia. To understand her plight and failure there, it is necessary to examine Andrew Eastwick’s own childhood and education, which colored his subsequent humorless views on the subject and created a heightened anxiety in him: “In my youth I was left a *poor* orphan at a very early age, and the little education I obtained was at a charity school, between the age of 7 and 13.”²² He therefore felt he could not “urge ... too strongly the necessity of obtaining knowledge in the springtime of your life.”²³ His anxiety concerning the early acquisition of good “habits in writing and

composition [was] very great,”²⁴ because his own lack of early training caused him to frequently experience mortification when he himself wrote a letter. Even as an adult he felt “deficient in appropriate words to impress upon [Edward’s] mind the full force of [his] anxiety.”²⁵ He spoke of the great “pleasure and satisfaction” he felt as the quality of Edward’s letters to him improved.²⁶

He did not like the “home system of education, as [he] found it difficult to have a teacher in the house, take that interest in the welfare of children as is done in well-regulated schools, or in fact to have them perform their duty.”²⁷ This was his feeling even when he urged his wife to bring along with her to Russia a governess she could personally vouch for. Lydia Eastwick had been sceptical about taking a stranger with her,²⁸ but Miss Valance, who had known Miss Melish for many years, even before the latter spent seven years as a governess in the American South, recommended her highly. To Lydia Eastwick, Miss Melish seemed “nearer 40 than 30,” of “very good disposition,” and “devoted to children.” She was “of a very good family”; her deceased father had been “a map publisher in Chestnut Street [Philadelphia] at one time”; and she could teach music, Italian, and French, and was “capable of giving the children a good English education,” so important to Andrew Eastwick. Lydia Eastwick therefore agreed to hire her, but for 400 dollars a year rather than the 500 Miss Melish had requested.²⁹ The conditions were set down in a contract signed on 25 April 1845.³⁰ Miss Melish was let go after she had been in Russia approximately six weeks. Her letter to Andrew Eastwick justifying her actions as a teacher shows that he and his wife considered Miss Melish’s conduct with the children erroneous, and that Lydia Eastwick, in particular, reprimanded her in the presence of the children, accusing her of neglecting them.³¹ Although obsessed by the idea of a classic English education for his sons, and having in his employ a governess recommended by his own wife as capable of giving such an education, Andrew Eastwick dismissed Miss Melish because she tried to use amusement as a tool to instill a love of reading in what she forthrightly called the Eastwicks’ spoiled American children.³² There is evidence that she remained in Russia for two years beyond her dismissal by him, because on 17/29 October 1847, Andrew Eastwick reported her death to Edward, telling him that she had “died at sea 17 days from

Kronstadt.”³³ He wrote Edward that he had “no particulars of what was the cause” of her death, but supposed they would “learn more particulars hereafter,” and did not recall whether he had already informed his son of her death.³⁴ With these seemingly unconcerned remarks about her, Miss Melish disappears from the extant Eastwick correspondence.

In the subsequent absence of an opportunity for his sons to have a classic English education, Andrew Eastwick sent Edward to boarding school in Germany in September 1847 and filled his letters to this eldest son with precepts and admonitions, feeling “satisfied that my children will execute every nerve to be a credit to their parents and an ornament in society.”³⁵ Monsieur Le Coq, one of the tutors engaged after the departure of Miss Melish, was also not found satisfactory, for Andrew Eastwick had written Edward that “if [he did] not see a change in the exertions of Monsieur Le Coq,” he would consider having Philip and Charles come along when he took Joseph to join Edward in Germany in July 1848.³⁶ Lydia Eastwick’s consternation at the idea of parting with all three remaining sons at once, added to Andrew Eastwick’s own reluctance, kept him from taking Philip and Charles to Germany. In late January 1849, the Le Coqs left the Eastwicks’ employ, and Andrew Eastwick proceeded with preparations to take Philip and Charles to Germany.³⁷ In the end, he decided that on their trip back to the United States in May 1849, he, Lydia Eastwick, the two girls, and baby William would pick up all four boys in Germany, and they would be placed in “a good English seminary” in America.³⁸

Andrew Eastwick’s anxiety from his childhood days permeated all aspects of his life. Allusions to fear and anxiety run through his letters, as do doubts of others’ ability to be discreet. He was in charge of the office at the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works, and he worked very hard. He handled all the correspondence, both in Russia and internationally,³⁹ and drew up the contracts. He was also responsible for large sums of gold and silver, which he would take to Cronstadt to be sent to England.⁴⁰ He was anxious about traveling in Europe alone because of his lack of proficiency in languages, and tried to attach himself to a courier or be made a courier because of the protecting advantages of such an appointment.⁴¹ He was so busy that, in June of 1847, Edward reported to an aunt that for three years he, Edward, had been “within

six miles” of St. Petersburg but unable to visit it. He intended to do so that summer because after the visit of Nicholas I (see Images 420–423) to the Works, “my father’s business will not be so heavy this year,” and “he will be better able to go with us.”⁴² In 1848, in anticipation of the firm’s acceptance of a contract “to finish the New Bridge over the Neva,” Andrew Eastwick was again extremely busy “in preparing conditions of the contract and guarding against responsibilities.”⁴³ Work on the bridge “obliged [him] to visit town every day,” as well as do the office work.⁴⁴ All these duties exhausted him, so that he had “little inclination to do anything at night but rest.”⁴⁵ Nevertheless, he seems from the time of “his arrival in Russia ... to have played a much less important role” than his two partners, and received little mention “in official documents dealing with matters concerning the firm and the Russian government.”⁴⁶

With Eastwick’s arrival in Russia in 1844, friction between him and Harrison began, with the latter complaining that Eastwick “behaved in a ‘distasteful’, ‘intolerable’ and ‘outrageous’ manner toward him.”⁴⁷ In part, “since in America [Eastwick] had been the senior partner in the firm of Eastwick and Harrison” and had “helped to launch Harrison’s career,” Eastwick “may have resented Harrison’s attitude” and his own reversed role in Russia as simply “the manager of the firm’s office.”⁴⁸ “Harrison in his correspondence often projected the impression that he wished to be the leading person in the firm and certainly never underestimated his own worth and importance.”⁴⁹ He “sometimes acted in a high-handed and overbearing manner toward [William Lewis] Winans”⁵⁰ (see Image 232). There were also difficulties between Harrison and R.G. Fairbanks.⁵¹ But there were difficulties as well between Eastwick and Thomas Winans. “By the autumn of 1848, matters had deteriorated to the extent that Harrison ... threatened to leave the firm ... [and] Winans ... stated that he would not remain alone in Russia with Eastwick.”⁵² From “the beginning of ... 1849 Eastwick ... had nothing to do with the business.”⁵³ On 4 April 1849, Harrison stated in a letter that “Eastwick would soon be leaving for America but might return in the next year,” and that “he and Winans could carry on their work by themselves, while allowing Eastwick to continue sharing

in the profits just as if he were still in St. Petersburg and carrying his share of the work load.”⁵⁴

All three contractors expected to become rich in Russia, but Eastwick was obsessed with the idea. John Stevenson Maxwell, secretary of the American Legation, who was presented to Eastwick on 24 May 1844, two days after Eastwick’s arrival in St. Petersburg, had already heard from someone a week before that Eastwick was “solely bent upon making a fortune here and so engrossed as [*sic*] been his thoughts that he seems to have known little that was going on in the political world.”⁵⁵ Eastwick’s letters to his son Edward, explaining how to record his finances and accounts, as well as letters to others, reveal that he was always aware of how much he himself was earning and spending, and that he had in mind a sum that would satisfy him at the end of his stay in Russia, and, if necessary, even allow him to take less in a sellout transaction in order to achieve other goals. It was as if he had a system for becoming rich, and his dogged pursuit of this system was what antagonized his partners, who subsequently capitulated to his wishes. A number of his letters contain attempts to persuade hesitant friends and relatives to join him in Russia for the purpose of becoming rich. He was somewhat paranoid in refusing to speak, even in his letters to his wife, of the friction pitting Harrison and Winans against him, lest she and others leak what he would divulge. It is the rare letter between the Eastwick spouses that contains even a glimpse into the three partners’ exasperation and hostility.

Lydia Eastwick alluded to difficulties Harrison and Winans were having with office matters while Andrew Eastwick was in London in March 1849 and to Winans’s hostility towards her husband: “Mr. Winans inquired of me when you was coming home. I think him and Mr. Harrison find the office business more than they expected. Mr. Harrison is obliged to go to town in the evenings to see the Major [Whistler]. I believe they have a great deal of difficulty with the lawsuit and I think they wish you were here to attend to it. I thought Mr. Winans ought to be the last one to ask when you were coming back. Mr. Harrison also asked me the same question yesterday in church at the Works. My answer was that you had just arrived in London and that you did not say anything about when you were coming home.”⁵⁶

Andrew Eastwick was the most candid he had ever been in writing about the hostility of the firm's partners towards one another when he wrote to his wife from Russia in 1850, where he had returned to wind up the firm's affairs. He referred to "this detestable place."⁵⁷ He had settled matters to a point where he could say approximately how much money would be coming to him. As Harrison and Winans were "remain[ing] in the business," closing it up was being left to Eastwick and Thomas Winans's brother, William. Eastwick did not in any way suggest that he was being squeezed out; he spoke of "the vacancy occasioned by my withdrawal." He was "fully prepared to make a considerable sacrifice" financially, because having to risk being iced in for the winter, away from all his family until 1851, would "cause me much anxiety." He felt, however, that a satisfactory proposition would not be made, "as Mr. Wm. Winans is a shrude [*sic*] and cunning fellow, and not possessed of an over abundance of moral sensibility." He concluded his remarks on the subject of his buyout with: "I would write on many points, if I was not fearful that my letters would be misunderstood or be seen by others than yourself," implying a certain suspicion of Lydia Eastwick's ability to understand what he expressed or to be discreet.

Andrew Eastwick and his family left St. Petersburg on 6/18 May 1849, on the same steamer as Anna Whistler and Willie (see Images 1–5, 27, 30).⁵⁸ Both families had suffered recent personal losses: George Whistler Eastwick (see Image 238) had died on 31 March, and George Washington Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21) on 7 April. The Eastwicks took the opportunity to travel in Europe and, although Anna Whistler anticipated that they would all sail for America on the same ship, in the end, she, James (see Images 24–29), Willie, and Mary Brennan went alone.⁵⁹

In June 1850, Eastwick returned to St. Petersburg, Harrison having agreed that "as former office manager [he] would be quite capable of settling accounts with the Russian government concerning work done since 1844," a matter Harrison estimated would take several months.⁶⁰ In September 1850, Harrison "arranged with the help of Thomas Winans to have William Winans buy out Eastwick's share of the business," which "was done on October 2 (O.S.), thereby formally

ending the existence of the firm of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick.”⁶¹ On 7/19 October 1850, Eastwick left Russia permanently, “a rich man,” “far richer,” Harrison said, “than he deserved to be.”⁶² Eventually, the warring partners became reconciled, for the Eastwicks’ last child was called Thomas Winans, and in 1862, in a letter to Eastwick, Harrison addressed him as “Dear Friend.”⁶³

After their Russian sojourn, the Eastwicks returned to Philadelphia, where Andrew Eastwick joined the City Bank of Philadelphia, eventually becoming its president. “He became, after the consolidation of the city, a member of the Common Council from Twenty-second Ward.” “He was first a Whig and later a Republican.” He was also an inventor, for example of “the equalizing beam.”⁶⁴ In 1850, Eastwick bought Bartram Gardens on the Schuylkill River, the estate of John Bartram, the botanist. The Eastwick family lived in the old house on the estate while a new house, a “Norman villa,” was being built. In late 1851, the family moved to the new house, which was called Bartram Hall. Andrew Eastwick died there on 8 February 1879, and Lydia Ann Eastwick on 15 December 1890. After Andrew Eastwick’s death, the city of Philadelphia, through his former head gardener, entered into negotiations to buy a portion of the property, “including the old Bartram House and gardens and a few acres surrounding them,” for a city park. In the year of Lydia Eastwick’s death, the purchase was concluded.⁶⁵

The Eastwicks had fourteen children. In addition to the six who went to Russia with them, two more were born in Russia: William (1/13 August 1846 – 7 January 1887)⁶⁶ and George Whistler (b. 19/31 March 1848), who died at New Alexandrofsky, aged one year, on 19/31 March 1849 (a week before Major Whistler’s death), and for whom a funeral service was performed on 22 March/3 April 1849, after which his body was placed in the vault of the English Church and later removed for interment in the United States (see Image 238 for a portrait of the two boys with their mother).⁶⁷ The abovementioned stillborn daughter born in 1844 in the United States was the other child who died. After their return to the United States, five more children were born: Lydia Anne (3 April 1850 – 1918), Mary Emma Harmar (23 or 24 December 1851 – 1928), Kate (14 December 1853 – buried Philadelphia 27 December

1879), Andrew McCalla (29 September 1855 – 1 January 1934), and Thomas Winans (31 May 1857 – 1880).⁶⁸

The following brief biographies are those of the sons who came to Russia with their parents. Edward Peers Eastwick and Joseph Harrison Eastwick both later “studied chemistry at Göttingen University.” Edward Peers went into the sugar-refining industry and formed the company of Havemeyer and Eastwick. Joseph Harrison Eastwick became a chemist and “held a position for years in Philadelphia.” Charles James Eastwick “spent most of his life as cashier of the Norfolk and Western Railroad Company.”⁶⁹ Philip Garrett Eastwick “entered the navy during the Civil War and became first assistant engineer on the battleship ‘Monongahela.’” A civil engineer, “he became connected” in 1870 “with the Northern Pacific Railroad Company” and “laid out the towns of Seattle and Tacoma, Washington.” He next worked for the U.S. Government in “Pacific coast engineering work”: for example, “the building of jetties at the mouth of the Columbia.” He contracted yellow fever in Panama in January 1905, while visiting his son, P.G. Eastwick Jr., the manager there of the International Banking Corporation. His body was brought back to Portland, Oregon, for interment.⁷⁰

Anna Whistler considered the Eastwicks good friends, and Edward was “quite a favourite of hers.”⁷¹ Many instances of times spent together and generous acts by the two families toward one another appear in the St. Petersburg diaries, the Eastwick correspondence, Anna Whistler’s correspondence, and her 1850 Diary. They attended the public festivities together at the marriage of Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna (see Image 432) at Peterhof. The Whistler family made visits to the Eastwick home at Alexandrofsky (see Images 239–240), and the Whistler children attended birthday parties there. During the stopover in Hamburg on their way home from Debo’s wedding, the Whistlers visited Edward Eastwick, who had been sent there to study. Lydia Eastwick accompanied Anna Whistler to the communion altar at the English Church in St. Petersburg (see Images 110–111) after Debo married. Both Andrew and Lydia Eastwick kept vigil by Major Whistler’s sickbed in autumn 1848. The Whistlers left their cow with the Eastwicks when they went to England. Andrew Eastwick had steel skates made at Alexandrofsky for James and Willie. When George Whistler Eastwick

was born on 8 April 1848, the two Eastwick girls spent two weeks with Anna Whistler, “whom ... all [the Eastwicks] so highly esteem[ed].” Andrew Eastwick comes across as a kind and thoughtful man, especially at that poignant moment when the coffin of John Bouttatz Whistler was borne off to the English Church vault in the Eastwick carriage.⁷²

Their friendship continued after the Russian sojourn, as did his thoughtfulness and kindness. In April 1850, the first anniversary of Major Whistler’s death, Andrew Eastwick purposely visited the Palmers in Stonington and then Anna Whistler in Pomfret so that on his upcoming trip to St. Petersburg he could accurately “report [on them] to the circle there.”⁷³ Anna Whistler considered him a close-enough friend to write to him after that visit, with a request that he go “to see Mr. Harrisons father about the loan of \$1000 for [her] brother Charles,”⁷⁴ about whom she was greatly distressed. His response was to himself offer “to arrange for the loan ... so as to prevent [Anna Whistler] or Capt [Wm. H.] Swift being made responsible.”⁷⁵ He was “a friend in need,” whom Anna Whistler and her family remembered for this deed in their prayers.⁷⁶ In 1860, when Anna Whistler was planning to take a trip to England, the Eastwicks invited her to store her household furnishings at their home.⁷⁷

Anna Whistler was also a frequent visitor at Bartram Hall⁷⁸ and attended the Philadelphia weddings of Eastwick children. Her correspondents included the Eastwicks’ daughter, Mary Emma, to whom there are at least three extant letters.⁷⁹ And, when Andrew Eastwick died (of typhoid pneumonia), the frail Anna Whistler in Hastings wrote Lydia Eastwick a letter of sympathy, assessing him as “so kind a husband and wise a parent.”⁸⁰

NOTES

1. Thomas Lynch Montgomery, ed., *Encyclopedia of Pennsylvania Biography*, vol. 14 (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing, 1923), pp. 11–12.
2. Montgomery, *Pennsylvania Biography*, p. 11.
3. James Genealogy, page not numbered, *Eastwick Letters*.
4. Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 95–96.

5. Haywood, p. 96.
6. Haywood, p. 256.
7. The first extant Eastwick letter from Andrew M. Eastwick, dated London, April 28, 1844, to his wife, Lydia Ann (James) Eastwick, includes a letter from Edward P. Eastwick, dated London April 24, 1844, to his mother (letters dated April 24, 1844, Wednesday, and April 28, 1844, Sunday, *Eastwick Letters*).
8. NAUS: Passports, M1371, roll 2, p. 14, passport no. 1857; and RG84, C18.2, passport no. 959.
9. Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison and her children, Annie and Henry Harrison, traveled with Andrew Eastwick from New York to Portsmouth, England, where they arrived on 22 April 1844, and were met by Joseph Harrison Jr., who then accompanied his family to Russia (Andrew Eastwick to Lydia Eastwick, London, April 28th, 1844 Sunday, *Eastwick Letters*; Edward Eastwick to Lydia Eastwick, London, April 24th, 1844 Wednesday).
10. Andrew Eastwick to Lydia Eastwick, St. Petersburg, May 23, 1844 Thursday.
11. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. P., entry of Friday, May 24, in letter of May 17, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 35.
12. Lydia Eastwick and Sarah Eastwick [Andrew Eastwick's sister] to Andrew Eastwick, Philadelphia, August 5th 1844 Monday, and August 13 [1844], *Eastwick Letters*. Mrs. Eastwick did not speak of her pregnancy in her unfinished letter of August 5th. Her sister-in-law informed Andrew Eastwick in her letter of August 13th of the somewhat premature birth of the stillborn baby on August 12th.
13. Lydia Eastwick to Andrew Eastwick, Philadelphia, December 30th, 1844 Friday, *Eastwick Letters*; Andrew Eastwick to Lydia Eastwick, Alexandroffsky Head Mechanical Works December 21st 1844/January 2, 1845 Thursday; Eliza (Eastwick) Cowperthwait [sister (1805–1846) of Andrew Eastwick] to Andrew Eastwick, entry dated Philadelphia, February 27, 1845, in letter of Lydia Eastwick to Andrew Eastwick, dated Philadelphia, February 23rd, 1845, Thursday.
14. Lydia Eastwick to Andrew Eastwick, Philadelphia, March 25th 1845 Tuesday.

15. The dates of these three sons are taken from their tombstones in The Woodlands Cemetery (R. Cooper, Philadelphia, to E. Harden, 27 September 2004).
16. Reuben G. Fairbanks, congratulating the Eastwicks on the birth of George Whistler Eastwick, remarked on the beauty of the other Eastwick children and anticipated that the latest addition must therefore also be beautiful (R.G. Fairbanks to Andrew Eastwick, 1 Crookside Lane, London, June 2, 1848 Friday, *Eastwick Letters*).
17. NAUS: Passports, M1371, roll 2, p. 38, passport no. 2785. Miss A.G. Melish received a separate passport as well, dated 15 March 1845. She is described as forty-five years old, five feet tall, forehead middling, eyes gray, nose thin, mouth small, chin sharp, hair brown, complexion fair, face round (p. 1, passport no. 31).
18. Andrew Eastwick to Charles James, London, May 20th, 1845, Tuesday, *Eastwick Letters*. Charles Quicksall James (1808–1900) was Lydia Ann (James) Eastwick's brother (James Genealogy, *Eastwick Letters*).
19. NAUS: Passports, RG84, C18.2, passport nos. 1638, 1640.
20. NAUS: Passports, RG84, C18.2, passport no. 1639.
21. Joseph Harrison, Jr. to Stephen Poulterer [his father-in-law], Alexandroffsky, February 27, 1849, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1; Andrew Eastwick to Lydia Eastwick, Alexandroffsky Cast Iron Foundry near St. Petersburg, June 2nd, 1844, Sunday, with additional entries by Edward Eastwick to his mother and brothers on June 4, 1844, Tuesday, and June 6th, 1844, Thursday, *Eastwick Letters*. There were two dwellings, one on either side of the Works. Andrew and Edward Eastwick lived in one of them, along with Joseph Harrison Jr. It is described extensively, along with its garden in the abovementioned letter of 2 June 1844, from Andrew Eastwick to Lydia Eastwick, with whom he had left a map of the Works. The house was in need of repair. It was not as pretty as and smaller than the other dwelling, but they had no choice, as Foulon, the former director of the Works before their conversion, still lived in the other dwelling. In mid-July 1844, Andrew and Edward Eastwick and the Harrisons moved into the dwelling vacated by Foulon. This house and garden are described briefly in a letter from Edward Eastwick to Lydia Eastwick dated Alexandroffsky, July 19, 1844 Friday. Some reference to it can also be found in the letter from Andrew Eastwick to Lydia Eastwick dated St. Petersburg, 3 July 1844.

22. Andrew Eastwick to Edward Eastwick, Alexandroffsky Head Mechanical Works St. Petersburg December 12th/24th 1847 Friday, *Eastwick Letters*.
23. Andrew Eastwick to Edward Eastwick, Alexandroffsky Head Mechanical Works St. Petersburg December 12th/24th 1847 Friday.
24. Andrew Eastwick to Edward Eastwick, Alexandroffsky November 7th/19th 1848 Sunday.
25. Andrew Eastwick to Edward Eastwick, Alexandroffsky November 7th/19th 1848 Sunday.
26. Andrew Eastwick to Edward Eastwick, St. Petersburg, June 8th/20th 1848 Tuesday; Andrew Eastwick to Edward Eastwick, Alexandroffsky November 7th/19th 1848 Sunday.
27. Andrew Eastwick to Edward Eastwick, St. Petersburg, June 8th/20th 1848 Tuesday.
28. Lydia Eastwick to Andrew Eastwick, Philadelphia, February 23rd, 1845 Thursday. In 1845, February 23 was a Sunday.
29. Lydia Eastwick to Andrew Eastwick, Philadelphia, March 25th 1845 Tuesday. All preceding details about Miss Melish's background and personal qualities are taken from this letter.
30. Agreement between Lydia Ann Eastwick and Anna Melish 25 April 1845, *Eastwick Letters*.
31. Anna G. Melish to Andrew Eastwick, Alexandroffsky, July 20, 1845 Sunday.
32. Anna G. Melish to Andrew Eastwick, Alexandroffsky, July 20, 1845 Sunday. Andrew Eastwick's serious approach to life is also reflected in his comments on a children's birthday party at the Harrisons':

There is to be a *big time* upstairs today celebrating Henry and Annie's birthdays. All our little ones, as well as some 30 or 40 more big and little, I understand are invited to take dinner and cut capers in the afternoon and evening. Such nonsense you know I do not approve of. I will therefore leave a description of all the preparations and jollifications to be given to you by some of your brothers who doubtless will write you on the subject. (Andrew Eastwick to Edward Eastwick Alexandroffsky Head Mechanical Works, St. Petersburg December 12th/24th 1847 Friday).

He did not, however, forbid his children to attend the party.

33. Andrew Eastwick to Edward Eastwick, Alexandroffsky Head Mechanical Works, St. Petersburg, October 17/29th 1847 Friday. On 3/15 May 1847, the *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* (p. 488) published one of the three required announcements of departure for Anna Melish, a citizen of the United States of America, who was living in the Rozhdestvenskaia District First Ward in the house of Suchkov, which was located between Dyogtiarnaia and Mytnenskaia streets and between II and III Rozhdestvenskaia streets (Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar'*, pp. 154, 155). Although the Rozhdestvenskaia District was larger than all the other districts, it was less populated. Its streets were badly paved, the buildings were poor-looking and ugly, and the majority of its inhabitants were peasants who worked as coach drivers or did other unskilled labor (Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, p. 64).

Perhaps Miss Melish canceled the trip that should have followed the three announcements, for a notice of her death appeared in the *New York Post* of 6 October 1847, saying that she died on 8 August 1847 on the barque *Eurotas* and was the daughter of the late John Melish (1771–1822) of Philadelphia, an accomplished map-maker and author. The *Eurotas* (Capt. Lunt) was going from St. Petersburg to Boston. It cleared Elsinore, Denmark, on 20 July 1847, and arrived at Boston on 10 September 1847 (*The Shipping and Mercantile Gazette*, July 26, 1847; *Lloyd's List*, July 26 1847, and September 30, 1847).

Miss Melish does not appear in the 1830 or 1840 US Federal Census for Philadelphia or anywhere else in the United States, but if she was living in someone else's household, she would not be named in these censuses. Margaret Melish, the widow of John Melish, survived her husband, but it has not been possible to find her in the 1830 or 1840 censuses either, and therefore to say whether she was the mother of Anna Melish.

34. Andrew Eastwick to Edward Eastwick, Alexandroffsky Head Mechanical Works, St. Petersburg, October 17/29th 1847 Friday, *Eastwick Letters*.
35. Andrew Eastwick to Edward Eastwick, Alexandroffsky Head Mechanical Works, St. Petersburg, December 12th/24th 1847 Friday.
36. Andrew Eastwick to Edward Eastwick, St. Petersburg, June 8th/20th 1848 Tuesday.
37. Andrew Eastwick to Edward Eastwick [letter addressed to all four sons], St. Petersburg, January 14th/26th 1849 Friday;

- Andrew Eastwick to Edward Eastwick, London March 14th 1849 Wednesday.
38. Andrew Eastwick to Lydia Eastwick, Hamburg March 28 1849 Wednesday.
 39. Harrison, Winans and Eastwick “opened a house in London for the transaction of the mercantile part of our business in [England],” and “all letters hereafter for us must be directed, care of Harrison, Winans & Eastwick, No. 1 Crooked Lane, Chambers, London” (A.M. Eastwick to Charles James, London, May 20th, 1845, Tuesday).
 40. Andrew Eastwick to Edward Eastwick, Alexandroffsky, May 12th/24th 1848 Wednesday.
 41. Andrew M. Eastwick to Lydia A. Eastwick, Hamburg March 28 1849 Wednesday.
 42. Edward Eastwick to his Aunt Mary, Alexandroffsky, June 21st, 1847 Monday.
 43. Andrew Eastwick to Edward Eastwick, Alexandroffsky, January 18th/30th 1848 Sunday.
 44. Andrew Eastwick to Edward Eastwick, St. Petersburg, April 2nd/14th 1848 Friday; Andrew Eastwick to Edward Eastwick, Alexandroffsky Head Mechanical Works, St. Petersburg, April 21st/3rd May 1848 Wednesday.
 45. Andrew Eastwick to Edward Eastwick, Alexandroffsky Head Mechanical Works, St. Petersburg, April 21st/3rd May 1848 Wednesday.
 46. Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 279.
 47. Haywood, p. 404.
 48. Haywood, p. 418n84.
 49. Haywood, p. 418n84.
 50. Haywood, p. 419n110.
 51. Joseph Harrison, Jr., to R.G. Fairbanks, Alexandroffsky, February 26, 1849, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1; Joseph Harrison, Jr., to George H. Prince, Alexandroffsky, April 24, 1849; Joseph Harrison, Jr., to George H. Prince, April 29, 1849.
 52. Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 404.
 53. Haywood, p. 404.

54. Haywood, pp. 404, 418n84; Joseph Harrison, Jr., to Stephen Poulterer, Alexandroffsky, April 4, 1849, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1.
55. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 17, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 35.
56. Lydia Anne Eastwick to Andrew M. Eastwick (in London) Alexandroffsky February 28th/12th March 1849 Monday, *Eastwick Letters*.
57. Andrew M. Eastwick to Mrs. Lydia A. Eastwick, Care of Charles E. Lex, Esq. Sixth near Arch Street Philadelphia, Pa. United States, St. Petersburg September 15th/27th 1850 Friday. All quotations and information in this paragraph are taken from this letter.
58. Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 404, 418n85.
59. Anna Whistler to Mr. Harrison, 62 Sloane St. June 19th 1849, LC: P-W, box 34.
60. Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 404, 418n86.
61. Haywood, p. 411, 419n104.
62. Haywood, p. 411, 418n105.
63. Joseph Harrison to Andrew Eastwick, Paris, October 3, 1862, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 6.
64. All quotations in this paragraph are taken from Montgomery, *Pennsylvania Biography*, p. 11.
65. Montgomery, *Pennsylvania Biography*, p. 12; Mrs. Andrew M. Eastwick, “Bartram Hall,” written for the City History Society of Philadelphia and read at the meeting of Wednesday, 14 December 1910, *Publications of the City History Society of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: published by the Society, 1930), vol. 2, pp. 209–213. The article includes a portrait of Andrew McCalla Eastwick.
66. William was born on 1/13 August 1846 and baptized on 29 October/10 November 1846 by Rev. Dr. Edward Law (see Image 253) (PREC STP, no. 5665). His death date is taken from his tombstone in The Woodlands Cemetery (R. Cooper, Philadelphia, PA, to E. Harden, 27 September 2004).
67. RGIA: Fond 1689, op. 1, d. 4. Register of the Chapel of the British Factory St. Petersburg [1847–1867], no. 5931.
68. Montgomery, *Pennsylvania Biography*, pp. 12, 13; The Rev. C. Reed Brinkman, rector of St. James’ Church of Kinsessing,

- Philadelphia, PA, to E. Harden, 22 June 2004; “Children of Lydia and Andrew Eastwick,” page not numbered, *Eastwick Letters*.
69. The biographical material about Edward Peers Eastwick, Joseph Harrison Eastwick, and Charles James Eastwick cited here comes from Montgomery, *Pennsylvania Biography*, p. 14.
 70. Biographical material about Philip Garrett Eastwick is taken from *The Morning Oregonian*, February 3, 1905, and Montgomery, *Pennsylvania Biography*, p. 14.
 71. Andrew Eastwick to Edward Eastwick, Alexandroffsky Head Mechanical Works St. Petersburg November 14/26 1847 Friday, *Eastwick Letters*.
 72. The sources for these examples of friendship are the St. Petersburg diaries of Anna Whistler and *Eastwick Letters*. From the diaries: entry for [Saturday] November 14 [1846], NYPL: AWPB, Part II; entry for Saturday Dec 5th [1846]; entry for Preston. September. Saturday 10th [1847]; entry for sometime after January 1, 1848; entry for September 1848. From *Eastwick Letters*: Joseph H. Eastwick to Edward P. Eastwick, Alexandroffsky, 23rd October (O.S.) Friday; Joseph H. Eastwick to Edward P. Eastwick, St. Petersburg, February 13th, 1848 Sunday; Joseph H. Eastwick to Edward P. Eastwick, Alexandroffsky, April 21st, 1848 Friday; Andrew M. Eastwick to Edward P. Eastwick, St. Petersburg, April 2nd/14th 1848 Friday.
 73. Entry of April 28: April 26, AMW 1850 Diary. Mrs. Eastwick had just given birth to Lydia Ann (3 April 1850), their eighth surviving child.
 74. Entry of May 4: May 2.
 75. Entry of May 16: May 14.
 76. Entry of Mon., May 22: May 20.
 77. Anna Whistler to Deborah Haden, New Brighton, 4 May 1860, GUL: Whistler Collection, W504.
 78. Eastwick, “Bartram Hall,” p. 212. Both Anna Whistler and Willie, together and separately, were visitors at Bartram Hall. See Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, 2 December [1857], GUL: Whistler Collection, W487; Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, Philadelphia, 29 June 1858, W492; Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble [Philadelphia] [16/30 October 1858], W473 (the place and date of this letter has been suggested by the Centre for Whistler Studies); Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble,

Philadelphia, 17 October [1858], W494; Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Philadelphia, 18 November 1858, W496.

79. Anna Whistler to M.E. Eastwick, Albyns. Essex. Sept. 8th 1874, LC: P-W, box 34, fols. 65–68; Anna Whistler to my dear young Friend. Talbot House. 43 St. Marys Terrace. Hastings. Wednesday. July 19. 1876, fols. 81–84; and possibly Anna Whistler to Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer, 2 Lindsey Houses, Chelsea. London. Sat., Oct. 29th 1870.
80. Anna M. Whistler to Lydia Ann Eastwick, 43 St. Mary's Terrace Hastings July 4, 1879 Friday, *Eastwick Letters*, fols. 498–503. Andrew McCalla Eastwick's death notice appeared in *The Ledger*, February 10 and 11, 1879.

ELLERBY¹

Thomas Scales Ellerby (Manchester, Lancashire 18 March 1810 – Toronto, ON 11 June 1892; see Image 256)² was the son of Martha (Scales) and William Ellerby. His father, a bookseller, was the agent to a religious tract society at No. 15 Picadilly, Manchester.³

Thomas Scales Ellerby, having “from infancy ... enjoyed the inestimable privileges arising from the instructions and examples of parental piety, and at an early age [been] deeply impressed with sentiments of religion,”⁴ left his parents’ home in Manchester when he was fourteen. While away from home, he lost his piety and religion. “This was [his] character during a residence of nearly seven years in Leeds, and whilst attending the ministry of the Rev^d R.W. Hamilton – and also that of [his] relative the Rev. Thomas Scales.”⁵ On returning to his parents in Manchester, he eventually regained his faith through “the ministerial labours of the Rev^d Dr McAll.”⁶ In Manchester, he worked as a clerk in the firm of Radford’s and Company, iron founders and merchants, for four years until “the death of a confidential Servant” resulted in his being offered the post. As his acceptance “would ... have been quite inconsistent with [his] views as to the ministry,” he consulted with Dr. McAll and the Rev. Mr. Scales and as a result declined the offer and instead set about “pursuing a course of private study.” He wrote a memoir called *Memorials of Felix Neff, the Alpine Pastor* in 1833.⁷ He had taught in “Dr. McAll’s Sabbath School, ... been a visiting member of the Christian Instruction Society and ... frequently addressed small congregations both in Manchester, and in an adjourning village.” He was “admitted to the communion of Dr. McAll’s church in February 1834.” In applying to the non-conformist Highbury College on 22 April 1835, he stated that he had “just completed his twenty-fourth year.”⁸

Thomas Scales Ellerby attended Highbury College from 1835 to 1839. On 3 July 1840, he was married to Mary Bealey (c. 1810 – 18 August 1885), daughter of Ralph Bealey, bleacher, at the Providence Chapel, High Street, Rochdale, Lancashire, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Independents, by John Ely, Minister of Leeds.⁹ He was ordained at Islington Chapel, Middlesex, on 15 July 1840, for the English and American Church in St. Petersburg,¹⁰ which “was opened

for public worship” on 24 August / 5 September 1840.¹¹ The Ellerbys lived in “very nice apartments” in the church, which was “a very neat and pretty building, large, airy and roomy,” with an organ.¹² Ellerby served in St. Petersburg from 1840 to 1853.¹³ In a history of the church, his sermons were said to have been “thoughtful and scholarly,” and he himself was described as “possessed of great ability and tact.”¹⁴ A parishioner said they “like[d] him very much,” found him “very amiable – pious & devoted & withal a good scholar, tho not so eloquent a speaker as Mr. [J. Croumbie] Brown.”¹⁵ There was a great increase in the membership of the church during his tenure.¹⁶ In 1844, he started Sunday services at the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works (see Images 223–225) – holding them at Joseph Harrison Jr’s, house – for the English and American mechanics employed there, “and partly as a result of these efforts there came into existence the Congregational Church at Alexandroffsky.”¹⁷ A feature of his preaching at Alexandrofsky was an annual sermon to the young.¹⁸ His poor health “compelled him in 1845, and again in 1849, to leave” Russia for a time, which created some difficulties, as he did not have a clergyman in his congregation who might stand in for him.¹⁹ While in England in 1845, he wrote “an appeal to the British Legislature,” asking that, as the British and American Chapel, “since [its] formation ... twenty-five years ago,” had performed divine worship and regularly observed “the Rites of Baptism, and Burial according to the usages of the Congregational Dissenters of Great Britain,” its “right to perform the Marriage Ceremony” be recognized.²⁰ In May or June 1853, his health failed “to such a degree that the physician thought the delay of another week dangerous.”²¹ He was safely in England by 2/14 June, and the fears that he might never “be able to live and labor again in [the] climate” of St. Petersburg proved true.²²

The *BRBC STP 1845*, which also contains entries made in not-always-specified subsequent years, carries the information that the Ellerbys had two sons and two daughters and that “Eleonora Lee, nurse, spinster,” lived with them at the Chapel.²³ In 1846, the Ellerbys had at least three daughters,²⁴ and in 1848, the *BRBC STP 1845* lists the three daughters as Lucy (St. Petersburg c. 1842 – Toronto, ON 18 July 1920), Alice (St. Petersburg 1844 – Toronto, ON 19 December 1900), and

Emily (Manchester, Lancashire c. 1845 – Toronto, ON 29 January 1930).²⁵

There is information that Ellerby next served as chaplain of the British Embassy in Vienna, but a check of Foreign Office lists of clergy at British embassies has failed to confirm this.²⁶ He then settled in Toronto, Ontario, where he was pastor from 29 May 1856 to March 1866 of Zion Congregational Church, “historically, ... the mother church of congregationalism in Ontario.”²⁷ In 1866, he joined establishment:²⁸ i.e., the Anglican Church. “He was ordained deacon on 28 October 1866, by the First Bishop of Huron”²⁹ and, on 17 February 1867, priest. In 1866–1867, he served as incumbent of Exeter, from 1867–1870 was curate of St. George’s Church in Toronto, and from 1870–1882 incumbent of St. George’s in Sarnia, Ontario.³⁰ He was superannuated from the Diocese of Huron in 1882³¹ and took up residence again in Toronto, where, “on the death of Rev. Johnstone Vicars, in 1886 [he] was appointed by the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews to succeed him as their Canadian Agent, settled in this city.”³² Although elderly, Rev. Ellerby “threw himself into this work with great energy,” pursued “it with more than ordinary ability, perseverance and success,” and seems to have held this post until his death.³³ In 1888, in her will dated 8 September, Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand, who had been a communicant of the British and American Chapel in St. Petersburg when Rev. Ellerby was rector, bequeathed one hundred pounds to him.³⁴

Mary (Bealey) Ellerby died in Toronto on 18 August 1885, at the age of seventy-five, and was buried in St. James’ Cemetery. Reverend Ellerby died in his 83rd year on Saturday, 11 June 1892, in Toronto at his residence, 237 Spadina Avenue, and was buried on 14 June in St. James’ Cemetery,³⁵ in the same plot as his wife. Lucy M. (age seventy-eight) and Emily C. (age eighty-five) are also buried there.

Alice Louisa Ellerby married George Mountain Evans (Ireland 1828 – Orillia, ON 23 May 1891) in Sarnia, Ontario, on 21 December 1870. The monument on their graves in St. James’ Cemetery records that four infant children are also buried there: Mary (d. 2 September 1874, one year, one month old); Edith (d. 2 January 1876, five days old), Theodore (d. 8 February 1877, four days old), and Henry (d. 17 December 1884,

three years, nine months old). Buried here as well are two sons who survived: Charles F.E. Evans-Lewis (1871 – 10 May 1939) and Vernon L. Evans (1878 – April 1955).

* * *

There was also a niece of Mary (Bealey) Ellerby's in St. Petersburg working as governess to her aunt's daughters. She was Sarah Bealey Schofield (b. Rochdale, Lancashire 30 October 1817; bap. Rochdale, Lancashire 28 December 1820; d. Stirling 5 February 1891; see Image 257),³⁶ daughter of Mrs. Ellerby's sister, Sarah (Bealey) Schofield (b. Radcliffe, Lancashire c. 1800 – after 1861)³⁷ and of Robert Schofield (Yorkshire, England c. 1797 – Buenos Aires 23 September 1825).³⁸ Her father, a merchant in South America, was a partner in a disastrous fishing and livestock business venture in the Falkland Islands in 1823–24.³⁹ He died of alcoholism in Buenos Aires on 23 September 1825, at the age of twenty-eight, and was buried there in the Socorro Protestant Cemetery.⁴⁰ After his death, her mother returned to England.⁴¹

Anna Whistler recorded that Sarah Bealey Schofield was in Russia in 1846 and 1847.⁴² In July 1848, she was still or again in Russia, and was recorded by her future husband, Charles Bell (1831 – Stirling 28 February 1915), as being among the respectful crowd at Alexandrofsky (she was staying at the Eastwicks) on 10/22 July, when his father's coffin was being taken to St. Petersburg for a funeral service at the British and American Chapel.⁴³ Sarah Bealey Schofield and Charles Bell were married at the Parish Church in the Parish of Radcliffe on 3 September 1857 from the house of her uncle, Richard Bealey, J.P., Radcliffe, Manchester.⁴⁴ They continued to live in Russia, returning to England in 1867, when "Charles Bell left the firm of Muir and Merrilees." They lived first in Brighton "for his health," and then moved to Scotland.

NOTES

1. I am deeply indebted to Clifford Collier of the Toronto Genealogical Society for his extensive research on the Ellerby family in Canada on my behalf.
2. *Journal of the Incorporated Synod of the Church of England in the Diocese of Toronto, 1892* [JISCE] (1892): p. 33. See also "Deaths," *The*

- Toronto Daily Mail*, June 13, 1892. This newspaper account contradicts his age at death given in *JISCE*. For his birth date, see *The Incorporated Synod of Huron Fonds, Index and Abstract of the Clergy Register of the Diocese of Huron*, vol. 1, p. 5.
3. *Pigot's Directory of Chester ... Yorkshire* (1829), pp. 349, 402. That the William Ellerby listed in *Pigot's* was the father of Thomas Scales Ellerby is corroborated by the latter's marriage certificate (see Note 9 in this biography).
 4. Thomas Scales Ellerby's application to Highbury College, London, dated Manchester 22nd April 1835, 352/3/1i, Dr. Williams's Library, London.
 5. Thomas Ellerby's application to Highbury College (see Note 4 above). Rev. Thomas Scales was his maternal uncle. Reverend Richard Winter Hamilton (6 July 1794 – 18 July 1848) was minister of Belgrave Independent Chapel in Leeds. See the entry for [Wednesday] April 15th [1846], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II, and accompanying Notes 299 and 317.
 6. Thomas Ellerby's application to Highbury College (see Note 4 above). Reverend Dr. McAll wrote the recommendation supporting his application to Highbury College.
 7. T.S. Ellerby, *Memorials of Felix Neff, the Alpine Pastor* (London: Hamilton, Adams; Manchester: W. Ellerby; Liverpool: D. Marples, 1833).
 8. All the foregoing information is from Thomas Ellerby's application to Highbury College (see Note 4 above).
 9. Certified copy of an Entry of Marriage for Thomas Scales Ellerby and Mary Bealey, GRO; William H. Ropes to Hardy Ropes, St. P. Sept. 14/26. 1840 and Sept. 27 / Oct. 9. 1840 (one letter), MHS: Ropes Papers.
 10. "Ordinations of Ministers and Missionaries from October 1839 to October 1840," *The Congregational Calendar and Family Almanac for 1840* (London: Jackson and Walford, [1840]), p. 101. The information on his "Biography Card" at Dr. William's Library says he was ordained on 15 July 1839, but as it was copied from printed sources, including the above, it seems to be a copying error.
 11. Joseph S. Ropes to his aunt [Mrs. Hardy Ropes], St. P., June 24 / July 6. 1841, MHS: Ropes Papers.

12. Joseph S. Ropes to Mrs. Hardy Ropes, St. P., Sept. 20 / Oct. 2. 1840; Joseph S. Ropes to his grandparents, St. P., June 24 / July 6. 1841.
13. *Jubilee Commemorative Volume*, p. 87. Here it is stated that Mr. Ellerby served until 1853, and that in 1854 the pastor was the Rev. Henry Mills Haskell, BA. A copy of this rare publication is held by Dr. Williams's Library. See also George Lawrence Parker to Harriet Ropes Cabot, Carver, MA, MHS: Ropes Papers. Reverend Parker was rector of the British–American Church from October 1906–1909. See his article “Local Links with Russia,” *Boston Herald*, September 1941.
14. *Jubilee Commemorative Volume*, p. 28.
15. William H. Ropes to Hardy Ropes, St. P., Sept. 14/26. 1840 & Sept. 27 / Oct. 9. 1840 (one letter), MHS: Ropes Papers. Ropes said Mrs. Ellerby was “a most lovely woman” and “upon very intimate terms with [his wife].” See also Joseph S. Ropes to his grandparents, St. P., Sept. 19 / Oct. 1. 1840.
16. *Jubilee Commemorative Volume*, p. 28.
17. *Jubilee Commemorative Volume*, pp. 26–27.
18. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, [St.P.] Sat. morning Jan. 20th 1849. GUL: Whistler Collection, W378.
19. *Jubilee Commemorative Volume*, p. 28.
20. Thomas S. Ellerby to James Cooke Evans, Esq., Manchester, 3rd Sept. 1845. He pointed out that he had no difficulty in performing the marriage ceremony for Americans and had “the authority of Col^l Todd the American Ambassador to the Court of Russia – And also one of our hearers for affirming that all such Marriages are deemed valid in the United States” (FO 65/340, PRO).
21. Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand to William Ladd Ropes, Peterhoff, June 2/14 [1853], MHS: Ropes Papers, Ms. N-174. The year assigned to this letter is based on the fact that William Ladd Ropes marked it “Rec’d 8 July 1853.”
22. Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand to William Ladd Ropes, Peterhoff, June 2/14 [1853]. She makes it clear that because of Rev. Ellerby’s departure “our little chapel is shut, in consequence of the difficulty of getting anyone to take Mr. E’s place.”
23. *BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 17.
24. Entry for August 12/24 [1846], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.

25. Romanes, *Calls of Norfolk and Suffolk*, p. 86.
26. “St. George’s Church, Sarnia,” in *In Commemoration of One Hundred Years of the Ministrations of the Anglican Church in the City and Township of Sarnia, 1840–1940* ([Sarnia, ON]: Canadian Printers, [1940]), no pagination.
27. “Resignations, Removals and Settlements, 1855,” *The Congregational Yearbook* (1856): p. 202; J. Ross Robertson, *Landmarks of Toronto*, 4th series (Toronto: printed by the author, 1904), p. 474; *JISCE*, p. 33. Zion Church had burned down in February 1855, and Rev. Ellerby’s predecessor had resigned in June of that year. The new church was dedicated in September 1856 (Robertson, *Landmarks*, p. 474).
28. “Removals of Ministers,” *The Congregational Yearbook* (1867): p. 256.
29. *JISCE*, p. 33; Robertson, *Landmarks*, p. 474; *Huron Index and Abstract*, vol. 1, p. 5.
30. *Crockford’s Clerical Directory for 1890*, p. 401; *Huron Index and Abstract*, vol. 1, p. 5.
31. *Crockford’s Clerical Directory for 1890*, p. 401. Elsewhere, it says that he resigned and was superannuated in 1881, while the dates given under his photograph are 1870–1882 (*St. George’s Church Sarnia, Ontario 125th Anniversary 1848–1973* (Sarnia, ON: s.n., 1973), no pagination).
32. *JISCE*, p. 33.
33. *JISCE*, p. 33; W.T. Gidney, *The History of the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews* (London: London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews, 1908), p. 518.
34. If he predeceased Mrs. Gellibrand (which he did), the money was to be divided equally among those of his children still living when she died. She described him in the will as “now residing in Toronto, Canada.”
35. Gidney, *History of the LSPCAJ*, p. 518. The age at death of all members of the Ellerby family is taken from family tree records at St. James’ Cemetery.
36. Register of Births and Baptisms of St. Stephen’s Church at the Countess of Huntingdon’s denomination in the parish of Rochdale, Lancashire, from 1810 to 1837. TNA ref. RG 4/996, fol. 65, NAUK.
37. 1861 Census for Salford, Lancashire.

38. IGI; certified copy of an Entry of Marriage for Charles Bell and Sarah Bealey Schofield, GRO.
39. Roberto C. Laver, *The Falklands/Malvinas Case: Breaking the Deadlock in the Anglo-Argentine Sovereignty Dispute*, vol. 40 of *Developments in International Law* (The Hague: Nijhoof, 2001), p. 54.
40. Register of Burials in the First Protestant Cemetery, 1821–1833, Archives of St. John’s Cathedral, Buenos Aires.
41. It has not been possible to find a death date for Sarah Schofield’s mother.
42. Entry for August 12/124 [1846], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II; entry for January 11/23, 1847.
43. Romanes, *Calls of Norfolk and Suffolk*, pp. 85–86.
44. Information in this and the final two sentences is from Romanes, p. 87.

FAIRBANKS

Reuben Goodale Fairbanks, son of Silas and Eleanor (Goodale) Fairbanks, was born on 29 December 1804 in Litchfield, New York, one of twelve children.¹ He married on 11 March 1831 in Windham, Connecticut, Lucy Lee Webb (Windham, CT 24 November 1806 – West Farm, Westchester, New York March 1870).² At this time, he was living in Brooklyn (a part of Pomfret, Connecticut, in the 1880s).³

Lucy Lee (Webb) and Reuben Goodale Fairbanks had nine children: George Carmichael (1835–1837), Mary Eleanor (Charlton, MA 16 June 1837 – Bronx, New York 10 April 1908), Edward Reuben (1838–1839), Henry Webb (9 September 1840 – August 1865), Sarah Lucy (b. 23 September 1841), Annie Julia (b. 29 January 1843), Charles Albert (1846–1846), Helen Louise (25 December 1847 – 25 October 1848), and Alice Amanda (b. 22 October 1851).⁴

Reuben Goodale Fairbanks was a partner in the railroad-contracting firm of Carmichael, Fairbanks and Otis of Westfield, Massachusetts, in the 1830s.⁵ Otis died in 1839, and the firm became Carmichael, Fairbanks and Company by 1840.⁶ The identity of Carmichael and Fairbanks has been established by a search of Hampden County (MA) Deeds, which confirmed “a deed involving Daniel Carmichael, R.G. Fairbank & Co., ‘gentlemen’ of Springfield, Mass., who bought land in Springfield in 1841.”⁷ In another deed, dated February 1840, “Carmichael, Fairbank and Co. of Springfield, ‘gentlemen’” sold land in Springfield. This deed was not recorded until 1855. The deed was signed by “Daniel Carmichael and R.G. Fairbank.”⁸ R.G. Fairbanks, nevertheless, did not appear in the censuses for Massachusetts consulted for 1820–1880.⁹

When “the question of obtaining American mechanics” to come to Russia “to set up and supervise the operation” of the excavators and pile drivers arose in late 1842, Major Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21) recommended and vouched for Fairbanks “as an experienced and reliable man.”¹⁰ The firm had experience “in operating steam excavators during the construction of the Western Railroad.”¹¹ Captain William H. Swift called Fairbanks “one of my oldest and best contractors.”¹² On 18 March 1843, a “Mr. Fairbanks” was issued a diplomatic passport by the

U.S. Embassy in London “as bearer of despatches to St. Petersburg.”¹³ He arrived in Russia some time between 4 and 18 April 1843: “nothing of any great interest has ... transpired except the arrival of M^r Fairbanks, a person invited by this government to contract for the excavations etc. to be made upon the proposed line of railroad between this and Moscow.”¹⁴ In July 1843, Colonel Todd (see Image 278), the U.S. envoy to St. Petersburg, reported that Fairbanks “had made a contract with the Russian Government for half the route ... presumably ... the Northern Administration.”¹⁵ In praising America, Maxwell singled him out, among others: “here is M^r Fairbanks astonishing the natives with piledriving machines and excavators.”¹⁶ But this steam machinery was “to find limited application and [its] operation ... was far from a signal success.”¹⁷ By “late 1846, the use of his steam machinery was coming to an end.”¹⁸

It is not possible to say exactly when Fairbanks left Russia, but in April 1846, when he was granted a patent for Scotland, his address was Cecil Street in the county of Middlesex.¹⁹ He became the agent of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick in London, and when the remains of John Bouttatz Whistler, the youngest Whistler child, were being sent home in October 1846, Fairbanks was responsible for shipping them from London to New York.²⁰ By November 1847, Fairbanks and George Henry Prince had announced that they were “going into the Ice business – exporting it to London.”²¹ Fairbanks wrote every Friday to Major Whistler, and when James was left in England in the fall of 1848, he could avail himself of this opportunity to send a letter to his parents.

Fairbanks had come to Russia without his wife and children, who Anna Whistler (see Images 1–5) said were living in Pittsfield. Inquiries to the Berkshire Athenaeum²² produced negative results. It is more likely that Anna Whistler made a mistake and meant Litchfield, the town in New York State where Fairbanks was born. Perhaps he had sent his family to stay with his relatives while he was in Russia. Inquiries to the historian for the Town of Litchfield and to the Herkimer County Historical Society also produced negative results.²³

After Fairbanks moved from Russia to England, his family joined him there. Anna Whistler met Mrs. Fairbanks and the children in July 1848. She did not record any of the children’s names in her diary. Fairbanks, however, had written Andrew McCalla Eastwick (see Image

233) on 2 June 1848, congratulating him on the birth of George Whistler Eastwick and telling him that he had lost three of his own sons, “who would now have been of the respective ages of 13, 9, and 2 years.”²⁴ He still had one son and four daughters.²⁵ The names of the children Anna Whistler could have met were, therefore, Henry, the only surviving son, who would have been about seven years old, and the daughters Mary, Sarah, Annie, and Helen. Mary would have been about eleven years old, Sarah about six years old, Annie about five years old, and Helen about seven months old. On 25 October 1848, Helen died.²⁶

In 1860, R.G. Fairbanks, an engraver, fifty-five years old, and his wife, Lucy, fifty-three years old, were residing in the First District, Sixth Ward, of Brooklyn City in Kings County State of New York with their children: Mary, born in Massachusetts, twenty-one years old; Henry, born in Massachusetts, nineteen years old; Sarah, born in Massachusetts, eighteen years old; Annie, born in Massachusetts, sixteen years old; and Alice, born in New York, eight years old.²⁷ The female named Margaret, whose name is listed in the 1860 Census after those of the children, who was twenty-one years old, born in Ireland, and the same age as Mary Fairbanks, must have been a servant, although this occupation is not indicated next to her name. Usually the first and last name of servants and visitors are listed, but the ditto marks next to her name seem to indicate that her surname was also Fairbanks.²⁸

In the 1870 U.S. Federal Census, Reuben Fairbanks, railroad contractor, sixty-four years of age, was living in Fordham, West Farm, in Westchester County, New York with Mary, born in Massachusetts, twenty-five years old (listed as 21 years old in 1860), and Alice, born in New York, eighteen years old, both “at home.”²⁹ Lucy Lee (Webb) Fairbanks had died in March 1870 (see Note 2 in this biography).

In the 1875 New York Census, Reuben G. Fairbanks, agent for Silex Lead Company, was living in Fort Ann, Washington, New York, with two female servants.³⁰ In the 1880 U.S. Federal Census, R.G. Fairbanks, widower, Silex Manufacturer, age seventy-five, was living in Fort Ann, Washington, New York, with Mary, age forty-two, and Sarah, age forty-eight.³¹

He died on 5 October 1882, age seventy-seven, of pneumonia, in Manhattan, New York.³² His daughter, Sarah L. Fairbanks, was named

as administratrix in the probate records.³³ He was buried in Woodlawn Cemetery in the Bronx, New York.³⁴

Alice Amanda Fairbanks married in Manhattan, New York, on 3 May 1883, Sidwell S. Randall.³⁵

NOTES

1. Fairbanks, *Genealogy*, p. 255.
2. Certified copy of the Fairbanks/Webb Marriage Record, Office of the Town Clerk for the Town of Windham, in a letter from Ann M. Bushey, town clerk, Willimantic, CT, to E. Harden, 6 April 2005; US Census Mortality Schedules, New York, 1850–1880, for Lucy L. Fairbanks.
3. Fairbanks, *Genealogy*, p. 841.
4. Leonard Lee and Sarah Fiske Lee, comps., *John Lee of Farmington, Hartford Co., Conn., and His Descendants*, 2nd ed. (Meriden, CT: Republican Record Book Print for the Lee Association, 1897), p. 96. Mary Eleanor is listed here as having died in 1837, but she was still alive in 1870 (1870 US Census for Fordham, West Farm, in Westchester County, New York, 11 July 1870); Massachusetts Births and Christenings, 1639–1915, NYPL; New York City Municipal Deaths, NYPL.
5. Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 108, 123.
6. Haywood, p. 123.
7. Hampden County (MA) Deeds, bk. 113:548, in a letter from Cynthia Hagar Krusell, local historian, Marshfield, MA, to E. Harden, Marshfield Hills, MA, 28 March 2003.
8. Hampden County (MA) Deeds, bk. 175:195, Cynthia Hagar Krusell to E. Harden, 28 March 2003.
9. Cynthia Hagar Krusell to E. Harden, 28 March 2003.
10. Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 108, 123.
11. Haywood, pp. 108, 123.
12. William H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, Washington, May 13, 1843, NYPL: Swift Papers.
13. NAUS: Passports, RG84, C18.2.
14. John S. Maxwell to [his father] Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, April 18, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 10.
15. Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 108–109, 123.

16. John S. Maxwell to [his uncle] Dr. John B. Stevenson, St. Petersburg, May 6, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers.
17. Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 109, 123.
18. Haywood, pp. 109, 123.
19. In October 1846, *The Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal* announced that Reuben Goodale Fairbanks had, on 13 April 1846, been granted a patent for “certain improvements in machinery and apparatus for making moulding or manufacturing bricks, tiles, and other articles from earthy or plastic materials” (“List of Patents granted for Scotland from 23d March to 22d June 1846,” *The Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal* 41 (1846): p. 209).
20. John S. Maxwell to George W. Whistler, New York. Monday. December 13. 1846, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers; John S. Maxwell to George W. Whistler, New York. January 22. 1847.
21. BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 2, fol. 50. See also the reference to this undertaking in the diary of Henry K. Fettyplace, who visited St. Petersburg briefly in July 1848 and met his “old friend and schoolmate, George Prince,” while calling on Major Whistler (entry for Monday 24th July, PEM: Fettyplace Journal). Fettyplace mistakenly thought Mr. Fairbanks was an Englishman.
22. Kathleen M. Reilly, Berkshire Athenaeum, Pittsfield, MA, to E. Harden, 19 May 1988; Ruth Degenhardt to E. Harden, answer, dated 16 July 1988, on a photocopy of a letter from E. Harden to her.
23. Sylvia V. Betts, Historian, Town of Litchfield, Clayville, NY, to E. Harden, 8 August 1994; no response from the Herkimer County Historical Society.
24. R.G. Fairbanks to A.M. Eastwick, 1 Crookside Lane, London, June 2, 1848 Friday, *Eastwick Letters*.
25. R.G. Fairbanks to A.M. Eastwick, June 2, 1848.
26. Lee and Lee, *John Lee*, p. 96.
27. The 1860 US Federal Census for the First District 6th Ward of Brooklyn City in Kings County State of New York, 16 June 1860 ... Post Office Brooklyn.
28. The 1860 US Federal Census ... Post Office Brooklyn.
29. 1870 US Federal Census for Fordham, Town of West Farm in the County of Westchester, State of New York, 11 July 1870.

30. 1875 New York State Census, NYPL.
31. 1880 US Federal Census, NYPL.
32. Register of Burials, 1767–1970, Church Records, Episcopal Diocese of New York, NYPL.
33. New York Wills and Probate Records, 1659–1999, NYPL.
34. Register of Burials, 1767–1970, Church Records, Episcopal Diocese of New York, NYPL.
35. New York Marriages, 1686–1980, NYPL.

GIBSON

Abraham Gibson Priest (Rindge, NH 10 July 1791 – London 30 November 1852; see Image 279) was the son of John (1761–1830) and Rebecca (Gibson) Priest (1765–1814). He changed his name to Abraham Priest Gibson early in his life. He was appointed the American consul general in St. Petersburg in 1819 and served in this post for thirty-one years, resigning in 1850.¹ In St. Petersburg, he lived on Galernaia Street in the building belonging to Brandt, which stood alongside the building of the Holy Synod.² Through his “diligent reporting,” there exists “a fairly complete file of arrivals and departures of American ships and their cargoes” to and from Russia.³ “The severity of the climate undermined [his] health to such an extent as to render a ... residence in a milder atmosphere absolutely necessary for its reestablishment.”⁴ He annually “pass[ed] the winter months in the sunny south of Europe,” which enabled him “to serve for thirty-one years as one of the most competent and valuable American consuls.”⁵ Anna Whistler’s diaries confusingly imply that his departure in 1846 was permanent, as he gave some of his furniture to the Whistlers on that occasion. John Stevenson Maxwell characterized him as “an amiable but sensitive old Bachelor, who has lived here long enough to be made quite nervous by the climate and been in office long enough to become particularly attached to all the forms of ceremony and etiquette.”⁶ He saw Gibson as “a singular sort of a personage,” who “must amaze the faculty,”⁷ and physically as “an extraordinary man. What a constitution he must have had.”⁸ Gibson contracted tuberculosis while serving in Russia.⁹ He resigned his post in 1850 and died, unmarried, on 30 November 1852 in London, England.¹⁰

NOTES

1. Mehitable Calef Copenhagen Wilson, *John Gibson of Cambridge, Massachusetts and his Descendants, 1634–1899* (Washington, DC: McGill and Wallace, 1900), pp. 74–76.
2. Grech, *Ves’ Peterburg* 1846, p. 25; Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar’*, vol. 2, p. 39.
3. Norman E. Saul, “American Merchants in Russia, 1815–1845” (paper delivered at the American Association for the

- Advancement of Slavic Studies [AAASS] Convention, Washington, DC, November 1990), note 27.
4. Patricia Herlihy, “‘The Honored Few’: American Consuls in the Russian Empire, 1800–1870” (paper delivered at the AAASS Convention, Washington, DC, November 1990), p. 3.
 5. Herlihy, p. 3.
 6. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 9, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 21.
 7. John S. Maxwell to George Washington Whistler, Paris, November 18. 1845, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers.
 8. John S. Maxwell to George Washington Whistler, New York. Monday–December 13. 1846, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers.
 9. Herlihy, “Honored Few,” p. 5.
 10. Wilson, *John Gibson*, p. 76; *NEHGR* 7, no. 2 (1853): 196. The *NEHGR* erroneously says he died in St. Petersburg.

HALL

Robert Hall was born 9/20 February 1761. He was taken from the English Navy into Russian service on 31 December 1774 / 11 January 1775 and came from Livorno (Leghorn) to Cronstadt in Vice-Admiral Samuel Greig's (1735–1788) squadron. He spent all of 1775 in the Naval Corps studying naval science and in 1776–1778 was at sea, first in the Gulf of Finland and then on the Baltic Sea. He was appointed warrant officer (*michman*) in May 1779 and spent the next two years sailing from Cronstadt to Livorno and back on the frigate *Simeon* in the squadron of Counter-Admiral Borisov. On 1/12 January 1782, he was made a lieutenant and, after completing a course on the *Simeon* from Cronstadt to the English Channel, was appointed to Arkhangelsk. In 1783–1784, he completed two tours from Arkhangelsk to Cronstadt on the frigate *Voz'mislav* and the ship *Vladislav*. It has not been possible to find any information for the period from his birth until he entered the English Navy.¹

“In 1785 he joined the Joseph Billings [c. 1758–1806] Expedition. He played an important role in moving men and equipment across Siberia, and in building two ships – the *Slava Rossii* (Glory of Russia) and *Dobroe Namerenie* (Good Intent) – in Okhotsk. However, in September 1789 the *Dobroe Namerenie*, with Hall in command, was taken out to sea and subsequently floundered. In Nizhekamchatsk during 1789–1791 Hall built and launched another ship, the *Chernyi Orel* (Black Eagle), and sailed her with Billings in the *Slava Rossii* among the Aleutian Islands as far as Unalaska. Rather than moving on to the American continent for further exploration, the expedition headed into the Bering Sea, visiting St. Lawrence Island and in August entering St. Lawrence Bay on the Chukotskii Peninsula. From here Hall returned to Unalaska with Gavriil Sarychev [1763–1831] and wintered over, 1791–1792, at the settlement of Illiuliuk. They had a difficult time; 17 men died of scurvy and most of the others became too unfit to handle the ship for a summer of exploration. Hall, therefore, came back to Kamchatka and undertook no further activities related to the expedition. Although he was a key figure in the overall Billings initiative, and important as a shipbuilder, Hall's

two voyages to Unalaska barely advanced Russian knowledge of the area or contributed to the scientific work of the enterprise.”²²

“In 1790, Father Vasilii Sivtsov, chaplain to the navy expedition commanded by Joseph Billings, Roman Gall (Robert Hall), and Gavriil Sarychev at Three Saints Bay on Kodiak Island, chrismated a Tlingit man previously baptized by a layperson.”²³

In 1805–1809, on the occasion of the rupture with England, he was removed from service and, together with other Englishmen in Russian service, sent to Moscow. Nevertheless, in that period he was made vice-admiral. He became a Russian citizen in 1810. He returned to St. Petersburg, and in 1811 was made commander-in-chief of the Black Sea fleet. In 1816, he was made commander of the Port of Riga. In 1830, he was made an admiral and appointed commander-in-chief of the Port of Arkhangelsk and military governor of the city.⁴

He received many orders, the final being, in 1839, the diamond attachments to the Order of Alexander Nevsky, which he had received in 1836.⁵

He died suddenly on 23 January / 4 February 1844, while standing during the Sunday morning service at the English Church in St. Petersburg (see Images 110–111).⁶ His funeral took place in the English Church on Thursday, 27 January / 8 February.⁷ Anna Whistler (see Images 1–5), who recorded attending the service, did not state on what day it took place, only that she attended. The mourners were predominantly military and she devoted her remarks to the pomp accorded Hall.⁸ On the next Sunday (30 January / 11 February), Rev. Law (see Image 253) spoke with praise of Hall, while delivering a sermon that concentrated on death.⁹ Hall was buried in the Volkov Lutheran Cemetery.¹⁰

A description of his voyage to the northeast shores of Siberia was first published in London in 1802 with the title *An Account of a Geographical and Astronomical Expedition to the Northern Parts of Russia, performed in the Year 1785, to 1794, narrated from the Original Papers by Mart. Sayer*. It was then translated into German, French, and Italian. It was translated into Russian by Captain Sarychev of the Billings Expedition in 1811, in St. Petersburg, under the title *Puteshestvie kapitana Billingsa cherez Chukotskuiu zemliu, ot Beringova proliva do Nizhnekolymnskogo ostrova, i*

plavanie kapitana Galla po sev.-vost. okeanu v 1791 g., s priloženiem slovaria 12 narechii ètikb narodov [The Voyage of Captain Billings over the Chukot Land from the Bering Strait to Nizhnekolyma Island, and the Navigation by Captain Hall in the Northeast Ocean in 1791, with an Appendix of a Dictionary Containing Twelve Dialects of Those Peoples] (St. Petersburg: Morskaia tipografiia, 1811).¹¹

Hall Island, a small, uninhabited island 3.5 miles northwest of Saint Matthew Island in the Bering Sea, is notable for its bird species and as a walrus haul-out. “Commodore Joseph Billings and Lieutenant G.A. Sarichev anchored between this island and Saint Matthews on July 14, 1791 [OS]. On American maps, since 1875, this island has been called ‘Hall,’ presumably for Lieutenant Robert Hall, who was with Captain Billings.”¹²

Admiral Hall’s wife was Natalia Elisabeth (Pegelov) Hall (31 December 1780 [OS] – 21 September 1853 [OS]).¹³ Admiral Hall’s daughter Elizabeth (25 May / 6 June 1801 – 21 August / 2 September 1887) was married to Nikolai Petrovich Tumillo-Denisovich (9/20 May 1791 – 9/21 October 1864), a lieutenant general in the Russian Navy.¹⁴ Both women were members of the Reformed Church.¹⁵ After the Admiral’s death, the two women continued to live in their house on the 9th Rota (Ninth Line) in the Liteinaia District.¹⁶ “Rota” was the word used in the Semyonov Regiment instead of “liniia” to mean “line”; both words mean “street.”¹⁷ Ninth Rota was also called Basseinaia Street.¹⁸

NOTES

1. All information in this paragraph comes from Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'* and “Dnevnik Aleksandra Vasilievicha Nikitenko, 1833–1834 gg.” [“Diary of Aleksandr Vasilievich Nikitenko, 1833–1834”], *Russkaia starina* (August 1889): pp. 295–296.
2. Inglis, *Historical Dictionary*, p. 148.
3. Nora Dauenhauer, Richard Dauenhauer, and Lidia T. Black, *Anóoshi Lingít Aani Ká Russians in Tlingít America The Battles of Sitka, 1802 and 1804*, Classics of Tlingit Oral Literature 4 (Seattle: University of Washington Press; Juneau, AK: Sealaska Heritage Institute, 2008), pp. xxiv, 214.

4. All information in this paragraph comes from Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*.
5. Polovtsov.
6. PREC STP for 1844, p. 306; Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*.
7. PREC STP for 1844, p. 306.
8. Entry for Feb. 14th 1844, NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
9. Entry for Feb. 14th 1844, NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
10. Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*; "Natalia Elizabeth Pegeloff Hall," Memorial ID 93613835, findagrave.com. The inscription for Admiral Hall is in English: "Sacred to the Memory of Admiral Robert Hall born February [9, 1761] died January [23, 1844] Wake and life up thyself my Heart [And with the Angels bear thy part]." It was during the playing of this hymn, written by Thomas Ken (1637–1711), that Hall fell dead. The inscription is worn and difficult to read.
 The *West Kent Guardian* (March 9, 1844) and the *Leeds Intelligencer* (March 16, 1844) both carried a notice of his death.
11. Polovtsov; E.V. Druzhinina, "Sarychev Gavriil Andreevich Exhibit 99," in *Nezabyvaemaia Rossiia [Unforgettable Russia]*, ed. L.I. Iovleva and G.B. Andreeva (Moscow: Trilistnik, 1997), pp. 86–87.
12. US Board on Geographic Names, "Feature Detail Report for Hall Island," *Geographic Names Information System*, US Geological Survey. See also Mikhailovich and Saitov, *Peterburgskii nekropol'*, vol. 1, p. 540; and *Ènsiklopedicheskii slovar' Brokgaus–Èfron [Brockhaus and Èfron Encyclopedic Dictionary]* (Leipzig: F.A Brockhaus; St. Petersburg: Ilya Èfron, 1890–1907), s.v. "Gall," and "Billings."
13. "Natalia Elizabeth Pegeloff Hall," Memorial ID 93613835, findagrave.com; Amburger Datenbank ID 84207 has the wrong year of death (1835). She shares a monument with her husband. The inscription for her is in German: Heir Ruhet in Gott Natalie Elisabeth Hall geb. Pegeloff geb. d. 31 December 1780 gesl. d. 21 September 1833 [*sic*: 1853] Selig sind die Friedfertigen den sie warden Gottes lunder heise [Here rests in God Natalie Elizabeth Hall b. Pegeloff, b. 31 December 1780 d. 21 September 1833 [*sic*: 1853] Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God] (Matthew 5:9). The inscription is worn and difficult to read.

14. Amburger Datenbank, ID 84212; *BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 26; Reyfman, *How Russia Learned to Write*, Appendix: Table of Ranks.
15. *BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 26.
16. Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar'*, vol. 1, pp. 108, 110, 115; *BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 26; Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, pp. 328–329.
17. Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, p. 329.
18. Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar'*, vol. 1, p. 115.

HARRISON

Joseph Harrison Jr. (Philadelphia 20 September 1810 – Philadelphia 27 March 1874; see Image 226) was one of the ten children of Joseph Harrison Sr., a grocer (nr. Gloucester Point, New Jersey 25 November 1778 – Philadelphia 6 December 1858) and Mary (Crawford) Harrison (16 January 1783 – 12 April 1842). He received “what he called ‘a fair English education’” until the age of fifteen. “The desire for intellectual enrichment was instilled in him early, and he later wrote that throughout his life he ‘read every book I could get,’ adding ‘the first piece of furniture I ever bought was a bookcase’.” He was “fourteen when his father’s grocery business failed, and he was forced to begin working.”¹

He was apprenticed to become a mechanic. His first two employers, between 1825 and 1830, were Frederick D. Sanno, whose company failed, and Hyde and Flint, where, before he reached the age of twenty, he “was made foreman of part of this establishment, with thirty men under him.”² He had learned to build stationary steam engines, “but his first experience with steam railway locomotives came only in 1834–1835 when he worked for [William] Norris,”³ who had “formed the American Steam Carriage Company in Philadelphia.”⁴ “In 1835 [he] was engaged as a foreman by the Philadelphia firm of Philip Garrett and Andrew Eastwick and commissioned to build the firm’s first steam locomotive,”⁵ which he did successfully. “In 1837 he was made a partner in the firm.”⁶ On Garrett’s retirement in 1839, the firm “was reorganized as Eastwick and Harrison”⁷ (see Eastwick in this Appendix and Image 233).

In character, Harrison has been described as “an impatient man, sensitive to public opinion and concerned about his image and the public’s perception of him,” “accustomed to getting his own way, and when he did not, he took his business elsewhere.” He “proved to be as gifted a businessman as he was an engineer.” He was “a supremely confident and proud man,” with “a flair for self-promotion” and “a sense of his own historical position.” These last two traits have been pointed out as “mark[ing] all of [his] professional activities,” including art collecting. His motivation has been described as having as its goal improvement, for himself and others. His art collection was not “a statement of the cultural values of his age,” but a “pictorial

autobiography.” Portraits of him have been described as revealing “a robust figure, a stern and formidable presence, with a dark beard and deeply set, dark, penetrating eyes.”⁸

Early in 1843, through letters from Major Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21) and Pavel Petrovich Mel’nikov (see Image 247), the Russian engineer who had been in America to study locomotive building, Harrison was invited by the Russian government to come to Russia to bid for the contract to build the locomotives for the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway.⁹ He met en route Thomas DeKay Winans (see Image 229), who was delivering his father’s firm’s model locomotive to Russia to compete with that of an English firm. Although Winans had not been invited by the Russian government to bid for the contract to build the locomotives, Harrison, on his own initiative, invited him “to participate ... in the negotiations.”¹⁰ They were awarded the contract, for some three million dollars, which they “signed on December 27, 1843 / January 8, 1844.”¹¹ The partnership was now called Harrison, Winans and Eastwick. Andrew McCalla Eastwick (see Image 233) closed down Eastwick and Harrison in America entirely, and in 1844 followed Harrison to Russia.

With Eastwick’s arrival in Russia, Harrison’s character traits led to friction between the two men. Harrison complained that Eastwick “behaved in a ‘distasteful’, ‘intolerable’ and ‘outrageous’ manner” toward him.¹² In part, “since in America [Eastwick] had been the senior partner in the firm of Eastwick and Harrison” and had “helped to launch Harrison’s career,” he “may have resented Harrison’s attitude” and his own reversed role in Russia as simply “the manager of the firm’s office.”¹³ “Harrison in his correspondence often projected the impression that he wished to be the leading person in the firm and certainly never underestimated his own worth and importance.”¹⁴ He later “sometimes acted in a high-handed and overbearing manner toward [William Lewis] Winans”¹⁵ (see Image 232). There were also difficulties between Harrison and R.G. Fairbanks.¹⁶ The difficulties in the relationship between Harrison and Eastwick have been taken up in detail in the biography of the Eastwick family in this Appendix. The upshot of this complicated situation is that all three partners agreed to leave the decision-making to William Lewis Winans when their six-year contract

was up, and left Russia. Eastwick left in 1849 and returned to wind up the firm's affairs in 1850, leaving there permanently for home in October of that year. Thomas DeKay Winans left Russia for the United States in September 1850. Harrison returned to the United States in December 1852, after spending "1851–52, in England and travelling on the Continent."¹⁷

* * *

Like his two colleagues, Harrison became very rich. "By 1846, only three years into the project, [he] was sending \$5,000 to Philadelphia every month ... to his father-in-law, ... to purchase undeveloped real estate in Philadelphia and Camden, New Jersey."¹⁸

While living in Russia, Harrison also became interested in art. The first reference to what was to become a life-long passion, and lead to his patronage of art and his desire to build a museum for Philadelphia to house his art collection, appears in Anna Whistler's diaries. She refers to the fact that she, Whistler, and Debo (see Images 17–19, 21) met the Harrisons at the exhibit of Aivazovskii's paintings at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts in March 1847 (see Images 178–182).¹⁹

Harrison's art collection possibly began in St. Petersburg.²⁰ "The catalogues of his collection include *Winter Travelling in Russia* and *Russian Wolf Hunt* by Cornelius Krieghoff (1815–1872); *Winter Travelling in Russia (in a Kibitka)* and *Summer Travelling in Russia (in a Telega)*, a pair of pictures by Nikolai Egorovich Sverchkov (1817–1898); *View of the City of Baku, on the Caspian Sea* by Paul von Franken (1818–1884); and works by unidentified artists: *A Russian Courier*; two Russian religious pictures; two portraits of Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich, son of Nicholas I; a portrait of another Grand Duke; a portrait of Tsar Alexander II; a portrait of Nicholas I after Krüger; a bust of Nicholas I; two engraved portraits of Catherine the Great; an engraved portrait of Alexander of Russia; an engraved portrait of Nicholas I; an engraved portrait of "Empress of Russia"; two lithographs of the Imperial Russian Guard; a photograph of Count Kleinmikhel'; and two photographs of a Russian scene."²¹

As an avid reader, Harrison could now, with the income he was earning, afford to support this other passion of his. His letters and bills

from the Russian period show that he purchased many books on a variety of subjects, including art, literature, biography, history, travel, voyages, explorations, and memoirs.²²

From 1850, when the family left Russia, through 1852, they traveled throughout Europe. Then the children were “enrolled in school in London,” and the parents “toured the Continent, studying art and developing an interest in forming an art collection,” the “first major acquisitions [of which] were made in London at this time.”²³ The entire family was in Paris in 1851 “during the uprising that resulted in the accession of Louis Napoleon as Emperor Napoleon III.”²⁴ Harrison was acquainted with the American ethnographer and painter, George Catlin (1796–1872), who “had helped him acquire Benjamin West’s ... *William Penn’s Treaty with the Indians* (1772)” for his Philadelphia mansion.²⁵ Catlin had tried unsuccessfully to sell his entire collection to the United States, but his proposal was rejected by Congress. In 1852, when it was about to be dispersed through sale in England, Harrison “offered to pay off [Catlin’s] debts in return for taking over his original collection of oil paintings and artifacts as security.”²⁶ He paid \$20,000²⁷ and “shipped the greater part of Catlin’s Indian Gallery to ... Philadelphia where it was placed in dead storage on the grounds of his boiler works ... Catlin never did redeem it, but after both his and Harrison’s death, the great collection was given to the Smithsonian Institution by [Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison; see Image 227].”²⁸ In the spring of 1852, the Harrisons returned to Philadelphia. One of the buyers of the Meade Collection of paintings by Spanish Masters, sold in Philadelphia in 1853, “was apparently Joseph Harrison.”²⁹ In August 1854, Harrison was elected a member of the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia.³⁰ In October 1854, he bought art works at the auction of Charles Wilson Peale’s Museum. In April 1855, he accepted election to the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, a position he held for the next fifteen years. In 1855, he also tried unsuccessfully to rescue “the moribund Philadelphia Art Union” financially. In 1864, he “organized the mammoth art exhibition” of the Great Central Fair, a national war relief effort “organized by the United States Sanitary Commission, ... predecessor to the American Red Cross, [which] provided hospital care

for wounded Union soldiers.” During the fair, he also opened his own home “for public viewing.”

Like Eastwick and Winans, on returning to the United States in the early 1850s, Harrison set about building a mansion. By 1855, he had found the property he wanted in Rittenhouse Square. He “purchased almost an entire block on the east side of [the Square] ... an undeveloped, low-lying lot that was often flooded,” but in which he could see possibilities, having lived in St. Petersburg, Paris, and London. Samuel Sloan (1815–1894), who had designed the Eastwick residence, was chosen as architect. The three-story Italianate (so called by Sloan) mansion was completed in 1857 and was “popularly and romantically thought to have been inspired by a St. Petersburg palace.” However, the primary influence on it was described by an architect as English, because, while living in London, Harrison could have observed “city residences facing squares.” It was clear that the house was built not for seclusion but for entertainment. Its “most distinctive features ... were the flanking wings,” of which the “north wing housed Harrison’s library [and] the south, the art gallery.” When Harrison died, “it was remarked that ‘The galleries of painting and sculpture in this house are the best to be found in any private house in the country’.”³¹ He also had Sloan design and build him a three-story country estate modeled after the Russian dacha, which he called Riversdale. It “was located ten miles north of Philadelphia on the Delaware River in Bucks County”; however, Harrison “spent little time there, and ... sold [it] in the 1860s.”³²

From 1860 to 1863, the Harrisons and their youngest children were again living in Europe, where they traveled widely and Harrison “devoted himself to the appreciation of art.” He had become frustrated with the business world of Philadelphia, which suspected his motives in preparing a plan “for a single, centralized rail terminal.” He wished also to “escape the ravages of the Civil War,” fearing “for the safety of his property.” After the Battle of Gettysburg, they returned home, but Harrison also had “a new business venture” in mind: the design of “a safe steam boiler that would not explode.” He had tried out his idea in Manchester, England, and his design had “won the highest award at the 1862 London International Exhibition for its originality and merit.” “In 1863 ... he funded the Harrison Boiler Works at the location on Gray’s

Ferry Road next to the US Arsenal which had been the site of (the former) Eastwick and Harrison locomotive works.” “Since at least 1857, [he] had been among the city’s few millionaires.” “By 1864, he was one of only twelve Philadelphians with annual incomes over one hundred thousand dollars.” The steam boiler he had designed made him even richer. His achievement resulted also in his election to membership in the American Philosophical Society on 15 July 1864.³³ “In 1867, he was appointed to the fine arts selection committee of American art to be exhibited at the Paris Exposition Universelle.”³⁴ In 1869, Harrison was confirmed in the Episcopal Church.³⁵

“Harrison’s greatest efforts as a patron were consumed by his relationship with ... the long-established, tradition-laden Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and the then fledgling Fairmount Park Commission, from which would eventually emerge the Philadelphia Museum of Art ... [to both of which] he ... [gave] time, energy, ideas – and money.” As a result of controversy over the new site for the Academy, Harrison resigned from its board in 1870. In that same year, he was “appointed one of the ten original commissioners of Fairmont Park.” Because of complications with this project as well, in his will he “left his entire collection to his wife.” He died on 27 March 1874 (of kidney disease). Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison, in two bequests to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (in 1878 and 1912), gave it “some of the most magnificent paintings in its collection.” Ultimately, however, the capital needed for her financial bequests caused the collection to have to be sold and dispersed. Joseph Harrison Jr.’s wish for his intact collection to be left to a free Philadelphia public museum was not realized.³⁶

* * *

Joseph Harrison Jr. married on 15 December 1836 Sarah Poulterer (b. Portsmouth, Hampshire 21 September 1817; bap. Portsea, Hampshire 30 November 1817; d. 21 July 1906; see Image 227). She was the daughter of Stephen Poulterer, an auctioneer (c. 1788 – buried Philadelphia 21 January 1867) and Sarah (Rapson) Poulterer (b. England 1785 or 1786), who were married on 3 March 1817 at Alverstoke, Hampshire, England. Her parents emigrated to America in 1819. Her

siblings were: William (b. 7 March 1814; bap. Portsea, Hampshire, England 22 May 1814; d. 11 December 1877); Ann (b. 1816); Jane (born England c. 1823); Stephen (b. Pennsylvania c. 1825); Edwin F. (Philadelphia 3 December 1829 – Philadelphia 17 October 1911); Thomas (27 June 1832 – 10 August 1890).

The Harrisons had two children at the time of their going to Russia: William Henry (Philadelphia 23 December 1837 – 10 March 1886) and Annie (Philadelphia 25 December 1839 – Lower Merion, PA 5 January 1915). Once Harrison and Winans signed the contract with the Russian government, Sarah Harrison set about obtaining a passport. She was issued a U.S. passport (no. 1886) in Washington, DC, on 22 March 1844, which was sent to Andrew McCalla Eastwick. She was described as “Age 26, Stature 5^o/4, Forehead Medium, Eyes Dark Hazel, Nose Grecian, Mouth Full, Chin Round, Hair Dark Brown, Complexion Dark, Face Oval.”³⁷ She, Henry, and Annie journeyed to England under the care of Andrew McCalla Eastwick, who, in London, entrusted them to Joseph Harrison Jr.³⁸ Once in Russia, they lived in a house at the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works, where they occupied the second floor, and Andrew McCalla Eastwick and his eldest son, Edward Peers (see Image 235), occupied the first floor (see Images 239–240). In Russia, three more children were born: Alicia McNeill (Alexandrofsky 31 August / 12 September 1845 – Lower Merion, PA 24 September 1913), named for Anna Whistler’s half-sister, Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, who was then in St. Petersburg; Marie Olga (born 5/17 September 1847; bap. 1/13 December 1847; d. Lower Merion, PA 22 February 1912), named for the surviving daughters of Nicholas I (see Images 420–423); and Theodore Leland (b. 27 August / 8 September 1849; bap. 12/24 December 1849; d. Radnor, Rosemont, PA 5 December 1933), named for the deceased husband of Joseph Harrison Jr.’s sister, Maria Isabella (Harrison) Leland (1825 – 17 July 1905), who was then visiting the Harrisons.³⁹ The last Harrison child, born in Philadelphia, was Clara Elizabeth (1 April 1855 – Bryn Mawr, PA 27 January 1940), who became Mrs. Theodore Durant upon marriage.

The Harrison children who figure prominently in Anna Whistler’s diaries are William Henry (called Henry), Annie, and Alicia McNeill. Henry was seven years old when he came to Russia. He attended

Monsieur Jourdan's School along with James and Willie in the fall of 1846.

Henry seemed normal in the diaries, but was apparently increasingly unstable mentally as he grew older. An inkling of difficulties was given by Andrew McCalla Eastwick, who wrote to his son, Edward Peers, in Germany in 1847 that "Henry does not improve much. He is as great a calf as ever. I understand they are going to get a governor for him."⁴⁰ The Whistler's former governess became Henry's governess in early 1848.⁴¹ In early September 1848, Henry was reported to be boarding at Mr. Hirst's school while his parents were spending six weeks in Germany.⁴² Andrew McCalla Eastwick's response to this news was: "I trust it will be to his advantage."⁴³

Henry continued to be a problem. Anna Whistler described him thus in 1858: "Henry went to St P after his Xmas at home, no doubt in French a word would describe him. I hope he may not disappoint this fresh effort of his fathers to induce him to become useful to the firm in Russia. I never met with any youth as lacking in refinement of taste, his prospect of fortune must have blighted him."⁴⁴

On 22 April 1859, Henry married Mary Rebecca Orne (c. 1840 – 12 October 1894), daughter of James H. and Sally B. Orne of Philadelphia. His wife's father was a carpet dealer. They had a son, William Henry Harrison Jr. (12 January 1860 – 2 November 1932).⁴⁵ James McNeill Whistler painted a portrait of Henry in 1859 (whereabouts unknown), as did artist and poet Thomas Buchanan Read (1822–1872) (whereabouts unknown).⁴⁶

"In the 1860s, Harrison left ... William Henry in charge of [Riversdale] and attendant farms. Henry ... was mentally unstable, spent irresponsibly, and, being 'under the thumb' of the 'bad' family into which he had married, was 'not man enough to assert his independence' (Harrison to Charles E. Lex, August 16, 1862, Letterbook VI). Riversdale became so associated with Henry's illness and his in-laws' greed that Harrison considered it an annoyance and ordered it sold so that Henry's wife's family could not use the property. In the spring of 1863, Henry and his wife joined the Harrisons in Europe, but the trip did not have the desired effect upon his mental health, and in December 1863 Henry was committed to the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane ... Harrison

provided generously in his will for both Henry and his son, William Henry Jr.⁴⁷

Annie Harrison was five years old when she came to Russia in 1844. In 1846, 1847, and 1848, she suffered epileptic fits.⁴⁸ She married on 14 October 1858 in Philadelphia Lewellyn Fite Barry (1826–1914).⁴⁹

Alicia McNeill Harrison was Anna Whistler's goddaughter. She was left with her godmother when Joseph and Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison took a six-week trip in Western Europe in 1846. Her married name was Mrs. William F. Eisenbrey.

For Marie Olga, nothing is recorded by Anna Whistler. She married Thadeus Norris Jr., of the Norris family of (former) locomotive designers.⁵⁰

Joseph Harrison's youngest sister, Maria Isabella (Harrison) Leland (Philadelphia 1825 – Buffalo, NY 1905), also appears in the diaries. At one point, Anna Whistler refers to her as "Aunt Maria." She married in October 1846 Theodore Leland. Her husband suffered from ill health and shortly after their marriage was sent alone to New Orleans to be restored, but the sixty-day sea voyage resulted in his death ten days after arriving in New Orleans. Mrs. Leland arrived in Russia on Sunday, 3/15 August 1847. She acted as godmother to Joseph and Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison's daughter Maria Olga, born on 5/7 September 1847 and baptized on 1/13 December 1847. In 1853, she married, as her second husband, Nathan Roberts Suplee. She outlived him and died in Buffalo, New York, on 17 July 1905.⁵¹

* * *

The Harrisons and the Whistlers were close friends while in Russia. James and Willie Whistler (see Images 24–30) and William Henry Harrison visited back and forth between St. Petersburg and the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works (see Images 223–225). The night Whistler died, Willie was staying overnight with "Henry." The three boys attended Monsieur Jourdan's school in the fall of 1846. Harrison was deeply attached to Major Whistler. When the latter died, Harrison was the only other person present besides Anna Whistler, until the moment when he, too, had to leave the deathbed chamber to husband and wife alone.⁵² Harrison wrote to his father, his father-in-law,

his sister Elizabeth, George William Whistler, and Captain William H. Swift, that he had lost the best friend he had ever had outside his own family and “one whom [he] looked to for advice in all things,” and that Whistler had been loved by everyone.⁵³ He commissioned a death mask (whereabouts unknown).⁵⁴ When Anna Whistler gave up their apartment, she and Willie moved to the Mirrielees home (see Images 268–269) for a week and then on 7 May to the Harrisons, until she and Willie departed St. Petersburg with the Eastwicks.⁵⁵ Harrison was “entrusted ... with all the arrangements that are needed in this melancholy matter.”⁵⁶ He undertook “all the expenses and toil of boxing those articles of furniture valuable from fond associations of home here –.”⁵⁷ His tie to Whistler prompted him to make an extremely generous offer (not accepted by Anna Whistler) of ten thousand dollars to help young George William Whistler (see Images 12–13) establish himself.⁵⁸

Harrison also reacted very positively to Anna Whistler. Writing to his family in Philadelphia after her departure for America in 1849, he said: “You will find her a very good and pious woman. – without any form or ceremony ...”⁵⁹ “very kind in her manners, and one whom you will like from the first moment of seeing her ... You may recollect that we left Alicia with Mrs. Whistler, when I went to England to bring Sarah home in 1846 ... their house seemed like home for all of us.”⁶⁰

Nevertheless, even in Russia the two families’ lifestyles differed according to their income. In comparison to Anna Whistler, who gave her sons a modest birthday party, the Harrisons gave their children a lavish one. Henry and Annie, who were born on the 23rd and 25th December, respectively, celebrated a joint birthday on December 24th. The party in 1847 was described by Andrew McCalla Eastwick: “There is to be a *big time* upstairs today celebrating Henry and Annie’s birthdays. All our little ones, as well as some 30 or 40 more big and little, I understand are invited to take dinner and cut capers in the afternoon and evening.”⁶¹ Once back in the United States, the two families continued to meet and Anna Whistler’s letters show that she often visited the Harrisons during the 1850s, and corresponded with them when she lived in England. But although they remained lifelong friends, Anna Whistler was ambivalent because of her feelings about wealth. She felt about the Harrisons, as she did about the Winanses, that although she was “always

... hospitably entertained” in their homes, those homes were “the center of luxury and indulgence.” She had always preferred “a friendship formed in my youth, matured and cemented by religion,” and went on preferring relationships “cemented by religion” the rest of her life.⁶²

One homely incident she recounted of a visit of Willie’s to the Harrisons by invitation gave a comical picture of the Harrison parents and Annie, and a continuing gloomy image of Henry: “Annie is yet very strange, she escaped from the drawing room (after dinner) by one door as Willie and her father entered another and did not return to do the civilities for her mama, who was on the invalid list. Mr. H said ‘As we have no grounds to stroll in – in town – & as I smoke no segars [*sic*: cigars] so have none to offer – we will talk[’], but soon he began to nap, one of his children awakened him to receive Willie’s parting compliments. I have not heard of Henry Harrison’s return, but he will be no advantage, for he is so eccentric.”⁶³ But although she continued to visit the Harrisons’ city and country homes, she confessed that she felt the invitations she received were segregating: “I seldom meet any of the family, the distance is too far for me to walk to Ritten house Square often & they have such a rich, fashionable circle now of course they do not invite me.”⁶⁴

She and Willie attended the weddings of Annie Harrison and of Joseph Eastwick in October 1858.⁶⁵ In 1868, she wrote to Harrison from London asking his help in getting copies of Willie’s medical diplomas so that he could practice medicine without taking recertification examinations. Harrison had done so, even before she asked, but to no avail.⁶⁶ Harrison wrote her a letter of condolence when George William Whistler died.⁶⁷

NOTES

1. Nutty, “Joseph Harrison,” vol. 1, p. 97.
2. Charles Morris, ed., *Makers of Philadelphia: An Historical Work Giving Portraits and Sketches of the Most Eminent Citizens of Philadelphia from the Time of William Penn to the Present Day* (Philadelphia: L.R. Hamersly, 1894), p. 121; Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 95.
3. Haywood, p. 95.
4. Haywood, p. 93.
5. Haywood, p. 95. “No American locomotive built after 1840, by any builder, was without [the] Harrison equalizer,” “which redistributed the jarring effect of railway track irregularities, ... [and] made the engine less likely to derail.” “The patent royalties on this invention were among several sources of Harrison’s wealth” (all quotations from Nutty, “Joseph Harrison,” vol. 1, p. 104).
6. Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 95–96.
7. Haywood, p. 96.
8. This appraisal of Harrison’s character is a composite of information from Nutty, “Joseph Harrison,” vol. 1, pp. 105, 135, 140, 142; and vol. 2, pp. 492, 493.
9. Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 97; RGIA: Fond 219, op. 1, kn. 14, d. 22427. O priglashenii v Rossiui iz Ameriki Mekhanika Garrisona [Concerning the invitation to the Mechanic Harrison to come to Russia from America].
10. Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 98.
11. Haywood, p. 104.
12. Haywood, p. 404.
13. Haywood, p. 418n84.
14. Haywood, p. 418n84.
15. Haywood, p. 419n110.
16. Joseph Harrison, Jr., to R.G. Fairbanks, Alexandroffsky, February 26, 1849, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1; Joseph Harrison, Jr., to George H. Prince, Alexandroffsky, April 24, 1849; Joseph Harrison, Jr., to George H. Prince, April 29, 1849.
17. Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 371, 406, 411–412.
18. Nutty, “Joseph Harrison,” vol. 1, p. 118.

19. Entry for Wednesday March 23rd [1847], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II. In her 1993 PhD thesis, Caroline S.H. Nutty proposed that it was largely due to the influence of the Whistlers that Harrison became interested in art, and that the Aivazovskii exhibit was “the first documentation of Harrison actually attending an art exhibition” (Nutty, “Joseph Harrison,” vol. 1, pp. 145–146).
20. It is beyond the scope of this biography to discuss in detail Harrison’s art acquisitions. For such a discussion, the reader should consult Caroline Nutty’s two-volume 1993 PhD dissertation, “Joseph Harrison, Jr. (1810–74), Philadelphia Art Collector.”
21. “Appendix: Checklist of the Collection of Joseph Harrison, Jr.,” Nutty, “Joseph Harrison,” vol. 2, pp. 575, 582, 585, 587, 588, 589; Nutty, “Joseph Harrison,” vol. 2, 432–433, 455, 507, 508, 525, 526. Most of the Russian art was sold at the 1910 auction of Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison’s estate, and the permanent collection of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, as of 2018, does not include any of the Russian works cited by Nutty (Hoang Tran, Philadelphia, PA, to E. Harden, 13 April 2018). The Woodmere Art Museum in Philadelphia, which owned the Carrara marble bust of Nicholas I by Nikol’skii, deaccessioned it. It was sold in 1978 by Sotheby’s Parke Bernet.
22. For example, he bought *Hogarth’s Works Engraved by Himself. 153 Plates* in March 1847 (entry for 27 February [1847], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I; Nutty, “Joseph Harrison,” vol. 1, pp. 156, 157, 158, 159, 346, 393).
23. All quotations in this paragraph are from Nutty, “Joseph Harrison,” vol. 1, pp. 118, 119. See also Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Pomfret, 13 November 1851, GUL: Whistler Collection, W402. Anna Whistler says that only Henry was enrolled in school while the family traveled. He was in Southampton, England (Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Pomfret, 25 November 1851, GUL: Whistler Collection, W403). Her source was Joseph Harrison Jr., the whereabouts of whose letter are not known.
24. Nutty, “Joseph Harrison,” vol. 1, p. 119.
25. Therese Thau Heyman and George Gurney, eds., *George Catlin and His Indian Gallery: Catalogue of an Exhibition Shown at the Renwick Gallery Smithsonian Art Museum, 2002* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian American Art Museum; New York: W.W. Norton, 2002), p. 257; Nutty, “Joseph Harrison,” vol. 1, pp. 205–218.

26. Heyman and Gurney, *George Catlin*, p. 257.
27. Heyman and Gurney, p. 268.
28. Heyman and Gurney, p. 269.
29. Nutty, "Joseph Harrison," vol. 1, pp. 29, 30.
30. All quotations and information from this point to the end of this paragraph are from Nutty, "Joseph Harrison," vol. 1, pp. 119, 120, 219, 220, 231, 253, 257, 258, 263, 266.
31. All quotations and information in this paragraph are from Nutty, "Joseph Harrison," vol. 1, pp. 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129.
32. All quotations and information in this paragraph are from Nutty, "Joseph Harrison," vol. 1, pp. 130, 131.
33. All quotations and information in this paragraph are from Nutty, "Joseph Harrison," vol. 1, pp. 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139.
34. Nutty, "Joseph Harrison," vol. 1, p. 266.
35. Nutty, vol. 1, p. 141.
36. All quotations and information in this paragraph are from Nutty, vol. 1, pp. 271, 272, 273, 290, 293.
37. NAUS: Passports, M1371, roll 2, p. 15, passport no. 1886, issued on 22 March 1844.
38. Andrew Eastwick to Lydia Eastwick, London, April 28th, 1844 Sunday, *Eastwick Letters*.
39. On 3/15 November 1845, when Alicia McNeill Harrison was baptized by Rev. Dr. Edward Law at the English Church, William Henry and Annie Harrison were baptized anew (PREC STP, no. 5536, p. 327). For Marie Olga Harrison, see PREC STP for 1847, p. 359. For Theodore Leland Harrison, see PREC STP for 1849, p. 394.
40. Andrew Eastwick to Edward Peers Eastwick, Alexandroffsky Head Mechanical Works, St. Petersburg, December 12th/24th 1847 Friday, *Eastwick Letters*.
41. Joseph H. Eastwick to [his brother], Edward Peers Eastwick, St. Petersburg, February 13th, 1848 Sunday.
42. Joseph Harrison, Jr., to [his brother], Charles. Alex. August 24 OS [Sept. 5 NS] 1848, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1.
43. Andrew Eastwick to Joseph H. Eastwick [and to Edward Peers Eastwick], St. Petersburg, August 24th/5th September 1848 Tuesday, *Eastwick Letters*.

44. Anna Whistler to James Whistler [St. Johns River E. Florida] 23 March 1858, GUL: Whistler Collection, W490.
45. IGI; 1850 Census for Philadelphia; Laurel Hill Cemetery, Philadelphia, Trace a Cemetery [website]; Funeral director's record of burial of William Henry Harrison, IGI; New York City Deaths, 1892–1902; 1860 Census for Philadelphia; Philadelphia directories for 1861; "Thomas Buchanan Read," Poemhunter (website), accessed July 27, 2020, <https://www.poemhunter.com/thomas-buchanan-read/biography/>.
46. Nutty, "Joseph Harrison," vol. 1, pp. 111; vol. 2, p. 584.
47. Nutty, vol. 1, p. 131.
48. Joseph Harrison, Jr. to George Henry Prince. St. Petersburg, Sept. 26, 1848 [probably OS is intended], HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1; Joseph Harrison, Jr. to Miss Elizabeth Harrison, Alex. Dec. 8 (OS) 1848.
49. Anna Whistler to [James H. Gamble] (Philadelphia) [October 1858], GUL: Whistler Collection, W473; Anna Whistler to James Whistler Philadelphia 18 November 1858, W496.
50. Nutty, "Joseph Harrison," vol. 1, pp. 97, 98.
51. From HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1: Joseph Harrison, Jr. to Stephen Poulterer, Alexandroffsky, 10/22 October 1847; Joseph Harrison, Jr. to Stephen Poulterer, Alexandroffsky, March 7/20 [sic] 1847; Joseph Harrison, Jr. to R.G. Fairbanks, Alexandroffsky, April 14/26, 1846 [sic]; Joseph Harrison, Jr. to W.S. Nightingale, Alexandroffsky, June 18/30, 1847; Joseph Harrison, Jr. to Stephen Poulterer, Alexandroffsky, August 9/21, 1847. Also Edward Eastwick to Charles James, Alexandroffsky, August 19th 1847 Thursday, *Eastwick Letters*; Daughters of the American Revolution, Lineage Book, No. 5162; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Death Certificate Index, 1803–1915, IGI; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 21, 1905; BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 2, fol. 67; PREC STP for 1847, p. 359.
52. Mary D. Whistler [first wife of George William Whistler] to grandmother [Martha (Kingsley) McNeill, Anna Whistler's mother] Baltimore, 11 May (NS) 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W960.
53. Joseph Harrison, Jr., to Stephen Poulterer, Alex. March 28th (OS) 1849, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1; Joseph Harrison, Jr., to Stephen Poulterer, Alex. April 4th [OS] 1849; Joseph Harrison, Jr., to George Whistler Esqr. New York from Alexandroffsky

- Head Mechanical Works July 10th (OS) 1849; Joseph Harrison, Jr., to Stephen Poulterer Alex. July 25 (OS) 1849; Joseph Harrison, Jr., to Joseph Harrison Sen^r Philadelphia United States Alex. July 26th (OS) 1849.
54. Anna Whistler to Mr. Harrison, Saturday evening. Preston. July 7th 1849, LC: P-W, box 34.
 55. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Alexandroffsky, May 10th 1849. Thursday, GUL: Whistler Collection, W388.
 56. Joseph Harrison, Jr., to Captain W. Swift, Alex. March 28/April 9 1849, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1.
 57. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Alexandroffsky, May 10th 1849. Thursday, GUL: Whistler Collection, W388.
 58. Joseph Harrison, Jr., to Captain W.H. Swift, Topographical Bureau. Washington City U.S. from Alex. April 3/15 1849, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1; Anna Whistler to Joseph Harrison Jr., [London] 62 Sloane St., June 19 1849, LC: P-W, box 34; Anna Whistler to Joseph Harrison, Jr., [London], Monday, June 25 [1849].
 59. Joseph Harrison, Jr., to Joseph Harrison, Sen^r Philadelphia United States Alex. July 26th (OS) 1849, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1.
 60. Joseph Harrison, Jr., to his sister Elizabeth Alex. July 27th (OS) 1849.
 61. A.M. Eastwick to Edward Peers Eastwick, Alexandroffsky Head Mechanical Works St. Petersburg December 12th/December 24th 1847 Friday, *Eastwick Letters*.
 62. Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, Scarsdale, 27 May 1856, GUL: Whistler Collection, W468.
 63. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Richfield Sulphur Springs [NY] July 13-15 [1857], GUL: Whistler Collection, W480.
 64. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, 1205 Arch St. Phila Nov. 18th 1858, GUL: Whistler Collection, W496.
 65. Anna Whistler to [James H. Gamble], [Philadelphia] [October 1858], GUL: Whistler Collection, W473.
 66. Anna Whistler to Joseph Harrison, 2 Lindsey Row, London, S.W. May 14th 1868, LC: P-W, box 34; Anna Whistler to Joseph Harrison, London 5 February 1870.
 67. Anna Whistler to Joseph Harrison, London, 5 February 1870.

HEDENSCHOUG

Carl Robert Hedenschoug¹ was Major Whistler's draftsman in St. Petersburg. He was born in Stockholm in the Parish of St. Jacob on 6 February 1813 and baptized on 21 February.² His mother was Hedvig Margareta Holmberg (b. 4 August 1782).³ His father, a jeweler and magistrate, was Nils Hedenschoug (b. 4 January 1776).⁴ Carl was the youngest of three children, the other two being Hedvig Sabina (b. 19 August 1808) and Nils Fredric (b. 6 November 1809).⁵

The Stockholm Taxation Records for 1820 give extensive information about the family. Under the father's name it is noted that he drinks wine and coffee and plays cards, and under the mother's name that she drinks coffee and uses silk in her clothing. Under the name of Carl Robert's maternal grandmother, Hedvig Holmberg (b. 19 April 1743), living in their household at the time, it is noted that she drinks coffee and uses silk in her dresses.⁶ As there was a special tax on these items, their use denotes a well-to-do family. There were also four maid servants and five apprentices listed as living in the Hedenschoug household.⁷

After a course of study in Christian teachings, in which he received a passing grade, Hedenschoug partook of Holy Communion for the first time at the Storkyrka in Stockholm on Good Friday 1829.⁸

He left Stockholm in 1830. By 8 April 1841, he had moved to Finland, and by 30 June 1841 was moving from Helsingfors to Reval.⁹ He had arrived in St. Petersburg by 16 September 1841, the date on which the vicar of St. Catherine's Swedish Church in that city entered his name in the parish register.¹⁰

Hedenschoug's profession was that of "'mechanicus', a term which used to signify among other things a constructor of machines, railways and bridges."¹¹ Exactly when he became Major Whistler's draftsman is not clear, but he was certainly in Whistler's employ before 2 June 1844.¹²

On 1 September 1845, he married in St. Catherine's Swedish Church in St. Petersburg Charlotta Wilhelmina Brask, spinster.¹³ According to the birth records of the church, Charlotta Wilhelmina was born on 10 September 1827 out of wedlock. Her mother was Anna Wendelin. Of her father the minister wrote: "The father, Bronze Apprentice Carl

Gustav Brask, acknowledges his relationship to the child, without promising with all certainty to wed its mother, at least not until a future time.”¹⁴

Carl Robert and Charlotta Wilhelmina Hedenschoug had five children, all born in St. Petersburg: Olga Sabina (b. 5 June 1846), Emilia Charlotta (b. 15 March 1848), Hilda Maria (b. 14 May 1852), Nils Fredric (b. 14 February 1854), and Robert Waldemar (b. 25 January 1858).¹⁵

Carl Robert Hedenschoug died in St. Petersburg on 2 December 1861 of tuberculosis.¹⁶

Anna Whistler (see Images 1–5) records in her diaries not only that Hedenschoug corrected Major Whistler’s drawings of engines, but that he also had pretensions to being able to draw portraits,¹⁷ and that the resulting caricatures he produced of James and Willie for a fee were burned by their father.¹⁸

James (see Images 24–29), however, was very attached to Hedenschoug, who seemed to act partly as a tutor to him. Anna Whistler records that he gave James a writing lesson and exercised with him.¹⁹ Under his tutelage and influence, James was reading a history of Charles XII of Sweden and Peter the Great in the summer of 1844 and came to prefer the former.²⁰

The negative traits in Hedenschoug’s character showed themselves early on. In August 1844, James wrote a note to Hedenschoug for the latter’s birthday. As Hedenschoug was born in February, he would seem to have lied about his birth date, hoping to receive a present. Anna Whistler was also taken in and responded with sympathy, recording that Hedenschoug had had “many a happy birth day” in his family’s house and “now [was] dependent on [the Whistlers] for kindness.”²¹

Hedenschoug had a drinking problem and in 1848 possibly stole some silver from the Whistlers.²² In any case, after the theft occurred he began to absent himself from work, and in late 1848 or early 1849 Aleksandr Osipovich Koritskii, (see Images 167–170) James’s private Russian drawing teacher, found a replacement for him.²³ Hedenschoug told outrageous stories to get sympathy and money, one of which must have been recounted to James in a letter from Major Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21) in late 1848, for James responded: “How do you like the new Draftsman that Koritsky recommended? ... So Hadenskough has

turned out an ungrateful thief – fancy a man asking for money to bury his child that was not dead! What has become of him? Have you heard anything of him since he left? but of course he has taken to drinking again, and has ruined himself.”²⁴

Joseph Harrison Jr. (see Image 226) also may have referred to his drinking, when he wrote to Anna Whistler during her stay in England in the summer of 1849, for she responded: “Hakensoug I fear is but as the swine, returned to wallowing in the mire. alas! why will those who have talents throw them away!”²⁵

More than a year after Major Whistler’s death, further evidence of stealing came to light. In sending young George Whistler a box of his father’s papers, Harrison attributed the disappointingly small number of drawings to the fact that “that scamp Heidenschoug” had stolen “many copies of drawings” that Major Whistler had prepared for himself and had sold them “for paltry sums.”²⁶

NOTES

1. The spelling Hedenschoug appears in the Church Records for the Parish of St. Jacob, City Archives of Stockholm, Sweden (hereafter, Parish of St. Jacob), C:20, p. 128. In the registers of St. Catherine’s Swedish Church in St. Petersburg, the name is also spelled Hedenschog and Hedenschough (Register of St. Catherine’s Swedish Church in St. Petersburg, Department of Private Archives, National Archives, Stockholm, Sweden [hereafter, St. Catherine’s Swedish Church Registers], vols. 12, 156; entries in Old Style). See also Folke Ludwigs, “Shvedskii prikhoz Sv. Ekateriny i ego arkhiv” [“The Swedish Parish of St. Catherine’s and Its Archive”], in *Shvedy na beregakh Nery. Sbornik statei* [*Swedes on the Banks of the Neva: Essays*], ed. A. Kobak, S. Emmrich, M. Mil’chik, and B. Jangfeldt [Stockholm: Svenska Institutet, 1988], pp. 101–109, and McDiarmid, *Whistler’s Mother*, p. 62.

I am greatly indebted to Lena Ånimmer of the National Archives of Sweden and Kurt Larson of the City Archives of Stockholm for the research they carried out on my behalf, as well as their translation and interpretation of the materials they supplied.

2. St. Catherine’s Swedish Church Registers: vols. 78, 156; Parish of St. Jacob, C:20, p. 128.

3. Parish of St. Jacob, C:20, p. 128; Taxation Records for 1820, Parish of St. Jacob, p. 384, post 772 (hereafter, Taxation Records for 1820).
4. Taxation Records for 1820; Parish of St. Jacob, C:20, p. 128; St. Catherine's Swedish Church Registers: vol. 78; Lena Ånimmer, Stockholm, to E. Harden, 16 August 2000.
5. Taxation Records for 1820.
6. Taxation Records for 1820.
7. Taxation Records for 1820. A taxation record was "prepared every year. The information was collected during November and December of the year before, i.e., the information for 1820 was collected during November and December 1819 ... most of these Taxation Records have been destroyed." The City Archives of Stockholm "have every tenth year from 1760 to 1830" (Gun Jansson, Stockholm, to E. Harden, 5 March 2002).
8. St. Catherine's Swedish Church Registers: vol. 156.
9. St. Catherine's Swedish Church Registers: vol. 156.
10. St. Catherine's Swedish Church Registers: vol. 156. In leaving a parish, a communicant would receive from the vicar of that parish a certificate of change of address (*flyttningsattest*), which he was to present to the vicar of his new parish. The original purpose of the certificate was to certify that the person was entitled to take communion, but it sometimes provided other information, such as, in this case, that the person was "free for marriage." In Hedenschoug's case, it was first drawn up in 1829 and used in 1830 and 1841. The vicar of St. Catherine's made a note in the register of parishioners that Hedenschoug left Stockholm in 1829 (Lena Ånimmer, Stockholm, to E. Harden, 25 February 2002).
11. St. Catherine's Swedish Church Registers: vols. 78, 156; Lena Ånimmer, Stockholm, to E. Harden, 24 July 2000.
12. Entry for Monday, June 2 [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
13. St. Catherine's Swedish Church Registers: vol. 85.
14. I have this information only from the City Archives of Stockholm, where the relevant register of St. Catherine's Swedish Church is numbered C:4, p. 418.
15. St. Catherine's Swedish Church Registers: vols. 8, 12. In the City Archives of Stockholm, the register is AI:8, p. 108.
16. St. Catherine's Swedish Church Registers: vol. 91.

17. Entry for Monday, June 2 [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
18. Entry for English Quai-Ritter Dom Sept. 23 [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
19. Entry for July 1 [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
20. Entry for Tuesday [August 20, 1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
21. Entry for Tuesday [August 20, 1844].
22. "... a Mr Nobody walked off with three more of the old silver table spoons the week before fathers illness. Suspicions fell strong on Hadenskoug, for he had access to the dining room (and they were stolen from the table which was already set for dinner) since then he has been almost entirely absent from the office" (Anna Whistler to James Whistler St. Petersburg Dec. 4th. 1848 Monday evening, GUL: Whistler Collection, W370).
23. Anna Whistler to James Whistler St. Petersburg Dec. 4th. 1848.
24. James Whistler to his father, [London] Jan. 26, 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W661.
25. Anna Whistler to Joseph Harrison, Fleetwood, Monday, July 15, 1849, LC: P-W, box 34. It has not been possible to find in the Harrison Letterbook the letter of Joseph Harrison to which she was alluding.
26. Joseph Harrison, Jr., to George W. Whistler, Esq., Alexandrovsky Head Mechanical Works Oct. 22, 1850, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1; see also Anna Whistler to Mr. Harrison, Saturday evening. Preston. July 7th 1849, LC: P-W, box 34.

HIRST

Thomas Nelson Hirst (Huddersfield 12 November 1794¹ – St. Petersburg 22 May / 3 June 1863)² and his sister, Mary Gent Hirst (Huddersfield bap. 22 March 1797³ – St. Petersburg 23 July / 4 August 1844),⁴ were from Huddersfield in Yorkshire. Both they and their sister, Elizabeth Hirst (b. Huddersfield 23 June 1800 – between 1822 and 1844),⁵ were baptized at St. Peter's Church, Huddersfield.⁶ They were the son and daughters of William (bap. 14 October 1767 – 6 April 1822) and Ann (Nelson) Hirst, who were married by license at St. Peter's Church, Huddersfield on 5 January 1793.⁷ The Hirst and Nelson families appear to have been in business together as well as, or because of, being connected by marriage. Nineteenth-century Huddersfield directories from 1805 to 1817 cite them as “merchants,” “merchants and manufacturers,” “woolstaplers,” and “woollen manufacturers.”⁸

Thomas Nelson Hirst, bachelor, of the parish of Almondbury, in the county of York, married by license on 9 July 1817 at the Parish Church of St. Marylebone in London Anna Turnerelli, spinster, of the parish of St. Marylebone in the county of Middlesex.⁹ Anna (Turnerelli) Hirst (London 5 April 1796 – 20 May 1822) was the eldest daughter of the distinguished sculptor-in-ordinary to the Royal family, Peter Turnerelli (Tognarelli) (Belfast 1774 – London 20 March 1839), and his first wife, Margaret (Tracy) Turnerelli (d. 1835), who married on 19 May 1795.¹⁰ Anna was the sister of the artist, Edward Tracy Turnerelli (London 13 October 1813 – Leamington 24 January 1896), who, from 1836 to 1854, lived in Russia, where, under the patronage of Nicholas I, he visited “the most distant parts of that country ... sketching its ancient monuments.”¹¹ William Radcliffe, son of Thomas Nelson and Anne (Turnerelli) Hirst, was born in January 1820 (day not given) and baptized on 31 October 1820 at St. Patrick's Church, Soho, Middlesex.¹² Anna (Turnerelli) Hirst died on 20 May 1822, at the age of twenty-six.¹³

“Thomas Nelson Hirst and John Wood, now or late of Huddersfield, ... Merchants, Dealers, Chapmen and Partners,” were declared “bankrupts” in May 1818.¹⁴ William Hirst Jr., father of Thomas Nelson Hirst, left his estate of about £3000 to his two daughters and to

the children of his son, stipulating that the interest from the share of his estate going to his grandchildren when the youngest of them reaches 21 should, until then, be paid out in their maintenance and education.¹⁵ The will also indicated that he had lent his son money and required that the grandchildren's share of the estate be reduced by deducting from it as much money as he had paid or advanced during his lifetime to his son.

How soon after the death of his wife Thomas Nelson Hirst moved to St. Petersburg has not been ascertained. It had to be no later than May or June 1828, when Caroline Holliday (b. 1801), spinster, whom he married in that city on 29 October / 10 November 1828,¹⁶ appears to have become pregnant. Their first child, Caroline, was born on 30 January / 11 February 1829. She died at the age of twenty-one days. A son, Henry, was born on 14/26 March 1830. He died on 15/27 July 1836. A son, Edward Radcliffe, was born on 29 June / 11 July 1833. Another daughter, Elizabeth Mary, was born on 15/27 October 1834. A second daughter named Caroline was born on 13/25 November 1835, but died at the age of sixteen months. A daughter, Maria, was born on 13/25 May 1837.¹⁷ Caroline (Holliday) Hirst died on 8/20 February 1842.¹⁸ On 20 November / 2 December 1842, Thomas Nelson Hirst married Margaret Gordon (c. 1809 – St. Petersburg 22 March / 3 April 1891), widow.¹⁹ He died on 22 May / 3 June 1863 and was buried in the Smolensk Cemetery on 27 May / 8 June 1863 by “Wm. Osborn Jenkyn, M.A. Assistant Minister of the British Church, St. Petersburg.”²⁰ Margaret (Gordon) Hirst, aged eighty-two, of the Tenth Line, Vasilievskii Island, St. Petersburg, died on 22 March / 3 April 1891, and was buried on 26 March / 7 April 1891, in the Smolensk Cemetery by A.E. Watson, Chaplain.²¹

Nothing is known of Elizabeth Hirst.

Whether Mary Gent Hirst accompanied her brother to St. Petersburg or came later is not clear. She may have been from Preston, as Anna Whistler (see Images 1–5), on arriving in St. Petersburg, gave Margaret (Gordon) Hirst a letter for her from an unidentified correspondent in Preston.²² Anna Whistler, who became friends with her and frequently visited her, says she was lame and had been bed ridden with cancer for five years when she died in 1844.²³

Thomas Nelson Hirst owned a house on Vasilievskii Island on the Fifth Line between Bol'shoi and Srednii prospects at No. 31, in which he ran a boarding school for boys. Mary Gent Hirst also lived here. Legend has it that Count Aleksei Andreevich Arakcheev (1769–1834) was born in this house (see Kleinmikhel' in this Appendix and Image 244). The building has been described as German, two stories high, and shaped like an upside-down L, with another separate small two-storied stone wing in the courtyard.²⁴

Thomas Nelson Hirst was issued a certificate (no. 762) on 28 May 1829 (OS) to establish his school. In his report for the second half of 1847 on private educational institutions in St. Petersburg under his supervision, the inspector, Court Councilor Iosif Somov, gave the following information about Hirst and his school. A British subject of the Anglican faith, Hirst had a boarding school of the first category for boys in his home. The subjects taught were the Orthodox, Lutheran, and Roman Catholic religions; Russian, English, French, German, and Latin; mathematics; practical arithmetic; bookkeeping; universal history; physics; geography; penmanship and dancing. The number of pupils, their social class and fees were: 82 boys: from the nobility and civil service, 18; clergy, 1; merchant, 57; petit bourgeoisie, 7. Boarding, 27; half-board, 14; day students, 41. Annual fees: boarding, 430 rubles; half-board, 230 rubles; day, 143 rubles. The inspector found that the fulfillment of Christian obligations was observed. Cleanliness, neatness, and discipline were extremely well observed, and the maintenance of the pupils, including sufficient school equipment, corresponded to the fees they paid. The inspector added a note saying that “the institution merits full praise just as it has in the past.”²⁵

Joseph Harrison Jr. (see Image 226) sent his son, William Henry, called Henry, to this school. Henry liked it “much better than he did Jourdans,”²⁶ but a year later his father wrote Anna Whistler, without clarifying, that they were “at present ... not at all satisfied in sending Henry to Hirsts school.”²⁷ This may not, however, have implied a negative assessment of the school but of Henry, who was eventually confined to a mental institution.²⁸

After the death of Thomas Nelson Hirst, his son, called Dmitrii Fomich Girst by the Russians, became the owner of the house and

director of the boarding school. Petr Ivanovich Shchukin (1853–1912), who became a wealthy merchant and one of the great art patrons of Russia, attended the Hirst boarding school from 1867 to 1871 and seemed to like it. He left interesting memoirs of his teachers and fellow students.²⁹ In 1876, Dmitrii Hirst sold the house and school for forty thousand rubles to a man named Humbert, who in 1881 closed the school permanently.³⁰ In 1884, a man named Bremer built an enormous house in its place.³¹

NOTES

1. Huddersfield Parish Church Registers (HPCR), YK/R301, SoG.
2. PREC STP for 1863, no. 7502, p. 747.
3. HPCR.
4. PREC STP for 1844, p. 312. She was buried on 27 July / 8 August 1844, in the Smolensk Cemetery, the Rev. George Williams presiding.
5. HPCR; The Will of William Hirst the Younger; entry for Monday 17th June [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
6. HPCR.
7. HPCR; IGI. They were both listed as “21 years and upwards” and “of this parish.” The bride spelled her name “Anne” (Index to licenses issued by the Prerogative Court of York, SoG).
8. From SoG: *Holden’s Triennial Directory for 1805–06–07*: “Nelson, Hurst & Whoolley, merchants”; *Holden’s Triennial Directory for 1809–10–11*: “Nelson Thos & Co, merchants”; *Pigot’s Directory of Chester ...Yorkshire* (1814–1815), *Merchants & Manufacturers*: “Nelson, Hirst & Co, New Street”; and in *Pigot’s Directory of Chester ...Yorkshire* (1816–1817), *Merchants & Manufacturers*: “Nelson, Hirst & Co, New Street” and “Nelson, Thomas & Co, Cloth-hall St”; *Woolstaplers*: “Nelson, Hirst & Co, High-St”; *Woollen Manufacturers*: “Nelson, Hirst & Co, High-street.”
9. Marriage licenses issued by the Faculty Office of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, SoG; Index to marriages in the Parish Church of St. Marylebone. Catholics were required to marry in the Anglican Church at this period; thus the marriage in St. Marylebone.
10. Microfilm copy of the marriage register of the Church of St. Marylebone, London Metropolitan Archives, SoG; photocopy of

the register of christenings in the Roman Catholic Church of St. Patrick, Soho, Middlesex, Westminster Archive Centre, SoG; *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Turnerelli Peter (1771/2–1839)”; Rupert Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors, 1660–1851*, rev. ed. (London: Abbey Library, 1968), pp. 402–403; *Gentleman’s Magazine* (1839), pt. 2, p. 545).

11. Tracy (as he called himself) Turnerelli was the fifth child and only son of Peter and Margaret (Tracy) Turnerelli, and the only child still alive at the time of his father’s second marriage in late (December) 1835 (Edward Tracy Turnerelli, *Memories of a Life of Toil: The Autobiography of Tracy Turnerelli “The Old Conservative.” A Record of Work Artistic, Literary, and Political, from 1835 to 1884* (London: Field and Tuer; Leadenhall Press; E.D. Simpkin, Marshall; Hamilton, Adams, 1884), p. 35). As this “marriage ... rendered home less happy than before” (Turnerelli, *Memories*, p. 38), he decided to visit Russia, using the written invitation Emperor Alexander I had given to his father while in England in 1814. Peter Turnerelli had never taken advantage of the invitation and, at his son’s request, gave it to him (Turnerelli, p. 38). But instead of “practising his profession as a sculptor” (Turnerelli, p. 42), Tracy Turnerelli undertook to draw “the Ancient Monuments of the Russian Empire,” titling himself their “Delineator” (Turnerelli, pp. 44, 66).

Although he actually spent eighteen years in Russia, starting for that country “in the beginning of June, 1836” (Turnerelli, p. 40) and setting out for England in August 1854 (Turnerelli, p. 72), he himself called it a sojourn of sixteen years, counting only the time he actually spent in his “rambles” *outside* St. Petersburg, i.e., from sometime after mid-June 1837 (Turnerelli, pp. 48–49) until June 1853 (Turnerelli, p. 63). The title page of his earlier brief memoirs of Nicholas I, his patron, and of the Imperial family also clearly states that he spent sixteen years in Russia (*What I Know of the Late Emperor Nicholas and His Family* by Edward Tracy Turnerelli. Sixteen Years Resident in Russia. Author of *Kazan, The Ancient Capital of the Tartar Khans*, etc. etc. Second Edition. London: Edward Churton, 1855). See also *The Times* (London), January 25, 1896, p. 6.

There is nothing in the autobiography to suggest that he had any contact with his brother-in-law, Thomas Nelson Hirst, while in Russia. As Hirst was widowed in 1822, when Turnerelli was eight years old, and had gone to Russia some time in the 1820s, it is not likely that they maintained a relationship over the years. But, as Turnerelli attracted much attention and became a well-

known eccentric Englishman by sitting out in the open in St. Petersburg and drawing the city's landmarks, it would seem that news of his presence could have reached Hirst's ears (Turnerelli, *Memories*, pp. 44–46). In any case, Hirst's marriage into so prominent and wealthy a family has a certain mystery about it.

12. Photocopy of the register of christenings in the Roman Catholic Church of St. Patrick, Soho, Middlesex, Westminster Archive Centre, SoG.
13. "Obituaries," *Laitly's Directory*, Catholic Record Society, London, 1822, p. 154.
14. There is little information about this bankruptcy, although some details can be found in *The London Gazette*, May 16, 1818 and *The Times* (London), May 18, 1818.
15. The official court copy of the will of William Hirst the Younger was provided by the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research at the University of York. A transcription was provided by Michael Welch.
16. PREC STP for 1828, no number or page given.
17. Index to PREC STP, vol. 4, pp. 130, 131, 142, 175, 192, 203, 211, 221, 223.
18. PREC STP, no. 5143. Caroline (Holliday) Hirst was buried on 12/24 February 1842 in the Smolensk Cemetery.
19. PREC STP for 1842, p. 292, no number given.
20. PREC STP for 1863, p. 747, no. 7502.
21. PREC STP, no. 858, p. 1382.
22. Entry for November 28th 1843, NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
23. Entry for Friday August 2 [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
24. P.I. Shchukin, *Vospominaniia Iz istorii metsenatstva Rossii* [*Memoirs from the History of Patronage in the Arts in Russia*], ed. S.O. Shmidt, comp. N.V. Gorbushina [Moscow: Gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii muzei, 1997], p. 30.
25. TsGIA SPb: Fond 139, op. 1, d. 5188. S vedomostiami o chastnykh pansionakh i shkolakh v Sanktpeterburge za 2 polovinu 1847g. 3 ianv. 1848 – 27 ianv. 1848 [With information about private boarding schools and schools in St. Petersburg for the second half of 1847. Jan. 3, 1848 – Jan. 27, 1848], fol. 38r and v.

26. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg Wednesday November 1st 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W366.
27. Joseph Harrison, Jr. to Anna Whistler, Alexandroffsky, December 6, 1849, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1.
28. Nutty, “Joseph Harrison, Jr.,” vol. 1, p. 131n87.
29. Shchukin, *Vospominaniia*, pp. 30–36, 46–47, 88.
30. Shchukin, p. 47.
31. Shchukin, p. 31.

KLEINMIKHEL’

The superior to whom Major Whistler was responsible was Count Pyotr Andreevich Kleinmikhel’ (30 November [OS] 1793 – 3 February [OS] 1869; see Image 243), head of the Main Administration of Transport and Public Buildings (Russian acronym: GUPSiPZ).

On 7 February (OS) 1808, Kleinmikhel’ entered service as a second lieutenant in the Life Grenadiers Regiment, serving first under his father, Lt. General Andrei Ivanovich, director of the Second Cadet Corps.¹ On 23 March (OS) 1812, he was transferred to the Preobrazhenskii Regiment and made adjutant to Count Aleksei Andreevich Arakcheev (1769–1834; see Image 244), famous for the establishment of military colonies of Draconian discipline. Henceforth, Kleinmikhel’ rose swiftly, achieving the rank of colonel in 1816 at the age of twenty-three and the position of head of staff for the administration of the military colonies. On 8 July (OS) 1820, he was appointed to the rank of major general. On 22 August (OS) 1826, he was made an adjutant general, and on 1 May (OS) 1832 duty general of the Main Staff of Nicholas I (see Images 420–423). On 19 June (OS) 1835, with the re-formation of the administration of the military colonies into a department, he was made director, at the same time heading the inspection department of the Ministry of War. On 16 April (OS) 1841, he was promoted to infantry general. In 1830, he was assigned the task of compiling a historical description of the dress and arms of the Russian military forces; in 1837, at his behest, a special committee was set up for this purpose, on which Kleinmikhel’ served as chairman until 21 October (OS) 1855. The resulting work (in 30 parts), which appeared from 1841 to 1862, was primarily the effort of A.V. Viskovatov (1804–1858), a military historian. In addition, Kleinmikhel’ actively participated on a number of commissions concerned with the building of several structures in St. Petersburg, chief among which was the reconstruction of the Winter Palace (see Images 114–117), which had burned down in 1837. He also directed the building of the permanent bridge over the Neva, which was opened on 21 November (OS) 1850 (see Images 140–142). He served, too, on the commission for the construction of the New Hermitage (see Image 113). On 4 March (OS) 1834, he was appointed chairman of the committee for establishing

telegraph communication between St. Petersburg and Warsaw. His chief work, however, was the building of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway. On 1 February (OS) 1842, he was made a member of the Construction Committee and Construction Commission established for this purpose. On 11 August (OS) 1842, he was appointed head of the Main Administration of Transport and Public Buildings. Alexander II dismissed Kleinmikhel’ as head of the Main Administration of Transport and Public Buildings on 15 October (OS) 1855. The dismissal, over which there was much rejoicing among his subordinates, was represented as being the result of a request by Kleinmikhel’ to be allowed to resign because of ill health. He remained an adjutant general and a member of the State Council.

Kleinmikhel’ was married twice. His first marriage, to Varvara Aleksandrovna Kokoshkina (d. 1842), in the 1820s, ended in divorce, with rumors that Kleinmikhel’ was impotent. His second wife, whom he married in 1832, was a widow, Kleopatra Petrovna (Il’inskaia) Khorvat (17 October [OS] 1811 – France 17 January [OS] 1865), who was young, rich, and at the time childless. They subsequently had a large family.²

Poorly educated, suspicious of anything technical and of abstract thinking, quick to anger and to heap insults on his unfortunate subordinates, arbitrary and fierce in his conduct towards others, and cynical, he has perhaps been best described by Baron Andrei Ivanovich Del’vig (Delwig) (1813–1887; see Image 251), who was on special assignment to him from 1842 until Kleinmikhel’ retired. Finding that he had been assigned to Kleinmikhel’ at the latter’s request to the emperor, Del’vig wrote in his memoirs: “Although I liked Kleinmikhel from our first meeting for his politeness and energeticness, I had heard from everyone that he was an animal ... and I was very dissatisfied with the aforesaid appointment.”³ While acknowledging that “Kleinmikhel belongs among the most remarkable people in the reigns of Alexander I and Nicholas I,”⁴ Del’vig stressed the negative aspects of his character.

Young Kleinmikhel’, a spoiled only son, lived at home, receiving no education. Registered in the Cadet Corps while his father was its director, he was a first lieutenant at fifteen and assigned to serve under his father, who was then commander of the reserve corps, the main headquarters of which was located in Yaroslavl’. Kleinmikhel’ continued to live with

his family and do nothing. This upbringing and his life with his mother and sisters resulted, despite his brutality, in a certain effeminacy in him that persisted into old age.⁵

He became an adjutant to Arakcheev through his father's ties to the latter, and eventually a colonel and head of staff of the military colonies, where his brutality was such that when Arakcheev wished to punish some part of the military colonies severely, he would say: "I'll send you Kleinmikhel'," and when Arakcheev was removed, it was said: "Arakcheev is gone, but his teeth remain."⁶ Later, his anticipated appearance for an inspection of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway had the same effect. When Nicholas I wanted the Winter palace, which had burned down in 1837, to be rebuilt quickly, he appointed Kleinmikhel' to direct the operations, which, Del'vig says, only Kleinmikhel' could accomplish. On the completion of the work on 26 March (OS) 1839, the emperor rewarded him with a million rubles and the title of count. The motto on the Kleinmikhel' coat-of-arms, on which was depicted the Winter Palace, read: "Diligence overcometh all."⁷

Although the qualified candidate to be in charge of the construction of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway was Major General Konstantin Vladimirovich Chevkin (1803–1875; see Image 245), the post was given to Kleinmikhel', who knew nothing about the financial and technical aspects of building railroads, and who, because of his lack of education, was unable ever to attain any understanding of them. He had, moreover, never seen a railway. Despite the fact that in 1842 the line from St. Petersburg to Tsarskoe Selo had been in operation for five years, Kleinmikhel' had always traveled to Tsarskoe Selo by horse and carriage to see the emperor. The same pressure to finish the work quickly that had been applied by Kleinmikhel' to the rebuilding of the Winter Palace was applied in the building of the railway.⁸ Shtukenberg (see Image 250) said of him: "This was a steel battering ram, who was needed for the Emperor's imperial will to penetrate the wall of all the obstacles and difficulties encountered ... which is proven by the fact that many useful works in the Department of Transport, postponed for many years, were accomplished only during Kleinmikhel's tenure in office."⁹

On assuming his post, Kleinmikhel' set out to inspect the Moscow Road, which was under repair. The result of this inspection was a sharp-

tongued order, couched in a sarcastic tone, lashing out at various parties and attracting public curiosity and amusement to the extent that people actually subscribed to forthcoming orders, called by one of his witty detractors "Count Kleinmikhel's travel impressions."¹⁰

Many careers were destroyed. No one paid any attention then, says Del'vig, to the fact that his actions were highly arbitrary and his jibes at his subordinates inappropriate. One of his hang-ups in the building of the railway was that the seams of the grouting between bricks must be fine. The latter requirement was, moreover, a dangerous one and the architect Konstantin Andreevich Ton (1794–1881) refused to obey it, for which he was removed as inspector of the station houses being built along the railway line. Many are the stories Del'vig tells of Kleinmikhel's humiliation of his subordinates, some his own age, who patiently bore his goading and insults because he was in favor with the emperor.¹¹

Kleinmikhel' liked Del'vig, but the latter tried to avoid all closeness out of fear that Kleinmikhel' would become too familiar with him. He therefore rarely went to the evening gatherings Kleinmikhel' gave, even when sent for. He pointed out that Kleinmikhel' had an extraordinary capacity to size people up at first glance and thus know what he could and could not ask of them. Del'vig could not, therefore, avert Kleinmikhel's use of the familiar "thou" when addressing him.¹²

As for Kleinmikhel's ignorance and his suspicion of what he could not understand, there is the following story. While in Moscow, he invited several engineers to dinner at 4 p.m. Hearing them arrive somewhat before 4 o'clock, he asked Del'vig with some annoyance why they had come so early. Told that it was almost four, he checked one of the several watches he always carried and announced that it was not yet half past three. Del'vig told him that the timepieces in Moscow were about half an hour ahead of those in Petersburg, whereupon Kleinmikhel' vented his rage at the Moscow makers of timepieces and ordered that dinner be served. At dinner he recounted the story to his doctor. The latter, ignoring the fact that it was useless to explain the cause of the time difference between the two capitals, started to explain it and in doing so used the word "meridian." Kleinmikhel' asked what that was and, on receiving an explanation, said it was all nonsense, that there are no such

circles drawn on the earth, that it had all been dreamed up by engineers and that the doctor had become infected by them.¹³

This, then, is the man to whom Major Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21) answered and with whom he traveled to inspect the line. Anna Whistler was relieved when the end of the railway work season came, because her husband's contact with Kleinmikhel' would temporarily cease. But Kleinmikhel' did not address or treat Whistler as he did his Russian subordinates. On the contrary, George Henry Prince said that "Major Whistler handles him well" and reported that "a contractor said that the Major rides him."¹⁴

NOTES

1. For the little information available about Kleinmikhel's father, see Del'vig, *Vospominaniia*, vol. 2, p. 7, and Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 42, 55n130. Del'vig's four volumes of memoirs were later abridged into two volumes briefly annotated by S. Ia. Shtraukh and published as *Polveka russkoi zhizni. Vospominaniia A.I. Del'viga 1820–1870* [*Half a Century of Russian Life: The Memoirs of A.I. Del'vig 1820–1870*].
2. The preceding portion of Kleinmikhel's biography is a composite from Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*, vol. 8, pp. 732–733; Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 42, 44–46, 55–56, 70, 585–588, 593n21–27; Del'vig, *Vospominaniia*, vol. 2, p. 9; and P.F. Karabanov, comp., "Stats-damy i freiliny russkogo dvora v XVIII i XIX stoletiiakh: Biograficheskie spiski" ["Ladies-in-Waiting and Maids-of-Honour of the Russian Court in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Biographical Lists"], *Russkaia starina* 1 (1871): p. 459.
3. Del'vig, *Vospominaniia*, vol. 2, p. 5.
4. Del'vig, p. 7.
5. Del'vig, p. 8.
6. Del'vig, pp. 8–9.
7. Del'vig, pp. 9–10.
8. Del'vig, p. 10.
9. A.I. Shtukenberg, "Iz istorii zheleznodorozhnogo dela v Rossii. Nikolaevskaia doroga mezhdu Peterburgom i Moskvou v 1842–52 gg." ["From the History of Railways in Russia: The Nicholas

Railway between Petersburg and Moscow in 1842–1852,” *Russkaia starina* 48 (1885): p. 332. Apropos of Shtukenberg’s appraisal of Kleinmikhel’s achievements, an obituary of the latter predicted that “time was the best appraiser and ... that posterity would remember Count Petr Andreevich kindly” (P.B., “Graf Petr Andreevich Kleinmikhel’ (3-go fevral’ia 1869 goda)” [“Count Petr Andreevich Kleinmikhel’ (3rd February 1869)”], *Krasnyi arkhiv* [Red Archive] 32, no. 3 (1894): pp. 590–591).

10. Del’vig, *Vospominaniia*, vol. 2, p. 12.
11. Del’vig, pp. 8–20.
12. Del’vig, pp. 17–18.
13. Del’vig, pp. 66–67.
14. Entry of 21 March 1844, Raymond and Prince, “Whistler,” pp. 10–11.

KLOKOV

The available service records for Captain Petr Petrovich Klovov (b. c. 1817) at the Russian State Historical Archives in St. Petersburg are dated 1842, 1844, 1849, and 1856.¹ Klovov belonged to the gentry of Archangel Province; his parents owned a stone house and a sawmill in Archangel. He was of the Lutheran faith. At the time of Anna Whistler's diary entry of 6/18 June 1845, he was twenty-seven or twenty-eight years old.

He became a cadet at the Institute of the Corps of Transport Engineers on 18 July 1834 (all dates Old Style) and was promoted to sub-ensign on 15 July 1836. He was made ensign on 13 May 1837 at the age of twenty. On 4 June 1838, he was made second lieutenant and on 21 May 1839 lieutenant. His records show that he had command of French and German. He was in the Institute of the Corps of Transport Engineers at state expense and was retained at the Institute to continue his course of studies. He was assigned to active service in the First Administration of Roads in the Environs of St. Petersburg on 11 May 1839. He was under arrest from 17 February through 16 April 1841 for "striking a blow with his hand in the face" of a non-commissioned officer of the Life Guards Sapper Battalion named Fokin, but on 16 April 1846 on the basis of articles I and IV of a Most Gracious Manifesto, was released from undergoing trial and investigation and was freed.

On 23 April 1842, he was put at the disposal of the Commission established to build the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway. He was assigned to work in the Southern Administration of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway on 23 May 1842. He was made captain on 6 December 1843. By order of the head of Transport and Public Buildings, Count P.A. Kleinmikhel' (see Image 243), he was put at the disposal of the Department of Railways and assigned to Major Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21) on 28 July 1844.² He was put in charge of the experimental railway from St. Petersburg to the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works (see Images 223–225) and to Kolpino on 28 July 1846. On 5 March 1847, he was awarded the Order of St. Anne (3rd class) because of the orderliness and organization evident at the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works,

which Nicholas I (see Image 420–423) had visited the previous day. On 19 February 1849, he was made senior officer in the Department of Projects and Estimates of the Department of Railways of the Corps of Transport Engineers. On 27 September 1851, he was made acting director of the First Department of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway.

On 20 November 1852, an accident occurred on the railway, for which he was held responsible. An evening freight train was heading from St. Petersburg to Moscow with an excess number of wagons and fewer conductors (i.e., brakemen) than prescribed by the operating regulations. The train was therefore divided internally into two halves, and at one of the stations there was a collision in which a brakeman was killed and locomotives, tenders, and several wagons were somewhat damaged. Moreover, these state-owned wagons were carrying hay that Captain Klovov and the chief mechanic had mown for their own use, taking it from two gardens at the St. Petersburg Locomotive Building, gardens already laid out but not yet turned over by the contractor to the State. Because Klovov had failed to provide the proper supervision, on 28 March 1853 the Head of Transport and Public Buildings ordered that, in addition to being held under arrest during the course of his trial, Klovov was to spend a further month-and-a-half in the guardhouse. There are no details in these service records of the outcome of the trial.

Sometime between 1849 (when he is still listed as a bachelor) and 1856, he married Natalia Petrovna Mezhueva, the daughter of a deceased civil servant. No children are indicated. His father-in-law had attained the rank of collegiate secretary (10th grade). On 22 May 1853, he was appointed by the head of Transport and Public Buildings to be attached to the Administration of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway. On 24 August 1853, he was appointed head of the Gatchina Station of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway. On 31 October 1853, he was assistant to the head of traffic on the St. Petersburg–Warsaw Railway between St. Petersburg, Tsarskoe Selo, and Gatchina. On 2 March 1856, with the permission of the head of Transport and Public Buildings, he was assigned to handle foreign correspondence for the Department of Railways. It was not possible to find further reports on Klovov's service record nor to ascertain his date of death.

Klovkov's behavior during his career was erratic. It is interesting to note that in 1842 his ability was rated as "extremely good" but his performance as only "quite diligent." His performance approximated his ability more as time passed. He apparently learned to control his temper after the incident of striking the non-commissioned officer. His failure to provide proper supervision resulting in the death of a conductor was serious. His dishonesty, while not excusable, amounted to pilfering when compared to the dishonesty with which the Russian civil service and Russian life in general were rife.

Whether he was the Russian nobleman with whom Deborah Delano Whistler (see Images 17–19, 21) had an unhappy love affair, causing her to leave St. Petersburg in May of 1847 with the Bliss family, is taken up in the biography of Deborah Delano (Whistler) Haden in "The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s."

NOTES

1. RGIA: Fond 207, op. 16, 1797–1867. Osobennaia Kantseliariia GUPSiPZ. Formul'iarnye spiski. Razdel str. 1–7: formul'iarnye spiski i sluzhebnye dokumenty ofitserov i chinovnikov Ministerstva Putei Soobschcheniia. Podriad No 56, d. 5 Kislanovskii–Kliauzov [Special Chancery of Main Administration of Transport and Public Buildings. Service records. Section pp. 1–7 [Service records and service documents of officers and civil servants of the Ministry of Transport Subsection No 56, d. 5 surnames Kislanovskii–Kliauzov], fols. 286–295; RGIA: Fond 446, op. 6, d. 2. Vysochaishie prikazy 9 ianv. 1847 g. – 6 dek. 1849 g. [Imperial Orders 9 Jan. 1847 – 6 Dec. 1847, fol. 12r; RGIA: Fond 207, op. 5, 1842–1864. Osobennaia Kantseliariia GUPSiPZ. d. 346: O nagrazhdenii lits uchastvuiuschchikh v postroenii Sanktpeterburgo-Moskovskoi zheleznoi dorogi. Mart 1847 g. [Concerning awards given to persons participating in the building of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway March 1847], fols. 5 r and v; RGIA: Fond 249, op. 1, d. 5. Po predstavlenii formul'iarnykh konduitsnykh i kratkikh spiskov ofitserov, grazhdanskikh chinovnikov i nizhnikh chinov [Concerning the service records, conduct records and brief records of officers, civil servants and lower ranks].
2. It is possible that Klovkov knew English, but that it was not recorded in his service record, just as it was not recorded in Bouttatz's record that *he* knew English. Major Whistler had

difficulty with French, but Shtukenberg (see Image 250) says it was the language in which Whistler and he, Shukenberg, conversed.

KORITSKII

Aleksandr Osipovich Koritskii (also spelled “Karitskii” and pronounced “Kahrítskee”) was born in 1818 (see Images 167–170). His father, descended from Polish gentry, was a Catholic, and Koritskii was raised as a Catholic.¹ He was the son of Nadezhda Gustavovna (Rudol’f) Koritskaia (d. after 8–9 / 20–21 February 1866)² and Osip Ivanovich Koritskii (1/13 January 1778 – 3/15 August 1829). His father was a lieutenant colonel in the Corps of Transport Engineers and from 1823 until his death director of the Vyshnii Volochek navigation system.³ Koritskii had a sister, Ekaterina Osipovna, who attended the Smol’nyi Institute for the Education of Young Noblewomen⁴ (see Image 147) and married Pavel Adol’fovich Meingard (Meinhardt) (St. Petersburg 1812 – Yaroslavl’ 1878),⁵ also a transport engineer.⁶ From 1824 to 1828, Koritskii’s father supported within his household the Shtukenberg (Stuckenberg) family, relatives in straitened circumstances: his wife’s sister, Maria Gustavovna (Rudol’f) Shtukenberg (c. 1795 – 25 October / 6 November 1841); the sister’s husband, Ivan Fyodorovich Shtukenberg (d. 9/21 May 1856); and their children. It was through this aunt that Koritskii first became interested in drawing. His interest was further reinforced through the friendship of his first cousin, Anton Ivanovich Shtukenberg (1816–1887; see Image 250),⁷ with Nikolai Dmitrievich Bykov (1812–1884), Shtukenberg’s brother-in-law, who worked at the Academy as a supervisor/tutor (*guvernyor*)⁸ and eventually became a famous art collector.⁹ Bykov lived at the Academy, and Shtukenberg and Koritskii, who were inseparable friends, frequently visited him. When Koritskii became a student at the Academy, some of the time he lived in Bykov’s apartment.¹⁰

In August 1832, Koritskii was accepted as a cadet by the Institute of Transport Engineers, to be educated at state expense. He attended the Institute for some six years and was made a sub-ensign in July 1837.¹¹ However, he had little enthusiasm for study, disliked mathematics particularly, and loved drawing.¹² As a result, he left the Institute without graduating and in July 1838, after passing the examination, entered instead the Construction Division of the Main Administration of Transport and Public Buildings, with the rank of ensign.¹³ A few days

after transferring, he was appointed to the Main Administration and attached to art institutions (*khudozhestvennye zavedeniia*).¹⁴

According to Shtukenberg, Koritskii began to attend the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts in 1838 as an external student.¹⁵ In 1839, he was listed as a student in the battle scene class taught by Professor Aleksandr Ivanovich Zauerveid (Sauerweid) (1783–1844).¹⁶ He had attracted Zauerveid's attention through a small painting he had executed, which was presented to Nicholas I (see Images 420–423),¹⁷ to whom, as Grand Duke, Zauerveid had taught drawing.¹⁸ On 7/19 September 1840, Koritskii, explaining that he had “completed the course of study at the Institute of the Transport Corps,” petitioned the Council of the Academy to permit him to become an external student in order to devote himself “in the hours [he had] free from work ... to the study of history and portrait painting under the direction of Professor Briullov and for this purpose to attend the art classes of the Academy,” for admission to which he submitted “a study for a painting from life.”¹⁹ He indicated that he had already taken courses in architecture, descriptive geometry, theory of shading, and perspective.²⁰ He was accepted and became a student of Karl Pavlovich Briullov (1799–1852; see Image 173),²¹ the most influential Russian painter of his day and the best known outside of Russia.²²

In December 1841, he was promoted to sub-lieutenant.²³ On 28 April / 10 May 1842, the curator of the Imperial Hermitage, Frants Ivanovich Labenskii (1769–1850), was petitioned to grant permission and a ticket to Koritskii to copy paintings in the Hermitage (see Image 113).²⁴ In September/October 1842, he received the large silver medal in the category of history and portrait painting for his *Diogenes in a Barrel* (*Diogen v bochke*).²⁵ In 1843, he submitted a study for a larger work to be executed in fulfillment of the program set for the small gold medal in history painting; the subject assigned him was *Orpheus Leading the Shade of Eurydice Out of Hell* (*Orfei, vyvodiasbchii iz ada ten' Ervidiki*).²⁶ His study received the approval of the Council of the Academy to proceed.²⁷

In September/October 1843, the Council of the Academy, taking into consideration the progress Koritskii had made in history painting, moved to obtain Imperial permission for him to be released from the Construction Division of the Main Administration of Transport and

Public Buildings, “so that he might perfect himself in painting, for which he has a decided gift.”²⁸ But the Council’s request met with refusal on the grounds that, because Koritskii had received his education at state expense, he was required to serve for no less than ten years in his department and did not have the right to transfer to another kind of service.²⁹ In November/December 1843, Koritskii was listed among those students of the Construction Division of the Main Administration of Transport and Public Buildings who were given the civil rank of county secretary (12th grade), the equivalent of sub-lieutenant in the Army.³⁰ He was appointed architect’s assistant in the drafting section of District IV of the Board of Transport.³¹ Beginning in 1843 and continuing until 1847, he assisted Briullov in his work on the cupola frescos for St. Isaac’s Cathedral (see Images 121–124).³² His domicile was registered in 1844 and 1845 as Bykov’s apartment at the Academy.³³

Koritskii was one of a few students who were close to “Karl the Great.” He worked for Briullov from 1843 until the latter’s departure from Russia in May 1849 on a year’s leave of absence.³⁴ Yet, despite the fact that “he lived a very long time with Briullov,”³⁵ Koritskii did not write the memoir of him, and therefore of himself, that posterity would have liked. Shtukenberg blamed this on his procrastinating nature: “I could say a lot more about [Briullov] than I heard from Koritskii, whom I always upbraid for not writing down what he knows about his great teacher; but it’s hard to coax him into action.”³⁶ There are extant only some brief daily notes Koritskii kept for the years 1843–1847 that show how extensively he worked for and took care of his ailing mentor. In these few pages, he noted the work of Briullov and his students in and for St. Isaac’s Cathedral, gave information important for dating some of Briullov’s works, and kept a record for the doctors of the dosages and kinds of medications he administered to Briullov.³⁷ Most information about the relationship between Koritskii and Briullov, therefore, has to be sought in the memoirs of other Briullov students, where it is also not copious.

Briullov had a spacious apartment–studio decorated almost entirely in red on the first floor of the Academy facing the Neva.³⁸ Those students closest to him were constantly in his studio, because he felt that the best course of study for them was to observe their teacher at work.³⁹

They also participated in this work, being taught how lacquer and paints are made and how the ground of the canvas is prepared.⁴⁰ Koritskii prepared the palette for Briullov when the latter, now seriously ill, decided to paint a self-portrait in April 1848.⁴¹ Briullov, while executing the main figures in his *The Fountain of Bakhchisarai* (*Bakhchisaraiskii fontan*) (dated 1849, but begun several years earlier), delegated Koritskii to paint the surroundings, such as the fountain, plants, and furniture.⁴² Koritskii and another student, Il'ia Ivanovich Lipin, worked extensively on the cartoons for Briullov's St. Isaac's Cathedral frescos.⁴³ Briullov also required his students to copy his own paintings as part of their training.⁴⁴

Some of Briullov's students visited the Hermitage collections with him,⁴⁵ where he would expound to them on works by the great Western masters.⁴⁶ They often read to him when he was working.⁴⁷ An insomniac, he would send for one of them to come read to him at night as well, sometimes for hours, exhausting them but exposing them to interesting literature.⁴⁸ He spoke to his student, Apollon Nikolaevich Mokritskii (1810–1870), in 1837 of his intention of setting up evening classes for them all in his apartment, where they could discuss subjects essential to an artist's development and give him their opinions on various topics. Each student would then have to express his individual ideas in drawings executed on the spot.⁴⁹ It is said that some of them attended with him the famous "Wednesdays" of his writer and journalist friend, Nestor Vasilievich Kukol'nik (1809–1868), where they saw celebrated literary, artist, and theatre figures.⁵⁰

Briullov tyrannized these students, playing merciless tricks on them.⁵¹ One form this joshing took was caricature, and for a long time Mokritskii and academician Filipp Osipovich Budkin (1806–1850) were the butt of Briullov's caricatures: "then Briullov set upon ... Koritskii and gave himself full rein making fun of him. He did not leave a single circumstance of his life without comment,"⁵² depicting him, for example, at the easel, as a cupid, painting the interior of St. Isaac's Cathedral, taking a shower, dancing with girls (see, for example, Images 169–170).⁵³ Briullov also executed two portrait heads, both said to be of Koritskii: one a pencil sketch of his head facing front, bent forward and looking down (see Image 167); the other an unfinished watercolor, left profile.⁵⁴

In March/April 1844, it was moved by the Academy Council that Koritskii be permitted to carry out the program for the small gold medal in the category of history painting on the subject of *Mercury Putting Argus to Sleep* (*Merkurii usypliaet Argusa*).⁵⁵ In January 1845, he was awarded the small silver medal for a drawing from a live model, which he executed at the triannual examination on 23 December 1844 / 4 January 1845.⁵⁶ In March/April 1845, he presented his study on the subject assigned to him in the program set for the small gold medal in the category of history painting: *Vulcan Forging the Arms of Achilles in the Presence of Thetis* (*Vulkan kuet oruzhie Akhillesu v prisutstvii Fetidy*) (see Image 172).⁵⁷

Some time between September 1844 and April 1845, Koritskii also began to give private drawing lessons to James Whistler⁵⁸ (see Images 24–29) and continued to do so until James left St. Petersburg in June 1848. Why he was chosen as James’s private drawing teacher can only be a matter of conjecture because of the hiatus in Anna Whistler’s diaries from September 1844 until March 1845. He and Major Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21) could have met as a result of their both being employed by the Main Administration of Transport and Public Buildings, but the difference in their positions might have precluded that. It is possible that it was Shtukenberg through whom the arrangement was made. Shtukenberg was in charge of building the section of the railroad extending 36 miles eastward from Vyshnii Volochek, and Major Whistler stayed with him when inspecting that portion of the railway line. Whether Major Whistler discussed with him James’s interest in drawing cannot be ascertained from Shtukenberg’s memoirs, but it seems natural that personal subjects should have come up because the memoirs show that the two men had a good relationship.⁵⁹ As Koritskii was Shtukenberg’s close relative and an advanced student at the Academy, he would have been a likely candidate for Shtukenberg to propose to Major Whistler. The story of the relationship of Koritskii and James and the hero-worshipping attachment James felt for Koritskii has already been told in the biography of James in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s.”

In 1846, although Koritskii had a ticket to attend classes, there is no indication of his taking any monthly examinations,⁶⁰ but this was not required of advanced students. In 1846, he was also promoted to

lieutenant.⁶¹ He is last registered at the Academy in 1847, when he took one monthly examination.⁶² From 1847 through early May 1849, he helped care for the ailing Briullov and spent much time copying paintings in the Hermitage.⁶³ In late 1848, he explained to Major and Anna Whistler “that he [himself] no longer paints in the Isaacs church,” as Briullov’s illness had reached the stage where he “cannot mount the stairs now.”⁶⁴ Instead, Koritskii was going “daily to the Hermitage to copy some pictures from the Empress’s cabinet, painted by Bruloff for her majesty.”⁶⁵ He was copying “‘The Italian Morning’ a young girl washing at a fountain – and the Noon day sketch ... a peasant gathering fruit” (see Images 174–175)⁶⁶ and invited Major and Anna Whistler “to go to the Hermitage to see the pictures now.”⁶⁷ He told them that Briullov was “at present painting a beautiful group three nuns at the organ, one playing, the others singing in deep devotion! [see Image 176] ... for the Grand Dutchess [Maria Nikolaevna] Leughtenberg,⁶⁸ and so charming Kartizkie [*siz*] hopes we may see it.”⁶⁹ In the first half of 1849, Koritskii made a copy of the famous self-portrait Briullov had painted in 1848, receiving for his effort the thanks of his mentor, who, according to Koritskii, did not give thanks gratis.⁷⁰

Most students left Briullov’s apartment only at night to sleep, but when he became seriously ill they took turns attending him day and night.⁷¹ His heart condition made it imperative in 1849 that he leave Russia for a warm climate. Unable to travel unaccompanied, he planned to take students along. In late January or early February of 1849, Koritskii visited the now frail Major Whistler to discuss what route Briullov should take to reach the island of St. Catherine off Brazil, recommended by his doctors.⁷² Despite the fact that Koritskii still had to give over four years of service to the state for his free education, he seemed to think he might have a chance to accompany Briullov abroad. But, whatever the reason, in the end two other students, Nikolai Alekseevich Lukashevich (1821 – 5/17 August 1884) and Mikhail Ivanovich Zheleznov (1825–1891), set out in May with Briullov.⁷³ Briullov is said to have written to Koritskii from Madeira in June 1849, and an extant reply to Briullov from Koritskii is dated 15/27 July 1849.⁷⁴ Whether their correspondence concluded with this exchange is not

known to me.⁷⁵ Briullov did not go to St. Catherine's nor did he return to Russia. He died in Italy in 1852.

At the Academy exhibit in autumn of 1849, Koritskii exhibited a portrait of a Mrs. Nikerina (no. 287) and *Head of a Girl (Golova devushki)* (no. 288).⁷⁶ Sometime before May 4/16 1850, he offered for sale a portrait of Empress Maria Fyodorovna (see Images 415–416), wife of Paul I (see Image 417), for the Portrait Gallery of the House of Romanov, but its acquisition was found “unnecessary.”⁷⁷

In March 1853, with his obligation to the state for his education fulfilled, Koritskii left the military service “for domestic reasons,” at the rank of staff captain, with permission to wear his uniform.⁷⁸ From June 1853 until his death, he served as junior assistant to the director of the Second Department of the Hermitage,⁷⁹ Fyodor (Fidelio) Antonovich Bruni (1800–1875; see Image 183). The Second Department encompassed paintings, drawings, sculpture, porcelain, and bronze and bone objects.⁸⁰ On being appointed to it, he continued in his civil rank of county secretary (12th grade).⁸¹ In January 1858, he was made curator of all pictures, marble objects, and works of art in general in the Taurida Palace, and in December 1859 curator of the pictures in the Imperial palaces in the environs of St. Petersburg and in the Taurida Palace.⁸² In 1863, irregularities in the performance of his duties were reported. He was found guilty of great disorder in the keeping of inventories and of checklists of pictures and other works of art for individual palace rooms and was issued a severe reprimand.⁸³ In his disorderliness he seems to have resembled his father, who was so notorious in this respect that it was cited in the entry about him in the *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*.⁸⁴ Koritskii died suddenly during the night of 8–9/20–21 February 1866 in St. Petersburg⁸⁵ and held the rank of court councilor (7th grade) at the time of his death.⁸⁶ He seems to have remained a bachelor all his life.⁸⁷ His mother asked that the Hermitage Museum consider acquiring seven paintings belonging to him:⁸⁸ a study by Aleksandr Andreevich Ivanov (1806–1858) for *The Appearance of the Savior to the Magdalene (Iavlenie Spasitelia Magdaline)*; a portrait of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Pavlovna by Dmitrii Grigorievich Levitskii (1735–1822); *Madonna and Child (Bozhitsia Mater s mladentsem)* by Fyodor Antonovich Bruni; *The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise (Izgnanie iz raia Adama i Evy)* by the School

of Correggio; a copy of Briullov's *Annunciation* (*Blagoveschenie*) made by Koritskii; and two paintings of the head of an Italian female by Koritskii from a live model, in a large and a small version.⁸⁹ Alexander II, to whom the pictures were submitted for consideration, chose not to acquire them.⁹⁰

Koritskii's art collection, understandably, contained a number of works by Briullov: pieces of the colossal cartoons for the heads of six apostles for St. Isaac's Cathedral;⁹¹ *Charles IX Shooting out the Window on St. Bartholomew's Night* (*Karl IX, streliaushchii v okno vo vremia Varfolomeevskoi nochi*), intended as an illustration for Dumas's *Queen Margot* (*La Reine Margot*) (a watercolor?);⁹² an unfinished painting of *Sleeping Juno* (*The Origin of the Milky Way*) (*Spiasbchaia Iunona: Proiskhozhdenie Mlechnogo Puti*);⁹³ a painting of the head of the Queen of Sheba, copied from a fragment of a painting by Rubens;⁹⁴ head of Eurydice (drawing);⁹⁵ *Peter the Great Drafting at a Table* (*Petr Velikii, chertiasbchii u stola*) (drawing);⁹⁶ *Leverrier's Discovery* (*Otkrytie Lever'e*), an allegorical depiction of the discovery (in 1846) of the planet Neptune (drawing);⁹⁷ *Deposition from the Cross* (*Sniatie so kresta*) (drawing);⁹⁸ *Rodin and Mademoiselle Cardoville* (*Roden i devitsa Kardovil*), an illustration to Sue's *The Wandering Jew* (*Le Juif Errant*) (either watercolor or sepia);⁹⁹ and *Minerva Driving Pleasure Away from Art* (*Minerva progoniaet ot iskusstva udovol'strie*) (drawing?).¹⁰⁰ The whereabouts of all of these works, except *Sleeping Juno* (see Image 177), are unknown.

Little is known as well of works by Koritskii or their whereabouts. Of his student work, his oil study for *Vulcan Forging the Arms of Achilles in the Presence of Thetis* (see Image 172) is at the State Tret'iakov Gallery.¹⁰¹ The State Russian Museum has a portrait of Nicholas I by him.¹⁰² He copied a number of works by other artists. James Whistler's *St. Petersburg Sketchbook* contains a signed pencil drawing by Koritskii (see Image 171), which is based on a full-length drawing of Napoleon by Briullov.¹⁰³ Among other works by Briullov that Koritskii copied are his abovementioned paintings *Italian Noon* (*Ital'ianskii polden'*), *Italian Morning* (*Ital'ianskoe utro*) (see Images 174–175), and *The Annunciation* (*Blagoveschenie*), and his self-portrait of 1848.¹⁰⁴ One of the numerous copies of Briullov's *The Last Day of Pompeii* (*Poslednii den' Pompei*) (see Image 204) may be by Koritskii.¹⁰⁵ He also copied Dessain's double

portrait of James and Willie Whistler (see Image 24).¹⁰⁶ We know for certain that he worked on a portrait of Willie,¹⁰⁷ and another portrait he worked on may have been of James.¹⁰⁸ In 1855, he painted a portrait of Anton Ivanovich Shtukenberg's son, Alexander.¹⁰⁹

NOTES

1. RGIA: Fond 472, op. 32 (323/1125), d. 1408. Formulirnyi spisok Pomoshchnika Nachal'nika 2 Otdeleniia Gubernskogo Sekretaria Aleksandra Osipovicha Koritskogo [Service Record of Provincial Secretary Aleksandr Osipovich Koritskii, Assistant to the Director of the Second Department [of the Imperial Hermitage] (hereafter, RGIA: A.O. Koritskii), fol. 1v. This service record was compiled on 3/15 March 1854 and goes only as far as 1/13 May 1853. Attempts made by me to locate Koritskii's final service record have proven unsuccessful. I wish to thank Galina Andreeva, curator of Russian Painting of the Eighteenth and First Half of the Nineteenth Century at the State Tre'iakov Gallery and head of Research and Projects, for sharing with me the brief unpublished entry on Koritskii she was preparing in 1989 for a forthcoming biographical dictionary of Russian artists. It has since appeared in *Gosudarstvennaia Tre'iakovskaia Galereia: Katalog sobraniia. Seriia Zhivopis' XVIII–XX vekov* [State Tre'iakov Gallery: Catalog of the Collection Series Painting of the Eighteenth–Nineteenth Centuries], vol. 3, p. 198. A recent brief biography of Koritskii, together with a photograph of him, appeared in *Sotrudniki Imperatorskogo Ėrmitazha. 1852–1917: Biobibliograficheskii spravochnik* [Staff of the Imperial Hermitage, 1852–1917: Biobibliographical Handbook] (St. Petersburg: Izd-stvo Gosudarstvennogo Ėrmitazha, 2004), pp. 85–86. The entry was prepared by V.F. Marishkina.
2. Shtukenberg, *Memuary*, vol. 1, fol. 151.
3. For an explanation of the Vyshnii Volochek navigation system, the first canal to link the Upper Volga and the Baltic Sea, see Haywood, *Beginnings*, pp. 5–6. Material about Aleksandr Osipovich Koritskii's father comes from A.I. Shtukenberg, "Osip Ivanovich Koritskii. Biografiia" ["Osip Ivanovich Koritskii. A Biography"] *Zhurnal Glavnogo upravleniia putei soobshcheniia i publichnykh zdaniu* [Journal of the Main Administration of Transport and Public Buildings] 33, no. 1 (1861): pp. 37–94, as well as from Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*, vol. 9, pp. 254–255, and RGIA: A.O. Koritskii, fol. 1v.

4. Shtukenberg, *Memuary*, vol. 1, fol. 59.
5. V.M. Karev, ed., *Nemtsy Rossii Èntsiklopediia* [*The Germans of Russia: An Encyclopedia*], 3 vols. (Moscow: ÈRN, 1999–2006), vol. 2, p. 455.
6. Shtukenberg, *Memuary*, vol. 2, fol. 467. Meingard studied at the Institute of the Corps of Transport Engineers from 1827–1832. In 1829, he was made an ensign and received hereditary nobility. He graduated with the rank of lieutenant. He participated in the building of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway (as lieutenant colonel of engineers) and of the St. Petersburg–Warsaw Railway (as colonel of engineers in the 1850s). He superintended the building of the railroad station in Tver'. In 1851, together with his wife and children, he was registered in the second part of the genealogical book of the nobility of Tver' Province. He later served in Yaroslavl', where he was in charge of the Transport District. He was decorated many times. The family name of Meingard was registered in the eighteenth part of *Obshchaia GERAL'dika Vserossiiskoi Imperii* [*The General Heraldry of the All-Russian Empire*]. In 1868, he was made actual state councilor (4th grade) (Karev, *Nemtsy Rossii*, vol. 2, p. 455).
7. Anton Ivanovich Shtukenberg (15/27 August 1816 – 7/19 March 1887) was a transport engineer, writer, and poet. He graduated from the Institute of the Corps of Transport Engineers in 1836 with the rank of lieutenant and was sent to Eastern Siberia, where he spent four years exploring the Transbaikalian Mountains and carrying out preliminary surveys of the Krugobaikal Road. In 1842, he was appointed to carry out investigation and then to be in charge of the section of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway being built between the stations of Vyshnii Volochek and Kalashnikov. Beginning in 1851, he served for four years as director of the completed and operational section from the Okulovka station to Bologoe. In 1855, he was sent to the Crimea, where for two years he built military roads. In 1865, he was made a member of the Technical and Construction Committee of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and in 1873 senior mechanical engineer at the St. Petersburg Municipal Council Governing Board. He remained in these two posts until his death. His writing career began in 1857 and included published biographical essays on both his father, Ivan Fyodorovich Shtukenberg, a well-known hydrographer and engineer-statistician, and his uncle, Aleksandr Osipovich Koritskii's father; technical articles; and poetry. His collected poems appeared in three separate volumes: *Oseniie list'ia*

[*Autumn Leaves*], *Sibirskie melodii* [*Siberian Melodies*], and *Melodii* [*Melodies*]. He also published memoirs of the building of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway. The manuscripts of the three volumes of memoirs he wrote from 1836–1861 are held in the LIIZhT in St. Petersburg. He was married to Olga Aleksandrovna Meingard (25 June / 7 July 1833 – 16/28 February 1902) (Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*, vol. 23, pp. 449–450; D.D. Iazykov, “Russkie pisateli, umershie v 1887 godu” [“Russian Writers Who Died in 1887”], in *Obzor zhizni i trudov pokoinykh russkikh pisatelei* [*Survey of the Life and Works of Deceased Russian Writers*], no. 7 (Moscow: A.I. Snegireva, 1893), pp. 96–97 (addenda appeared in no. 8 of the *Survey*, [Moscow: Universitetskaia, 1900], pp. 152–153); Böhm, *Wolkowo Lutherischer Friedhof*, p. 89.

8. According to the Statute of 1802, a tutor (*guvernyor*) was assigned to maintain order and discipline in the first and second age groups and to teach Russian grammar and composition, foreign languages (French and German), and arithmetic. He received a separate salary for each of these two duties (Kondakov, *Iubileinyi spravochnik*, vol. 1, p. 169). The Statute of 1830 made clearer his first duty by qualifying that the tutor was a supervisor (*nadziratel'*) (Kondakov, p. 181). One person in the group of supervisors was assigned to serve as the class inspector's assistant (Kondakov, p. 181). He might also teach Russian or French (Kondakov, p. 181). In the Statute of 1840, the word “tutor” was replaced by “supervisor,” and there were no teaching duties, because the general education school at the Academy had been eliminated (Kondakov, p. 187).
9. Nikolai Dmitrievich Bykov (1812–1884) came from the family of a Petersburg civil servant. He was an external student at the Academy, where he was the pupil of the portrait painter, A.G. Varnek (Warneck) (1782–1843). In 1835, he received the title of non-class artist in portrait painting. In his younger days, he was a supervisor/tutor at the Academy, which both enabled him to get to know many artists who later became famous and awakened his interest in collecting works of art. He married Klara Ivanovna Shtukenberg, sister of Anton Ivanovich Shtukenberg and first cousin of Aleksandr Osipovich Koritskii. He eventually came into a large fortune, which made it possible for him to become an art collector, in which pursuit he showed exceptional taste and knowledge. His magnanimity was well known to students of the Academy, to whom he gave financial aid. He was an honorary free associate (*pochotnyi vol'nyi obshebchnik*) of the Academy and an

actual member of the Society for the Encouragement of Artists. He was also a member (*glasnyi*) of the St. Petersburg City Duma. At his death, he held the civil service rank of actual state councilor (4th grade).

Bykov obtained many interesting pieces from the heirs of the sculptor, B.I. Orlovskii (1796–1837), who executed the figure of the angel for the Alexander column, and from the collector, Count A.I. Musin-Pushkin (1744–1817). He gradually amassed paintings by both Russian (Varnek, Venetsianov, Shchedrin, Basin, Briullov) and foreign (Rubens, Guido Reni, Murillo, Holbein the Younger, Pieter de Hooch) masters. The journal *Rossīia* [*Russia*] wrote that “this foreign portion of [Bykov’s] gallery is extremely rich, and hardly any other private collection in Russia can compare with it in terms of the gems it contains. A good half of it can and ought to embellish the Hermitage.” The collection was characterized not only by paintings but also by drawings, watercolors, engravings, and etching plates, as well as by letters and memoirs for biographies of nineteenth-century Russian artists.

After Bykov’s death, the collection passed to his heirs. A substantial portion of it – seventy-six paintings – was put up for auction at the Society for the Encouragement of Artists in October 1884. Twenty-four pictures were sold. A significant portion of these was acquired by P.M. Tret’iakov (1832–1898). The majority of the paintings, however, remained in the hands of Bykov’s relatives and eventually found their way into museums.

This biography is a composite from the following sources: Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheskii slovar’*, vol. 12, p. 577; Nadezhda Polunina and Aleksandr Frolov, “Russkie kollektsionery. Opyt biograficheskogo slovaria” [“Russian Collectors. An Attempt at a Biographical Dictionary”], *Pamiatniki Otechestra* [*Monuments of the Fatherland*] 29 (1994), p. 121; Shtukenberg, *Memuary*, vol. 1, fol. 127; Chistiakov, *Pis’mo*, pp. 121, 161, 546, 555; and from obituaries in *Vsemirnaia illiustratsiia* [*Universal Illustration*] 793 (1884), p. 258, and *Khudozhestvennye novosti* [*Art News*] 6 (1884), pp. 162–163. The dates in the footnotes of the *Russkii biograficheskii slovar’* entry are incorrect.

10. RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 731. Spisok Imperatorskoi Akademii Uchenikov poseshchaiushchikh Risoval’nye Klassy v techenie 1844 goda [List of pupils of the Imperial Academy attending drawing classes during 1844], fol. 15v; Fond 789, op. 19, d. 733. Kniga dlia zapisi biletov, vydavaemykh uchashchimsia na poseshchenie risoval’nykh klassov na 1845 g. [Book for

registering tickets issued to pupils to attend drawing courses in 1845], fol. 15r.

11. RGIA: A.O. Koritskii, fols. 1v, 2r.
12. Shtukenberg, *Memuary*, vol. 1, fol. 128.
13. It would seem that a special arrangement was made for him. Usually, “less capable [students] went from the Institute into the Construction Division with the rank of Ensign, where they served on various projects under the supervision of more senior engineers” (Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 127). Koritskii chose to make this transfer and was almost immediately switched to a position in the Main Administration, where his artistic talents would be put to use.
14. RGIA: A.O. Koritskii, fols. 1v, 2r, 2v, 3r; Shtukenberg, *Memuary*, vol. 1, fol. 128.
15. Shtukenberg, *Memuary*, vol. 1, fol. 128.
16. N.P. Sobko (1851–1906), in referring to the catalogues of Academy exhibitions, writes that in 1839 Koritskii was a student in Zauerveid’s battle scene class (RNB OR: Fond 708, N.P. Sobko, d. 83 Vystavki v AKh, s 1768 po 1867 gg. Obzor katalogov i ukazatelei. B.d. [N.P. Sobko, Exhibits in the Academy of Fine Arts from 1768 through 1867. Survey of catalogues and guides. No date], fol. 151.
17. Shtukenberg, *Memuary*, vol. 1, fol. 129.
18. V.V. Sadoven’, *Russkie khudozhniki batalisty XVIII-XIX vekov* [*Russian Battle Scene Artists of the Eighteenth–Nineteenth Centuries*] (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1955), p. 85.
19. RGIA: Fond 789, op. 1, 1840 g., d. 66 III/2542. Delo o vol’noprikhodiashchikh uchenikakh AKh. 11 Marta 1839 g. – 23 Fevralia 1846 g. [File on external students of the Academy of Fine Arts 11 March (OS) 1839 – 23 February (OS) 1846].
20. RGIA: Fond 789, op. 1, 1840 g., d. 66 III/2542 (see previous note for document title).
21. RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 728. Spisok uchenikov Akademii khudozhestv. Obshchii alfavitnyi spisok na 1841 g. [List of pupils of the Academy of Fine Arts. General alphabetical list for 1841], fol. 11r. This list contains the names of pupils in history, portrait, battle scene, landscape, and perspective painting. The information recorded for each pupil includes the category of

medals received by him, the names of the works awarded medals, and when. Koritskii is listed here as the pupil of K. Briullov.

22. Karl Pavlovich Briullov (originally Brudeleau) (12/23 December 1799 – 11/23 June 1852) was the son of an artist descended from Huguenots (John Bowlt, ed., *The Art of Russia 1800–1850* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Art Gallery, 1978), pp. 50–51). He received his early art training at home from his father, whose field of expertise was ornamental wood carving. Briullov entered the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts in 1809 and graduated in 1821 as a pensioner, with the privilege of further study abroad. The Academy was unable to send its pensioners abroad because of a lack of funds, but in 1822 the privately established Society for the Encouragement of Artists gave Briullov a fellowship to study in Italy. He remained there, chiefly in Rome, from 1823 to 1834. While in Italy, he painted portraits in oil and watercolor of prominent Italians and Russians, a genre he had begun to work in while still in St. Petersburg and would continue to work in all his life. His most famous painting of this period, however, was the historical painting *The Last Day of Pompeii* (*Poslednii den' Pompei*) (1830–1833) (in the State Russian Museum), which has been called “comparable in its kind to Géricault’s *Raft of the ‘Medusa’* or Delacroix’s *Massacre at Chios*” (Bowl, *Art of Russia*, p. 32) (see Images 204–205). The overwhelming success of the painting resulted in Briullov’s election to the academies of Bologna, Florence, and Parma (he was already a member of the Academy of Milan) (Atsarkina, *Briullov*, pp. 94, 129; Bowl, *Art of Russia*, p. 47). The painting was also awarded the first gold medal at the Paris Salon of 1834 (Atsarkina, *Briullov*, p. 132). In the late autumn of 1835, after taking part in an expedition to Greece and Turkey, Briullov returned to Russia, recalled by Nicholas I (see Images 420–423). In late May 1836, he arrived in St. Petersburg, where he was appointed a junior professor (senior in 1846) at the Academy and was put in charge of the class in history painting (Atsarkina, p. 177). Briullov attempted a second historical painting, this time on a Russian subject, *The Siege of Pskov* (*Osada Pskova*) (1839–1843), but did not complete the work. He proposed doing mural paintings on subjects from Russian history in the Winter Palace, which was being restored after the fire of 1837, but was turned down by Nicholas I (Atsarkina, p. 187). In January 1839, he married Emilia Timm, an accomplished pianist. The marriage ended in divorce at the year’s end (Atsarkina, pp. 239, 241, 509). Briullov hoped to decorate the ceiling of the dome of the Pulkovo

Observatory with a monumental painting, but again the emperor did not give his permission (Atsarkina, p. 188). In 1843, Briullov was invited to take part in the decoration of the interior of St. Isaac's Cathedral and was assigned to paint the ceiling frescos (Atsarkina, pp. 188, 190). During this period, he also painted some of his best portraits (about eighty), although a large number remained unfinished. Many of them reflect his talent for capturing the sitter's spiritual qualities (Atsarkina, p. 206). In 1847, Briullov's heart condition necessitated his withdrawal from the St. Isaac's Cathedral project. He left St. Petersburg on 9 May 1849, traveling through Poland, Prussia, Belgium, and England, from where he was to sail for Portugal and thence to the island of St. Catherine near Brazil. However, he changed his mind and from Portugal went instead to Madeira, where he lived for about a year. He next traveled to Spain and then settled in Rome in the spring of 1850. He died on 23 June 1852 in the town of Marciano, and is buried in the cemetery of Monte Testaccio in Rome.

23. RGIA: A.O. Koritskii, fols. 2v, 3r.
24. RGIA: Fond 789, op. 1, 1840 g., d. 66 III/2542 (see Note 19 in this biography for document title). For regulations concerning copying in the Hermitage, see Levinson-Lessing, *Istoriia Kartinnoi galerei Ermitazha*, pp. 166–167.
25. Petrov, *Sbornik materialov*, vol. 2, p. 438, entry no. 24 for 26 September [8 October NS] 1842. This is the date the decision was taken by the Council. He seems to have been informed on 27 September / 9 October 1842 (RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 728, fol. 11r [see Note 21 in this biography for document title]). See also RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 735. Spisok uchenikov Akademii, koim vydany bilety dlia poseshcheniia klassov s pokazaniem poluchennykh imi na èkzamenakh medalei. S 1845 po 1849 g. [List of Academy pupils to whom tickets were issued to attend classes, showing the medals received by them on examinations. From 1845 through 1849], fol. 22v.

In 1849, after leaving Russia, Briullov wrote Koritskii that in Cologne he had seen Rubens's *Crucifixion of St. Peter* and assured him that Rubens's depiction of the cross in this painting was worse than the barrel depicted by Koritskii in his painting *Diogenes in a Barrel* (M. Zheleznov, ed., *Neizdannye pis'ma K.P. Briullova i dokumenty dlia ego biografii* [*Unpublished Letters of K.P. Briullov and Documents for His Biography*] [Geneva, 1867], p. ix; M. Zheleznov, "Neskol'ko slov o puteshestvii K.P. Briullova na Maderu" ["A

- Few Words about K.P. Briullov's Journey to Madeira"], *Moda [Fashion]* 9 [1851]: p. 67).
26. Petrov, *Sbornik materialov*, vol. 2, p. 452, entry no. 14 for 12 March [24 March NS] 1843.
 27. Petrov, vol. 2, p. 452, entry no. 14.
 28. RGIA: Fond 789, op. 1, ch. 2, 1821–1849, d. 2789. Delo po khodataistvu ob uvol'nenii praporshchika [sic] A. Koritskogo iz voennogo vedomstva dlia postupleniia v Akademiiu. 27 sent. 1843 g. [File concerning the attempt to have Ensign [sic] A. Koritskii released from the military department in order to enter the Academy. 27 Sept. (OS) 1843], fols. 1–4; Petrov, *Sbornik materialov*, vol. 3, p. 8, entry no. 12 for 24 September (OS) 1843. Although incorrectly called an ensign in this document, Koritskii is correctly called sub-lieutenant in other documents in the same file.
 29. RGIA: Fond 789, op. 1, ch. 2, 1821–1849, d. 2789 (see previous note for document title).
 30. RGIA: Fond 446, op. 6, d. 27. Prikazy Glavnokomanduiushchego GUPSiPZ 1 Ianv. 1844 g. – 30 Aprelia 1844 g. [Orders issued by the Head of Transport and Public Buildings 1 Jan. (OS) 1844 - 30 April (OS) 1844], fol. 24r. The order concerning Koritskii is dated 8/20 January 1844. See also RGIA: Fond 200, op. 1, ch. 4 1829–71. Korpus inzhenerov putei soobshcheniia 1844 Ob arkhitekorskikh pomoshchnikakh pravlenniia IV okruga Sikorskom, Eremeeve i Koritskom [Corps of Transport Engineers 1844 Concerning architects' assistants of the Board of District IV Sikorskii, Eremeev and Koritskii].
 31. RGIA: Fond 446, op. 6, d. 27, fols. 24r and v (see previous note for document title). This appointment does not appear in his cited service record.
 32. Atsarkina, *Briullov*, p. 194. The “Karnitskii” mentioned by P.P. Sokolov (1826–1905), Briullov's nephew and himself later a famous artist, in his memoirs is probably Koritskii; Sokolov, Briullov, and “Karnitskii” were on their way to St. Isaac's Cathedral (Sokolov, *Vospominaniia*, p. 76).
 33. RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 731, fol. 15v (see Note 10 in this biography for document title) and Fond 789, op. 19, d. 733. Kniga dlia zapisi biletov vydavaemykh uchashchimsia na poseshchenie risoval'nykh klassov na 1845 g. [Book for registering tickets issued to pupils to attend drawing courses in 1845], fol. 15 r.

34. RGIA: Fond 789, op. 1, ch. 2, 1821–1849, d. 2789 (see Note 28 in this biography for document title).
35. Zheleznov, *Neizdannye pis'ma Briullova*, p. x.
36. Shtukenberg, *Memuary*, vol. 2, fol. 456. Shtukenberg frequented the home of his brother-in-law, N.D. Bykov, where Briullov was also often a guest, and has left some interesting remarks about the latter (Shtukenberg, *Memuary*, vol. 1, fols. 129–132, 400; II, fols. 401, 449–457). Some of his remarks have been published in Kornilova, *Karl Briullov*, pp. 52, 161–162.
37. GRM OR: Koritskii, *Zapisi*, fol. 22; Atsarkina, *Briullov*, p. 324. In January 1845, Liubov' Stepanovna Borozdna-Voeikova (1813–1894), a young woman who had been Briullov's student in 1834–1835 in Rome, came to St. Petersburg with her mother. She remained there until at least mid-May of that year and met frequently with Briullov. She also visited his studio a number of times when he was not present, approved of by him, as otherwise he insisted that visitors not be allowed. One of the works she examined was the almost-completed *St. Alexandra Being Assumed into Heaven* (see Image 453), painted in memory of the deceased Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna (see Images 434, 444, 451). Borozdna-Voeikova's letters are interesting as well, because there are no entries for January–mid-April 1845 in Anna Whistler's diaries. Briullov is depicted as being in a bad humor a good part of the time. Although no mention is made of Koritskii by name, the letters, in referring to Briullov's work on the cupola of St. Isaac's Cathedral, mention that alongside him were working two officer-artists. One of them had to be Koritskii. There are also interesting accounts of her copying a Van Dyke in the Hermitage at Briullov's suggestion and of Briullov's ice-cold, messy studio (Tsentrāl'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstva (TsGALI) [Central State Archive of Literature and Art], Moscow: Fond 707, op. 1, d. 22. Papka "Memuary" o khudozhnitse Liubovi Stepanovne Borozdne-Voeikovoi M.S. (sostvalena khudzhnikom Petrom Fyodorovichem Vimpfen). 1931 god. [File "Memoirs" about the artist Liubov' Stepanovna Borozdna-Voeikova M.S. (compiled by the artist Petr Fyodorovich Vimpfen). 1931], fols. 31r, 32r, 32v, 36r, 36v, 40r, 40v, 41r, 41v, 42r, 42v, 43r, 43v, 44r, 44v, 45r, 45v, 46r, 46v, 47r, 47v, 48r). "M.S." is Maria Stepanovna Voeikova, the sister of the artist. Petr Fyodorovich Vimpfen is the grandson of Maria Stepanovna Voeikova. I wish to express my gratitude to O.M.

Verbitskaia, the Moscow researcher who copied for me the passages in the folder that she deemed relevant for my work.

38. There was a bedroom and small dining room on the mezzanine; the studio comprised the rest of the apartment (Kornilova, *Karl Briullov*, pp. 77–78). Briullov also had another studio, along with several other professors, in the “Foundry Courtyard” of the Academy (Atsarkina, *Briullov*, p. 299).
39. Kornilova, *Karl Briullov*, p. 140.
40. Atsarkina, *Briullov*, p. 305.
41. Atsarkina, p. 243; N.G. Mashkovtsev, comp., *K.P. Briullov v pis'makh, dokumentakh i vospominaniakh sovremennikov* [*K.P. Briullov in Letters, Documents and Memoirs of His Contemporaries*], 2nd ed. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii khudozhestv SSSR, 1961), p. 233. Briullov's self-portrait (oil on cardboard 64.1 x 54 cm) is in the State Tret'iakov Gallery, whose collection it entered in 1925 (*Gosudarstvennaia Tret'iakovskaia galereiia. Katalog zhivopisi XVIII-nachala XX veka (do 1917) goda* [*State Tret'iakov Gallery. Catalogue of Paintings from the XVIII Century to the Beginning of the XX Century (to 1917)*] [Moscow: Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo, 1984], p. 68).
42. Atsarkina, *Briullov*, pp. 250–251, 366.
43. Atsarkina, pp. 194–195, 305.
44. Atsarkina, p. 302.
45. Atsarkina, p. 302; Levinson-Lessing, *Istoriia Kartinnoi galerei Ėrmitazha*, p. 168; N.L. Priimak, ed., *Dnevnik khudozhnika A.N. Mokritskogo* [*Diary of the Artist A.N. Mokritskii*] (Moscow: Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo, 1975), pp. 146–148; A.N. Mokritskii, “Vospominaniia o Briullove” [“Recollections of Briullov”], *Otechestvennye zapiski* 12, no. 12 (1855): pp. 180–182. When citing Mokritskii, it is important to consult both his diary and article, because details of the same event may vary between them.
46. Priimak, *Dnevnik Mokritskogo*, pp. 14, 146–147.
47. M. Melikov, “Zametki i vospominaniia khudozhnika-zhivopista” [“Notes and Memoirs of an Artist-Painter”], *Russkaia starina* 86 (April–June 1896), p. 659.
48. Priimak, *Dnevnik Mokritskogo*, pp. 97, 98, 102, 118, 121, 144.
49. Priimak, p. 107. It is not clear that Briullov ever set up evening classes of this kind. Kornilova, however, used this information from Mokritskii's diary not as intention, but as fact (Kornilova, *Karl Briullov*, p. 142). Atsarkina points out only that Briullov made

the students read aloud while he worked and would frequently lecture on the material (Atsarkina, *Briullov*, p. 302).

50. Priimak, *Dnevnik Mokritskogo*, p. 15; Kornilova, *Karl Briullov*, pp. 95, 100–101. In the 1840s, however, Briullov frequented these evenings less and less.
51. Priimak, *Dnevnik Mokritskogo*, p. 13; Kornilova, *Karl Briullov*, p. 96.
52. Mokritskii, "Vospominaniia," p. 165.
53. These caricatures are in the collection of the State Russian Museum. Their range of subject may be seen in at the easel (inv. no. 100), with a cupid (inv. no. 99), painting the interior of St. Isaac's Cathedral (inv. no. 2260), before the easel (inv. no. 2216), taking a shower (inv. no. 2216), reading in bed (inv. no. 2216), as a figure with a tail (inv. no. 96), dancing with girls (inv. no. 2215), in profile (inv. no. 2215), seen from the back (inv. no. 2215), sitting at a table (inv. no. 97), bandaging a body part of Briullov's (the name of the body part said by Atsarkina to be illegible) (inv. no. 89). I have seen these caricatures. The illegible word is "fontanel," an anatomical term for the soft spot in the skull. In a number of them, Koritskii's face is covered with heavy stubble and he has a dark spot on the left side of his brow that suggests a mole or a wart.
 There are also several caricature portraits extant (GRM OR: inv. nos. 2217, 106, 28900; inv. no. A-4714, Gosudarstvennyi literaturnyi muzei Otdel rukopisei [State Literary Museum Manuscript Division], Moscow). Not all are dated, but the period in which they were executed ranges from 1843 to 1848 (Atsarkina, *Briullov*, pp. 418, 419, 428, 436, 441).
54. The sketch, dated 1846, is in the State Tret'iakov Gallery (see Image 167). The unfinished watercolor portrait head said to be of Koritskii, from the period 1843–1847, is in the collection of the State Russian Museum (inv. no. 16017, yellowish paper, graphite pencil, watercolor, 20 x 26.5 cm) (Atsarkina, *Briullov*, p. 472). While not described by Atsarkina as caricatures, these two portraits have been called such by others (V.M. Petiushenko, academic secretary of the State Tret'iakov Gallery, in his letter of permission to publish their sketch of Koritskii; O. Liaskovskaia, *Karl Briullov* [Moscow–Leningrad: Iskusstvo, 1940], p. 177), who use the Russian word "sharzh" to describe them (Atsarkina, *Briullov*, p. 174). "Sharzh" refers to a caricature of a person, but is gentler than "karikatura," which may be a caricature of a person or a scene. I disagree that the sketch is a caricature. It resembles, rather, the drawing of the head of a man in the Hermitage

attributed to the school of Donatello (Nikolai Makarenko, ed., *Khudozhestvennye sokrovishcha Imperatorskogo Ėrmitazha Kratkii putevoditel'* [*Art Treasures of the Imperial Hermitage: A Brief Guide*] [Petrograd: Obshchina Sv. Evgenii, 1916], p. 223). I do not think the unfinished watercolor portrait head is of Koritskii. On the card in the catalogue it says only: "A rosy-cheeked smiling man, with his eyeglasses pushed up on his forehead. Shown waist length, in left profile."

55. Petrov, *Sbornik materialov*, vol. 3, pp. 15–16, entry no. 26 for 29 March and 7 April [10 and 19 April NS] 1844.
56. RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 735, fol. 20v (see Note 25 in this biography for document title) and Fond 789, op. 19, d. 728, fol. 11r (see Note 21 in this biography for document title). The date on which the examination was held is seen to be wrong in Petrov when compared with Fond 789, op. 19, d. 728, fol. 11r. Petrov gives the date of the examination as 25 December 1844 [6 January (NS) 1845] (Petrov, *Sbornik materialov*, vol. 3, p. 28, entry no. 13 for 2 and 16 January [14 and 28 January (NS)] 1845).
57. Petrov, *Sbornik materialov*, vol. 3, pp. 31–32, entry no. 8 for 28 March [9 April NS] 1845.
58. Anna Whistler says in her diary entry for 5/17 April 1845, only that James had begun to take private drawing lessons from an "officer who ... is a pupil" at the Academy (entry for April 5/17 [1845], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II). She does not mention his surname, Koritskii, until more than a year later (entry for Saturday afternoon. May 30th [1846], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II). Unless one already knew, it could be difficult to deduce from these two entries that they refer to the same person, given the turnover in the Whistlers' tutors.

If those who have had access to the manuscript of the diaries might fail to deduce this, how much more difficult the task of Russian scholars, who had no access to it. Their success in identifying Koritskii as James's drawing teacher came to depend on the extent of their access to Western secondary sources. The topic of young James Whistler in St. Petersburg was taken up in Russian art historical literature in 1928, when the art historian, Erikh Fyodorovich [Bakh] Gollerbakh (Tsarskoe Selo 23 March 1895 – Moscow 1945), published an article entitled "Pevets zhemchuzhno-golubykh dalei" ["The Singer of Pearly Pale Blue Distances"] (*Vestnik znaniia* [*Harbinger of Knowledge*] 21–22 [1928]: pp. 1039–1041) for the twenty-fifth anniversary of Whistler's death. The manuscript of the article shows that Gollerbakh had

called it simply “Uistler v Peterburge” (“Whistler in Petersburg”), and that it differed considerably from the published article in length and text (GRM OR: Fond 32, ed. khr. 81. E.F. Gollerbakh. “Uistler v Peterburge” [E.F. Gollerbakh, “Whistler in Petersburg”], fols. 18–19). Gollerbakh referred only briefly to Anna Whistler’s diaries, “which do not exist in a Russian translation” (Gollerbakh, “Uistler v Peterburge,” fol. 18), but did not say from what source he knew of them. Later he wrote an extensive article (unpublished) entitled “Dzhems Uistler i Akademiia Khudozhestv” (“James Whistler and the Academy of Fine Arts”), in which he explained that he had now been able to consult a French translation of the Pennells’ biography of Whistler (*James McNeill Whistler, sa vie et son oeuvre*. Tradui et adapté de l’ouvrage original de E. et J. Pennell [Paris, 1913]) (GRM OR: Fond 32, ed. khr. 81. E.F. Gollerbakh, “Dzhems Uistler i Akademiia Khudozhestv” [“James Whistler and the Academy of Fine Arts”], fol. 2). In this way, he was able to draw upon the extensive excerpts they quoted, which had been copied for them from Anna Whistler’s diaries by her step-niece, Emma W. Palmer, for their chapter on St. Petersburg (Emma W. Palmer to E.R. Pennell, Stonington, Sept. 25th [1906], Letters Relating to Whistler, LC: P-W, box 296). However, the diary entries in which Koritskii was actually named had not been copied out for the Pennells, so Gollerbakh did not know who Whistler’s private drawing teacher was. In fact, the information about the “young officer” puzzled him, and he confused him with James’s teacher at the Academy. For this and other reasons, Gollerbakh “Dzhems Uistler” contains many errors.

In 1970, E. Nekrasova published a translation into Russian of *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies*, which marked the first appearance of Whistler materials in Russian. In addition to Nekrasova’s introduction and translation of Whistler’s essay, the book contains his biography and a section of quotations from Whistler’s correspondents, critics, friends, and enemies about him in all phases of his life. In this same year, Nekrasova also published a very brief article about young James Whistler (E. Nekrasova, “Uistler v Peterburge” [“Whistler in Petersburg”], *Khudozhnik [Artist]* 1 (1970): pp. 43–45. In both her publications, she erroneously proposed that because a young officer was giving James drawing lessons, and because Pavel Andreevich Fedotov (1815–1852), a student at the Academy, was a young officer, James’s private drawing teacher may have been Fedotov

(Nekrasova, *Iziaschnoe iskusstvo*, pp. 3, 265; Nekrasova, “Uistler v Peterburge,” pp. 43–44, 45.)

A member of “the Finland regiment of the Life-Guard [the Imperial Household troops] stationed in St. Petersburg,” Fedotov retired from military service in 1844 to “devote himself entirely to art,” having attended classes at the Academy part-time since 1835. He painted oil portraits but also became a well-known painter of satirical contemporary genre scenes. He eventually encountered negative “official” reaction to his satirical works and, as a result of the restrictions placed on them and his ensuing poverty, had a nervous breakdown. He died in a mental hospital at the age of thirty-seven (Bowlt, *Art of Russia*, pp. 50–51). Nekrasova supports her choice of Fedotov by pointing out that in the winter of 1844–1845 he was twenty-nine years old, had just retired from the army at the rank of captain, was attending the Academy and giving private lessons (Nekrasova, *Iziaschnoe iskusstvo sozhdavat’ sebe vragov*, p. 265). Her choice of Fedotov was plausible, since the Western sources she cited in her notes to the text did not identify Koritskii as James’s private drawing teacher.

The Russian who correctly named Koritskii as James’s drawing teacher was Valentina Barashkova, a librarian, who in 1983 published an article entitled “‘Ia khudozhnik i ‘rodilsia’ v Peterburge” [“I Am an Artist and I Was ‘Born’ in St. Petersburg”] in *Iunyi khudozhnik* [*The Young Artist*] 8 (1983): pp. 32–37. She knew that Koritskii was Whistler’s teacher, because she had read a book not yet published when Nekrasova was writing on Whistler: Roy McMullen, *Victorian Outsider: A Biography of J.A.M. Whistler* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1973), in which McMullen not only mentions Koritskii but cites a letter of James’s that mentions him (V. Barashkova, Moscow, to E. Harden, 22 December 1990; McMullen, *Victorian Outsider*, pp. 31, 32, 36, 37, 43).

59. Shtukenberg’s extensive memoirs contain admiring comments about Major Whistler, who he felt taught him a great deal (Shtukenberg, *Memuary*, vol. 2, fols. 514–515; Harden, “Whistler,” pp. 152, 159; and Shtukenberg, “Iz istorii zheleznodorozhnogo dela v Rossii” 46, pp. 309–322; 48, pp. 309–336; and 49, pp. 97–128). Shtukenberg’s comments appear in the biography of Major Whistler in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s.”
60. RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 735, fol. 7v (see Note 25 in this biography for document title).
61. RGIA: A.O. Koritskii, fols. 2v, 3r.

62. RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 735, fol. 7v (see Note 25 in this biography for document title).
63. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg, Wednesday November 1. 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W366.
64. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg, Wednesday November 1. 1848.
65. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg, Wednesday November 1. 1848.
66. *Italian Morning* was painted by Briullov in Rome in 1823 and sent to Russia. It was presented to Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna by the Society for the Encouragement of Artists. It is now in the Town Museum of Kiel, Germany (Andreeva and MacDonald, *Whistler and Russia*, p. 84n42 and *Uistler i Rossiia*, p. 84n46). *Noonday* or *Italian Noonday* was painted by Briullov in Rome in 1827 and also sent to Russia. It is now in the State Russian Museum. A study for the painting is in the State Tret'iakov Gallery (Atsarkina, *Briullov*, pp. 54, 56, 335). In the *Gosudarstvennaia Tret'iakovskaia Galereia 1984*, this study is described as a "smaller variant-repetition of the painting of 1827." Its measurements are 27 x 22 cm. At the lower left is written in Italian "C.B. Roma"; on the reverse of the canvas is the inscription in Russian "K.P. Briullov Rim 1831" (inv. no. 11017) (*Gos. Tret'iakovskaia Galereia 1984*, p. 64). In 1835, Mokritskii wrote in his diary of going to see both *Italian Morning* and *Noonday* in the empress's boudoir in the Winter Palace (Priimak, *Dnervnik Mokritskogo*, pp. 46, 171, 183).
67. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg, Wednesday November 1. 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W366.
68. Briullov was painting *The Nuns of the Monastery of the Sacred Heart in Rome Singing at the Organ* (*Monakhini Monastyria Sv. Serdtsa v Rime, poiushchie u organa*) (see Image 176). The painting entered the collection of the State Tret'iakov Gallery in 1971. The study (1849) for the painting (oil on paper, 20.1 x 31.6 cm.) is in the State Tret'iakov Gallery (inv. no. 11018), whose collection it entered in 1929 (Atsarkina, Briullov, p. 366; *Gos. Tret'iakovskaia Galereia 1984*, pp. 68–69).
69. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg, Wednesday November 1st. 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W366.
70. Atsarkina, *Briullov*, pp. 302, 364.

71. L.M. Zhemchuzhnikov, *Moi vospominaniia iz proshlogo* [*My Recollections of the Past*], ed. A.E. Vereshchagina and M.N. Shumova (Leningrad: Iskusstvo, 1970), pp. 55, 398; Kornilova, *Karl Briullov*, pp. 158–159.
72. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, [St. Petersburg], Thursday 3/15 February [1849], GUL: Whistler Collection, W382.
73. RGIA: Fond 789, op. 1, ch. 2, 1821–1849, d. 2789 (see Note 28 in this biography for document title).
74. Zheleznov said in 1867 that few of Briullov's letters were known, and that he had written few. He recalled one to Koritskii from Madeira in June 1849 (*Zheleznov, Neizdannye pis'ma Briullova*, p. ix). There is an extant letter from Koritskii to Briullov, dated 15/27 July 1849, acknowledging a letter from him, which may be the one of June 1849 (GRM OR: Fond 31, ed. khr. 170. Pis'mo Koritskogo Aleksandra Osipovicha, ist. zhivopisets, uchenik Briullova – Briullovu Karlu Pavlovichu s pripiskoi Lukashevichu. 15/27 iulia - 1849 g. [Letter of Koritskii Aleksandr Osipovich, hist. painter, student of Briullov—to Briullov Karl Pavlovich, with a P.S. to Lukashevich. 15/27 July 1849], fols. 1r and 1v).
75. I was given very limited access to Briullov papers in the archives of the State Russian Museum and allowed to have photocopies only of two pages from Koritskii's notes because, they said, a Russian scholar, who was not identified, was working on him.
76. *Ukazatel' khudozhestvennykh proizvedenii, vystavlennykh v zalakh Imperatorskoi Akademii khudozhestv* [*Index of the Works of Art Exhibited in the Salons of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts*] (St. Petersburg: Imperatorskaia Akademiia Nauk, 1849), p. 20.
77. RGIA: Fond 446, op. 1, d. 378. Min-stvo Imp. Dvora. Kantseliariia Otdelenie 3. V Tsarskom Sele. 4 Maia 1850 g. No. 1771. Otvet na No 2704 [Ministry of the Imperial Court. Chancery. Division 3. In Tsarskoe Selo. 4 May 1850. No 1771. Answer to No 2704] Minister of the Imperial Court Prince Volkonskii to Mr. Marshal Count Shuvalov.
78. RGIA: A.O. Koritskii, fols. 2v, 3r.
79. RGIA: A.O. Koritskii, fols. 2v, 3r, 3v, 4r.
80. In the 1851 “Regulations” reorganizing the Hermitage, its five departments were reduced to two. The First Department encompassed medals, coins, engraved stones, the library, engravings, and antiquities (Levinson-Lessing, *Istoriia Kartinnoi galerei Ėrmitazha*, p. 181).

81. RGIA: A.O. Koritskii, fols. 2v, 3r, 3v, 4r.
82. Arkhiv GE: Fond 1, op. 2, d. 35. O raznykh predmetakh i prikazaniiakh G. Ober Gofmarshala ... [Concerning various subjects and orders of the Lord Marshall] fol. 2; Arkhiv GE: Fond 1, op. 2, d. 1. O chinovnikakh i sluzhiteliakh [Concerning civil servants and servitors]), fol. 63.
83. Arkhiv GE: Fond 1, op. 2, d. 1, fols. 78r and v, 79r and v, 80r, 81r and v, 89r and v, 90r and v. See previous note for document title.
84. Shtukenberg, “Osip Ivanovich Koritskii,” pp. 91–92; Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheskii slovar’*, vol. 9, p. 255.
85. Koritskii’s date of death has been variously published as 1867 and 1873, but the exact date of his death is announced in the report of 10/22 February 1866 by the Director of the Hermitage to the Lord Marshal of the Court: “junior assistant to the curator of paintings, Court Councilor Koritskii, died suddenly [during the night of] the 8th to 9th of February” (Arkhiv GE: Fond 1, op. 5, d. 2. O skoropostizhnoi smerti mlad. pom. khranit. kartin Ermitazha, Koritskogo, posledovavshei 9/II/1866 g. [Concerning the sudden death on 9/II/1866 [OS] of Koritskii, junior assistant to the Curator of Paintings of the Hermitage], fol. 9). This announcement of his death also included the customary request for funds to bury the deceased.
86. Arkhiv GE: Fond 1, op. 5, d. 2 (see previous Note for the document title).
87. RGIA: A.O. Koritskii, fol. 2r.
88. Arkhiv GE: Fond 1, op. V, d. 4. O priobretenii kartin, graviur, estampov i proch. Nachalos’ 6 Ianvaria 1866 g. Koncheno 6 Fevralia 1867 g. [Concerning the acquisition of paintings, engravings, prints, etc. Begun 6 January [OS] 1866. Concluded 6 February [OS] 1867], fols. 5, 12, 13, 16, 39. The card in the card catalogue clarifies: Kartiny predlozheniia k priobreteniiu. O predlozhenii materi umershego khranitelia Ermitazha N. Koritskoi priobresti dlia Ermitazha, prinadlezhavshikh ee synu, semi kartin ... [Pictures: Proposals for acquisition. Concerning the proposal made by N. Koritskaia, mother of the late curator of the Hermitage, that the Hermitage acquire seven paintings belonging to her son].
89. Arkhiv GE: Fond 1, op. V, d. 4 (see previous Note for document title. There is a study (1834) called *Christ Appearing to Mary*

Magdalene after the Resurrection (Iavlenie Khrista Marii Magdaline posle Voskreseniia) in the State Tret'iakov Gallery (43.5 x 60.4 cm.) (inv. no. 2510). The preliminary study with the figure of an angel is in the State Russian Museum (*Gos. Tret'iakovskaia galereia 1984*, p. 159). It is not possible to say which of these two studies was in Koritskii's collection.

90. Arkhiv GE: Fond 1, op. V, d. 4, fol. 39 (see Note 88 in this biography for document title).
91. Mashkovtsev, *K.P. Briullov*, p. 229.
92. Atsarkina, *Briullov*, p. 260.
93. Atsarkina, p. 360. See also Leontieva, Karl Pavlovich Briullov, pp. 76, 189, 193; M.M. Rakova, *Russkoe iskusstvo pervoi poloviny XIX veka* [*Russian Art of the First Half of the XIX Century*] (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1975), p. 154; and M.M. Rakova, *Russkaia istoricheskaiia zhivopis' serediny deviatnadsatogo veka* [*Russian History Painting from the Mid-Nineteenth Century*] (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1979), pp. 108-109. Rakova reproduces in both her books a sketch for the painting bearing the title *The Sleeping Juno and a Parca with the Infant Hercules (Spiashchchaia Iunona i parka s mladentsem Gerkulesom)*, 1839–1845. The sketch (52.5 x 67.1 cm., inv. no. 220) is in the State Tret'iakov Gallery, whose collection it entered in 1914 (*Gos. Tret'iakovskaia Galereia 1984*, p. 67). The unfinished painting (oil on canvas, 163 x 239 cm.) is in the State Russian Museum (inv. no. Zh 3356), whose collection it entered in 1937 (G.V. Smirnov, *Gosudarstvennyi Russkii muzei Zhivopis': XVIII – nachalo XX veka: katalog* [*State Russian Museum Painting: Eighteenth – Beginning of the Twentieth Century: Catalog*] [Leningrad: Avrora, 1980], p. 64). It is listed as executed in the period 1839–1845 (Atsarkina, *Briullov*, p. 359; *Gos. Tret'iakovskaia Galereia 1984*, p. 67).
94. Atsarkina, *Briullov*, p. 327.
95. Atsarkina, p. 381.
96. Atsarkina, p. 415.
97. Atsarkina, p. 417.
98. Atsarkina, p. 420.
99. Atsarkina, p. 473.
100. Atsarkina, p. 478. This work has also been called *Minerva Restraining Art and Driving Pleasure from the Temple (Minerva uderzhivaet iskusstvo i gonit iz khrama udovol'strie)*.

101. At the lower right, scratched into the dry paint, is written “A. Koritskii. In the collection of S.A. Bakhrushin until 1920, when it entered the collection of the Tretiakov Gallery” (inv. no. 4761). In the *Gosudarstvennaia Treiakovskaia Galereia 1984*, it is given the title *Venus in Vulcan’s Forge* (*Venera v kuznitse Vulkana*), with the explanation that its subject is taken from ancient mythology. Koritskii’s date of death is incorrectly given as 1867 (*Gos. Treiakovskaia Galereia 1984*, p. 215).
102. *Portrait of Nicholas I.* Oil on canvas. 34.5 x 26.7 cm. Signed on the stretcher: “Karitskii. Entered the collection of the Russian Museum in 1912 from Iu. A. Iakovleva” (inv. no. Zh-3465) (Smirnov, *Gosudarstvennyi Russkii muzei*, p. 142).
103. Under the drawing there is a very faint signature in Russian. It begins “A. Коп”; the “р” is the Russian equivalent of the English “r.” This is followed by “ицк,” the Russian equivalent of “itsk,” while the last letters (ий) are illegible. Under the signature is a date, also written in Russian, which I read as “1847 Май 17.” Salmina-Haskell, to whom I showed a photograph of the drawing, reads it as “1847 Май 19.” MacDonald says the drawing is “signed illegibly, ‘A [Koritskii] 1847 - March 17.—” (MacDonald, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 4). She does not, however, explain that the name she gives in brackets is a transliteration of a signature in Russian. Moreover, her interpretation of the month as “March” seems to be based on reading the three-letter Russian word as though it were the English abbreviation “Mar.” In Russian the word “March” is four letters long (Март) while “May” is three. A transliteration would correspondingly be four or three letters long. Since Koritskii wrote his name and the month under the drawing in Russian, it seems likely that he rendered the date in Old Style as well. If so, the New Style equivalent for May 17 would have been May 29, a Saturday; for May 19 it would have been May 31, a Monday. It is recorded in the diaries that Koritskii was in the Whistler home on Saturdays and a Monday.
104. The whereabouts of Briullov’s *Annunciation* (c. 1849; also given as 1848–1850) are unknown (Atsarkina, p. 367); Koritskii’s copy of this painting was among his possessions when he died (Arkhiiv GE: Fond 1, op. V, d. 4, fol. 13 [see Note 88 in this biography for document title]). Koritskii’s copy of Briullov’s self-portrait of 1848 was listed in 1972 as being in the collection of P.I. Kutuzov (Atsarkina, *Briullov*, p. 364, 51, 52, 329).

105. Atsarkina, p. 339.
106. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, [St. P.] Tuesday morning Dec. 12th [1848], GUL: Whistler Collection, W372.
107. Entry for “Saturday morning March 1/13” [1847]; entry for Wednesday, March 23 [1847], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II. Wednesday was actually March 24.
108. GRM OR: Koritskii, *Zapisi*, fol. 22v. See also the entry for January 23 [1847], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
109. Shtukenberg, *Memuary*, vol. 2, fol. 643.

KRAFT

Nikolai Osipovich Kraft (St. Petersburg 1798 – Warsaw 1857; see Image 248) was the son of the personal physician of Tsar Paul I (1754–1801; reigned 1796–1801; see Image 417).¹ He became a student at the Institute of the Corps of Transport Engineers, Class of 1820, graduating with the rank of lieutenant. He worked in Odessa, where he was engaged in expanding the commercial port and studying the transport means of this southern area. In 1825–1831, he was in charge of explorations for making a canal with a dividing station for joining the Volga and Don rivers, and made the negative assessment that there was not enough water in the dividing station to make the canal. In 1832–1833, he participated in a project to build a canal to avoid the rapids of the Dniepr River. In 1833, he was on a mission in Prussia, where he inspected the new highway from Tilsit to Berlin and made a study of the cost estimates for its construction. In March 1835, he investigated the condition of the Linz–Budweis Railway built by F.A. Gerstner and made an unfavorable report. In 1836, he was invited to teach at the Institute of the Corps of Transport Engineers, giving a course on drawing up technological projects and supplying cost estimates for them. In 1836, he joined the staff of the Petersburg Committee for Buildings and Hydraulic Works.

On 1 June 1839, he and his Institute colleague, Pavel Petrovich Mel'nikov (1804–1880; see Image 247), sent by the Main Administration of Transport, set out for a 15-month stay in the United States to inspect railways and other transportation systems. There, they studied railroads under construction as well as already in operation, steam engine factories, and hydrotechnical installations. They met with many well-known engineers, including Brown, Latrobe, Robinson, Swift, and Major Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21), who, they ultimately recommended, should be invited to be the consulting engineer for the building of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway. On returning to Russia, Mel'nikov drew up their three-volume technical report “emphasizing the successes and beneficial effects of railways in the United States.” In 1841, their recommendations were considered by an interdepartmental commission established to draw up a preliminary project for this railway. Kraft and Mel'nikov were both members of this commission. Kraft drew up a

detailed cost estimate. In January 1842, Nicholas I (see Images 420–423) called a special meeting to look at the railway project, which Kraft and Mel'nikov were not invited to attend. On 1 February 1842, a ukase was issued announcing the decision to build the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway, and Kraft and Mel'nikov were appointed heads, respectively, of the Southern Administration (the route of which was from the Kolomenets River in the Valdai District of Novgorod Province to Moscow) and the Northern Administration (the route of which was from St. Petersburg to the Kolomenets River in the Valdai District of Novgorod Province), both routes established as of May 1843. Kraft worked out a program for testing all the large railway bridges along the St. Petersburg–Moscow line after they were built.

In August 1851, on the completion of the building of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway and travel upon it by the Imperial family to Moscow on the 22nd for the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the coronation of Nicholas I, Major General Kraft was awarded the Order of St. Anne (1st class, with Imperial crown).

He became the second director of the line in 1852, remaining in this position for three years. In 1855, he was made director of the XIII (Warsaw) Division of Transport. He died in Warsaw in 1857. In 1859, during the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the Institute of Railway Transport Engineers, the newspaper, *Russkii khudozhestvennyi listok* (*The Russian Art Newspaper*) published his biography and portrait along with those of three other outstanding graduates of the Institute. In 1891, at a special session of the Imperial Russian Technological Society, it was noted that N.O. Kraft, P.P. Mel'nikov, and D.I. Zhuravskii (see Image 249) had “established the Russian school of Engineers.”

An assessment of Kraft by his contemporaries reveals a kind and honorable man who endured extreme physical and mental suffering. The manifestations of his mental suffering caused him to be viewed by all as a great eccentric.

Mel'nikov believed him to be a sensible and honorable man with an unparalleled mistrust of others and stressed the difficulties existing between them. When Mel'nikov proposed to Kraft that the latter accompany him to the United States in 1839–1840, Kraft had misgivings about leaving his family so suddenly and for so long, but his inquiring

nature and curiosity won out over that concern. Then a disgruntled subordinate of Mel'nikov's filled Kraft's ears with such a negative assessment of Mel'nikov that, although they embarked on their trip to America, their personal relations ceased to be cordial, and in America they spent very little time together. No effort to reconcile them was successful, and they spent the entire period of the building of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway avoiding all contact with one another. It was as a result of this impasse that both Mel'nikov and Kraft proposed in 1842 that Major Whistler be invited to be the consulting engineer and intermediary between them, because both of them trusted him. In 1857, Mel'nikov was passing through Warsaw, where his brother was commandant and Kraft was working. He was informed that Kraft was very ill, and, while he was preparing to visit Kraft, news came of the latter's death marked by great suffering and all alone except for his orderly.

A.I. Shtukenberg (see Image 250), Class of 1836 at the Institute of Transport Engineers, knew Kraft as a friend of his father and father-in-law. Kraft personally chose him to work in the Southern Administration. Shtukenberg said that Kraft, along with Major Whistler, had the most influence on him and on his situation. He saw them as his good geniuses.² He described how Kraft came to see him in 1842, at the start of their explorations for the railway bed, stayed with him, and was simple and straightforward. However, given his ultra-sensitive character, as soon as they turned to business, Kraft accused Shtukenberg of paying too much to the workers the latter had hired. This dichotomy of attitudes in matters personal and professional persisted, but sometimes the line was crossed. When the explorations were completed in 1842, Kraft gave Shtukenberg assignments that would keep him in Vyshnii Volochek, knowing that Shtukenberg's wife and family were there. When Kraft disrupted Shtukenberg's private life on Easter Sunday of 1843 by requiring him to transfer to Tver' that day, he invited Shtukenberg to live in his home and all of Shtukenberg's staff to take dinners there. Shtukenberg said Kraft's face, which almost always wore a gloomy expression, resembled that of Napoleon I and that Kraft was very aware of it. From Shtukenberg we also know that Kraft spoke English, French, and German fluently.

In staying with Kraft, Shtukenberg found him very well-mannered, kind, and intelligent, as well as a good example of an eccentric, suffering sometimes from spleen or hypochondria. All the windows in Kraft's study were covered over with green wallpaper, so that from the street one could think no one lived there. In the study itself there was a feeble green light, like light passing through sea water at a considerable depth. Shtukenberg could not understand how Kraft could see to work in this light. Perhaps the reason for the shaded light was that Kraft frequently suffered from sometimes-excruciating headaches. They resulted in his either sitting motionless for hours or becoming so antagonistic that he would beat his servants, then immediately try to make up for it by rewarding them. Faced with the necessity of addressing a large gathering of his officers, he usually became flustered, even at times commenting on his personality flaw. This characteristic was construed by people – such as the local governor, who tried to make his acquaintance – not as eccentricity but as overweening pride, which Kraft became noted for. He even lived apart from his wife and family in order to have complete isolation from the wider social contact their presence would have brought. His family eventually stopped visiting him on their journeys from St. Petersburg to Moscow, and he almost never went to visit them. It is interesting, therefore, that when Major Whistler was on his deathbed, Kraft visited him. Anna Whistler's diaries inform us, in addition, in the entry for Monday July 27 [1846], that on 23 July 1846 Kraft sent officers to Major Whistler to persuade him to accept going to Elagin Island in "a government barge with its many oars," where Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna's name day was being celebrated.

When Kraft died, Shtukenberg begged the latter's sister to give him her brother's papers. He found out four years later (in 1861) that she had sold three baskets of them to a wrapping-paper pedlar.

There were among his contemporaries and posterity those who saw him as less prominent and less capable than Mel'nikov. This has been construed by Haywood as due to Mel'nikov's "ability to project a favourable image of himself in his prolific writings and an unfavourable one of Kraft." But Mel'nikov was writing his memoirs some thirty years after the events and swore that because they were only for himself he was telling the honest truth. Haywood also points out that while Kraft

“may have been slightly inferior to Mel’nikov in capability, breadth of outlook, experience and training, at least in matters pertaining to railways,” in which he did not have “a pioneering interest,” during the actual building of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway, progress on Kraft’s Southern Administration was more rapid than on Mel’nikov’s Northern Administration.

NOTES

1. This biography of Nikolai Osipovich Kraft is a composite from the following sources: S.M. Zhitkov, *Biografii inzhenerov putei soobshcheniia* [Biographies of Transport Engineers] (St. Petersburg: Iu. N. Erlikh, 1889); I.V. Veviorovskii, et al., eds., *Leningradskii ordena Lenina Institut inzhenerov zheleznodorozhnogo transporta imeni Akademika V.N. Obraztsova 1809–1959* [Leningrad Order of Lenin Institute of Railway Transport Engineers Named for Academician V.N. Obraztsov 1809–1959] (Moscow: Vsesoiuznoe izdatel'sko – poligraficheskoe ob"edinenie Ministerstva putei soobshcheniia, 1960), p. 48; Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 12, 21–22, 23, 49n38, 50n39, 60–61, 62, 64–69, 73–74, 82n6, 88, 128–130, 152–154, 157n13, 178–179, 190, 216–217, 220–221, 306–307, 320–321, 341, 429, 505; Mel’nikov, *Svedeniia*, fols. 190v, 191r–199r; Shtukenberg, *Memuary*, vol. 1, fols. 442–443, II, fols. 504–513; Shtukenberg, “Iz istorii zheleznodorozhnogo dela v Rossii” 48 (1885), pp. 321–323, and 49 (1886), p. 107; S.I. Vavilov, ed., *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Èntsiklopediia* [Big Soviet Encyclopedia], 65 vols. (Moscow: Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Èntsiklopediia, 1926–1947), vol. 23, p. 285; A. Zvorikin, ed., *Biograficheskii slovar' deiatelei estestvoznaniia i tekhniki* [Biographical Dictionary of Persons in the Natural Sciences and Technology], 2 vols. (Moscow: Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Èntsiklopediia, 1958), vol. 1, p. 456; *Brokgaus–Èfron*, vol. 32, p. 575; entry for Monday July 27 [1846], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II. Of all the abovementioned works, the least reliable concerning Kraft is the 1960 volume published for the 150th anniversary of LIIZhT.
2. Shtukenberg, *Memuary*, vol. 2, fol. 504. See the biography of George Washington Whistler in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s” for Shtukenberg’s comments about him as a positive influence.

*LAW*¹

Reverend Doctor Edward Law (7 August 1790 – Barnes, Surrey 10 November 1868; see Image 253) was the son of Ewan (d. 24 April 1829) and Henrietta Sarah (Markham) Law (30 May 1764 –15 August 1844). He matriculated at Christ Church College of Oxford University on 27 May 1808, aged seventeen, and was a student from 1808–1816, receiving his BA in 1812 and his MA in 1815. He was ordained as deacon at St. James' Church in Piccadilly on 6 March 1814. He was licensed as curate at Longton on 25 March 1814. He resigned as perpetual curate at Holy Trinity Church in Preston on 15 October 1820, having delivered his farewell sermon on Sunday, 2 April 1820. On 8 April 1820, his appointment at St. Petersburg was announced. Before leaving to take up this appointment he attended on 11 May 1820 the first levee held by George IV, where he was presented to the King by the Lord Bishop of Chester, George Henry Law, his uncle, to whom he was chaplain. Reverend Edward Law was chaplain of the English Church in St. Petersburg (see Images 110–111) from 1820 to 1864.

He was also the nephew of Edward Law, 1st Baron Ellenborough (Great Salkeld, Cumberland 16 November 1750 – London 13 December 1818), and cousin to Edward Law, 1st Earl of Ellenborough (8 September 1790 – 22 December 1871), who was four times president of the Board of Control of the East India Company and also governor-general of India (1842–1844).²

While still a university student, he accidentally discharged a fowling-piece during a sporting expedition on 29 March 1816 and mortally wounded a twelve-year-old boy, William Hawarden Gillibrand (1804 – 30 March 1816), the eldest son of Thomas Gillibrand (1780–1820) and Marscella Catharina (Goold) Gillibrand (1781–1857), of Gillibrand Hall, Lancashire. The boy died the next day. The newspapers carrying the notice of his death did not identify the perpetrator. It was not until 1875 that Law (then deceased) was openly named in a Fazakerley obituary as having accidentally shot William Hawarden Gillibrand.³ It would seem that every effort was made to keep unsullied the life of a young man just starting out on his career.

Reverend Edward Law married on 2 May 1816 at Rolleston, Staffordshire, Mary Elizabeth Mosley (bap. Rolleston, Staffordshire 12 September 1792 – Edinburgh 11 May 1877), the daughter of Rev. John Peploe and Sarah Maria (Paget) Mosley. Their children were: Harriette Maria (b. 13 July 1817; bap. Preston, Lancashire 13 July 1817; d. St. Petersburg 14/26 April 1821), Edward Peploe (b. 27 April 1818; bap. Preston 28 April 1818; d. Chatham, Kent 24 March 1837), Josephine Anne (bap. Preston 23 July 1819 – Ickham, Kent 15 April 1849), Mary Eliza (St. Petersburg 9/21 March 1821 – St. Petersburg 22 February / 6 March 1859; see Image 254), Henrietta Maria (St. Petersburg 25 October / 6 November 1822 – Edinburgh 18 November 1892), Caroline Frances (St. Petersburg 7/19 August 1824 – Kensington 24 November 1897), Emily Mosley (St. Petersburg 7/19 November 1827 – St. Petersburg 2/14 February 1880), Isabella Sarah (St. Petersburg 30 March / 11 April 1830 – Riga 1/13 February 1866), and Alfred Markham (St. Petersburg 7/19 November 1832 – Weston-super-Mare, Somerset 9 November 1870).

Josephine Anne Law married on 10 September 1838, at East Horsted, Sussex, as his second wife, Rev. John Adolphus Wright (b. Mapperley, Nottinghamshire c. 1804; bap. Basford, Nottinghamshire 24 May 1804; d. Tickhill, Yorkshire 16 June 1881). Mary Eliza Law married on 9/21 October 1804 in St. Petersburg James Richard Cattley (b. York 4 January 1806; bap. York 7 January 1806; d. Barnes, Surrey 22 January 1867; buried All Souls' Cemetery, Kensal Green, London; see Image 255). Henrietta Maria Law married Francis Anderson (Inchyra, Perthshire 19 August 1804 – Edinburgh 18 December 1855). Their wedding took place on 17 October 1848 at St. John's Episcopal Chapel in Edinburgh, where Henrietta, before marriage, was a "resident of the parish of South Leith," and again on 24 October 1848, presumably in St. George's Church in Edinburgh, where Francis was a resident of the parish of St. George. The Rev. E.B. Ramsay, minister of St. John's Episcopal Chapel from 1830 to 1872, was the officiating minister at both services. Caroline Frances married in St. Petersburg on 5/17 August 1846 Richard Miller (South Leith, Scotland 27 July 1818 – Leith, Scotland 12 January 1860). Emily Mosley Law married on 8/20 August 1851 in St. Petersburg Axel Daniel Gisiko (c. 1814 – St. Petersburg 9/21

May 1890), who took the surname Law-Gisiko. His family was from Sweden. Isabella Sarah Law married in St. Petersburg on 15/27 April 1852 Henry Robinson (London 16 July 1823 – Merano, Italy 14 January 1902). Alfred Markham seems to have had a daughter, Emily Maud Law, who was baptized on 15 April 1866 in Hammersmith, Middlesex, England. The mother's name is not clearly written in the register, and the name of the father has been crossed out and replaced with Alfred's name.⁴

In April 1844, Law requested from the Russia Company a leave of absence for up to three months. Between 23 May and 5 August 1844, he was replaced by Rev. George Williams, while he took his Doctor of Divinity degree at Christ Church College of the University of Oxford, by request of the British Factory, which presented him with £100 for his expenses. He received his Bachelor of Divinity and his Doctor of Divinity degrees on 21 June 1844.⁵

On retiring in 1864, Law returned to England with his wife. He died on 10 November 1868 in Barnes, Surrey, where his address was Lonsdale Road. He was buried in All Souls' Cemetery, Kensal Green, London.

Edward Law kept a journal, the whereabouts of which are unknown to me.⁶

NOTES

1. This brief biography of the Law family is a composite from the following sources: *Foster's Peerage*, p. 264; *Alumni Oxoniensis*, p. 822; *Crockford's Clerical Directory for 1860*, p. 362; Michael Skinner, *What We Did for the Russians and What They Did for (Some of) Us* [UK: JDS, 2008], pp. 124, 125; Karttunen, *Making a Communal World*, pp. 33, 110, 139, 191, 192, 205, 206, 240, 243, 244, 245, 246, 253, 306; *The Christian Remembrancer; or, The Churchman's Biblical, Ecclesiastical, and Literary Miscellany*. 22 vols. (London: F.C. & J. Rivington, 1819–1840), vol. 17 (1835), p. 374; Simon Dixon, "Allegiance and Betrayal: British Residents in Russia During the Crimean War," *Slavonic and East European Review* 94, no. 3 (2017): pp. 431–467; *Preston Chronicle*, November 6, 1875; *Lancaster Gazette*, April 6, 1816; *Norfolk Chronicle* April 13, 1816; *Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser*, April 5, 1816; *Hull Packet*, April 16, 1816; Edward Law to the Honble Lord Wodehouse, Minister Plenipotentiary etc. etc. etc. of Her Britannic Majesty at

St. Petersburg, St. Petersburg, Tuesday July 2/14, 1857, FO 65.496, PRO; “Deaths,” *Gentleman’s Magazine* 31, new series (1849): pt. 1, p. 667; “Marriages,” *Gentleman’s Magazine* 10, new series (1838): pt. 2, p. 544; RGIA: Fond 1689, op. 1, d. 7, no. 16, fol. 18r. *A Memoir, regarding the Church Registers of the Chapel of the British Factory, at Mosco and Archangel 1706 to 1732, and at St. Petersburg, from 1723, to the current Year*. Compiled and dedicated to the Factory by The Rev^d Edward Law M.A. 1833. John Kirton, Script, fol. 18r; Julia Mahnke-Devlin, *Britische Migration nach Russland im 19. Jahrhundert: Integration – Kultur – Alltagsleben* [*British Migration to Russia in the Nineteenth Century: Integration, Culture, Everyday Life*] (Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz, 2005), pp. 95, 98, 137, 142, 161, 168, 175, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 202, 206, 208, 211, 222; Alfred Royer, *The English Prisoners in Russia: A Personal Narrative of the First Lieutenant of H.M.S. Tiger; Together with an Account of His Journey in Russia, and His Interview with the Emperor Nicholas and the Principal Persons in the Empire*, 3rd ed. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1854), pp. 138, 143–144, 146, 148, 178; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1866, 1867, 1868, 1870, 1877, 1880, 1892, 1897; Register of St. Olave Church, York, IGI; *Cattleby Family Tree*, ancestry.co.uk; All Souls’ Cemetery Kensal Green Register No 47,571, Grave no. 21,193, IGI; *A History of the Society of Writers to Her Majesty’s Signet: With a List of the Members of the Society from 1594 to 1890 and an Abstract of the Minutes* (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1890); A.G. Cross, “Chaplains to the British,” pp. 140–141; *Evening Mail* (London), May 12, 1820; Record IDs 169755 [Edward Law], 3427 [George Henry Law], 131327 [John Adolphus Wright], Clergy of the Church of England database (CCed), theclergydatabase.org.uk; *Research Tree: Reformers, Abolitionists, Suffragists, and More*, ancestry.co.uk; *Preston Chronicle*, Saturday, April 29, 1837; and *Bristol Mercury*, Saturday, November 19, 1870.

As the Rev. Dr. Edward Law was for forty-four years (1820–1864) chaplain of the English Church in St. Petersburg, the court minute books of the Company manuscripts at Guildhall Library abound with information about him for that period. It is, however, beyond the scope of this essay for me to have scoured them, the end product of which would have been a full biography. My chief purpose in presenting a biography of him was to make available the information about the unfortunate shooting accident in which he was involved, which I am assuming is not common knowledge.

2. *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s.v. “Edward Law, earl of Ellenborough,” accessed November 15, 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Edward-Law-earl-of-Ellenborough>
3. The disclosure that Rev. Dr. Law was responsible for the death of William Hawarden Gillibrand appeared in an obituary for a person with the surname Fazakerley because William’s brother Henry, as heir to the Fazakerley estates in West Derby, Lancashire, took the surname of his cousin, Colonel Fazakerley (*Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, December 20, 1828; “Funeral of Mrs. Fazackerley [*sic*] Westby,” *Preston Chronicle*, November 6, 1875). William Harwarden Gillibrand was the older brother of Henry Harwarden Gillibrand, who in 1814 as “an infant second son of Thomas Gillibrand of Gillibrand Hall,” was granted by Royal Licence the name and arms of Fazakerly, his having been heir to the title and estate of Samuel Harwarden Fazakerley (c. 1753 – 1813) (“Royal Licences Recorded in England,” *Heraldry Online*, accessed 29 May 2021, <http://heraldry-online.org.uk/royal/royal-licences.htm>; Will of Samuel Harwarden Fazakerley, probated 9 October 1813, Prerogative Court of Canterbury Wills, 1384-1858, IGI).
4. Film no. 1966219, Family History Library (FHL), Salt Lake City, UT.
5. Welch, *List of Queen’s Scholars*, p. 468.
6. It is known that he kept a journal because, for example, in 1857, when he was involved in a dispute between an Englishwoman and her niece in St. Petersburg, he cited an extract from it to “elucidate” the situation (Edward Law to the Hon^{ble} Lord Wodehouse, Minister Plenipotentiary etc. etc. etc. of Her Britannic Majesty at St. Petersburg, St. Petersburg, Tuesday July 2/14, 1857, FO 65.496, PRO). Efforts to unearth this journal have so far proven unsuccessful. Again, I am assuming it is not common knowledge that he kept a journal nor where it is, or it would have been cited by other scholars.

LEON

There are four sources for the life of Charlotte Leon (20 April 1764 – 24 January / 5 February 1847): Anna Whistler's diaries, the *BRBC STP 1845*,¹ the *PREC STP* (no. 5690), and a single extant letter written by Mrs. Leon.

It is important to remember that Anna Whistler's knowledge of Mrs. Leon's biography was completely second-hand: she says she heard none of it from Mrs. Leon herself. The Gellibrands, who were Mrs. Leon's "constant friends these many years past,"² were probably Anna Whistler's major source. In addition to the possible mistakes of memory on the part of those narrating Mrs. Leon's biography to Anna Whistler, she herself demonstrated more than once in the two parts of the diaries that she confused details of the lives of others. What she herself perceived in the personality of her grateful, "cheerful, useful ... so neat & erect"³ friend, Mrs. Leon, was "her lively manner and intellectual remarks," "her high regard for traits of good encountered in her extensive knowledge of the world," and that "her usual deportment shewed she had been accustomed to the best society." It was "her humble yet exalted aim to do all the good in her power"; indeed, one of "her favorite texts" was "'she has done all she could'."⁴ She reminded Anna Whistler of her own mother, Martha (Kingsley) McNeill (see Image 22).

The single extant personal document illuminating Charlotte Leon's biography is a personal letter in French that she wrote, when destitute, from St. Petersburg on 20 February 1831 (whether Old or New Style cannot be determined) to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, Alexander Hamilton Douglas (5 October 1767 – 18 August 1852; see Image 328), entreating him to grant her an annual pension.⁵

According to Anna Whistler's diaries, Charlotte Leon was the niece of Dr. Edward Jenner (Berkeley, Gloucestershire 17 May 1749 – Berkeley, Gloucestershire 26 January 1823; see Image 193), the discoverer of vaccination, "her maiden name having been the same [as his] when a very young girl." She accompanied him to Paris, where they spent so much time in the circle of Benjamin Franklin, then American Ambassador to France, that "[Franklin] always addressed her as his

child.” She married “an officer in the British army” and “lived in the West Indies & at other stations abroad.” The children of this marriage did not survive, and both Mrs. Leon’s husband and father died. Her mother was old and had “a limited income,” while Mrs. Leon had no independent means. It was then that through “a lady of her acquaintance among the English nobility” she received a post in “a very distinguished Polish family” as governess to “their daughter, Olga” (see Images 324–327). After a period at their home in Poland, they moved to St. Petersburg “to complete the education of their children,” living there in a palace that, some forty years later (i.e., by the year 1847, in which Anna Whistler was writing about Mrs. Leon) had been “converted into a charitable institution.” Through the fêtes given by the Countess, “Mrs. Leon [had been] accustomed to meet the court circle of Imperial St. Petersburg for she was usually mistress of ceremonies” and “was familiar with the reigns” of Paul I, Alexander I and Nicholas I, about which she had many anecdotes to relate. Mrs. Leon spoke of the Polish Countess, her employer, as “beautiful, ... charitable, ... generous high-minded noble,” and felt great attachment to and admiration for her charge, Olga.⁶

There came a time when the “family [had to] leave St P to travel,” but Mrs. Leon was prevented from going with them because she suffered a fall that left her temporarily lame and took two years to recover from. She lost whatever savings she had “thro the dishonesty of an agent.” Many of her English countrymen then helped her. When able to work again, she may have taken a post in the Naryshkin family. Eventually she became “house keeper to Mr. Gellibrand” in Moscow for five years before he married his first wife. When he returned to Russia with his bride, Mrs. Leon retired. Aided by the English Factory, she “lived respected in private lodgings” in St. Petersburg, helping the poor, “visiting her few intimate friends,” and “making lint for the hospitals.”⁷ In the autumn of 1846, a Mrs. Snow invited the now-ill Mrs. Leon to leave her lodgings in the Galernaia and come to live in her home. It is here that Mrs. Leon died.⁸ Her funeral “was very respectably attended,”⁹ and Mrs. Gellibrand undertook to carry out her last wishes concerning her estate by selling “her furniture and clothing” for the benefit of the poor or distributing it “to the few of her pensioners.”¹⁰

In her letter of 20 February 1831, Mrs. Leon explained to the 10th Duke of Hamilton that she was Charlotte Leon, sixty-seven years old and infirm, who had the honor of having been personally known to him in Russia as governess to the countesses Potocki. He had at that time told her to feel free to call on him for help if circumstances should ever require it. She had not taken advantage of his offer, wishing instead to earn her bread independently, engaged in the education of young women. But the weight of years and the misfortune of having lost the small amount of capital she had by giving it to a family that had suffered irreparable losses and had been obliged to declare itself bankrupt had made her decide to take advantage of the Duke of Hamilton's generous promise now and to beg him to make her final years independent and tranquil. Unable to further hold any situation, she wished to retire in St. Petersburg, where she at present was, with her fellow countrymen and live out her days quietly, but, having no means, could not do so. She therefore implored him to grant her an annual pension that would enable her to spend her last days independently, retired from the world. She gave her place of residence as Grande Morskoy Street (*Bol'shaia Morskaiia*) in the building she said belonged to Rauz [should be Shtraukh] in the home of Madame Crayeffski [Kraevskaia], born Princess Schakoffskoi [Shakhovskaia].¹¹

The following is the result of attempts to check the information given in Anna Whistler's diaries and Mrs. Leon's letter.

If we look at Anna Whistler's statement that Charlotte's maiden name was the same as Edward Jenner's when she was a very young girl, a possible implication could be that her surname had changed while she was still a young girl, but well before she married, thus raising the question of whether the wives of any of Dr. Jenner's relations were widowed and then remarried. The discovery of another surname for her might not help clarify her birth date and parents, but it might help us to find the details of her marriage and issue. The amount of research required to determine this surname makes the research prohibitive at this time. She herself signed her letter to the 10th Duke of Hamilton simply "Charlotte Léon," revealing no maiden name. It is interesting that only in the burial register of the English Church was her Jenner connection noted and that because Rev. Law instituted (in 1841) the practice of

entering the maiden name of a widow or married female in her burial entry, if it could be ascertained.¹²

Consultation of the IGI has failed to produce a birth date and parents for Charlotte Jenner. My selection of 20 April 1764 as her date of birth is based on the fact that on 15 April 1845, she told the Whistlers that “her 81st Anniversary of her birth day would be next Sunday,”¹³ which was 20 April.

As for the statement that Dr. Edward Jenner was her uncle, (the late) Canon J.E. Gethyn-Jones of Berkeley, Gloucestershire, who in 1988 was preparing a biography (unfinished) of Dr. Edward Jenner and was adamant that Charlotte was not Jenner’s niece, suggested that she belonged to a collateral line or may have been a “byblow,” of which there were a few in the family, to his knowledge. Of interest is his further information about the descendents of Edward Jenner’s older brother, Reverend Henry Jenner (1736–1798). The latter’s fourth son was Reverend George Charles Jenner (1767–1846), who was as well a medical doctor (an MD “of Paris”) and “visited Paris” more than once. But this son was born three years after Charlotte Jenner, and thus seems unlikely to be the doctor with whom she travelled to Paris. Reverend George Charles Jenner’s only son, George Charles Jenner, Esquire (1824–1892), had eleven children and named his third daughter Charlotte Jenner Jenner,¹⁴ but I believe she was named for her father’s aunt, Charlotte (Fryer) Jenner.¹⁵

As for Charlotte’s visits to Paris and her closeness to Benjamin Franklin (17 January 1706 – 17 April 1790), who purportedly always addressed her as “my child,” there is no corroboration.¹⁶ Franklin was in France from late 1776 until 1785. In 1778, he was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the French Court. Charlotte Jenner’s age in those years ranged from twelve to twenty-one. Given Franklin’s advanced age, she could have appropriately been called “my child” by him at any time in that period. Charlotte Jenner does not appear in Claude-Anne Lopez’s book about Franklin and the women he knew in Paris.¹⁷ But as he “kept an open house every Sunday for English and American visitors, . . . a visit may well have taken place,” although there seems to be “no written trace” of it.¹⁸

Although her surname changed from Jenner at an early age, the IGI, consulted for her marriage, failed to produce a marriage for a Charlotte Jenner to a man with the surname Leon. There are thus no records of the birth of her children, who did not survive. It has not been possible to find information in foreign or army registers about the marriages of men with the surname Leon to women with the first name Charlotte in the appropriate period.

The fact that Mrs. Leon wrote to the 10th Duke of Hamilton and identified herself as governess to the countesses Potocki constitutes strong evidence that the Potocki family by whom she was employed was that of Count Stanisław Szczęśny Potocki (1752 – 16/28 March 1805; see Image 324), who married, as his third wife, his mistress the adventuress and “Greek beauty” of “libertine morals,” Zofia (Glavani) (Witt) (1760 – Berlin 12/24 November 1822; see Image 325).¹⁹ They had two daughters: Zofia (1801 – Paris 2 September 1875; see Image 327) and Olga (1802 – Paris 7 October 1861; see Image 326).²⁰ The Potockis lived on an estate in Tulczyn in the south of Russia, as well as having a mansion in St. Petersburg.²¹ Alexander Hamilton Douglas had been appointed ambassador to the Court of St. Petersburg on 26 May 1806 and had been recalled in 1807 (becoming the 10th Duke of Hamilton in February 1819). He had remained in Russia and Poland until October 1808,²² traveling to Tulczyn in late 1807 with the widowed Countess Potocka, who was his lover.²³ He could, therefore, only have become acquainted with Charlotte Leon in the short period between about mid-July 1806 and October 1808 (when she was forty-two to forty-four years old).

While in the employ of the Potocki family, Mrs. Leon could also have met the Scottish artist, William Allan (see Image 320), who, during his first stay in Russia (July 1805 – August 1814), had lived in St. Petersburg from 1805–1807. Leaving St. Petersburg in late 1807 with Douglas and Countess Potocka, he had then traveled “through the southern parts of the Russian empire.” After “extended stays in the Ukraine, Crimea, Kuban and Caucasus regions,” sketching the local peoples and collecting their arms and armor, Allan spent at least eighteen months with the hospitable Countess and her family in Tulczyn in the period from 1810–1813.²⁴

It is almost impossible to say when the trip that Mrs. Leon's accident prevented her from making took place. However, her assessment of the Countess as good and high-minded had to belong to the period after 1810, which has been pinpointed as the year in which a change in the Countess's moral behavior began, continuing until her death. In this period, she is said to have performed much philanthropy. She also devoted much time to a lengthy legal battle with her late husband's sons from his second marriage, attempting to ensure the financial future of her own children by Szcześny.²⁵ This litigation required her to travel back and forth to St. Petersburg from Tulczyn. We know, for example, that in the summer of 1811 she received a summons from her own son to come to St. Petersburg without delay, and that she set out for the capital with her entire family.²⁶ It is perhaps the return from St. Petersburg on this trip or on one like it that Mrs. Leon was prevented from making. The events of the Countess Potocka's life between April 1811 and 1820 cannot be helpful, because her correspondence for this period is not in the Potocki archives.²⁷ From the letters of people in St. Petersburg to the 10th Duke of Hamilton,²⁸ we know that she was in St. Petersburg in June 1810 and in December 1810.²⁹ She left St. Petersburg in the winter of 1811 (?) "on Acct of the Contracts at Kieff."³⁰ It is said that she was in St. Petersburg during the War of 1812.³¹ In July 1813, she was at Tulczyn.³²

The Naryshkin family in which Mrs. Leon is said to have taken a situation two years after her injury cannot be identified. It is tempting to conjecture, despite the order of the narration by Anna Whistler, that perhaps the Naryshkin family for whom Mrs. Leon worked was that of Lev Aleksandrovich Naryshkin (1785–1846), who married her former charge, Countess Olga Potocka, on 23 March / 4 April 1824.³³ Mrs. Leon would thus have taken up the post *after* Mr. Gellibrand's first marriage. But the Naryshkins' only daughter, Sophie, was born in 1829,³⁴ when Mrs. Leon's age would have been an impediment to her taking such a situation.

As her position of Mr. Gellibrand's housekeeper in Moscow, previous to his first marriage, lasted five years, and he married in December 1825 in England, Mrs. Leon would have to have taken up this employment no later than 1820–1821.

She certainly did not abuse Alexander Hamilton Douglas's offer, waiting some twenty-five years before approaching him for help in 1831. Whether he gave her financial aid so long after meeting her cannot be determined, as there is no extant reply to her, no acknowledgment from her, and the Hamilton family archives do not have any nineteenth-century "account books relating to payments to destitute individuals."³⁵

However her financial situation may have been resolved, Mrs. Leon's friends and compatriots helped her to varying degrees. When Anna Whistler invited her to dinner, she was living at 54 Galernaia Street,³⁶ in lodgings where there was a curfew. There were few luxuries she could allow herself, so Anna Whistler sent her back to her lodgings with a bottle of cream.³⁷ Dr. James Rogers, her physician, personally had her prescriptions filled and paid for them himself.³⁸ In the autumn of 1846, Mary Snow (born Dillow), widow of Thomas Snow, invited the now-ill Mrs. Leon to move to her home at 20 Karavannaia Street (in the house of Kuprianov, in the First Ward of the Third Admiralty District).³⁹ It is here that Mrs. Leon died. After a funeral service in the English Church (see Images 110–111), she was buried on 28 January / 8 February 1847, in the Smolensk Cemetery⁴⁰.

NOTES

1. "Leon Mrs No. 54 Galerney," female, with no occupation listed, is noted as having died in 1847 (*BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 34).
2. Entry for Tuesday night [February] 9 [1847], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
3. Entry for April 5/17 within entry for Thursday, 10 April [1845], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
4. Entry for Tuesday night [February] 9 [1847], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II. See also Mark 14:8.
5. Early 19th c. Personal correspondence, mainly appeals for help, Duke of Hamilton Papers, SRO (hereafter, SRO: Hamilton), 2177 Bundle 760.
6. Quotations in the last two sentences of this paragraph are taken from the entry for Saturday evening Feb. 27th [1847], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.

7. All quotations in this paragraph up to this point are taken from the entry for Saturday evening, Feb. 27th [1847], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
8. Entries for Saturday, January 30 [1847] and Saturday morning Feb. 6th [1847], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
9. Entry for Tuesday night [February] 9 [1847], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
10. Entry for Saturday evening: Feb. 27th [1847], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
11. SRO: Hamilton, 2177 Bundle 760.
12. RGIA: Fond 1689, op. 1, d. 16, fol. 18r (see Note 1 in Law in this Appendix for document title).
13. Entry for April 5/17 within the entry for Thursday, 10 April [1845], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II. In her letter of 20 February 1831, Mrs. Leon declared her age to be 67, which implies a birth year of 1763, if she turned 68 on 20 April 1831. The PREC STP for 1847, no. 5690, gives her age at death as eighty-three, which also implies a birth year of 1763, if she would have turned eighty-four on 20 April 1847. Even Anna Whistler, on her last visit to Mrs. Leon, on 20 January / 1 February 1847, a week before the latter's death, said she was eighty-three (entry for Saturday morning Feb. 6th [1847], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II). But, on the basis of Mrs. Leon's statement in 1845, she was eighty-two when she died.
14. All of the information in this paragraph to this point is from two undated letters in 1988 from Canon J.E. Gethyn-Jones to E. Harden.
15. Information taken from a Jenner genealogy provided by Dr. Malcolm F. Beeson, manager of the Jenner Museum and Conference Centre in Berkeley, Gloucestershire, in his letter of 1 August 2000 to E. Harden.
16. Replies from the staff of the multi-volume *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, which are being published by Yale University Press, and examination of the published volumes of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* for 1776–1785 (vols. 21–43; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978–2019) indicate that no Charlotte Jenner or a Dr. Jenner have so far appeared in Franklin's papers.
17. Claude-Anne Lopez, *Mon Cher Papa Franklin and the Ladies of Paris* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966).

18. Claude-Anne Lopez, New Haven, CT, to E. Harden, 24 April 1994.
19. Jerzy Łojek, *Dzieje pięknej Bitynki Opowieść o życiu Zofii Wittowej Potockiej (1760–1822)* [*The History of the Beautiful Bithynienne: A Story of the Life of Zofia Witt-Potocka (1760–1822)*] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Alfa, 1995), pp. 295, 388, 421. There is no mention of Mrs. Leon in this extensive and definitive biography. Łojek is the first scholar writing about the Countess Potocka to consult the latter's letters. Two further valuable works about Potocka that have appeared since Łojek's are Eva Stachniak, *Garden of Venus* (Toronto: Harper Collins Publishers, 2005), a novel, and Sukie Taylor Amory, "Eros toi Sofia. Sofiyivka: A Garden of Allusion in Ukraine," *Hortus* 87 (Autumn 2008): pp. 54–81; 88 (Winter 2008): pp. 72–97; 89 (Spring 2009): pp. 77–104; 90 (Summer 2009): pp. 79–102.
20. Their exact dates of birth are not known: Olga's year of birth is given as 1802 or 1803, while Zofia's is always given as 1801. Memoirists speak of them as two years apart in age. Olga's death date of 7 October 1861 and Zofia's death date of 2 September 1875 are given in L.P. Grossman, "U istokov 'Bakchisaraiskogo fontana'" ["At the Sources of 'The Fountain of Bakchisarai'"], in *Pushkin Issledovaniia i materialy* [*Pushkin: Studies and Materials*], vol. 3, ed. N.V. Izmailov (Moscow–Leningrad: Izd-stvo AN SSSR, 1960), p. 59. Olga's beauty was captured by an unknown mid-nineteenth-century artist in the late 1830s – early 1840s (see Image 326).
21. Smirnova-Rosset, *Dnevnik*, pp. 742, 755, 762; Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar'*, vol. 1, pp. 3, 39. The Potocki mansion was No. 4 on the English Embankment and the back of it was No. 8 on Galernaia Street. See also Anatolii Ivanov, *Doma i liudi Iz istorii peterburgskikh osobniakov* [*Houses and People: From the History of St. Petersburg Detached Houses*] (Moscow– St. Petersburg: Tsentrpoligraph M i M-Del'ta, 2005), pp. 397–405.
22. *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Hamilton, Alexander Douglas- ... (1767–1852)."
23. Łojek, *Dzieje pięknej Bitynki*, p. 304; Howard, *William Allan*, pp. 45–46. Douglas is said to have given substantial sums of money to Countess Potocka.

Of particular interest in the exhibition catalogue *William Allan*, in connection with Mrs. Leon's employer, Countess

- Potocka, is the essay by Andrzej Szczerski, “Walking Where Alluring Grass Floats...’ William Allan’s Polish Nest,” pp. 31–41.
24. Howard, *William Allan*, pp. 45–46; William Allan to Alexander Hamilton Douglas, St. P., 16 January 1812, Letters on Russian affairs to the Duke of Hamilton, 1803–1813, SRO: Hamilton, 2177 Bundle 698.
 Allan’s voyage by sea in 1805 had ended in a wreck at Memel. Here, he accumulated “funds by painting portraits of the Dutch Consul and others,” and then traveled by land to St. Petersburg, where he was aided, particularly by the physician to the Imperial family, Sir Alexander Crichton. He learned Russian and “travelled in the interior of the country.” He also lived in the Ukraine for several years, “making excursions to Turkey, Tartary and elsewhere, studying the manners of Cossacks, Circassians, and Tartars, and collecting arms and armour.” The French invasion of Russia prevented him from leaving Russia in 1812; he did not return to Edinburgh until 1814 (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Allan, Sir William”).
 25. A.J. Rollé, “Sud’ba krasavitsy (Sofia Gliavone-Vitte-Pototskaia)” [“The Fate of a Beauty (Sofia Gliavone-Vitte-Pototskaia)”] *Kievskaia starina: ezhebemesiachnyi istoricheskii zhurnal [Old Days and Ways of Kiev: A Monthly Journal of History]* 17 (1887): p. 132; Grossman, “U istokov,” p. 59.
 26. Łojek, *Dzieje pięknej Bitynki*, pp. 360, 362.
 27. Łojek, pp. 363–364.
 28. Letter to Monsieur le Marquis, Peters. 1810 le 1 de juin, Letters on Russian affairs to the Duke of Hamilton, 1803–1813, SRO: Hamilton, 2177 Bundle 698.
 29. Cte Walicki to Monsieur le Marquis, St. Petersbourg, le 12 Decembre 1810, Letters on Russian affairs to the Duke of Hamilton, 1803–1813, SRO: Hamilton, 2177 Bundle 698.
 30. J. Rogerson to My Lord, 41. Charlotte Square Dec^r. 14, 1811 (?), Letters on Russian affairs to the Duke of Hamilton, 1803–1813, SRO: Hamilton, 2177 Bundle 698.
 31. Łojek, *Dzieje pięknej Bitynki*, p. 363.
 32. Labensky to Monsieur le Marquis 15 Bucklersbury, 24 Juillet 1813, Letters on Russian affairs to the Duke of Hamilton, 1803–1813, SRO: Hamilton, 2177 Bundle 698.

33. Łojek, *Dzieje pięknej Bitynki*, p. 392. Her sister, Zofia (see Image 327), married on 25 August (OS) 1821 Pavel Dmitrievich Kiselev (8 January 1788 – 14/24 November 1872), minister of state properties from 1837 and Russian ambassador to France from 1856 to 1862. She did not live with him after 1829 (Łojek, p. 374; Grossman, “U istokov,” pp. 62, 72).
34. Elizaveta Renne, “Christina Robertson in Russia,” in *Christina Robertson: A Scottish Portraitist at the Russian Court*, ed. Amanda Farr, trans. Catherine Phillips (St. Petersburg and Edinburgh: [Edinburgh City Art Centre], 1996), pp. 32, 33, 36.
35. E.A. Bouchard, private secretary to the Duke of Hamilton, Lennoxlove, Haddington, East Lothian, to E. Harden, 29 January 1993.
36. *BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 35. Nistrem gives 54 Galernaia as the property of Briskorn (Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar'*, vol. 1, p. 39).
37. Entry for April 5/17 within the entry for Thursday 10 April [1845], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
38. Entry for April 5/17 within the entry for Thursday 10 April [1845], and the entry for Saturday morning Feb. 6th [1847], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
39. *BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 52; Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar'*, vol. 1, p. 62. Mary Dillow was born 18 July 1783 (OS) and baptized 24 August 1783 (OS) in the English Church. It has not been possible to ascertain her death date; nor has it been possible to ascertain a birth, baptism, or death date for Thomas Snow. Thomas Snow and Mary Dillow were married in the English Church on 28 November 1829 (OS) (IGI).
40. PREC STP, no. 5690; *BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 34.

*MAINGAY*¹

William Maingy (St. Peter Port, Guernsey 8 May 1791 – Tunbridge Wells 24 April 1862) was the son of Thomas Maingy (1756–1835) of Havelet, and the eldest of ten children of his marriage to his second wife, Anne le Cocq. In order of birth, he was the middle brother of three male siblings, the others being his half-brother, Thomas (1781–1859), and his biological brother, Bonamy (1795–1861).² In appearance and character, he reminded Anna Whistler of John Winstanley and seemed “to appreciate Debo as that kind Uncle did when we were in England” [in 1843].³ See Images 258–264 of many of the Maingay family members.

“In the 18th century,” the Maingy family’s profits came from the sales of wine and spirits to Cornish smugglers and “from privateering during ... the American War of Independence, and the French Revolution.”⁴ As “the wine trade ... had suffered an economic slump after 1815,” William went into “wool trading in partnership with [a] John Thomas.”⁵ Their premises in 1823 were given as 17 Basinghall Street in London, where they were “paying \$80 a year rent,” which “went to Christ’s Hospital under an endowment by Lady Anne Bacon.”⁶

In 1817, William Maingy married in St. Peter Port Eliza Lamb (Piette House, St. Peter Port, Guernsey 16 January 1801 – London 28 June 1877),⁷ daughter of George Lamb (b. 2 March 1766; bap. Rye 10 March 1766; d. Guernsey 19 April 1829) and Catherine Gosselin (Guernsey 15 May 1766 – d. 3 February 1850; buried Guernsey 8 February 1850). While living in England, they had four children: William Bonamy (b. London 14 October 1819; bap. London, St. Pancras Parish Church 17 October 1819; d. Boscombe, Hampshire 26 August 1902)⁸; Eliza Ann (St. Peter Port, Guernsey 12 February 1821 – London 20 November 1899); Emma Elizabeth (St. Peter Port, Guernsey 6 February 1826 – Tewkesbury 27 December 1904); and Charles George (St. Peter Port, Guernsey 21 October 1830 – St. Petersburg 27 January / 8 February 1843).

Sometime in 1827, the family was joined by Amelia Hooper (Sanford, Devon 1810 – Southwick Crescent, Paddington, London 15 January 1876), who became nanny to the children, and whom they affectionately called “Meely.” Her epitaph on the family tomb reads:

“For 49 years a valued friend and nurse in the family of the above ‘Faithful unto death.’”⁹

In 1831, the family, including Amelia Hooper, but leaving William Bonamy in Guernsey to attend Elizabeth College, emigrated to St. Petersburg. There, William Maingy assumedly pursued “his wool factoring business.”¹⁰ They lived on Vasilievskii Island.¹¹ The three youngest children were born there: Amelia de Jersey (St. Petersburg 20 October / 1 November 1833 – St. Petersburg 23 November / 5 December 1835), Frederick Thomas (St. Petersburg 1/13 May 1834 – London 11 October 1862), and Emily (St. Petersburg 23 January / 4 February 1836 – London 25 December 1890). Amelia de Jersey died there at the age of two years and one month.¹²

As “Britain lifted its embargo on machinery exports around this time, many entrepreneurs were looking for opportunities in Russia. One of the main areas was cotton technology, and the Ohta Cotton Spinning Mill was set up as a pilot project by the Frerichs brothers on the little Ohta River feeding into the Neva. They were partners in the De Jersey merchanting firm which had special interests in cotton and the Baltic trade.”¹³

William Maingy, “who had behind him his experience in the textile trade ... was one of the Ohta Mill founders, (with twenty two of the original eighty seven shares, as detailed in his will dated 29th April 1862).” He later bequeathed “eleven of these shares to William Bonamy noting that the sum of 33,000 silver rubles Russian currency had been advanced for the payment, and he [put] others in a trust for his wife and daughters.” “Ohta ... in 1860 ... was the sixth largest spinning mill in Russia, with 67,000 spindles, and an estimated capital value of £49,000 sterling.”

From St. Petersburg on 1st January 1835, Maingy & Co. sent a circular to the London Merchant Bank, Wm Brandt’s Sons & Co., informing them that they had opened a branch in Archangel, which would be run by Thomas Carew Hunt, whose own branch there would be closed. The circular also stated that “I, William Maingy, have written myself up at the Dooma (council) of this town, trading under the name of Wm. Maingy.” It is not clear in what commodities or services the various companies were trading, but both Brandt and De Jersey were

reputable merchant bankers who backed a wide range of ventures and products, particularly sugar and cotton.¹⁴

On 22 June 1840, William, Thomas, and Bonamy “changed their name by Royal Licence” from Maingy to Maingay, “like most of the Guernsey members of their family.”¹⁵

William Maingay returned to England in 1843, probably “to prepare for the return of the whole family the following spring,”¹⁶ and “stayed at Wellesley House, a substantial villa on Shooters’ Hill, London.”¹⁷ He was followed by his family, who left Russia on 19/31 May 1844, except for William Bonamy, who stayed in St. Petersburg to look after the family’s business interests. Deborah Whistler (see Images 17–19, 21) visited them in 1846, during the year she spent in Preston with Anna Whistler’s half-sister and brother-in-law, Eliza Isabella (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley (see Image 40) and John Winstanley. The Whistlers accompanied Emma Maingay back to Wellesley House in October 1847, after she had been absent for six weeks preparing for and participating in the wedding of Deborah Whistler and Francis Seymour Haden.

By the end of March 1851, the family was living in Tunbridge Wells: William (59), retired merchant; his wife, Eliza (51); their daughters, Eliza (30), Emma (25), and Emily (14); and three servants, including Amelia Hooper (40). Their address was 7 Belvedere Terrace in Church Road, opposite Holy Trinity Church.¹⁸

In 1861, they were still in Tunbridge Wells, but at 1 Belmont Terrace: William Maingay (69), shareholder; Eliza, his wife (62); their daughters, Eliza Ann (40), Emma (35), both born in Guernsey, and Emily (24), born in St. Petersburg; their son, Frederick (25), born in St. Petersburg; and four servants, including Amelia Hooper (50), born in Sanford, Devon.¹⁹

In Tunbridge Wells, William Maingay “was a diligent supporter of church and town activities,” such as the foundation of the church of St. John-on-the-Lew, which was consecrated on 5 January 1858. He was in 1859 treasurer of the Victoria Schools, which were run by the church. In 1860, he was a town commissioner.²⁰

He died in Tunbridge Wells on 24 April 1862 and was buried in Woodbury Park Cemetery. His monument bears the epitaph: “Them

also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him.” His estate amounted to under £4,000.²¹

* * *

Eliza (Lamb) Maingay (see Image 259) was descended from James Lamb (1693–1756), mayor of Rye, who built Lamb House. “The only portrait of her shows a delicately boned almost gaunt woman with dark brown hair. From the style of hair and dress [it] appears to belong to the early 1840s.”²²

Descriptions of her personality and character are to be found in the St. Petersburg diaries of Anna Whistler (see Images 1–5) and in the memoirs of a Woolwich friend of the Maingay family, Jane Connolly (b. 8 June 1841; bap. Woolwich 4 August 1841; d. Preston, Sussex 20 April 1922).²³ The entries in Part I of Anna Whistler’s St. Petersburg diaries are based on direct contact with the family until they left St. Petersburg on 19/31 May 1844. Their imminent departure precipitated frequent meetings. Her comments about Eliza (Lamb) Maingay reveal a spiritual kinship with a “truly pious,” warmhearted woman, together with her husband not fond of parties, and generous in helping Anna Whistler shop because of her fluency in Russian. They conversed at dinner at the Maingays’ about the various churches and pastors in their lives and their departed little ones lost to death.

After their first meeting, Eliza (Lamb) Maingay sometimes sent books, such as Reade’s *Christian Meditations*, to Anna Whistler courtesy of Emma’s visit to Debo (see Images 17–19, 21), and spent two days introducing Anna Whistler to shops which she herself had found satisfactory for twelve years. Anna Whistler looked forward to sociables where she knew Eliza (Lamb) Maingay would be present. Eliza (Lamb) Maingay and the family visited the Whistlers at their dacha. She frequently begged and persuaded Major and Anna Whistler to allow Debo to spend whole days and nights at her home, especially as their day of departure approached. On that day, she gave a letter of farewell to Debo for Anna Whistler, not to be opened for a week.

After the Maingay family left Russia, Anna Whistler and Eliza (Lamb) Maingay used William Bonamy as a go-between to bring them letters from one another. Unfortunately, none of these letters are extant;

the reason for the loss of most letters, including Mrs. Maingay's, is that, as Anna Whistler said, only letters from Major Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21) were among the few she kept. In 1847, they met again, this time at Shooters' Hill, when all the Whistlers were present in England for the wedding of Deborah Whistler and Francis Seymour Haden (see Image 20). Jane Connolly said Mrs. Maingay "was one of the group of Woolwich ladies devoted to good works," and her "friends were the very good and religious people in the Wells." In those "days of clergy worship," "Mrs. Maingay and her family were ardent followers of [Rev. Capel] Molyneux" (1804–1877). She, as well as her daughters, were described as "highly cultured and accomplished. Books abounded in their house, and all the family were more or less musical and artistic."²⁴

Some time after the death of her husband in 1862, Eliza (Lamb) Maingay moved from Tunbridge Wells to London with Eliza Anne, Emma, and Emily. By 1871, they were living at 11 Nottingham Place, London: Eliza Maingay, head (72), "Living on Private Property"; her daughters, Eliza (50), Emma (45), Emily (34), also "living on Private Property"; and their servant, Amelia Hooper (60), "Annuitant." By the time of the deaths of Amelia Hooper (1876) and Eliza (Lamb) Maingay (1877), they were living at Southwick Crescent, near Paddington. Eliza (Lamb) Maingay died here on 28 June 1877 and was buried in Woodbury Park Cemetery. Information about her on the tombstone says: "Sacred to the memory ... also of Eliza widow of the above W. Maingay Esq. born January 13, 1799 died June 28 1877." Her estate amounted to under £7,000.²⁵

* * *

William Bonamy Maingay (b. London 14 October 1819; bap. 17 October St. Pancras parish church; d. Boscombe, Hampshire 26 August 1904; see Image 260) was the first child of William and Eliza (Lamb) Maingay. In 1830, he "was enrolled in Elizabeth College," in Guernsey, "rebuilt in 1826" and "educationally transformed," of which his uncle, Bonamy Maingay, was "a director and treasurer." "The curriculum had Latin and Greek studies at its core, but also included mathematics and commercial arithmetic, French and other languages, and surveying." When the rest of the family went to Russia in 1831, he "must have been

left behind in Guernsey, at least during school terms until he was 14, as he is recorded as a pupil there in 1830–33 in the Elizabeth College Register.” “There were many close relations with whom he could have lived, including his grandparents at Havelet.”²⁶

We know little of his life in St. Petersburg, except from the letters of John Stevenson Maxwell of the U.S. Legation, until Anna Whistler begins to record in her diaries Deborah Whistler’s acquaintance with his sister Emma, and gradually with the entire family. William Bonamy became romantically interested in Deborah Whistler in 1844, but, given Major Whistler’s adamance that his daughter could have his permission to marry only if her suitor was an officer of the United States Army, he had no success (see the biography of Deborah Whistler in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s”). We know that he made a stilted translation of the Russian romance “Chornyi tsvet” (“The Color Black”), which Debo sang at an evening event; that his sister Emma and Deborah Whistler were amused at his piano playing; that he had a barge on which he took his friends on excursions dressed in a sailor’s suit; and that, after the Maingay family left Russia in 1844, he was the frequent bearer of his sister’s and mother’s letters to and from Deborah and Anna Whistler on his trips between England and St. Petersburg.

It is not clear when William Bonamy Maingay left St. Petersburg to live permanently in England, but on 8 January 1857 he married Anna Maria Courtney (Dublin, Ireland 17 February 1833 – Boscombe, Hampshire 24 May 1910), “one of seven daughters and two sons of Henry Courtney, ‘gentleman,’ of 24 Fitzwilliam Place, Dublin, and Sydney Gosselin,” a very wealthy family with – on one side – Huguenot roots. They were settled in Tunbridge Wells at 3 Belmont Terrace by 1858, two houses down from the residence of William and Eliza (Lamb) Maingay. They had nine children, all born in Tunbridge Wells: Sydney Kathleen (March Qtr. 1858 – Norwich 26 July 1936), Courtney Cyril (March Qtr. 1859 – Houston, Texas 1 January 1902), Maude Evelyn (December Qtr. 1860 – Bournemouth 19 April 1936), Edward William (June Qtr. 1862 – Wrexham 21 April 1929), Bonamy Cecil (September Qtr. 1864 – Hampstead 13 August 1895), Annette Adeline (December Qtr. 1865 – Wells 15 April 1944), Henry Bertram (December Qtr. 1867 – Scarborough 17 November 1930), Mabel d’Olier (June Qtr. 1872 –

Reephams, Norwich 30 April 1958), Wilfred Gosselin (5 June 1873 – Tunbridge Wells 21 August 1873).²⁷ All were baptized at Holy Trinity Church. William Bonamy called their house “Strelna,” presumably after the town on the seventeenth verst of the Peterhof Road, where the palace of Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich (see Image 436) stood, suggesting that the dacha the Maingays had rented while living in Russia was located in the vicinity of that palace. It is not clear whether William Bonamy “had any sort of employment” after his marriage, for beginning with the 1861 Census he is listed as “shareholder.”²⁸

Like his father, he supported “church and town activities,” engaging together with him in getting the church of St. John-on-the-Lew built. He became “a Town Commissioner, serving on the Police Committee, while continuing to support Holy Trinity as Treasurer of the Parochial Provident and Clothing Club, and as Treasurer of the Church of England Education Society.” When living in London, “he was for many years on the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society.” “He became Hon. Secretary of the 17th Kent Rifles in the Volunteer Corps in 1863.”²⁹

By 1868, he and his family were living at Marlborough House on Mount Sion in Tunbridge Wells. In 1873, they moved to London, where they presumably lived at Southwick Crescent, near Paddington. In 1891, William Bonamy and Anna Maria (Courtney) Maingay were living at 14 Kensington Crescent, London, with three of their daughters. The diaries of their daughter Annette Adeline show that during the 1880s her father paid annual visits to St. Petersburg in February or March, usually staying about a fortnight. By 1901, they were living in Boscombe, Hampshire; their house was called “Havelet.” Here, William Bonamy died on 26 August 1902. His estate amounted to about £25257. Anna Maria (Courtney) Maingay died at Boscombe, as well, on 24 May 1910.³⁰

* * *

Eliza Anne Maingay³¹ (see Image 262) was born at St. Peter Port, Guernsey, on 12 February 1821. She was called “Nina” by the family. In St. Petersburg, Anna Whistler recorded that she found her the most interesting of the three Maingay daughters and hoped that Emma would “become the decided young Christian her sister Eliza is.” Eliza was a close friend of Miss McLean, the governess in the family of Varvara

Alekseevna Olenina (see Image 306). On the family's return to England, while living in Shooters' Hill, they were "ardent followers" of Rev. Capel Molyneux, who preached "at Trinity Church, just outside the Arsenal Gates" from 1842 to 1850. On one occasion, when Rev. Molyneux fell ill and had to take leave, he was replaced by a young man of eloquence and charm, who won Eliza Maingay's heart. Her father, who had been on a trip to Russia, returned two weeks before the wedding. On his way home through London, he was warned by a friend to check the credentials of the bridegroom-to-be. He found that the young man, although he came from "a good family and had a good education," was not a clergyman, "had been convicted of some crime," and was living "under an assumed" name. The "engagement was broken off," and Eliza "had the courage taken out of her life" and retreated from it, never marrying. As Rev. Molyneux was canon of Trinity Church, Woolwich, from 1842 to 1850, and Eliza Maingay did not come to live in Woolwich until about June of 1844, it seems plausible that her encounter with this young man had to have taken place between 1844 and 1850.³²

When the Whistler family brought Emma Maingay home to Wellesley House, Shooters' Hill, Anna Whistler had another occasion to feel the admiration for Eliza Maingay that she had experienced in St. Petersburg. Eliza had a "district of poor cottagers" whom she visited. Anna Whistler found her attired in Quaker dress, "the picture of neatness and composure, looking so placid and with a heavenly expression on her mild, sweet face." Eliza Anne asked Anna Whistler to take Bonnet's *The Family of Bethany* to St. Petersburg as a gift to her friend, Mary Touchkoff, and a Bible for the Whistler home for couriers to read while they waited for answers to the messages they delivered. Anna Whistler felt regret that she could not spend several days in Eliza Anne's company. After the death of her father, Eliza Anne moved to London with her mother, sisters, and Amelia Hooper. She died at Dorset Square, Marylebone, London on 20 November 1899. Her estate amounted to about £6,000.

* * *

Emma Elizabeth Maingay (see Image 263) was born in St. Peter Port, Guernsey, on 6 February 1826. It is after the arrival of Deborah

Whistler in St. Petersburg at the end of September 1843 that we begin to learn anything of Emma. Although Anna Whistler began to record at the end of November 1843 the Whistler family's journey to St. Petersburg, their loss of Charles Donald, their reaction to the climate and the Neva water, it was not until late December 1843 that she recorded that on Christmas Day, when Debo took James (see Images 24–29) and Willie (see Images 27, 30) to the Ropeses to present some gifts, she stayed on to play duets “with a Miss Mengies.” This had to be Emma, and the entry shows that they met sometime within the first three months after the Whistlers' arrival, but possibly for the first time, as the emphasis is on “*a* Miss Mengies.”

On 18/30 January 1844, the Whistler family went to dine at the Maingays' home, apparently meeting all the family members for the first time. Anna Whistler recorded that she “admire[d] Emma who is perhaps more talented [than her sister, Eliza] and is very pretty.” Throughout Part I of the diaries, after this meeting of the two families, there are numerous references to Debo's spending the day or overnight at the Maingay home or Emma's spending the day at the Whistlers' home, for example, on 9 March 1844, and 22 March 1844.

Debo and Emma attended as spectators the wedding festivities of Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elizaveta Mikhailovna (see Image 441) and His Serene Highness Duke Adolphe Wilhelm of Nassau (see Image 442) on 19/31 January 1844.

On 1/13 March 1844, Anna Whistler attended a rehearsal of the Imperial choristers with Debo and Emma, where the two young women appreciated the music as musicians, while she wept, thinking of the bliss of all the dead she had known.

Debo is also recorded in the diaries as having attended a performance by Clara Schumann (see Image 199) with the Maingays at the Smol'nyi Convent (see Image 147).

The imminent “departure of the Maingays for England induce[d] [the Whistlers] to meet them as often as possible” in many venues. Debo and Emma went together to a tea party at the Gellibrands on 22 April in honor of Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes's birthday and wedding anniversary. Eliza (Lamb) Maingay called on 3 May to beg that Debo could come spend the night with all the family, an adventure that the weather

prolonged into a stay of several days. Emma came out to the Whistler dacha on the Peterhof Road for a week, prompting Anna Whistler to record a very favorable assessment of her. She found Emma, who sometimes sat with her and read aloud from Christian works, “a very gifted girl,” whose “voice in reading is sweeter than at the piano.” She was very grateful that while Emma had come to the dacha to spend time with Debo, she also made time for Debo’s mother.

These visits to the dacha were the last Emma and her family made to the Whistlers, although Debo went to their home and spent their last night in St. Petersburg with them. They departed on the steamer on 19/31 May 1844. Debo saw them off and returned home with Emma’s picture, overcome by sadness. It is now that Emma’s brother, William Bonamy, who was remaining in St. Petersburg, began to act as go-between, appearing on 15 June at the Whistler dacha with a note from Emma, the first in a long correspondence.

When Deborah Whistler spent a year in 1845–1846 in Preston for her health’s sake, she visited Emma and her family at Shooters’ Hill. In 1847, the entire Whistler family were in Preston and, in preparing for Deborah’s marriage to Francis Seymour Haden, had Emma with them for six weeks. She was the only bridesmaid. After the Hadens set up housekeeping in London, Debo and Emma saw one another frequently until the latter’s death. Anna Whistler’s letters to James Whistler sometimes recorded that Emma was a guest at the Haden home and that she asked that greetings be conveyed to him.

Jane Connolly, writing of the Tunbridge Wells days, said that, while “all the family were more or less musical and artistic, Emma’s music was especially good. She played in a masterly way. She was very fond of pets, and had the gift of teaching them. Canaries understood almost every word she said, and often, when playing, her canary would be seen fluttering over her hands on the piano. When the movement was slow, it would perch on her hand. Dormice became intelligent with her, and squirrels who are shy of making friends loved her. They came when she called, and ate nuts in her hand.” She also mentioned that Emma arranged Shakespeare readings.

When the sisters moved to London with their mother, Emma helped her sister, Emily, with the orphanage that the latter set up.

Emma Maingay was the last surviving offspring of William and Eliza (Lamb) Maingay. She died on 27 December 1904 at Tewkesbury. Her estate amounted to about £4,000.³³

* * *

Charles George Maingay (see Image 261) was born in St. Peter Port Guernsey on 21 October 1830. He was therefore up to a year old when the family moved to St. Petersburg. He died there at the age of twelve years and three months, on 15/27 January 1843, and was buried on 19/31 January 1843, presumably in the Smolensk Cemetery, from the English Church (see Images 110–111), Rev. Edward Law (see Image 253) officiating. He died from a fall on the ice on the Neva, which suggests he may have been sledding down one of the ice hills, a winter feature (see Image 344).³⁴ Anna Whistler described in her diaries a day spent there, with descriptions of Colonel Charles S. Todd (see Image 278), the American envoy; Richard Risley Carlisle and his sons (see Image 202), all acrobats; and James and Willie engaging in the sport.

* * *

Frederick Thomas Maingay³⁵ (St. Petersburg 1/13 May 1834 – Hanover Street, Hanover Square, London 11 October 1862) was the third and youngest son of William and Eliza (Lamb) Maingay. In recording the Whistler family's visit to the Maingay home in St. Petersburg in February 1844, Anna Whistler only mentioned, and that erroneously, that Freddy was between James and Willie in age, whereas he was two months older than James. In October 1847, she recorded that James and Willy went off after lunch with Fred "to the nut trees" at the Maingay home in Shooters' Hill.

In 1851, Frederick had "been one of three private pupils of the Rev. Pelham Maitland incumbent of Fradswell in Staffordshire. He matriculated on 8th March 1854 and was on Wadham College, Oxford, books till 1858, though he did not take his degree. In 1861, he was living again with his parents, with no profession given." He died on 11 October 1862, while in London, from "Delirium Tremens a week certified." He was buried in Woodbury Park Cemetery with his father. They shared the

epitaph “Them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him.” His estate amounted to under £5,000.

At some point beyond his boyhood, Frederick Maingay published a poem entitled “A Picture,” which is a paean to his mother evoked by a photograph of her in his possession.

* * *

Emily Maingay,³⁶ called “Lille” and “Lily” by family and friends, was the youngest Maingay child (see Image 264). She was born in St. Petersburg on 23 January / 4 February 1836. She is also the daughter through whom many details about the family come to light. This is due to the fact that while living in Tunbridge Wells she became close friends with the abovementioned Jane Connolly, who later published a book of memoirs.

Emily Maingay was eight years old when the Whistler and Maingay families met in St. Petersburg in 1844. Anna Whistler mentions her only by name in recording that they dined on 18/30 January at the Maingay home. In October 1847, after the marriage of Deborah Whistler and Francis Seymour Haden, the Whistlers accompanied Emma Maingay back to Wellesley House, Shooters’ Hill. Emily was now eleven. Anna Whistler pointed out in her diaries that “little Lillie clung to her sisters.”

Over the years, Emily Maingay and Jane Connolly made visits to Deborah (Whistler) Haden in Sloane Street and especially enjoyed themselves if she played the piano. But they were afraid of “old Mrs. Whistler” and did not go if “[they] knew she was there.” James Whistler also alarmed them, if he was at the Haden home, because one “never knew what he might do or say.” “His rapid movements, the weird white lock of hair, and the intonations of his voice made [them] feel he was scarcely human,” but they were also aware that “he enjoyed [their] foolish fears.”

Jane Connolly pointed out that when Emily grew up “she showed a marked artistic talent.” “She painted sometimes in water-colour, and a little in oils, but in the end she scarcely did anything but etching. Her style was dainty and delicate, the drawing true. She had a strong sense of humour which made her work delightful. One set of sketches on the old-fashioned crinoline she had lithographed. The beauty of her lines was

quite lost in the process, but the wit and originality of the story could not be spoiled. Many years later, she etched the story of some Christmas robins, which she sold for the orphanage she had started. But the best of all, her ‘Life of Saint Severity,’ has never been reproduced.”

After the death of her mother in 1877, Emily moved with her two sisters to Dorset Square, “and it was in adjoining New Street that [she] developed her orphanage, eventually occupying two houses there, training girls for domestic service ... in 1898 she was interviewing candidates and acting as secretary to Edward Rudolf, co-founder with his brother of the Church of England Waifs and Strays Society ... Not long before her death [she] donated the orphanage buildings and a substantial endowment to the Society.” “She had heard one or two sad stories of the desolate condition of servants’ children. This awakened [her] interest, and she started a home for these little ones ... where they would have care and training. The parents paid what they could. Often, when out of a place, the mother could pay nothing, but the child remained in the home just the same. [Her] skilful fingers made the garments; one seldom saw her without a little frock or cloak in hand.” Although “for many years before her death she suffered from a cruel internal illness which kept her constantly on the sofa,” Jane Connolly pointed out her accomplishments “as an example of what is possible even for a delicate woman to do.”

Emily Maingay died in London at Dorset Square on 25 December 1890. Her estate amounted to about £3,695.

* * *

Anna Whistler’s opinion of the entire Maingay family was that at their home Debo was “delighting and delighted, such companions will give her a distaste for those [that] are less improved.”³⁷

NOTES

1. I am deeply grateful to Rosemary K.F. Clarke of Weybourne, Norfolk, for her generosity in sharing family papers with me and introducing me to further family members: her sister, Annabel Maingay of Stiffkey, Norfolk; her aunt and uncle, Dr. Hugh and Mrs. Hope Maingay of Norwich, Norfolk; and her cousin, James

Maingay of Schoten, Belgium, all of whom also supplied information and/or photographs (hereafter, these papers will be collectively referred to as the Maingay Family Papers). Of great interest and help to me has been the booklet *William Maingay 1791–1862: A St. Petersburg Merchant and his Family* by Russell Maingay, written in 2012 to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the death of his ancestor. The booklet is the fourteenth in a series published by the Friends of Woodbury Park Cemetery in Tunbridge Wells for the purpose of aiding the work of restoring memorials in the cemetery, and appeared at the time of the commemoration of the restored Maingay family vault, which took place on Tuesday, 24 April 2012.

As the family name Maingay was spelled Maingy until 22 June 1840, it will appear in this biography sometimes as Maingy and sometimes as Maingay. In the notes to Anna Whistler's St. Petersburg diaries, which date from after the name change, only Maingay will be used, although she wrote "Mengies" and "Maingy" as well.

2. Maingay, *William Maingay*, pp. 6–7.
3. Entry for Feb. 14th 1844, NYPL: AWPDP, Part I. Another instance of his appreciation of a young woman is the letter he wrote to Anna Maria Courtney when she became engaged to his son, William Bonamy (William Maingay to Anna Maria Courtney, Guernsey, Tuesday 2 Sept 56, Maingay Family Papers).
4. Maingay, *William Maingay*, p. 6.
5. Maingay, p. 7.
6. Maingay, p. 7.
7. Maingay, p. 8; Rosemary K.F. Clarke, Willenhall, Coventry, to E. Harden, 7 October 1995 concerning a visit to Rye, Sussex, to research the Lamb family.
8. Maingay, *William Maingay*, p. 8; PREC STP, no. 5563, p. 330.
9. Maingay, *William Maingay*, p. 21; Woodbury Park Cemetery, Plot 567, Tomb with kerb End.
10. Maingay, *William Maingay*, p. 10.
11. Maingay, *William Maingay*, p. 12.
12. Maingay, *William Maingay*, p. 12. PREC STP for 1835, p. 203, records that Amelia de Jersey Maingay died on 23 November and was buried on 26 November 1835. These dates are OS; NS would be 5 December and 8 December. Amelia de Jersey was named for

a family member of the de Jersey trading house owners, with whom her father was affiliated. Mr. Carey B. de Jersey, like William Maingay, was a native of Guernsey. His trading house “was engaged in the purchase and shipment of cotton twist to Russia.” In 1847, the company went bankrupt (Stuart Thompstone, “Ludwig Knoop, ‘The Arkwright of Russia,’” *Textile History* 15, no. 1 (1984): pp. 47, 48, 67n11–18).

13. All quotations in this and the following paragraph are from Maingay, *William Maingay*, p. 13.
14. Maingay, p. 13.
15. Maingay, p. 6.
16. Maingay, p. 13.
17. Maingay, p. 16.
18. Maingay, p. 21; 1851 Census for Tunbridge Wells.
19. Maingay, *William Maingay*, pp. 22, 23; 1861 Census for Tunbridge Wells.
20. Maingay, *William Maingay*, pp. 24, 25.
21. Maingay, *William Maingay*, p. 22; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1862; 1861 Census for Tunbridge Wells. The epitaph is from 1 Thess. 4:13–14.
22. Maingay, *William Maingay*, p. 8.
23. Register of Baptisms in the Parish of Woolwich; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1922.
24. Information about Eliza (Lamb) Maingay in this paragraph is taken from the following sources: Connolly, *Old Days and Ways*, pp. 174, 175, 178, 181–182; entries for Feb. 14th, 1844, Feb. 24, 1844, Fri 22nd [March 1844], Wed. morning 23rd April [1844], Thursday [May] 29th [1844], and Sat [May] 31st [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I; entries for 6/18 June [1845], Tuesday 10th March [1846], and Monday November 2nd [1846], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II; East Sussex Baptism Index, 1700–1812; Rosemary K.F. Clarke, Willenhall, Coventry, to E. Harden, 7 October 1995 concerning a visit to Rye, Sussex, to research the Lamb family.
25. Maingay, *William Maingay*, pp. 5, 26; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1877; Woodbury Park Cemetery, Plot 567, Tomb with kerb Top; sheet entitled “The Family of George Lamb and Catherine Lamb (née Gosselin), Maingay Family Papers; 1871 Census for Rectory, Marylebone, London.

26. All information about William Bonamy Maingay and Elizabeth College in this paragraph is taken from Maingay, *William Maingay*, pp. 6, 9, 12.
27. The births of the children of William Bonamy Maingay and Anna Maria (Courtney) Maingay are taken from the GRO indexes to births. Their places and dates of death are taken from their entries in the *National Probate Calendar* (UK).
28. Information in this paragraph is taken from Maingay, *William Maingay*, pp. 22, 23, 24. The pamphlet was consulted for the dates and places of birth and death of the children (pp. 29–34), but this information was taken ultimately from the GRO indexes to births and the *National Probate Calendar* (UK).
29. Maingay, *William Maingay*, pp. 24, 25–26.
30. All information in this note is taken from the following sources: Maingay, *William Maingay*, pp. 26, 34; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1902; 1871 Census for Tunbridge Wells; the diaries of Annette Adeline Maingay (1865–1944), third daughter of William Bonamy and Anna Maria (Courtney) Maingay.
31. This biography of Eliza Anne Maingay is a composite from the following sources: Maingay, *William Maingay*, pp. 8, 16, 21; Connolly, *Old Days and Ways*, pp. 174, 175, 176, 177; entries for Feb 14th 1844, Thursday, May 29th [1844], and Wed [August] 28 [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I; entry [after New Year's Day 1848, describing the Whistler family's visit to the Maingay family, when they brought Emma home after the wedding of Deborah Whistler and Francis Seymour Haden, c. 20 October 1847], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II; 1851 Census for Tunbridge Wells; 1861 Census for Tunbridge Wells; 1871 Census for 11 Nottingham Place, Rectory, Marylebone, London; 1881 Census for Southwick Crescent, near Paddington, London; 1891 Census for Southwick Crescent, near Paddington, London; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1899.
32. It has not been possible to corroborate the story of Eliza Anne Maingay's unhappy love affair. There are no references in newspapers to an illness and replacement of Rev. Molyneux for any length of time between 1844 and 1850. According to the *Kentish Independent* [Greenwich, UK], (July 6, 1850), he resigned the pastoral charge of Trinity Chapel, having been appointed chaplain to Lock's Hospital, London. Between Molyneux's departure and the arrival of his successor, Rev. W.D. Long, the ministerial duties of Trinity Chapel were *temporarily* discharged by

- Rev. V. Stanton, who was highly appreciated by the congregation for his “exemplary zeal” (*Kentish Independent* [Greenwich, UK], December 28, 1850).
33. This biography of Emma Elizabeth Maingay is a composite from the following sources: 1851 and 1861 censuses for Tunbridge Wells; 1871 Census for 11 Nottingham Place, Rectory, Marleybone, London; 1881 and 1891 censuses for Southwick Crescent, near Paddington, London; 1901 Census for The Vicarage, Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1905; Connolly, *Old Days and Ways*, pp. 178, 182; Maingay, *William Maingay*, pp. 8, 14, 21, 23, 26; from NYPL: AWPDP, Part I, the entries for late December 1843, February 14th [1844], Feb. 26 [1844], [12 March 1844], Fri 22nd [March 1844], March 29th Friday evening [1844], Tuesday night April 22nd [1844], Wed. morning 23rd April [1844], Thursday [April] 24th [1844], Friday [April] 25th [1844], Saturday [April] 26th [1844], Friday [May] 3rd [1844], Sat [May] 4th [1844], Monday [May] 6th [1844], Thursday [May] 29th [1844], Friday [May] 30th [1844], Sat [May] 31st [1844], Monday 17th June [1844], Monday July 1st [1844], and August 1st Thursday [1844], and Thursday [August] 22nd [1844]; from NYPL: AWPDP, Part II, the entries for 6/18 June [1845], Preston, September, Saturday 10th [1847], and [after New Year’s Day 1848, describing the wedding of Deborah Whistler and Francis Seymour Haden]; and from the GUL: Whistler Collection: Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Pomfret, 6 August 1851, W 394; Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Pomfret, 23 and 24 September 1851, W 397; and Anna Whistler to James Whistler [15 January/February 1855], W 457. The dating of W457 was proposed by Georgia Toutziari (“Anna Matilda Whistler’s Correspondence – An Annotated Edition,” vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 458, 459).
 34. This biography of Charles George Maingay is a composite from the following sources: Maingay, *William Maingay*, pp. 8, 12; RGIA: Fond 1689, op. 1, ed. khr. 3. Register British Factory Chapel S. Petersburg January 1831 – December 1846, no. 5256.
 35. This biography of Frederick Thomas Maingay is a composite from the following sources: Maingay, *William Maingay*, pp. 5, 12, 22; 1861 Census for Tunbridge Wells; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1862 (resworn March 1891); typewritten copy from an unnamed and undated newspaper cutting signed “By Fred. M.,” assumed by the family to have been written by Frederick Maingay (Maingay Family Papers); entry for February 14th [1844], NYPL:

AWPD, Part I; entry [after New Year's Day 1848, describing Emma Maingay's return to Wellesley House, Shooters' Hill, accompanied by the Whistler family, after the wedding of Deborah Whistler and Francis Seymour Haden], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.

36. This biography of Emily Maingay is a composite from the following sources: Maingay, *William Maingay*, pp. 12, 26; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1891; 1851 and 1861 censuses for Tunbridge Wells; 1871 Census 11 Nottingham Place, Rectory, Marylebone, London; 1881 Census for Southwick Crescent, near Paddington, London; Connolly, *Old Days and Ways*, pp. 178–182, 183–184; entry for Feb. 14th [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I; entry [after New Year's Day 1848, describing the wedding of Deborah Whistler and Francis Seymour Haden], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II; *Guernsey Magazine* 19, (February 1891); “Life of St. Severity,” Maingay Family Papers.

It seems appropriate to say a few words about Jane Connolly in the biography of Emily Maingay, as they became such close friends. Jane Connolly was the daughter of “Reverend James Campbell Connolly who was curate of the Woolwich Parish and had a lectureship at Goldsmith Company plus some income from the Admiralty.” She “never married and had a formal education, quite unusual for a woman in the 1850’s funding herself and passing a Higher Local Examination and attended University College Cambridge.” She explained paying for her education: “I was a very good needlewoman and earned 15 guineas which made classes possible; I had happy days studying in the British Museum and I loved the Political Economy Class” (Lisa Croft, *Activists: Lessons from my Grandparents* [self-pub., Lulu, 2015], p. 113).

37. Entry for Thursday [May] 29th [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.

MAURAN

Josephine Mauran (14 September 1825 – 16 February 1887) was the seventh of the thirteen children of a wealthy New York merchant, Oroondates Mauran (28 November 1791 – 6 October 1847; see Image 47), and of Martha (Eddy) Mauran (2 September 1793 – 31 October 1855) (married on 14 December 1814).¹ Her father was one of the backers of the Italian Opera House in New York, which was built in 1833 on the corner of Church and Leonard streets.² It survived only three seasons, “was sold at auction in 1836” to Mr. Mauran, and became the National Theatre.³ Together “with Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt he owned the Staten Island Ferry.”⁴ “Among the early tugboats of New York Harbor were two well-known side-wheelers, the *Bolívar* and the *Hercules*, in which he was interested.”⁵

Oroondates Mauran lived in New York City in winter and, as of 1831, on Staten Island in summer.⁶ He “was a bon vivant and very hospitable,” as well as “one of the oldest members of the Union Club in New York.”⁷ “He could be seen driving to his office daily in a sulky, with his pet horse ‘Charlie’,” who lived to be forty-six years old.⁸ He “travelled a good deal” at one point to Europe and spent “several winters in Havana.”⁹

Josephine Mauran’s paternal grandfather, Joseph Carlo Mauran, was “a native of Villefranche, Italy.”¹⁰ Impressed at the age of twelve, he “had spent two years of virtual captivity on board a British man-of-war, from which he ... escaped when the ship was lying in the harbor of New London.”¹¹ Her maternal grandfather was Judge Samuel Eddy (Johnston, RI 31 March 1769 – 3 February 1839), who served variously as secretary of state, a representative of Congress, and chief justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of the State.¹²

Josephine attended the Canda school at 17 Lafayette Place in New York with Deborah Delano Whistler and was described by John Stevenson Maxwell, who knew her brother, James Eddy Mauran (New York 8 June 1817 – Newport, RI 27 November 1888),¹³ as Debo’s “intimate friend and correspondent.”¹⁴ She married at Staten Island on 14 September 1853 Oliver Wolcott Gibbs (New York 21 February 1822 – Newport, RI 9 December 1908; see Image 48), BA Columbia

University 1841; MA Columbia University 1844; MD College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York 1845; from 1863 to 1877 Rumford Professor and lecturer on the Application of Science to the Useful Arts, Harvard University.¹⁵

Josephine Mauran was mentioned only briefly in Anna Whistler's diaries.

NOTES

1. Stockbridge and Mauran, *Mauran Family*, p. 89. Oroondates Mauran's year of death is confirmed as 1847 in the *New York Herald*, October 7, 1847.
2. Mary C. Henderson, *The City and the Theatre* (Clifton, NJ: James T. White, 1973), p. 75.
3. Henderson, *City and Theatre*, p. 75.
4. Stockbridge and Mauran, *Mauran Family*, p. 92; Charles W. Leng and William T. Davis, *Staten Island and Its People: A History, 1609–1929*, 5 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing, 1930–1933), vol. 1, pp. 239–240, 690.
5. Stockbridge and Mauran, *Mauran Family*, p. 92.
6. Stockbridge and Mauran, p. 92; *Hine's Annual 1914*, pp. 3, 4; Leng and Davis, *Staten Island*, pp. 252, 892, 927.
7. Stockbridge and Mauran, *Mauran Family*, p. 92.
8. Stockbridge and Mauran, p. 92.
9. Stockbridge and Mauran, p. 92.
10. Stockbridge and Mauran, p. 94.
11. Stockbridge and Mauran, p. 94.
12. Stockbridge and Mauran, p. 93.
13. Stockbridge and Mauran, pp. 89, 92–95.
14. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, March 26, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 29; John S. Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 17, 1844, no. 35.
15. Stockbridge and Mauran, *Mauran Family*, pp. 89, 95–96; *Historical Register of Harvard University 1636–1936* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1937), p. 223; Harvard University Quinquennial File; *Evening Post*, September 16, 1853; *Evening Post*, December 10, 1908.

MAXWELL

John Stevenson Maxwell was born on 18 February 1817 in New York, the son of Agnes (Stevenson) Maxwell (5 January 1796 – New York 27 April 1866; see Image 54) and Hugh Maxwell (Paisley, Scotland 15 June 1787 – New York 31 March 1873; see Image 55) (married in New York 16 April 1812).¹ He was one of four surviving children, the other three being Anne Eliza (New York 1816 – New York 4 May 1888), Hugh (New York 1824 – Saddle River, NJ 23 June 1898), and Agnes (New York 1834 – New York 2 July 1917).

He is described in a visa granted in Hamburg on 20 July 1843 as five feet eleven inches tall, with a high forehead, light blue eyes, light brown hair, and having a “common” nose, small mouth, round chin, oval face, and fresh complexion.²

Hugh Maxwell’s family emigrated to New York in 1790. He grew up there and graduated from Columbia College in 1810, with an MA in 1816, and became a very successful lawyer. He was district attorney of New York County in 1817–1818 and again from 1821 to 1829. An active member of the Whig Party, in 1849 he was appointed collector of the Port of New York by President Zachary Taylor (1794–1850), a position he held until 1853, throughout the administrations of Taylor (1849–1850) and his successor (1850–1853), Millard Fillmore (1800–1874).³

John Stevenson Maxwell’s family lived in New York but also had a country estate, called Roslyn, at Nyack-on-Hudson. Family legend has it that “such distinguished personages from abroad as Thackeray, Victor Jacquemont, the French naturalist, and Dickens were frequently entertained” at Roslyn.⁴

Maxwell attended The Lawrenceville School⁵ and graduated from Princeton University in the Class of 1836.⁶ He considered himself a Whig.⁷ He “pursued the whole term of his professional studies” in law in New York in the office of Elijah Paine (1796–1853).⁸ He was a colonel in the militia.⁹

He was secretary of the American Legation in St. Petersburg from July 1842 to November 1844. He lived throughout his tour of duty in the house of Count Aleksei Alekseevich Bobrinskii on the corner of Galernaia Street and the New Admiralty Canal (see Images 86–94).

When Colonel Charles S. Todd (see Image 278) chose to move the Legation from the Bobrinskii house to Tsarskoe Selo in April 1843, Maxwell and Major Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21) remained in the Bobrinskii house, and, when Major Whistler rented the entire house for his family, Maxwell remained as their tenant. His letters to his mother reveal his respect and deep love for both Major and Anna Whistler (see Images 1–5).

While living with them, he became dangerously ill with typhus fever. His life was saved chiefly through the ministrations of Anna Whistler. He became interested in Deborah Whistler (see Images 17–19, 21), although knowing that Major Whistler would only relinquish his daughter easily and gladly to an officer of the United States Army. He wrote both coy and serious letters to his family about his interest in her, but nothing came of it.

Maxwell was intelligent, well-educated, well-traveled, informed, cultivated, lively, witty, discerning, gossipy, at times somewhat of a popinjay, and wrote well, providing outstanding and sometimes offensive descriptions of persons, scenes, and events. While in Russia, he wrote frequent, long, loquacious, detailed letters home, chiefly to his mother, but also to his father; his uncle, Dr. John Stevenson; and a few friends. His intention was to have them published later by *Harper's*. He was persuaded instead to write a book based on them. In 1848, *The Czar, His Court and People: Including a Tour in Norway and Sweden* appeared and was well received. He sent a copy to Major Whistler with a great display of modesty.¹⁰ Deborah (Whistler) Haden also read it and considered parts of it to be in bad taste, having known or known of a number of the personages in it. The book is not important in a discussion of Anna Whistler's diaries, while the detail of his letters is.

When Maxwell left Russia, he traveled for some eighteen months in Western Europe and the Mediterranean. During his travels and after his return to America, he corresponded with Major Whistler. He took on the task of seeing that the body of John Bouttatz Whistler was given proper burial in Stonington, Connecticut, in 1847, according to the wishes of Anna and Major Whistler.

Maxwell met Anna Whistler and the boys at the dock in Jersey City in August 1849, when they returned to America after Major Whistler's

death.¹¹ Anna Whistler referred to him in a letter to James as an appropriate role model for her son.¹² Gradually his name ceased to appear in her extant correspondence. There is also some question as to whether she ever met his parents, who both verbally and through the gift of a dress and candy thanked her after she had nursed their son back to health. Maxwell had also proposed while still in Russia that his mother attempt to make the acquaintance of Martha (Kingsley) McNeill (see Image 22), Anna Whistler's mother. Scholarship places stress, rather, on a relationship between Anna Whistler and an Anne (Young) Maxwell (Coldstream, Berwick 1784 – Nyack, NY, 20 October 1867), who was possibly related to Maxwell's father. Anne (Young) Maxwell had known Eliza and Alicia McNeill when they were growing up in Berwick. It is with her that Anna Whistler took the waters at Richfield Springs, New York, in 1857.¹³

In 1846, Maxwell "had an office in the Mortimer Building, 11 Wall Street."¹⁴ In 1846, like his father and male members of his mother's side of the family before him, he became a member (no. 1156) of the philanthropic St. Andrew's Society of the State of New York.¹⁵

In 1848 or 1849, he decided to request consideration for the post of United States minister resident in the Ottoman Empire and was very favorably endorsed by his former superior, Colonel Charles S. Todd, who praised the "vigorous mind and ... cultivated taste" of his "inestimable friend."¹⁶ Other supporting letters were written by referees such as Elijah Paine, in whose office Maxwell had pursued his training as a lawyer.¹⁷ John S. Hamilton, whom it has not been possible to identify, wrote in his letter of reference that Maxwell wanted to be accredited to Constantinople because "having been there, & his mind having been earnestly directed to the situation of the Ottoman Empire, he proposed to use the facility of access to authentic sources of information in preparing a work on this subject."¹⁸ W. Pinckney Starke (d. 12 October 1886), with whom Maxwell had traveled in the East and spent several months in Paris, wrote from Charleston, South Carolina, in favor of his appointment, saying: "Though a Northern Man he is as sound on the question of Southern rights as any man living."¹⁹ The appointment, however, was given to George Perkins Marsh (1801–

1882), a highly qualified career diplomat.²⁰ In 1850, Maxwell became “Cashier in the Custom House” in New York.²¹

On 11 June 1853, Maxwell married Caroline Ely Mulligan (May 1823 – Brooklyn 10 November 1889), daughter of the Rev. John Mulligan (d. April 1861), in New York in the Presbyterian Church at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Nineteenth Street.²² They had one daughter: Caroline Ross Maxwell (New Jersey 2 July 1853 – New York 19 May 1936).²³ In 1874, she married William Conselyea Traphagen (Jersey City, NJ 30 November 1837 – 1894), “son of Sarah (Conselyea) and Henry Mackaness Traphagen, President of the Fifth Ward Savings Bank of New Jersey.”²⁴

John Stevenson Maxwell died at Nyack, New York, on 2 March 1870.²⁵

The Traphagens’ daughter, Ethel Traphagen (1882–1963) (whose married name was Leigh), founded the Traphagen School of Fashion (1923) in New York.²⁶ Ethel Traphagen had “won first prize in *The New York Times* contest for Original American Designs in 1913.” She designed a “blue-green gown with gold accents and modified obi, recalling elements of the ancient Grecian toga and stola and the kimono of the beautiful women of the ukiyo-e. The inspiration for her design was a painting by an artist she admired, James McNeill Whistler ... *Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Old Battersea Bridge*” (see Images 211–212).²⁷

Of Maxwell’s siblings, the most interesting was his younger sister, Agnes, who is mentioned as a child eight to ten years old in his letters to his mother from St. Petersburg. In 1853, in Paris, Agnes met and mutually fell in love with Major Philip Kearny (New York 1 June 1815 – Chantilly, VA 1 September 1862) of the United States Army. A married man, he was unable to obtain a divorce from his Catholic wife, and Agnes Maxwell chose to live with him openly. They had three children: Susan Watts Kearny (b. Paris 1856), Archibald Kennedy Kearny (25 January 1860 – 21 February 1862), and Virginia De Lancey Kearny (b. November 1860). In early 1858, Philip Kearny’s wife finally agreed to a divorce. Agnes Maxwell and Major Philip Kearny were married on 21 April 1858 at St. Matthew’s Church in Jersey City, New Jersey.²⁸ Kearny died in 1862 on active duty during the Civil War. Agnes (Maxwell) Kearny married, as her second husband, Admiral John Henry Upshur

(Northampton County, VA 5 December 1823 – Washington, DC 30 May 1917). Agnes (Maxwell) (Kearny) Upshur and both her husbands were buried in Arlington National Cemetery.²⁹

John Stevenson Maxwell reminded Major Whistler in a letter that he had a pencil portrait of himself executed by James Whistler.³⁰ The whereabouts of this portrait are unknown to me.

NOTES

1. For birth and death dates, and wills and probate information for the Maxwell, Mulligan, and Stevenson families, see the Maxwell–Mulligan–Stevenson File at the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society. For the birth date of John Stevenson Maxwell, see John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, Upon the Nile. February 18. 1845, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 53. For the death of Hugh Maxwell, see *New York Herald*, April 1, 1873, and *New York Tribune*, April 1, 1873. For the marriage of Agnes Stevenson and Hugh Maxwell, see the records of Brick Presbyterian Church, p. 216; *New York Commercial Advertiser*, April 16, 1812; and an undated marriage notice within the Maxwell–Mulligan–Stevenson File.
2. Visa for “John Maxwell Sectreary of the American Legation St. Petersburg,” issued by the Consulate of the United States of America at Hamburg, signed by “John Cuthbert, Consul USA,” on 20 July 1843.
3. MacBean, *Saint Andrew’s Society*, vol. 2, pp. 32–34.
4. Ethel Traphagen, “Agnes Maxwell – The General’s Lady,” *Fashion Digest* (Fall and Winter 1956–57): pp. 41, 84.
5. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, Alexandria, January 2, 1845, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 52.
6. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, March 1, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 7.
7. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, June 1, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 14.
8. Elijah Paine to the Hon. Jacob Collamer, Post Master General, Washington, DC, March 12, 1849, Letters of J.M. Clayton, 1849 [Letters of recommendation to the Secretary of State], N-YHS: Maxwell Papers. Elijah Paine (Williamstown, VT 10 April 1796 – New York 6 October 1853) spent “the whole of his professional life ... in the office of H.D. and R. Sedgwick in New York,”

- which is where Maxwell would have articulated with him (H.D. Paine, ed., *Paine Family Records: A Journal of Genealogical and Biographical Information Respecting the American Families of Payne, Paine, Payn, etc.*, 2 vols. (New York: Joel Munsell, 1880–1883), vol. 2, p. 112).
9. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 15/27 1842, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers. Maxwell does not specify the state in which he was a colonel in the militia.
 10. John S. Maxwell to George W. Whistler, New York, February 11, 1848, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers.
 11. Anna Whistler to Joseph Harrison, Jr., Stonington, Monday Aug. 13th [1849], LC: P-W, box 34.
 12. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Pomfret, thursday, April 11th. [18]50, GUL: Whistler Collection, W391. She was urging James to drop by the Custom House, where Maxwell was working.
 13. Anna Whistler to Mrs. Wann, Richfield Springs, Otsego Co. N York July 15th 1857, GUL: Whistler Collection, W481. Jane (Gamble) Wann (1822–1875) was the sister of Anna Whistler's friend, James Gamble (b. 1820), a clerk. This family lived together on Staten Island, NY.
 14. MacBean, *Saint Andrew's Society*, vol. 2, p. 223.
 15. MacBean, *Saint Andrew's Society*, vol. 2, p. 223.
 16. Col. Charles S. Todd to J.M. Clayton, Washington 11th March 1849, Letters to J.M. Clayton, 1849, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers. C.S. Todd was envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in St. Petersburg when Maxwell was secretary of the Legation.
 17. Elijah Paine to the Hon. Jacob Collamer, Post Master General, Washington, DC, March 12, 1849, Letters to J.M. Clayton, 1849], N-YHS: Maxwell Papers. Jacob Collamer (1791–1865) was postmaster general from 8 March 1849 to 22 July 1850.
 18. John C. Hamilton to J.M. Clayton, Hudson Square, N.Y., March 15, 1849, Letters to J.M. Clayton, 1849, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers.
 19. W. Pinckney Starke to George W. Crawford, Secretary of War, Charleston, S.C., 5 April 1849, Letters to J.M. Clayton, 1849, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers. George W. Crawford (1798–1872) was secretary of war from 8 March 1849 to 23 July 1850.
 20. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia*, s.v. "George P. Marsh."
 21. MacBean, *Saint Andrew's Society*, vol. 2, p. 223.

22. *New York Herald*, November 11, 1889; Gertrude A. Barber, *Oak Hill Cemetery at Nyack, Rockland County, New York*, ts (1931), Maxwell–Mulligan–Stevenson File, New York Genealogical and Biographical Society; *Newspaper Death Notices: New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, etc.*, vol. 1: 1870–1890 (no publication information). The year of death differs on her tombstone.
23. 1860 Census for New Jersey; 1930 Census for New York. See her portrait in “Inside Story of the Bride with the Bustle,” *Fashion Digest* (Fall and Winter 1959–1960): p. 29.
24. “Saluting Our Ancestors,” *Fashion Digest* 15, no. 4 (Fall–Winter 1962–1963): pp. 4, 5.
25. *New York Evening Post*, March 3, 1870; Barber, *Oak Hill Cemetery*.
26. “Saluting Our Ancestors,” p. 5.
27. Both quotations in this paragraph about Ethel Traphagen’s design are from “The State of Fashion, 1914,” *By Way of Thanks* (blog), December 11, 2015, accessed September 28, 2020, <https://bywayofthanks.wordpress.com/2015/12/11/the-state-of-fashion-1914/>
28. *New York Evening Post*, April 21, 1858. Variant details of Agnes Maxwell’s and Philip Kearny’s love story are to be found in “Agnes Maxwell,” pp. 41, 84, and Elyce Feliz, “Philip Kearny, died September 1, 1862,” *The Civil War of the United States* (blog), September 2, 2013, accessed September 28, 2020, <http://civilwaref.blogspot.ca/2013/09/philip-kearny-died-september-1-1862.html>
29. Arlington National Cemetery website, accessed 17 December 2020, <https://www.arlingtoncemetery.mil/#/>
30. John S. Maxwell to George W. Whistler, New York, December 13, 1846, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers.

MAYNARD

Edward Maynard (Madison, NY 26 April 1813 – Washington, DC 4 May 1891; see Image 329), the son of Moses Maynard (b. Townsend, MA 10 October 1775; d. Madison, NY 27 May 1853; buried Madison Village Cemetery) and his second wife, Chloe (Butler) Maynard (b. 22 March (?) 1777; d. Madison, NY 19 December 1821; buried Madison Village Cemetery),² “was born on a farm in upstate New York” in a town situated between Syracuse and Schenectady. There, he “attended the village school and Hamilton Academy [and] received an appointment to the Military Academy at West Point in 1831.”³ Because of “ill health and a fragile disposition,” he left the Academy in “his first year and took to studying civil engineering, law, drawing, architecture and anatomy.”⁴ In 1835, he undertook a career in dentistry, moving to Washington, DC, in 1836, where he set up private practice. He also invented numerous dental instruments, such as the “hand held drill stock.”⁵ “In 1838, he was the first dentist to successfully use gold foil to fill the nerve cavity, including nerve canals in molar and bicuspid teeth.”⁶

On 3 September 1838, Maynard married in Sherburne, New York, Ellen Sophia Doty (b. 15 October 1817; d. 3 October 1863; buried Lakewood Cemetery, Cooperstown, NY), daughter of Moses Doty and Elizabeth (Pike) Doty, and “a direct descendent of Edward Doty, ... one of the original passengers on the Mayflower that landed at Plymouth Massachusetts in 1620.”⁷ They had three sons at the time of Maynard’s trip abroad: Edward Harris (1840 – 27 April 1846), George Willoughby (b. 5 March 1843; d. 5 April 1923; buried Congressional Cemetery, Washington, DC), and John Doty (c. 1845 – after 1880).⁸

Maynard was also interested in guns. “The flintlock [system] of gun ignition which had been in use since the 1630s ... was found to be awkward and time consuming and was officially replaced by the U.S. Army in 1842 by the adaption of its first percussion musket.”⁹ “In March of 1845 Maynard patented a system of priming for firearms, to take the place of the recently adapted percussion cap” (see Image 338).¹⁰

On 20 March 1845, U.S. Secretary of War William L. Marcy (1786–1857) and Maynard signed a contract worth four thousand dollars selling “the privilege and right to use [the latter’s] improvements under certain

expressed conditions” (the discussion of which is beyond the scope of this biographical essay). On 22 March 1845, “a similar agreement” was signed between the chief of the Naval Bureau of Ordnance and Hydrography, W.M. Crane (1776–1846), and Maynard.¹¹

“Encouraged by the ministers of several European countries”¹² but, most especially, assured by the Russian envoy to the United States, Baron Aleksandr Andreevich Bodisco (see his biography in this Appendix and Image 283), and the Russian envoy to Great Britain, Baron Ernst Philipp von Brünnow (1797–1875), of their country’s interest in his invention, Maynard undertook in 1845 a trip to Russia and western Europe. His journey began in Springfield, Massachusetts, on 3 July 1845. He took with him only one thousand dollars, expecting to return to the United States in approximately six months (December 1845).¹³ Maynard left the United States having contracted with Major Thomas L. Smith, registrar of the Treasury, and General J. Washington Tyson, commissioner general for Purchasing, to put up the funds for his traveling expenses, which they failed to do, thus causing him many difficulties in the course of his journey.¹⁴ Traveling with Maynard from London to St. Petersburg was George Washington Parmly (b. 22 October 1819; d. London 15 August 1892; buried Brompton Cemetery, London; see Image 339), an American dentist whose practice included New Orleans and Paris before he settled in London.¹⁵

They arrived in St. Petersburg on Saturday, 20 September 1845.¹⁶ On Sunday morning, 21 September, Maynard called on Major Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21) to deliver some letters to him and was taken by him to the eleven o’clock service at the English Church (see Image 110–111). After lunch, Major Whistler visited Maynard for several hours in the latter’s room at the misses Benson’s boarding house on the English Embankment, where he examined and admired the firearm Maynard had brought to demonstrate to Emperor Nicholas I (see Images 420–423) and other crowned heads of Europe. Whistler told Maynard that the emperor was not in St. Petersburg and would continue to be absent for about a month. Maynard thus realized that he could not return home before spring of 1846 and wrote his wife that he would be unwilling to undertake a second trip, if unable to accomplish his goal on this one, because of the seasickness he had suffered as well as “the inconveniences

and disgusts of travelling.” He submitted his invention instead to the committee headed by His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich, the emperor’s brother. With time on his hands, he hired a “valet de place” and went sightseeing with Parmly. Out of boredom, frustration, and the necessity of earning money, he introduced his dental operation in St. Petersburg. His patients were not only the foreign colony of the city, but also members of the Imperial family and the aristocracy. He was thus able, from his primary profession, to pay his own expenses in St. Petersburg and to send money home to assuage his anxiety over his family’s financial straits.

Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich (see Image 439), on examining Maynard’s firearm, “made some remarks about the difficulty which Russian soldiers would have in managing the new lock, and the difficulty which there might be in repairing it (if damaged) by such workmen as accompany armies.”¹⁷ Maynard’s response, expressed to his wife, was: “If I had known what clumsy guns were used in Europe, I would have ‘got up’ one to match. I have (of course) taken particular notice of the arms of the soldiers wherever I have been and have seen no muskets so well made as the American.”¹⁸ Major Whistler, while having his teeth operated on, agreed, partly on the basis of his own experience, that if Maynard was unable to make headway “pretty soon,” he should leave Russia.¹⁹ Maynard was very agitated as he contemplated his situation, which was that he had very little money in his possession, was receiving news that his wife was finding it necessary to borrow money from friends because he could not send any home, and that his flourishing practice was being abandoned by his patients the longer he stayed away.²⁰ On Friday, 7/19 December 1845, Maynard received a letter from the Russian committee rejecting his gun invention.²¹ On Sunday, 30 December (OS), the emperor returned to St. Petersburg.²²

After his lack of success with His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich, Maynard hoped he might gain access to demonstrate his gun improvement to His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Alexander Nikolaevich (see Image 425), the future Alexander II, through his wife, Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Maria Aleksandrovna (see Images 426–427), who wished her teeth to be operated on. She, however, was ill and would have had to postpone her appointments with Maynard

for so long that he could not further extend his stay in Russia.²³ In the midst of the peripaties of dental appointments and proposals of conditions to attract Maynard into staying in Russia because of his phenomenal reputation as a dentist, he was stunned by the arrival of a personal gift from Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna (see Image 440), whose teeth he had operated on. Hinted at early in their relationship as a distinct possibility, the gift consisted of seven hundred silver rubles and a ring “consist[ing] of a large red Garnet surrounded by fifty small diamonds, surrounded by sixteen large diamonds”²⁴ (see Image 337).

Despite his lack of success with the Russian government, Maynard met in St. Petersburg representatives of other European nations. He successfully negotiated an agreement with a merchant named Charles Thomas Grut interested in buying, as he wrote, “my right for Denmark” and willing “before the papers are made out [to] pay me in cash two thousand five hundred dollars and guarantee to give me in addition ten percent of all he receives from the government of Denmark.”²⁵ Mr. Grut soon after proposed that, together with “his brother-in-law at Copenhagen (who is very rich) ... he will not only [also] take Sweden but a *large part*, or perhaps *all*, of Europe ... even ... the world, except for that part sold to the U.S.,” which Maynard encouraged him to do.²⁶ The arrangement concerning Sweden was successfully concluded in mid-January 1846.²⁷

On 20 April 1846, Maynard stopped in at the Whistlers’ to say goodbye.²⁸ He arrived in Berlin on Tuesday, 21 April, having failed completely to demonstrate his gun improvement to anyone in the Russian government or Imperial family who might help him. On the advice of Henry Wheaton (1785–1849), U.S. minister to Prussia, he decided that he would make no such effort in Berlin but wait until “it has been adopted in France.”²⁹ He spent a few days in Cologne and then went on to Brussels. Here, his gun was hailed by the King of Belgium, and work was begun to produce the parts for its use as a sporting gun.³⁰ Again, however, there were many delays.³¹ While in Belgium, grief was added to his anxieties, when he received the devastating news of the death on 27 April 1846 of his firstborn son, Edward Harris.³² He spent all of May, June, and July in Belgium, heading on 31 July for Paris.³³ He

arrived in London on Tuesday 11 August, and wrote his last letter home on Monday, 16 August.³⁴ He left for home on 28 August on the *Great Britain* from Liverpool,³⁵ arriving in New York in early September.³⁶

In addition to the prestige that accrued to him after his dental operations on the Russian Imperial family “he had successfully sold the rights to his [firearm] invention for Denmark and Sweden,”³⁷ and had “his Tape Primer Lock patented in France, Belgium, England, Scotland and Ireland.”³⁸ He had had an offer made to him *by* Emperor Nicholas I, as he had wished, rather than making an offer *to* the emperor: “Nicholas I offered him the title of ‘Actual Dentist to the Imperial Family,’ with the rank of Major, if he would agree to remain in Russia for ten years and practice and teach his [method] of practice; Dr. Maynard to be attached to the court with a salary or practice privately, whichever he might choose.” Maynard respectfully declined the offer.³⁹

Four more children (all daughters) were born to the Maynards: Marcia Ellen (b. 6 August 1847; d. 6 March 1926; buried Mount Hope Cemetery, Rochester, NY); Josephine Gaudette (b. Washington, DC 1 January 1850; d. Rochester, NY 14 February 1931; buried Mount Hope Cemetery, Rochester, NY); Marie (b. District of Columbia 1852; d. District of Columbia 5 August 1927; buried Congressional Cemetery, Washington, DC); and Virginia Dumont (b. District of Columbia 1854; d. 19 August 1926; buried Congressional Cemetery, Washington, DC).⁴⁰ In 1855, the Maynards bought a house in Cooperstown, New York. Ellen (Doty) Maynard died on 3 October 1863 of heart disease.⁴¹ Maynard married in 1869 Caroline Ellen Long, called “Nellie” (b. Savannah, GA; d. Troy, NY 13 March 1923; buried Congressional Cemetery, Washington, DC), with whom he had one daughter, Edna Long (1870–1938).⁴²

Maynard continued to invent firearms, his “most notable inventions after the tape primer lock [being] the invention of the first metallic cartridge and the first breech loading rifle famed for its use in the Civil War.”⁴³ “The metallic cartridge was eventually adopted by the United States Government, by all manufacturers of breach [*sic*] loading arms and eventually became the standard cartridge for all rifles worldwide.”⁴⁴ Having sold his Cooperstown home in late 1855, Maynard bought in 1863 “The Castle,” in Tarrytown, New York. In 1869, he sold it and

returned to Washington.⁴⁵ He died there on 4 May 1891 of Bright's disease, a kidney disease called "acute or chronic nephritis." He was buried in the Maynard family plot of the Congressional Cemetery. His "grave is marked by a granite obelisk [with the inscription] 'Dr. Edward Maynard – Surgeon – Dentist and Inventor 1813–1891'."⁴⁶

* * * * *

In terms of temperament, Edward Maynard was restless; impatient; kind; humorous; and generous in the free care he gave to those who could not afford his services. He was supremely intelligent; inquisitive; observant; a man of outstanding talents; could draw quite well; had a reputation for being gentle as a dentist; was a staunch American, but unprejudicial in praising the amenities of Russian life absent in American life; and was unembarrassed both open and allusive in his sexual remarks to his wife.⁴⁷

He was a restless person, who appreciated his wife's understanding of his disposition. She constantly urged contentment upon him and, in her letters (not extant), approved of him remaining abroad "long enough to decide [his] affairs in some way," knowing that he would thus be more contented when he did return home.⁴⁸ His letters contain many instances in which he praises contentment and the circumstances of travel and life in general that can promote it.⁴⁹ He encouraged his wife to read books from their library he had read and that had contributed to the "interest and enjoyment" he had experienced when actually *seeing* examples of what he had read about. His particular example of interesting books was of landscape gardening, rural architecture, and villa architecture,⁵⁰ which he encountered everywhere in the environs of St. Petersburg. He wanted to be close to his wife in every way, but this desire that she read what he had read was part of his exuberance to impart information that accompanied his own active intellect. He explained in copious and intricate detail to his wife the places he visited, the makeup of objects he saw, and the functioning of equipment he observed, drawing with some talent in his letters (see Images 330–337) members of the Imperial family whom he met or saw (Nicholas I; the Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich, brother of Nicholas I); his room at the misses Benson's boarding house; vehicles peculiar to Russian life (a *drozhki*, a sledge); Persian riding

accoutrements at the Tsarskoe Selo Armory; a sphinx in front of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts; the Lapplanders with their reindeer and sleigh; a guest at a masked ball; the ice hills at Catherinehoff; and front and side views of the ring given to him by Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna as his dental patient.

* * *

He did not approach Russian culture and life only with condemnation. He intended to adapt many features from Russian living, especially those having to do with insulation, to make his own house comfortable. “The walls being of such great thickness (2 to 3 feet, solid brick work) and the windows all double and every crack and crevice caulked and pasted up, the most intense cold *out* is not heeded in-doors nor the fiercest wind heard.”⁵¹ After taking a sledge ride about St. Petersburg, he planned to have a Russian-style sledge made for his family to use at their farm in Cooperstown, New York.⁵² He showed in his letters that he was in full understanding of how these various Russian amenities were built and functioned.

In observing the lives of the serfs, however, his opinion was that they were more wretched than the American Negroes: “Poor devils! – Black, sour bread and salt is almost the only food the laboring class gets here. I speak of the serfs, or slaves. Our Negroes are ten thousand times better off – better clad, better, infinitely better fed, more enlightened, more cleanly, more honest, and if not more contented, they seem to be far more happy.”⁵³ At the same time, he disapproved of imitations of the Negroes by Parmly, his traveling companion to St. Petersburg, because they reflected badly on him and Maynard as Americans: “he was too fond of telling and *acting* Negro stories, dances, etc. and Yankee stories etc. etc. all of which, though he did them very well, were always out of place and gave a character to *us* which I did not choose to share with him.”⁵⁴

As for the English, he derided their ignorance about America, probably based on conversations at the boarding house or at dinners he was invited to:

Will you believe me when I tell you that an Englishman
in a respectable official position under the British

government – a man looked upon as a gentleman – asked me the other day if “that Oregon territory was a continuation of the American Continent?” – fact. It is really amazing to see how little of *us* and *ours* is known by Englishmen and how what little they *do* know is measured and shaped and colored by English pride, English prejudice and English bias. They are compelled to do us justice occasionally however. They have learned some things about us that are not easily forgotten and will *never* be *forgiven*.⁵⁵

The last two sentences are almost certainly a reference to the American Revolution and the War of 1812.

* * *

Some of the descriptions he gave and the ploys he used were quite humorous, even comical. He summed up his landladies, the misses Benson, on first meeting them, as “fat enough to be what they seem – very good people.”⁵⁶ In explaining his appearance in a “shuba,” or furlined-pelisse, he said:

Mr. [Joseph] Harrison [Jr.] ... says it is as warm as a feather bed and so thick and soft that it is a great protection against the raps and bruises of traveling. Besides this “schube” I must have a pair of fur boots – things that look as if made for an elephant lined with some cheap fur and reaching about the knees – and a cap, also a fur. Altogether I think I shall make quite a “sizable man” – only picture me at least twice as thick, legs and all, as now – with only the tip of my delicate nose visible – nothing else to tell you whether it is a man or a young elephant standing on his legs!⁵⁷

Because the sudden windfall from Mr. Grut enabled him to buy Russian gifts for his family, he became as crafty as any traveler and amusingly described to his wife one of his attempts to avoid duties on and confiscation of his purchases: he bought her a gray Russian squirrel fur and had it sewn “into a morning gown for [his own] use.”⁵⁸

* * *

Maynard's letters record frequent instances of dreams. One very poignant dream concerned his son George crying and Maynard's anguished inability to assuage the child's pitiful state and himself crying as a result.⁵⁹ His letters also frequently refer with sexual innuendo to dreams that he had had or looked forward to having of his wife ("the Lady"), sometimes containing open expressions of sexual desire. One of the more explicit passages, not about a dream, was written from Berlin some nine months after last having seen his wife: "[I] hope to see you before *the* year is passed, which it will be on the 3rd of July ... I anticipate great happiness when we do meet – it will be like a re-marriage, we have been so long without – ahem! Without seeing each other. 'We shall see what we shall see' – and feel it too."⁶⁰

* * * * *

During his four-month wait while the committee headed by His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich inspected his firearms invention, Maynard supported himself by practicing dentistry in his room at the misses Benson's. He charged his countrymen what he charged his patients in America. His first St. Petersburg patient was charged "5 rubles for plugging (about \$3.75) and other charges in proportion."⁶¹ As his fame spread, he raised his fee to ten rubles.⁶² One busy day, he earned twenty-five dollars.⁶³

His patients from the American community included Colonel Charles Stewart Todd (see Image 278), United States envoy to Russia; Major George Washington Whistler, Anna Whistler (see Images 1–5), and Willie Whistler (see Images 27, 30); Joseph Harrison Jr. (see Image 226), of the firm of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick, and his wife, Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison (see Image 227), whom Maynard described as "one of our pretty and sensible women";⁶⁴ and John Randolph Clay (see Image 281), U.S. chargé d'affaires to Russia. From among the English, Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes, the Whistlers' neighbor across the hall, was a patient. Among the others he operated on was a cousin of the misses Benson, Lucy Sherrard Finley (1817–1893; see Image 340), who worked as a governess to Sofia (1833–1880), only daughter of Count Mikhail

Nikolaevich Muraviev-Vilenskii (1796–1866; see Image 342), and paid visits to her Benson cousins. Maynard operated on her teeth without payment, because she was “dependent entirely upon her own exertions for her support and unable to pay.”⁶⁵ He generously devoted considerable time to her. Among the Russians he operated on was a young man, “said to be immensely wealthy and of a very influential family,” whom he called “SopozhnaKoff” (probably “Sapozhnikov”),⁶⁶ with extremely serious dental problems.

His most illustrious patient, however, was Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna, wife of His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich, and sister-in-law of Emperor Nicholas I. His meeting with her had come about in the following way. With the rejection of his gun invention, he was preparing to leave St. Petersburg, when on Sunday morning, 27 January 1846, Colonel Todd informed him that at noon or one o’clock Dr. Arndt [*sic*: Arendt] (see Image 343), the emperor’s physician, would call on him. Arendt’s arrival coincided with the visit of a patient, so that Maynard was able to explain the tooth-plugging procedure to him, which highly delighted Arendt. As a result, Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna requested Maynard’s services. Although he was planning to leave St. Petersburg in a few days along with Colonel Todd, who had been recalled, Maynard decided to stay on. Maynard informed his wife that “[Major Whistler] advised me to stay if the Court wishes to employ me, as it will be a compliment to me and to the Profession in America” and Colonel Todd agreed to remain in St. Petersburg a week longer.⁶⁷ Not least among Maynard’s inducements was the fact that Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna was the wife of His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich, “who condemned my gun, and who may be induced, perhaps, to change his mind,” if Maynard could discuss the gun improvement with him directly.⁶⁸

Maynard was persuaded, however, to remain for a month or two and Todd left without him. Everyone urged Maynard to keep in mind the prestige of having been invited to perform his operations on the Imperial family. Major Whistler told him “it will pay’ – that is to say I shall be compensated.”⁶⁹ The Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna’s spokeswoman informed him that in naming a satisfactory compensation for his services “I was not to take into account what the Grand Duchess

might be disposed to do afterward – by which I suppose she meant some present in addition.” As well, as a princess of Württemberg, she could endorse his gun invention to that state.⁷⁰

In their relationship, Maynard and Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna were each themselves. He found her “extremely amiable – no nonsense – not being offended at being addressed as ‘you’ instead of ‘Your Imperial Highness’ – she has too much sense not to perceive that my manner of speech is the result of a republican education and she seems too kind not to make all due allowance for it.”⁷¹ Etiquette, however, required that he perform his operations in a dress coat.⁷² If required by most patients, he insisted that they come to his office in his room at the misses Benson’s boarding house; if required to attend members of the Imperial family, he traveled to their palaces to operate.⁷³ He charged the Imperial family fifty rubles (\$37.50) per day.⁷⁴

Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna informed Maynard that she had “never had a Dentist operate for her who was so delicate and easy in his operations,” a statement made frequently to and about him.⁷⁵ She said “she would talk with [Dr. Arendt] about the way, if any, in which a school of Dentistry can be established here, under my direction.” They discussed an appointment as “Dentist to the Court,” the only appointment Maynard would consider, as he could not leave a full practice at home unless he “step[ped] into a full practice” in St. Petersburg, not only because of the financial considerations, but because he would “forfeit a high rank in a respectable and useful Profession at home to be classed with charlatans here.” Dr. Arendt had explained to Maynard the choice of conditions if he came to Russia to practice. He could “be attached to the Court at a fixed salary, and so, be compelled to go with the court wherever it might be traveling for pleasure or health or other purposes – or ... have a private practice and still be Dentist to the Court, but without the fixed salary – the Court paying according to the service they receive. [Arendt] recommended the latter – having tried both ways as physician.”⁷⁶ Maynard did not agree to choose one of the possibilities on the spot, as requested; instead, he asked that a proposal be made to him by the emperor that he would then consider. Major Whistler, speaking from experience, expressed the opinion that if Maynard “*stay[ed] now*, and had an office etc. etc. the fame

[he] had already acquired would lead to a capital business for a time at least.”⁷⁷ He explained to Maynard that “it would be better to *send* for [his wife] than to *go* for [her], as the fever might abate during [his] absence,” noting how much more expensive life in St. Petersburg was than in Washington, DC, and the difficulties of “not yet speaking French [or] Russian.” Maynard also described for his wife what was better in Russian life than in American, including the structure of the houses, the cheapness and beauty of the furniture, and the compensating warmth of the houses in winter despite the outside cold. Amusingly, even the Benson sisters were drawn into the effort to sound out Maynard as to the conditions under which he would remain in St. Petersburg and practice dentistry.⁷⁸

Through the endorsement of Maynard by Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna, Count Pyotr Andreevich Kleinmikhel’ (see Image 243), Major Whistler’s superior, chose to have Maynard operate on him and on one of his daughters.⁷⁹ Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Maria Aleksandrovna, wife of His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Aleksandr Nikolaevich, Heir to the Throne, also wished to engage his services,⁸⁰ while Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna herself wished to have her children operated on.⁸¹ The Countess Kleinmikhel’, wife of Major Whistler’s superior, decided not to have her teeth operated on because she was frightened by Maynard’s fees.⁸² Within the court circle, he possibly also operated on a daughter of “General Alderberg,” describing the child’s father as “said to be only second to one ... in the favor of the Emperor.”⁸³

Although Maynard had been told by Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna’s spokeswoman that he might receive a personal gift, he was nevertheless overwhelmed when the secretary of his patient brought him seven hundred silver rubles and a ring consisting of “a large red Garnet surrounded by fifty small diamonds, surrounded by sixteen large diamonds”⁸⁴ (see Image 337). Because of the generous gesture of Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna, Maynard, who had not drawn her likeness in any of his letters, bought a small plaster bust of her, “taken several years ago, but still very much like her,” so that his wife might “form a pretty correct idea of her.”⁸⁵

* * * * *

Maynard frequently saw the Whistlers. He went to dinner at their home on Saturday, 27 September 1845, and reported to his wife that he “found Mrs. Whistler like most of our women, very sensible and well informed and very amiable.”⁸⁶ Major Whistler took him on several occasions to the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works (see Images 223–225).⁸⁷ On Tuesday, 30 September 1845, while at Alexandrofsky, he promised some of the Americans that he would operate on them if he had the time; he felt, however, that “Major Whistler is so kind and Mrs. Whistler and their children so amiable that I must do so for them at all events.”⁸⁸ On Monday, 27 October 1845, he was able to operate on the teeth of Willie Whistler, “a fine boy of 8 or so years.”⁸⁹ On New Year’s Day 1846, Anna Whistler had two teeth filled.⁹⁰ As the emperor was away, and Maynard was asked to demonstrate his firearm invention to Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich, Major Whistler advised Maynard “to state in the fewest possible words what brought me here and what I wish to do,” which pleased Maynard, as it coincided with his own idea of the appropriate approach.⁹¹ Whistler often came to see Maynard at the boarding house, bringing information he hoped might be helpful in presenting the firearm invention.⁹² He told Maynard adamantly and humorously “that if a gun was presented here for adoption that was – no matter *how* perfect – even if it would load itself and go off itself when you wished and required nothing to have nothing done for it – still the Russians would hesitate and delay and put off its adoption perhaps for years.”⁹³

He also told Maynard that “so much of what he [himself] has heard about what Americans have done in Europe is false that he looks with suspicion upon all such big stories.” For example, although an American newspaper had reported that Nicholas I “had conferred the Order of the Black Eagle upon ‘Professor Risley’ the gymnast” (see Image 202), Whistler assured Maynard that this was not true and that “Risley attracted no notice whatever here – could only get an engagement in [*sic*: one] night in a week to perform, etc. and that he was an exceedingly vulgar, illiterate fellow.”⁹⁴

* * *

Maynard's sightseeing jaunts included the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts (see Images 154–157); St. Isaac's Cathedral (see Images 119–120); the Alexander column (see Images 116, 132); the Winter Palace (see Images 114–117); the masked ball in the Assembly Hall of the Nobility (see Images 145–146, 333, 373); the reopening of navigation after the ceremony of the Blessing of the Waters (see Image 349); the ice hills at Catherinehoff; the Lapplander reindeer sleigh rides (see Image 347); the Hermitage, with its art collection (see Image 113); and the temporary amusements set up at Carnival time (see Image 345). The highlight of his visit to the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts was Briullov's *The Last Day of Pompeii* (*Poslednii den' Pompei*) (see Image 204), which he felt he would "never forget ... while I remember pictures. It is a modern production."⁹⁵ He thought St. Isaac's surpassed St. Paul's in London "in the design as well as execution" to such an extent that he felt English pride in their cathedral was misplaced.⁹⁶ He seemed to enjoy being seized at the Assembly Hall of the Nobility by two masked women whom he was unable to identify because "they pretend[ed] not to understand English very well and [spoke] it brokenly and so mixed with French and with voices so disguised."⁹⁷ During Carnival, although he

saw some very good pantomime playing [he found] most of the amusements ... such as American children 10 years old would be ashamed of; yet here men and women as well as children eagerly crowding to see such contemptible trash. – Riding round a ring, cider-mill fashion, behind or on a little wooden horse – or ditto in a boat – or shocking imitation of a railroad car – or ditto in a sort of swinging box. Of course these are not the Gentlemen and Ladies of Russia; but still they are of a class that *we* should not expect to see in such places.⁹⁸

* * *

Beyond sightseeing, Maynard spent a good part of his time with Colonel Charles Stewart Todd, the envoy extraordinary of the United States. He met at dinner at Todd's quarters in Tsarskoe Selo John Randolph Clay (see Image 281), the chargé d'affaires, and the latter's wife, Janet (Crawfurd) Clay. Todd expressed his readiness "to do all in

his power to serve [Maynard],” attending with him social and cultural events to which the American envoy had little difficulty in obtaining access.⁹⁹ Maynard attended the races in Tsarskoe Selo, with Colonel Todd explaining to him who all the Imperial and aristocratic personages were. He was taken by Todd to a ball at Pavlovsk¹⁰⁰ and to the Alexandrinskii Theatre, where Maynard reported they “saw some very capital acting.”¹⁰¹ They attended the French theater as well as the Italian opera; Maynard was ecstatic over the ceiling of the Bolshoi Theatre, where he heard the Italian opera.¹⁰² They also attended the circus, which he found “such, very nearly, as were common in America ten or fifteen years ago – except the horses which were not so good as ours.”¹⁰³ He was supposed to leave Russia when the recalled Colonel Todd did, but delays caused by operating on the teeth of Imperial and court personages resulted in Todd’s leaving without him.¹⁰⁴

* * *

Maynard also received invitations to dine from others than the Whistlers and Colonel Todd. He met through Parmly, his traveling companion, “Mr. Thompson,” also a dentist, and the latter’s two brothers.¹⁰⁵ Dining with them on 29 September 1845, he found them “very civil and seem[ing] very glad to have the opportunity of learning something of American modes of practice which *the* Mr. Thompson complimented very highly.” They had never heard of the American “operation of destroying the nerve and plugging the *nerve cavity* as well as the *decay cavity* ... until I told of it.”¹⁰⁶

He also dined at the home of Mr. Gellibrand (see Image 265) on 21 March 1846, where most of the American colony was assembled, and four people expressed a wish for his dental services.¹⁰⁷ Maynard apparently had a much better time here than he had had at the home of Willam Hooper Ropes, Mr. Gellibrand’s brother-in-law.

On Monday, 25 February 1846, he had dined at the home of “Mr. W.H. Ropes,” where he had

never felt at such a time so much at a loss what to say or do in order not to appear stupid. The fact is the only things they talked of were such as were only known to themselves and of no earthly interest to me. There was

one Englishman present and Mr. Rope's brother and Mrs. Rope's sister. Mrs. Ropes and sister (Englishwoman) play and sing delightfully. Mr. Joseph Ropes (the brother) sails from Liverpool for Boston on the 19th of April – to return in autumn.¹⁰⁸

* * *

Maynard also left substantial charming and informative comments in his letters about the misses Benson and their boarding house, its inhabitants and daily and social life, thus filling a gap in the general knowledge about their establishment (see Benson in this Appendix).

NOTES

1. I am deeply grateful to Rodney S. Hatch III of North Salem, New York, great-great-great grandson of Dr. Edward Maynard, for permission to quote from his forebear's copies of nineteen letters written by Maynard to his wife in 1845 and 1846 from Russia and Europe, all published by Hatch in *Dr. Edward Maynard "Letters from the Land of the Tsar 1845–1846": America's Pioneering Dental Surgeon Turned Civil War Gun Inventor*. When fortuitously found by Hatch in 1997, these typescripts of the letters lay in "an old metal filing cabinet ... stored [by Hatch's father] in a garage in upstate New York since 1969" (Hatch, *Dr. Edward Maynard*, pp. iv, vii, viii). Since Hatch published his book, the original letters have come to light; they are in the possession of his cousin, Cynthia McGrath. She has graciously given me photocopies of important drawings made by Maynard within the letters (for example of Nicholas I and his brother Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich), and of his room in the boarding house of the misses Benson in St. Petersburg. Hatch's book contains drawings, but because he was publishing typewritten copies of Maynard's letters, without drawings, he used a professional artist to recreate them based on Maynard's verbal descriptions. I have therefore chosen not to use them, as at least one drawing is of the wrong person, and Maynard's original drawings are now available.
2. Memorial IDs 67089911 and 67090007, findagrave.com.
3. Hatch, *Dr. Edward Maynard*, p. 1
4. Hatch, p. 1.
5. Hatch, p. 1

6. Hatch, p. 1.
7. Hatch, p. 1.
8. Hatch, *Dr. Edward Maynard*, p. 2; Memorial IDs 132959479 and 160982538 findagrave.com; 1850 Census for Washington, DC; 1880 U.S. Federal Census
9. Hatch, *Dr. Edward Maynard*, p. 19.
10. Hatch, p. 4.
11. Hatch, p. 19.
12. Hatch, p. 25.
13. Hatch, p. 28.
14. Hatch, pp. 25, 29.
15. Memorial ID 207541926, findagrave.com.
16. The information and quotations in this paragraph are taken from Maynard, letter no. 1, p. 2, St. Petersburg, Russia, Sunday September 21, 1845, in Hatch, *Dr. Edward Maynard*, p. 32–33.
17. Maynard, letter no. 3, p. 1, St. Petersburg, Wednesday night, October 22, 1845, in Hatch, p. 54.
18. Maynard, letter no. 3, p. 4, St. Petersburg, Friday night, October 24, 1845, in Hatch, p. 57.
19. Maynard, letter no. 3, p. 6, St. Petersburg, Wednesday P.M. October 29, 1845, in Hatch, p. 59.
20. Maynard, letter no. 3, p. 3, St. Petersburg, Wednesday night, October 22, 1845, in Hatch, p. 56; letter no. 3, p. 5, Tuesday night October 28, in Hatch, p. 58; and letter no 3, p. 6, Wednesday P.M. October 29, 1845, in Hatch, p. 59.
21. Maynard, letter no. 6, p. 1, St. Petersburg, Friday, December 7/19, 1845, in Hatch, p. 78; and St. Petersburg, To Colonel Solovzoff of the Artillery [rejection of Maynard's percussion gun], 6/18 December 1845, no. 4711, enclosure in letter no. 6, p. 2, in Hatch, p. 79.
22. Maynard, letter no. 7, p. 3, St. Petersburg, Monday, December 31, 1845, in Hatch, p. 84.
23. Maynard, letter no. 11, p. 3, St. Petersburg, Friday, March 8, 1846, in Hatch, p. 114.
24. Maynard, letter no. 11, p. 4–5, St. Petersburg, Sunday morning, March 10, 1846, in Hatch, p. 115–116.

25. Maynard, letter no. 7, p. 6, St. Petersburg, Saturday night, January 5, 1846, in Hatch p. 87; and letter no. 8, p. 1, St. Petersburg, Friday 11, January 1846 / 23, January 1846, in Hatch, p. 88.
26. Maynard, letter no. 8, p. 5, St. Petersburg, Saturday evening, January 12, 1846, in Hatch, p. 92.
27. Maynard, letter no. 8, p. 7, St. Petersburg, Monday P.M. January 14, 1846, in Hatch, p. 94.
28. Maynard, letter no. 12, p. 1, [Berlin], Tuesday 21st April 1846, in Hatch, p. 123.
29. Maynard, letter no. 12, p. 2, [Berlin], Wednesday P.M., April 22, 1846, in Hatch, p. 124.
30. Maynard, letter no. 17, pp. 1–5, Brussels, Monday June 29, 1846, with entries through Sunday night, July 12, 1846, in Hatch, p. 149–153.

The king of Belgium was Léopold I (Léopold-George-Chrétien-Frédéric) (Coburg, Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld [Germany] 16 December 1790 – Laeken, Belgium 10 December 1865), first king of the Belgians (1813–1865). His first wife, whom he married in 1816, was “Charlotte, the only child of the future King George of Great Britain. Although the princess died in 1817, [he] continued to live in England until 1831 ... In 1840 he helped to arrange the marriage of his niece, Victoria, Queen of England, to his nephew Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha” (Maynard, letter no. 17, p. 1, Brussels, Monday June 29, 1846, in Hatch, p. 149; *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s.v. “Leopold I, King of Belgium,” accessed July 1, 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Leopold-I-king-of-Belgium>).
31. Maynard, letter no. 18, pp. 1–7, Brussels, 14 July 1846 – Tuesday night, with entries through Wednesday night, July 29, 1846, in Hatch, *Dr. Edward Maynard*, p. 154–160.
32. Maynard, letter no. 16, pp. 1–3, Brussels, 18 June 1846, with entries through Friday, June 26, 1846, in Hatch, p. 146–148.
33. Maynard, letter no. 19, pp. 1–8, Valenciennes, France July 31, 1846, with entries through Monday night. – August 16, 1846, in Hatch, p. 161–168.
34. Maynard, letter no. 19, p. 5, Golden Cross Hotel, London Tuesday night, August 11, 1846, in Hatch, p. 165.
35. Maynard, letter no. 19, p. 4, [Paris] Saturday night, August 8, 1846, in Hatch, p. 164.

36. Hatch, p. 169. Maynard had written in his final letter that he expected to arrive in New York about 8 September (Maynard, letter no. 19, p. 4, [Paris] Saturday night, August 8, 1846, in Hatch, p. 164).
37. Hatch, p. 169.
38. Hatch, p. 170.
39. Hatch, p. 170.
40. Hatch, p. 171; Memorial IDs 205236212, 204680799, 160983383, and 160983218, findagrave.com; IGI.
41. Hatch, *Dr. Edward Maynard*, p. 171; Burton Lee Thorpe, *Biographies of Pioneer American Dentists and Their Successors*, vol. 3 of *History of Dental Surgery*, 3 vols. (Fort Wayne, IN: National Art Publishing, 1910), p. 223.
42. Hatch, *Dr. Edward Maynard*, p. 175; Memorial ID 133056033, findagrave.com; IGI.
43. Hatch, *Dr. Edward Maynard*, p. 177.
44. Hatch, p. 181.
45. Information in this and the previous sentence is from Hatch, p. 172.
46. Hatch, p. 198; Thorpe, *Pioneer American Dentists*, p. 223; “Dr. Edward Maynard,” *The Dental Cosmos: A Monthly Record of Dental Science* 33 (1891): p. 493, obituary; Memorial ID 41804589, findagrave.com.
47. H.W.S. Cleveland in his obituary of Maynard (“Dr. Edward Maynard,” *Forest and Stream* (May 7, 1891): pp. 1–3), extols him as “a man of rare qualities and of rare acquirements [with] winning and always gentlemanly and courteous manners ... rare intelligence [and possessing a] wide scope of ... information” (p. 1). It is, however, with the details of the abovementioned generalities that Maynard’s engaging and complicated personality is revealed.
48. Maynard, letter no. 1, p. 19, St. Petersburg, Russia, Sunday morning, October 12, 1845, in Hatch, *Dr. Edward Maynard*, p. 50.
49. For one example, see Maynard, letter no. 1, p. 3, St. Petersburg, Russia, Sunday, September 21, 1845, in Hatch, p. 34.
50. Maynard, letter no. 3, p. 4, St. Petersburg, Friday night, October 14, 1845, in Hatch, p. 57.

51. Maynard, letter no. 3, p. 13, St. Petersburg, Sunday night, November 16, 1845, in Hatch, p. 66; letter no. 3, p. 14, St. Petersburg, Monday P.M., November 17, 1845, in Hatch, p. 67; and letter no. 5, p. 7, St. Petersburg, Russia, Wednesday P.M., December 17, 1845, in Hatch, p. 77.
52. Maynard, letter no. 4, p. 2, St. Petersburg, Russia, November 22nd. (December 4th) 1845, in Hatch, p. 69.
53. Maynard, letter no. 1, p. 20, St. Petersburg, Russia, Thursday night, October 16, 1845, in Hatch, p. 51.
54. Ellen Maynard, letter no. 3, p. 2, St. Petersburg, Wednesday night, October 22, 1845, in Hatch, p. 55.
55. Maynard, letter no. 11, p. 9, St. Petersburg, Monday night, March 18, 1846, in Hatch, p. 120.
56. Maynard, letter no. 1, p. 2, St. Petersburg, Russia Sunday September 21, 1845, in Hatch, p. 33.
57. Maynard, letter no. 5, p. 6, St. Petersburg, Russia, Tuesday P.M. [December 16, 1845], in Hatch p. 76. See also Image 13, George William Whistler in a shuba.
58. Maynard, letter no. 8, p. 9, St. Petersburg, Sunday, P.M. January 27, 1846, in Hatch, p. 96.
59. Maynard, letter no. 15, p. 2, [Brussels] Wednesday night, June 10, 1846, in Hatch, p. 144.
60. Maynard, letter no. 12, p. 4, [Berlin] Thursday, April 23, 1846, in Hatch, p. 126.

Among all the papers that I have consulted of the myriad families appearing in the Notes and Appendices to Anna Whistler's diaries, Maynard's letters stand alone in containing sexual references.

61. Maynard, letter no. 1, p. 21, St. Petersburg, Russia, Monday night, October 20, 1845, in Hatch, p. 52; and letter no. 7, p. 1, St. Petersburg, December 26, 1845 / January 7, 1846, in Hatch, p. 82.
62. Maynard, letter no. 7, p. 1, St. Petersburg, December 26, 1845 / January 7, 1846, in Hatch, p. 82.
63. Maynard, letter no. 11, p. 5, St. Petersburg, Thursday night, January 3, 1846, in Hatch, p. 86.
64. Maynard, letter no. 7, p. 1, St. Petersburg, December 26, 1845 / January 7, 1846, in Hatch, p. 82.

65. Maynard, letter no. 11, p. 8, St. Petersburg, Monday night, March 18, 1846, in Hatch, p. 119.

Lucy Sherrard Finley (Sunderland, Durham 15 April 1817 – London 13 November 1893; see Image 340) was the fourth child and eldest daughter of the ten children of Mary Anne (York) Finley (b. Southwark, London 1793; bap. St. Saviour's, Southwark, May 1793; d. New South Wales 1877; buried Dubbo Cemetery, New South Wales) and Matthew Smith Finley (Monkwearmouth, County Durham 12 December 1778 – Tower Hamlets, London 24 February 1847), an East London school teacher. Her parents were married on 25 April 1810 at St. Dunstan's near London Bridge. Lucy's maternal grandparents were William York (b. Whatcote, Warwick 8 September 1770), a perfumer, and Elizabeth (Sherrard) York (b. c. 1770). Lucy's mother had a childless uncle, Joseph Sherrard (b. 20 February 1773; bap. St. George the Martyr, Southwark 20 February 1773; d. Deal, Kent 17 April 1835), a ship's purser in the Royal Navy, to whom she was very close. Lucy received her middle name from this family and her first name from Joseph Sherrard's wife, Lucy (Rowlett) Sherrard (b. 5 July 1774; bap. St. Sepulchre, Holborn, London 1 August 1774; d. Deal, Kent 7 October 1832). This great-uncle of Lucy's, who had spent several years in His Majesty's Service in Australia, retired in England. The principal beneficiaries in his will were his niece, Mary Anne (York) Finley and her first daughter, Lucy, and first son, Matthew Smith Finley Jr. To Lucy, Joseph Sherrard bequeathed £500 sterling, which she was to receive when she attained the age of twenty-one years; as she was only seventeen, the interest was, in the meantime, to be paid to her annually.

With this inheritance, Lucy set up a toy business registered in her name at her parents' address: 4 Waterloo Terrace. "Toy" in this period meant "a knick-knack or ornament" as well as "a child's plaything." When Lucy went to Russia, the business continued to appear under her name until 1846, but in 1848, her mother, upon Lucy's marriage in Russia, transferred it to her own name, either because Lucy had married abroad or because Lucy's father's death in 1847 had made it imperative that her mother seriously earn a livelihood.

Two possibilities for why Lucy went to Russia have been suggested: (1) she came from seafaring stock – her paternal grandfather had traveled to St. Petersburg at least once with a cargo of hemp, and her great-uncle Joseph Sherrard had made a career in the Royal Navy – whom she heard narrate their

adventures; and (2) the legacy made it possible for her to undertake her need to work by going as far away as she wished and engaging in the respectable profession of governess – an alternative to being in trade – and being able to do so in a country where that profession – for a foreigner – had greater advantages and rewards than in England.

The fact that she worked for Count Muraviev-Vilenskii (see Image 342) for eight years suggests that she went to Russia no earlier than June 1839, according to the date of an insurance policy (Nick Fielding, “Before She Went to Russia – Lucy’s Early Life,” *Siberian Steppes* (blog), accessed July 2, 2021 <https://siberiansteppes.com/2016/07/15/before-she-went-to-Russia-lucys-early-life/>; Burials in the Year 1847 in the City of London and Tower Hamlets Cemetery; Baptisms in St. George the Martyr, Southwark, Surrey, 1758–1812; Baptisms in St. Sepulchre, Holborn, 1766–1787; IGI FHL Film 1786328, item 1, p. 236; Marriages in St. Benet Fink, London; *Dover Telegraph and Cinque Ports General Advertiser*, May 2, 1835; *Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser*, October 16, 1832; Baptisms in Southwark, St. Saviour, 1781–1808; Dubbo New South Wales Deaths, 1788–1945, registration no. 4986. See also Fielding, *South to the Great Steppe*).

The financial situation of Lucy’s mother in England may explain why Edward Maynard did not charge Lucy for his services or even perhaps that she chose not to disclose that she had received an inheritance. The revealed characters of both Lucy Finley and Edward Maynard suggest that neither would have lied. See also Benson in this Appendix.

66. Hatch, *Dr. Edward Maynard*, p. 30; Maynard, letter no. 6, p. 3, St Petersburg, Monday morning, December 22, 1845, in Hatch, p. 80; and letter no. 6, p. 4, Monday P.M., in Hatch, p. 81. It has not been possible to identify Sapozhnikov.
67. Maynard, letter no. 8, p. 9, St Petersburg, Sunday P.M. January 27, 1846, in Hatch, p. 96. The physician who visited Maynard was Nikolai Fyodorovich Arendt (1785–1859), personal physician from 1829 to 1839 to Nicholas I.
68. Maynard, letter no. 8, p. 10, St. Petersburg, Friday night, February 1, 1846, in Hatch, p. 97.
69. This and the following quotation are from Maynard, letter no. 9, p. 3, St. Petersburg, Monday night, February 4, 1846, in Hatch, p. 100.

70. Maynard, letter no. 9, p. 2, St. Petersburg, Monday night, February 4, 1846, in Hatch, p. 99.
71. Maynard, letter no. 10, p. 3, St. Petersburg, Friday P.M., February 8, 1846, in Hatch, p. 104.
72. Maynard, letter no. 10, p. 6, St. Petersburg, Friday P.M., February 8, 1846, in Hatch, p. 107.
73. Maynard, letter no. 11, p. 7, St. Petersburg, Saturday night, March 16, 1846, in Hatch, p. 118.
74. Maynard, letter no. 9, p. 3, St. Petersburg, Monday night, February 4, 1846, in Hatch, p. 100.
75. This and the following two quotations are from Maynard, letter no. 10, p. 1, St. Petersburg, 7/19 February 1846, in Hatch, p. 102.
76. This and the following quotation are from Maynard, letter no. 10, p. 4, St. Petersburg, Sunday morning, February 10, 1846, in Hatch, p. 105.
77. This and the following two sentences are from Maynard, letter no. 10, p. 2, St. Petersburg, 7/19 February 1846, in Hatch, p. 103.
78. Maynard, letter no. 10, p. 3, St. Petersburg, Friday P.M., February 8, 1846, in Hatch, p. 104.
79. Maynard, St. Petersburg, 7/19 February 1846, in letter no. 10, p. 1–2, Hatch, p. 102–103; and letter no. 10, p. 3, Thursday Midnight, February 7, 1846, in Hatch, p. 104.
80. Maynard, letter no. 10, p. 3, St. Petersburg, Thursday Midnight, February 7, 1846.
81. Maynard, letter no. 10, p. 3, St. Petersburg, Friday P.M., February 8, 1846, in Hatch, p. 104; and letter no. 10, p. 5, Tuesday night, February 12, 1846, in Hatch, p. 106.
82. Maynard, letter no. 10, p. 6, St. Petersburg, Saturday P.M., February 16, 1846, in Hatch, p. 107.
83. Maynard, letter no. 4, p. 1, St. Petersburg, Russia, November 22nd. (December 4th) 1845, in Hatch, p. 68. The man Maynard called “Alderberg” was probably General Aleksandr Vladimirovich Adlerberg (1818–1888; see Image 313); he had been raised along with Nicholas I since childhood. It has not been possible to determine which of Adlerberg’s daughters had her teeth operated on by Maynard.
84. Maynard, letter no. 11, p. 5, St. Petersburg, Sunday morning, March 10, 1846, in Hatch, p. 116. Others also made gifts, but

much more modest ones. One patient gave Maynard a bottle of homemade mead and a large pear, the latter a great luxury in winter in Russia to ordinary people, both of which he greatly appreciated (Maynard, letter no. 11, p. 7, St. Petersburg, Saturday night, March 16, 1846, in Hatch, p. 118). Miss Lucy Finley, cousin of the Benson sisters, who could not pay at all, worked “a white satin pocket, or bag,” with “Ellen” embroidered on it for his wife (Maynard, letter no. 11, p. 8, St. Petersburg, Monday night, March 18, 1846, in Hatch, p. 119).

85. Maynard, letter no. 11, p. 9, St. Petersburg, Tuesday night, March 19, 1846, in Hatch, p. 120.
86. Maynard, letter no. 1, p. 11, St. Petersburg, Russia, 11 o'clock P.M., Saturday, September 27, 1845, in Hatch, p. 42.
87. Maynard, letter no. 1, p. 7, St. Petersburg, Russia, Thursday night, September 25, 1845, in Hatch, p. 38.
88. Maynard, letter no. 1, p. 12, St. Petersburg, Russia, Tuesday night, September 30, 1845, in Hatch, p. 43.
89. Maynard, letter no. 3, p. 4, St. Petersburg, Tuesday night October 28, 1845, in Hatch, p. 57.
90. Maynard, letter no. 7, p. 4, St. Petersburg, Tuesday, January 1, 1846, in Hatch, p. 85.
91. Maynard, letter no. 1, p. 18, St. Petersburg, Russia, Sunday morning, October 12, 1845, in Hatch, p. 49.
92. Maynard, letter no. 3, p. 4, St. Petersburg, Thursday night October 23, 1845, in Hatch, p. 57.
93. Maynard, letter no. 5, p. 7, St. Petersburg, Russia, Wednesday 11 P.M., December 17, 1845, in Hatch, p. 77.
94. Maynard, letter no. 3, p. 4, St. Petersburg, Thursday night October 23, 1845, in Hatch, p. 57. “Risley” is Richard Risley Carlisle (1814 – 25 May 1874), generally known as Professor Risley, an American acrobat who performed aerial ballets with his two sons, John and Henry. See Note 18, NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
95. Maynard, letter no. 1, p. 12, St. Petersburg, Russia, Tuesday night, September 30, 1845, in Hatch, p. 43. By “modern production,” Maynard may have had in mind other historical paintings such as *The Raft of the “Medusa”* (see Image 205) by Théodore Géricault (1791–1824) and *Massacre at Chios* by Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863).

96. Maynard, letter no. 1, p. 13, St. Petersburg, Russia, Thursday night, October 2, 1845, in Hatch, p. 44.
97. Maynard, letter no. 8, p. 2, St. Petersburg, Saturday evening, January 12, 1846, in Hatch, p. 89.
98. Maynard, letter no. 9, p. 5, St. Petersburg, Thursday night, February 14, 1846, in Hatch, p. 106.
99. This quotation and the following sentence are from Maynard, letter no. 1, p. 6, St. Petersburg, Russia, Wednesday night, September 24, 1845, in Hatch, p. 37.
100. Maynard, letter no. 1, p. 9, St. Petersburg, Russia, Saturday morning, September 27, 1845, in Hatch, p. 40.
101. Maynard, letter no. 3, p. 7, St. Petersburg, Thursday, Midnight October 30, 1845, in Hatch, p. 60.
102. Maynard, letter no. 4, p. 1–2, St. Petersburg, Russia, November 22nd. (December 4th) 1845, in Hatch, p. 68–69.
103. Maynard, letter no. 5, p. 1, St. Petersburg, Russia, December 1/12 [*sic*: 1/13] 1845, in Hatch, p. 71.
104. Maynard, letter no. 10, p. 4, St. Petersburg, Sunday Morning, February 10, 1846, in Hatch, p. 105.
105. Maynard is referring to Dr. Thomas Thomson, a dentist residing at 3 Gorokhovaia Street. In 1845, two of his brothers were residing with him. His brother Adam was also a dentist; his brother William an engineer. Both brothers moved out later in 1845: Adam returned to Scotland, while William moved to Baird's (*BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 57).
106. Maynard, letter no. 1, p. 12, St. Petersburg, Russia, Monday night, September 29, 1845, in Hatch, *Dr. Edward Maynard*, p. 43. All quotations in this paragraph are from this entry.
107. Maynard, letter no. 11, p. 10, St. Petersburg, Thursday night, March 21, 1846, in Hatch, p. 121.
108. Maynard, letter no. 10, p. 8, St. Petersburg, Tuesday P.M. February 26, 1846, in Hatch, p. 109. William Hooper Ropes ran William Ropes and Company, the only American mercantile establishment in St. Petersburg. He and his family lived across the hall from the Whistlers in Ritter's house on the English Embankment. The Englishman at Mr. Ropes's house cannot be identified with certainty, but he could have been William Clarke Gellibrand, Mr. Ropes's brother-in-law. "Mrs. Ropes" was Ellen

Harriet (Hall) Ropes; her sister was Emily Hall, who was visiting them from England and died in St. Petersburg in April. For their biographies, which might help illuminate Maynard's comments, see Ropes, Gellibrand, Hall, Prince in this Appendix.

MEL'NIKOV

Pavel Petrovich Mel'nikov's date of birth, place of birth, and parentage is complex (see Image 247). His date of birth is usually given as 22 July (OS) 1804. His place of birth is considered to be Moscow. His father is considered to have been Collegiate Assessor (8th grade) Petr Petrovich Mel'nikov. Pavel Petrovich stated in his service records that he was born in 1804, but nowhere indicated his place of birth nor said anything about his parents, limiting himself to the statement that he "was from the gentry class and owned no peasants."

Baron Anton Ivanovich Del'vig (1813–1887; see Image 251), a colleague engaged in building the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway, maintained that both Pavel Petrovich and his brother, Aleksei Petrovich, were the illegitimate sons of Beklemishev, Equerry of the Royal Stables. He said Beklemishev married their mother off to a member of the gentry nobility named Petr Petrovich Mel'nikov in order to give his sons gentry rights. Petr Petrovich Mel'nikov was a widower (died before end of December 1820) and had one son from his first marriage, Aleksandr Petrovich Mel'nikov (c. 1798 – 10/22 May 1873). His second wife, according to Del'vig, met her husband-to-be for the first time at their wedding ceremony. Del'vig said nothing else about her.¹

Pavel Petrovich Mel'nikov's brother, Aleksei Petrovich (1809? – 25 April 1879), became a general in the commissary department of the army, was later commandant in Warsaw, a member of the Council of the Ministry of Transport and in his retirement a full general. He was married to Varvara Petrovna Lokhtina (d. 23 September 1878).² Their daughter, Varvara Alekseevna, married in 1883 Grigorii Aleksandrovich Pushkin (1835–1905), son of Aleksandr Sergeevich Pushkin (1799–1837), Russia's greatest poet.

Their mother's husband's son, Aleksandr Petrovich, administered the construction section in the Second Department and the section of the Imperial Carriage Establishment in the Office of the Imperial Stables.³ He was married to Nadezhda Filipovna Viktorova, whose father, F.A. Viktorov, was head of the Imperial Carriage Establishment. Beklemishev was the superior of F.A. Viktorov and Aleksandr Petrovich Mel'nikov and a difficult one until Nadezhda Filipovna Viktorova and

Aleksandr Petrovich Mel'nikov married.⁴ They had five children: Olga (b. 14 July 1830), Aleksandra (b. 11 March 1837), Kleopatra (b. 22 September 1840), Pavel (b. 19 April 1852), and Maria (b. 22 May 1855).⁵

Mel'nikov entered the Moscow Gentry Pension of Vasilii Krazhev in 1818 and graduated in 1820. Early in 1821, he entered the Military-Construction School of Transport at the Petersburg Institute of the Corps of Transport Engineers, and, upon graduating in October 1822 as an ensign and first in his class (on the basis of his final examination grades), was accepted into the third year of the Institute of the Corps of Transport Engineers. In July 1825, he graduated first in his class again, with the rank of lieutenant. His name was engraved on the marble tablet in the conference hall of the Institute. He was retained by the Institute to teach applied mechanics. He also conducted annual surveying projects, which resulted in the publication of his first paper in 1832. In 1833, he was a member of the Petersburg Committee on Buildings and Hydraulic Works. The start of Mel'nikov's teaching career coincided with the building of railroads outside of Russia. He transformed his course in applied mechanics into mechanics of railway transport and wrote an article "On Railroads," which was published as a separate book in 1835 and for which he was awarded a diamond ring. He also served on the commission set up in order to consider F.A. Gerstner's proposal to build a network of railways in Russia, which resulted in the building of the Petersburg-Tsarskoe Selo-Pavlovsk Railway in 1837. On 5 June 1837, Mel'nikov, who knew French, English, and German, and his student, S.V. Kerbedz (1810–1899), class of 1831, Institute of Railway Engineers, left Russia for Western Europe, where they were sent by the Institute. They spent fifteen months in France, England, Belgium, Germany, and Austria, inspecting railways, factories that built steam machines and steam engines, and large-scale engineering installations. They met with important people in the field, such as George Stephenson, and heard lectures on building and applied mechanics. On their return to Russia, Mel'nikov drew up a three-volume technical report.

On 1 June 1839, Mel'nikov and his Institute colleague, Nikolai Osipovich Kraft (1798–1857; see Image 248), sent by the Main Administration of Transport, set out for a fifteen-month stay in the United States to inspect railways and other systems of transport. In the

United States, they studied railroads under construction as well as already in operation, steam engine factories, and hydrotechnical installations. They met with many well-known engineers, including Brown, Latrobe, Robinson, Swift, and Major Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21), who, they ultimately recommended, should be invited to be the consulting engineer for the building of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway. On returning to Russia, Mel'nikov drew up a three-volume technical report from this trip as well. In 1841, Mel'nikov's recommendations for the building of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway were considered by an interdepartmental commission established to draw up a preliminary project for this railway. Mel'nikov and Kraft were both on the commission. In January 1842, Nicholas I called a special meeting to look at the railway project, which Mel'nikov and Kraft were not invited to attend. On 1 February 1842, a ukase was issued announcing the decision to build the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway, and Mel'nikov and Kraft were appointed heads of the Northern Administration and the Southern Administration, respectively.

In 1854, Mel'nikov was chosen to head the expedition to survey for the building of new railways: Moscow–Kharkov–Feodosia (with a branch to Sevastopol and lines to the Donbass and to Rostov-on-the-Don), and Kharkov–Odessa. In early 1857, he presented the preliminary project for the building of railway lines south of Moscow, for which he was awarded the Order of St. Vladimir (2nd class). On 24 January 1855, he was appointed chief inspector of private railways and made a member of the Council of the Main Administration of Transport and Public Buildings. As a result of the opposition of private railway entrepreneurs to his attempts to establish control over surveying and planning of new railways, he refused, at the end of 1858, to continue as chief inspector. On 29 December 1858, he was elected an honorary member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. In 1863, he was appointed head of Transport and Public Buildings. When this department was changed in 1865 to the Ministry of Transport, he became minister. The sale of the Nikolai Railway, which took place, despite his objections, in October 1868; subsequent attacks in the newspapers about his inability to direct the building of railways; and an official examination in 1869 of the Ministry's report for 1867, resulting in the accusation that he had done

bad work, led to his removal as minister in April 1869, at his own request, on the grounds of ill health. In the 1870s, he worked in the Department of State Economy of the State Council and was chairman of the Commission for Examining the Reports of the Ministry of Transport for 1870–1875. In 1872, the Institute of Transport Engineers celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his work in the field of transport.

Mel'nikov spent his final years at Liuban' Station of the Nikolai Railway, where he used his savings to carry out philanthropic works, such as building a home for elderly women, a school for the children of low-paid workers on the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway (by then called the Nikolai Railway), and a boarding school for orphans of employees of that railway.

He died on 22 July 1880 and was buried near Liuban' Station. In 1955, a monument was erected to him in the square of the station for the 150th anniversary in 1954 of his birth and his remains were transferred to this spot.

He was the author of forty-two works, both published and in manuscript form. Of his memoirs, only the first part, covering the period 1830–1842, has been preserved; a portion was published in 1938 and 1940.⁶

During the building of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway, in order to be in the midst of the work being carried out in the Northern Administration, Mel'nikov took up residence in the countryside, where he lived very simply in bachelor fashion. Baron Del'vig said he was stingy and lacked even the most elementary fastidiousness. In late autumn of 1842, when he visited Mel'nikov on an assignment, the latter was living in a two-room peasant hut; in one room there was a plain wooden table for his plans, a few very simple chairs, a couch, and a bed. Mel'nikov's voice, Del'vig said, always dripped irony when he spoke. Mel'nikov informed Del'vig that he was not expecting such a Moscow guest and, therefore, Del'vig would have to make do with whatever the landlady was making, which was kasha and cabbage soup with beef and cockroaches, meaning by the latter the black cabbage in the soup. Mel'nikov ate with a wooden spoon but gave Del'vig a set of silver utensils, a gift from Mel'nikov's sister-in-law. In the evening, they were given tallow candles in dirty bottles, and, as Del'vig had come without a

servant, Mel'nikov laughed at the Moscow gentleman who was going to have to undress himself for bed. When Mel'nikov moved to Chudovo, Del'vig says, he occupied the upper floor of a rather large peasant hut that was decently furnished and ate fairly well, but he continued to be as stingy as before.⁷

Anton Shtukenberg (see Image 250), first cousin of James Whistler's private drawing teacher, Aleksandr Osipovich Koritskii (see Images 167–170), and one of the transport engineers also engaged in building the railway, described Mel'nikov as a worldly bachelor; sociable; a fascinating talker, who, however, talked fast and monotonously; well-read; fluent in English and French. He was friendly with the young engineers and frequently gave them direct orders over the heads of the railway section chiefs, thus creating an awkward situation for the latter. The work in the Northern Administration moved along more slowly than in the Southern Administration, directed by Kraft.⁸ The personal stinginess Del'vig spoke of extended to Mel'nikov's work as well: he delayed payment to contractors and at one point, along with his superior, Count Pyotr Andreevich Kleinmikhel' (see Image 243), who was of like mind, incurred the displeasure of Nicholas I (see Images 420–423).⁹

Major Whistler had an excellent relationship with Mel'nikov, who not only frequented the Whistler home in St. Petersburg but brought his brother, Aleksandr Petrovich, on a visit to the Whistlers' dacha on the Peterhof Road. They both were enchanted by a musical evening, and Debo (see Images 17–19, 21) could speak French with Aleksandr Petrovich, who did not know English. Aleksandr Petrovich's wife, Nadezhda Filipovna (Viktorova) Mel'nikova, and a daughter (probably their eldest) visited Anna Whistler (see Images 1–5) in St. Petersburg, but unfortunately they had no language in common, as Anna Whistler was reluctant to speak French. When Anna Whistler and Willie (see Images 27, 30) joined the Gellibrand party visiting the estate and farm of Count Kushelev (see Image 302) on the Peterhof Road in the summer of 1844, Major Whistler and James (see Images 24–29) did not go because they were spending the day with Pavel Petrovich Mel'nikov. When Major Whistler was dying, he instructed Anna Whistler to give Mel'nikov his portrait and his Bible, in which he had written notes.¹⁰

NOTES

1. This essay is a composite chiefly from two printed works: Del'vig, *Vospominaniia* and M.I. Voronin and M.M. Voronina, *Pavel Petrovich Mel'nikov 1804–1880* (Leningrad: Nauka–Leningradskoe otделение, 1977). The information for Note 1 comes from Del'vig, *Vospominaniia*, vol. 1, p. 40, and Voronin and Voronina, *Mel'nikov*, pp. 11–12, 16.
2. They lived in Mikhailovskoe, an estate near Pskov inherited by Grigorii Aleksandrovich Pushkin. In 1899, the 100th anniversary of his father's birth, Grigorii Aleksandrovich sold Mikhailovskoe to the nobility of Pskov, thereby establishing the Pushkin Museum–Preserve. He and his wife spent the remainder of their lives on her estate, Markuchai, near Vil'no (Vadim Stark, *Zhizn' s poetom Natal'ia Nikolaevna Pushkina* [*Life with the Poet Natal'ia Nikolaevna Pushkina*], 2 vols. [St. Petersburg: Vita Nova, 2006], vol. 2, p. 150).
3. RGIA: Fond 472, op. 32 (323/1125), d. 925. Formulirnyi spisok A.P. Mel'nikova Mart 1847g. [Service record of A.P. Mel'nikov March 1847].
4. Del'vig, *Vospominaniia*, vol. 1, p. 40.
5. RGIA: Fond 472, op. 257/1273, d. 56. O naznachenii pensii vdove byvshego Sovetnika Pridvornoi Koniushenoi Kontory, Deist. St. Sov. Mel'nikova, ne razdel'no s det'mi, po osoboi Monarshei milosti. Nachalos' 27 Iiunii 1873 g. Na 22 listakh. Koncheno 10 Avgusta 1873 g. [Concerning the awarding of a pension to the widow of former councilor of the Imperial Carriage Establishment in the Office of the Imperial Stables, Actual State Councilor Mel'nikov, together with her children, by Imperial favor. Begun: 27 June 1873. Consisting of 22 folios. Concluded 10 August 1873.] This petition contains the final service record for Aleksandr Petrovich Mel'nikov. The pension was awarded to his widow and younger children, Pavel and Maria.
6. All of the foregoing biography of Pavel Petrovich Mel'nikov is taken from Voronin and Voronina, *Mel'nikov*, pp. 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 59, 61, 62, 63, 65, 69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 80, 143–148. Portions of his memoirs, covering 1830 through 1842, appear in *Krasnyi arkhiv* 90 (1938): pp. 309–335, and *Krasnyi arkhiv* 99 (1940): pp. 134–177.
7. Del'vig, *Vospominaniia*, vol. 2, p. 23. Examples of Mel'nikov's stinginess are given on pages 23–24.

8. Shtukenberg, "Iz istorii zheleznodorozhnogo dela v Rossii," pp. 321–322.
9. Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 308–310, 343–344; Del'vig, *Vospominaniia*, vol. 2, pp. 245–246.
10. Mel'nikov, *Svedeniia*, fol. 198v.

MELVILLE

John Melville (bap. Errol, Perthshire, Scotland 15 August 1802 – Dundee, Scotland 19 August 1886) was a Scottish colporteur and evangelist, and an unofficial agent in charge of the British and Foreign Bible Society's work in the south of Russia, based in Odessa, between 1837 and about 1875.¹ His parents were William Melvil, "a [illegible] labourer" and Margaret (Cooper/Cowper) Melvil.²

His father was married twice, first to Margaret (Cooper/Cowper) in Errol, Perthshire, on 25 February 1799³ and, secondly, to Janet Martin in Errol, Perthshire, on 26 October 1806.⁴ In addition to John Melville, his parents, Margaret (Cooper/Cowper) Melville and William Melville, were also the parents of William (bap. Errol 1 December 1799) and Robert (bap. Errol 20 December 1803).⁵ In the marriage of William Melville and Janet (Martin) Melville, the children were Thomas (b. 1809), Cecilia (b. 1810), Jane (b. 1817), and David (b. 1821).⁶ The importance of his father's marrying twice will be made clear when the death of John Melville is discussed at the end of this biography.

"Nothing is known concerning John Melville's youth, his education or other aspects of his life in Britain. He was most likely a Presbyterian ... and may have been raised in or have come into contact with the evangelical movement current in early nineteenth century Britain. In 1837 [he] moved to southern Russia and settled in Odessa. Why he moved is unknown, but apparently he supported himself by teaching, probably teaching English."⁷

There are two surviving descriptions of John Melville. The Mennonite, Peter Jensen, described him as "a bachelor" and "a Presbyterian of the old school, who still believed in predestination and eternal damnation, a typical Scotchman [*sic*], tall spare and seemingly austere, but withal a most lovable character."⁸ An English trader named George Hume described him as "a very remarkable Scot, tall and gaunt in his appearance and truly British in thought and feeling."⁹

"In Odessa Melville would have known not only Russians but also Tartars, Jews, foreign colonists and merchants of many nationalities who often held diplomatic posts. The foreign colonists included 'Germans' from the neighboring Bessarabian colonies and others from more distant

settlements in New Russia, including those Mennonites from Chortitza and Molochnaya who came to Odessa to sell their products.”¹⁰ “Though Jansen reported that Melville spoke little German and ‘horrible Russian’, Melville taught Hume Russian. Hume stated that Melville was a person in whom ‘in all his actions, precision was the keynote’, and there is nothing in the surviving material to suggest he was not competent in either Russian or German.”¹¹

“Shortly after his arrival in Odessa, Melville began his lifetime’s work by distributing Bibles and tracts to people in the city.”¹² There were at this time “no active BFBS [British and Foreign Bible Society] agents in southern Russia.”¹³ Until 1841, he received Bibles from Smyrna and the Levant, as “most of the sea trade of Odessa was with Mediterranean countries through the Bosphorus, and many of the ships came from Ottoman controlled ports.”¹⁴ “In 1841, in order to secure a better supply of Bibles, Melville wrote to A. Mirrielees, the St. Petersburg BFBS agent.” Mirrielees sent Melville’s “letter to the BFBS Committee in London, ... pointing out that Melville was ideally qualified ... because he held a ‘favourable position’ in the eyes of local Russian authorities” and suggesting that “the Society appoint [him] as an official agent with a salary and travelling expenses.”¹⁵ But Melville wanted only “to procure a better supply of Bibles from the main Russian depot.”¹⁶ “[H]e could not become an employee of the BFBS [because] he desired to continue distributing tracts” as well.¹⁷ The BFBS, nevertheless, while not appointing him “as an ‘official’ agent, gave him all the recognition and help afforded to a normal agent,” and he “set about developing a network of colporteurs across southern Russia.”¹⁸

Melville’s important work of distributing “religious literature, particularly Bibles” is now thought, however, to “have been used as a means of disguising his real” intention,¹⁹ “clandestine evangelical work”²⁰ “among the indigenous population in southern Russia.”²¹ A description of him at this work, published in 1896, shows the “indefatigable and pious,” “selfless, good and religious” Melville, “travell[ing] through southern Russia, the Crimea, the Caucasus, and Armenia to the borders of Persia,” preaching “‘the Word of God’ in their mother tongue” to “the Little Russians [Ukrainian peasants] of the south, the German colonists, numerous Mennonites ... and the Karaim

Jews,” known and loved by all of them.²² “Wherever he went,” he would gather them “into a backroom where he preached ... to them in his own simple manner,” making a tremendous impression on “Christians of different denominations, Jews, and Mohammedans, all numerous small, pious people, who attended to hear Melville read in Russian in his deep voice. The pietistic idea which had developed among small isolated groups during the time of Alexander I were [*sic*] now renewed and expanded by the work of this pious man ... with the help of dedicated people.”²³ But “the archives of the British [and Foreign] Bible Society contain no reports from Melville, not even confidential ones,” about these meetings, and the Russian police seem not to have noticed them.²⁴ The latter is surprising because, “while evangelical work by non-Orthodox religious groups among peoples not of the Orthodox faith was not forbidden by the authorities at this time, it was certainly not encouraged. Work among Russian peasants of the Orthodox faith was strictly prohibited.”²⁵ Still, “during the Crimean War (1854–56) Melville remained in Odessa ‘during the whole of which time he ... devoted himself entirely to the work of distributing the Scriptures among Russian soldiers’.”²⁶ It is felt that his “clandestine activities among Russians escaped the notice of the authorities as a result of their inefficiency or because [he] disguised his work through appearing to work with acceptable groups.”²⁷ A further explanation proffered is that those Russian-government officials in southern Russia who were from Baltic States and of the Lutheran faith “may have encouraged evangelical efforts.”²⁸

“In 1866 Melville fell ill and returned to England, but in 1867 he was back in Odessa with a young Scot, James Watt, whom he set up as his successor. The BFBS officially established an Odessa Agency under Watt in 1868.”²⁹ A certain animosity developed between the two men, caused by the opposition of “Melville’s personal touch” and Watt’s “shrewd business sense.” Watt’s letters to the BFBS hinted at “Melville’s amateurish methods.”³⁰ Watt probably also became aware of Melville’s clandestine evangelical work, which could not be condoned by the BFBS.³¹

Melville is said to have returned to Scotland in the 1870s,³² but the fact that the last will and testament of John Melville of No 12 Richmond

Terrace, Thorne Road, South Lambeth, in the County of Surrey, was drawn up on 8 July 1870 suggests that he came back before or in July 1870.³³ How he spent the remaining years of his life is unknown.³⁴

He died at the age of eighty-four at the home of his half-sister, Janet (Melville) Guild, 16 Elizabeth Street, in Maxwelltown, Dundee, on 19 August 1886 of “congestion of lungs (3 days) and senile decay.”³⁵ Janet (Melville) Guild provided the wrong name for John’s mother in her half-brother’s death certificate, giving her own mother’s name instead. Possibly she did not know his mother’s name, as there was a gap of nineteen years between Janet’s and John’s ages.

John Melville’s estate at his death amounted to £4700. He left legacies of £50 or £100 to his brothers and sisters, the widow of a brother, and two nieces. He also left bequests to churches in Errol, Perthshire, and to the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews.

NOTES

1. Urry, “John Melville,” p. 305.
2. IGI.
3. IGI.
4. IGI.
5. IGI.
6. IGI.
7. Urry, “John Melville,” p. 306.
8. Quoted in Urry, p. 306.
9. Quoted in Urry, p. 306.
10. Urry, p. 306.
11. Urry, p. 306.
12. Urry, p. 306.
13. Urry, p. 307.
14. Urry, p. 307.

15. Urry, p. 307.
16. Urry, p. 308.
17. Urry, p. 308.
18. Urry, p. 308.
19. Urry, p. 313.
20. Urry, p. 318
21. Urry, p. 316.
22. Urry, p. 316.
23. Urry, p. 317.
24. Urry, p. 317.
25. Urry, p. 317.
26. Urry, pp. 317–318.
27. Urry, p. 318.
28. Urry, p. 318.
29. Urry, p. 321.
30. Urry, p. 321.
31. Urry, p. 321.
32. Urry, p. 321.
33. 1886 Melville, John [Reference SC45/31/37, Dundee Sheriff Court], NAUK.
34. Urry, “John Melville,” p. 321.
35. 1886 Melville, John [Statutory Deaths 282/04/654], 1886 Deaths in the District of St. Andrew in the Borough of Dundee, Statuary Registry of Deaths, NAUK. See also “The Late Mr. John Melville, of Odessa,” *Bible Society Monthly Reporter* (October 1886): pp. 174–176.

MORGAN AND PARLAND

Edward John Morgan (Cheltenham 1812 – Kensington, Middlesex 14 May 1876) was “for some time ... the senior partner” in the firm of Egerton Hubbard and Company in St. Petersburg.¹ He had been an officer in the Madras Artillery in India.² He married on 12/24 November 1837³ Mary Anne Parland (b. Denmark c. 1813; bap. London 20 January 1814; d. South Kensington, Middlesex 8 January 1882). His wife was the sister of Alexander Parland, who had been tutor to Grand Duke Aleksandr Pavlovich, the future Alexander I.⁴ Mary Anne Parland’s sister Frances Percy Parland (10 January 1811 – 6 December 1887) married on 17 May 1852, as his second wife, Charles John Baird (3 July 1829 – 29 November 1866), the grandson of Charles Baird (20 December 1766 – 10 December 1843; see Image 274), of the Baird Iron Works.⁵

The Morgans had one son, Edward Delmar (Stratford, Essex 19 April 1840 – London 18 May 1909), and two daughters, Maria Frances (Arkhangelsk 15/27 September 1838 – Totteridge, Hertfordshire 24 September 1907) and Fanny Elizabeth (St. Petersburg 9/21 July 1841 – Delgaty Castle, Turiff, Aberdeenshire 17 March 1933).⁶ The Morgans lived at 31 Galernaia Street, in the building belonging to Kensovskii in the First Admiralty District, Fourth Ward.⁷ They had in their employ in 1845 Jane Morris, nurse, and Fanny Alcock, governess.⁸ In 1849, Edward John Morgan was seriously wounded in a hunting accident in which a “bear charged and knocked him down, clawing his face and seriously injuring his sight.”⁹ At his death, he left effects under £4,000 in England and extensive effects in Russia.¹⁰ At her death, Mary Anne (Parland) Morgan left effects amounting to about £6500.¹¹

Edward Delmar was educated at Eton and became a linguist and traveler.¹² He traveled in Persia and Central Asia, beginning in 1872. In 1876, he translated from Russian the accounts of the Russian geographer, Nikolai Przhevalsky (1839–1888), entitled *Mongolia, the Tangut Country, and the Solitudes of North Tibet*,¹³ and in 1879, with Sir Thomas Douglas Forsyth, Przhevalsky’s *From Kulja Across the Tian-Shan to Lobnor*.¹⁴ He also made expeditions to Little Russia and later “to the lower part of the Congo (1883).” He “was a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society for forty years,” and “honorary secretary of the

Hakluyt Society (1886–1892).” He married on 25 September 1873 Bertha Jardine Thomas (Hollingbourne, Kent March Qtr. 1845 – South Kensington, Middlesex 16 July 1932), daughter of Louisa (de Visme) and Richard Thomas. They had four sons and three daughters:¹⁵ Edward Louis (1875–1900), Bertha Woodbyne (1876–1960), John Godfrey Yule (1878–1948), Ella Mary (1879–1948), Vera Caroline (1880–1970), Gerald Stewart (1883–1946), and Stephen Basil (1886–1939). At his death, Edward Delmar Morgan left an estate of some £87,000.¹⁶

Maria Frances Morgan married on 10 April 1866 in London Thomas William Snagge (later Sir T.M. Snagge, KCMG) (Merrion, Dublin c. 1837 – 1 February 1914), barrister-at-law.¹⁷ They had three sons and five daughters: Dorothy Mary (1871–1934), Harold Edward (1872–1949), Leonard William (1874–1901), Eleanor Nina (1875–1947), Ethel Fanny (1877–1928), Arthur Lionel (1878–1955), Evelyn Louisa (1880–1914), and Violet Monica (1882–1953).¹⁸

Fanny Elizabeth Morgan married on 5/17 December 1863 in St. Petersburg Ainslie Grant Duff (6–9 July 1838 – Delgaty Castle, Turiff, Aberdeenshire 15 December 1929).¹⁹ He later changed his name to Ainslie Douglas Ainslie, on succeeding to the property of his maternal granduncle’s estate.²⁰ He was a barrister-at-law and had also served in the diplomatic service from 1859 to 1866.²¹ They had four sons and one daughter: Douglas (1865–1948), Percival (1867–1894), Julian (1870–1937), Edward (1876–1879), and Rachel Edith Fanny (1871–1934).²²

Anna Whistler (see Images 1–5) records visits to the Morgans: James (see Images 24–29) and Willie (see Images 27, 30) went to an OS Christmas party in 1846 and 1847, and Major Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21) and Debo (see Images 17–19, 21) went to an OS New Year’s Eve party in 1847 at their home. On the Isle of Wight in the summer of 1848, Mary Ann (Parland) Morgan and her daughter Fanny visited Anna Whistler, James, and Willie. They exchanged accounts from their husbands’ letters about the cholera, and Mrs. Morgan related the gossip from St. Petersburg.

When contacted by the Pennells for information for their biography of James Whistler, Edward Delmar Morgan and his sisters were unable to contribute any recollections of young James.²³

NOTES

1. Hubbard, “Our Grandmother’s Family – the Morgans,” *Some Account of the Hubbard Family*; *Pall Mall Gazette*, May 15, 1876.
2. Alan Bird, Halsall, Ormskirk, Lancashire, to E. Harden, 24 August 1993 (hereafter, Alan Bird and date of letter); see also IGI.
3. PREC STP for 1837, p. 226; *The Observer* (London), December 31, 1837.
4. Hubbard, “Our Grandmother’s Family – the Morgans,” *Some Account of the Hubbard Family*
5. IGI.
6. Alan Bird, 24 August 1993 and 27 January 1994; PREC Archangel: Baptisms 1838; PREC STP for 1841, p. 279; *National Probate Calendar* (Scotland), 1933; IGI; Memorial ID 143952842, findagrave.com.
7. *BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 39. Nistrem says that No. 31 belonged to Garder (Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar’*, vol. 1, p. 39).
8. *BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 39.
9. W.E. Hubbard, “The Egerton Hubbards,” *Some Account of the Hubbard Family*; Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. P., March 16, 1849, GUL Whistler Collection, W385.
10. Will of Edward John Morgan, PRO.
11. Will of Edward John Morgan, PRO; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1882.
12. All details of Edward Delmar Morgan’s career are from the *Dictionary of National Biography*.
13. Nikolai M. Przhevalsky, *Mongolia, The Tangut Country, and the Solitudes of Northern Tibet, Being a Narrative of Three Years’ Travel in Eastern High Asia*, ed. Henry Yule, trans. E. Delmar Morgan, 2 vols. (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1876).
14. Nikolai M. Przhevalsky, *From Kulja across the Tian-Shan to Lobnor*, trans. E. Delmar Morgan, introduction by Sir Thomas Douglas Forsyth (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1879).
15. Alan Bird, 24 August 1993; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1900, 1939, 1948, and 1960; Memorial IDs 131394906, 136450221, 131394783, and 131395170; IGI.

16. *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1909.
17. Alan Bird, 24 August 1993 and 29 July 1994; *Dublin Morning Register*, January 6, 1837; *Pall Mall Gazette*, April 12, 1866.
18. Alan Bird, 24 August 1993 and 30 August 1994; Joseph Foster, *Oxford Men, 1880–1892, with a Record of Their Schools, Honours, and Degrees* (Oxford: J. Parker, 1893), s.v. “Snagge, Harold”; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1901, 1914, 1928, 1934, 1947, and 1953; IGI.
19. Alan Bird, 29 July 1994, 30 August 1994; Sir John Bernard Burke, *Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry*, 15th ed. (London: Shaw, 1937 [1936]), p. 15; IGI.
20. Alan Bird, 29 July 1994; *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1937), p. 15.
21. Alan Bird, 29 July 1994; *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1937), p. 15.
22. Alan Bird, 29 July 1994; *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1937), p. 15; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1894 and 1948; Memorial IDs 143952842 and 143953289, findagrave.com; IGI.
23. List of people consulted for *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, folder and pages not numbered, LC: P-W, box 335; and three letters to Delmar Morgan, dated 1 September, 5 September, and 25 September; he answered the 1 September and 5 September letters.

POIZAT

In 1594, Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), son of Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484–1558), published *Epistola de Vetustate et Splendore Gentis Scaligeræ et J.C. Scaligeri Vita* [*Letter Concerning the Venerable Character and Splendor of the Scaliger People/Clan and the Life of J.C. Scaliger*], a work “in which he put forward the claims of his family to be descended from the Della Scalas, Princes of Verona.”¹ This descent was disputed.² In the nineteenth century, the Poizats also became involved in the dispute, but for the purpose of proving that they too had just claims to the name of “de Lescale de Vérone.”³

The background is as follows. Jules César III de Lescales de Vérone (d. 1792 or 1793) had married in March 1775 a Creole woman named Louise Bousquet, whose parents were from St. Domingo. At some point, he went to St. Domingo to look after his wife’s property, leaving her with their two young daughters, Victoire (b. 15 January 1776) and Julie (b. 1777). He remained in St. Domingo a long time and entered into a second marriage, with Marie Joseph Poupart, from which were born at least six children, four of whom died young. The two surviving children were Marie Anne Cezarine de Lescalle (b. c. 1783) and Marie Jeanne Medarine de Lescalle (c. 1785 – 30 January 1867).⁴ After the death of Jules César III de Lescales de Vérone (massacred in St. Domingo in 1792 or 1793), this second wife married a Mr. Marchon and died soon after on St. Thomas, where she had moved to with her daughters. Marie Anne married Mr. Antoine Poizat, by whom she had a son, Jean Robert Poizat, born in Port-au-Prince, St. Domingo, on 7 June 1803 (d. 16 July 1868). Marie Jeanne married Mr. Givoy. They had no children. The husbands of both sisters died. In 1815, the two widowed sisters left for the United States, where both married again. Mrs. Poizat became the wife of Mr. Roudolphe Dietz, Mrs. Givoy the wife of Mr. A. Flour (or Flourer). Mr. and Mrs. Flour had a daughter, Louise Cecilia (14 May 1820 – 16 September 1888). The second husbands of both sisters died. In 1826, Mrs. Flour settled in Marseilles for reasons of health, remaining there until 1834. Mrs. Dietz was in France in 1833–34. In 1834, Mrs. Flour left Marseilles for Paris to marry her daughter, Louise Cecilia, to Mrs. Dietz’s son, Jean Robert Poizat (see Image 78). Mrs. Dietz returned to the

United States in 1834 after the wedding. In 1837, Mr. and Mrs. J.R. Poizat and Mrs. Flour went to live in Marseilles.⁵ It was to their home in Marseilles that the Poizats were returning on the *Acadia* with Anna Whistler in the fall of 1843, via London, apparently having visited their relatives in Philadelphia.⁶

In 1843, the Poizats were the parents of two children, Charles André (c. 1841 – 12 April 1882)⁷ and Mary. In July 1844, Mr. Poizat announced in a letter to Anna Whistler the birth of another daughter, on 10 May 1844.⁸ Charles seems to have been the only surviving child and later became a manufacturing chemist.⁹

Of the two legitimate daughters of Jules César III de Lescale de Vérone, only Mlle. Victoire (about sixty-nine years old) was still alive in 1843 and was living in the family chateau of Vivés at Agen. Sometime after his return to France in 1843, Mr. Poizat initiated an inquiry at the Collège Héraldique de France.¹⁰ From the resulting correspondence with the general secretary, he received the information that his branch of the family was illegitimate but that, as Mlle. Victoire was living in great poverty, he might be able to add “Lescale de Vérone” to his name and obtain the coat-of-arms and all the privileges of nobility if he were to make a financial settlement on her. Mlle. Victoire herself made it clear in her letters, both before and after meeting the Poizats, that she was overjoyed at having found them and at having in Mr. Poizat an heir to the title. She also wished the matter settled before she died. Some time in the summer of 1847, after they had actually met and after extended haggling, Mr. Poizat and Mlle. Victoire settled on 6000 francs outright and a pension of 1200 francs per annum, but from that moment until 1853, when her correspondence ceases, Mr. Poizat failed to honor his side of the agreement, sending Mlle. Victoire sums far smaller than those promised and in general behaving in a manner less than honorable.¹¹ Mlle. Victoire gave him a box of family portraits¹² and one of family papers. In March 1848, Mr. Poizat’s petition to the Collège Héraldique was turned down. Sometime after 16 May 1848, the Poizat family left France for New York. In August 1849, Mlle. Victoire suggested that Mr. Poizat might want to try again to change his name, and in 1850 his lawyer wrote from Paris also enquiring whether he wished to pursue the matter.¹³ In August 1849, the Poizats were in Philadelphia, but the 1850

Census lists them as living in West Chester, Chester County, Pennsylvania, where they stayed for some five years: John Robert (45); Louisa C. (30); Charles A. (9).¹⁴ In 1857, they were again in Philadelphia,¹⁵ where they remained until they died: John Robert Poizat on 16 July 1868, Charles A. on 12 April 1882, and Louise Cecilia on 16 September 1888.¹⁶ The entry for John Robert Poizat in the PAHRC Death Register clearly states that he added (despite the decision of the Collège Héraldique) “de l’Escale de Várone” [*sic*] to his name.¹⁷ A few years before her death, Cecilia Poizat gave the Scaliger family portraits and papers to the American Philosophical Society.¹⁸

NOTES

1. Vernon Hall Jr., “The Scaliger Family Papers,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 92, no. 2 (1948): p. 121.
2. Hall, “Scaliger Family Papers,” p. 121.
3. APS: Scaliger. There are seven boxes of documents and correspondence from Mlle. Victoire de Lescale de Vérone, the last direct, legitimate descendant of Jules César III de Lescale de Vérone, chiefly to the Poizat family, and a group of parchments, which give the history of the Scaliger family. The papers record the attempt by Jean Robert Poizat to obtain the title, coat-of-arms, and privileges of nobility from his aunt with her consent and help.
4. In the document of February 1848 requesting permission for Jean Robert Poizat to be called “Poizat de Lescale de Vérone,” it is stated that she was born in St. Domingo in April 1785 (APS: Scaliger, box 1). However, in her application for an American passport in 1844, she gives her age as sixty-one (NAUS: Passports, M1371, roll 2, p. 30, no. 2450).
5. Most of the abovementioned background information is taken from two documents dated 15 Décembre 1843 and signed by Michel Seillard, a merchant at Marseilles, who claimed to have known the family for some forty-five years. The documents were drawn up during the time of Mr. Poizat’s correspondence with the Collège Héraldique de France concerning the addition of “Lescale de Vérone” to his name and seem to constitute an attempt to legitimize this branch of the family (APS: Scaliger, box 2). Information can also be found at the City Archives, Philadelphia, and the PAHRC).

6. While in Philadelphia, they had their silhouettes cut by Auguste Edouard on 24 July 1843 (see Image 78).
7. The 1850 Census for West Chester, Chester County, PA, lists Charles A. Poizat, nine years old, born in France.
8. Entry for Wed. [July] 24th [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I. Although the baby's name is not given in this entry, she is most certainly Amata Poissat, legitimate daughter of Johannes, born in France, who died on 27 April 1850, age six, of brain fever in West Chester, Pennsylvania (Death Register of Holy Trinity Church, 1810–1828 and 1849–1871, p. 3, PAHRC).
9. The correspondence of Mlle. Victoire refers after a time only to Charles, and the 1850 Census for West Chester, Chester County, PA, lists him as the only child in the household (see Note 7 in this biography). For his occupation, see, for example, Philadelphia directories for 1862, 1864, 1869, and 1872.
10. APS: Scaliger, box 2. The correspondence from the Collège covers a period of two years, from 27 October 1843 to 13 October 1845. Hall is wrong in saying that the Poizats arrived in France in 1847 to pursue this matter and that Mlle. Victoire knew nothing of them (Hall, "Scaliger Family Papers," pp. 121, 122). She had an idea that her father had had other children in St. Domingo. See the letter to Mlle. Victoire from Mr. Magny dated 27 June 1844.
11. Mlle. Victoire's correspondence (APS: Scaliger, box 2) amounts to some forty letters, many of them piteous pleas for the money promised her. What she received was far less than promised and was delivered irregularly. After the Poizats moved to the United States in 1848, Mr. Poizat sometimes greeted her letters with silence. In 1853, she dictated a letter to a friend of Mr. Poizat in Paris, who handled this financial matter, asking that the information be passed on to Mr. Poizat, and through this intermediary proudly closed the door on their relationship.
12. List of portraits of the Scaliger de Vérone family, APS: Scaliger, box 2. These portraits were given by the American Philosophical Society to the Museo Civico in Verona, Italy (Hall, "Scaliger Family Papers," p. 120).
13. Letter of 14 August 1849, APS: Scaliger, box 2; letter from Alexander Froyez, 18 July 1850, APS: Scaliger, box 3. Mr. Poizat seems not to have pursued the matter a second time, but when the Count of Paris visited Philadelphia in January 1862, Mr. Poizat wrote him a note expressing his desire to meet with him

to pay him homage and received an answer granting his request (letter of J.R. Poizat 25 January 1842, and note of Captain Morhaine, 28 January 186[2], APS Scaliger, box 2).

14. APS: Scaliger, box 2; 1850 Census for West Chester, Chester County, PA. See also an advertisement for the sale of personal property by John R. Poizat, *American Republic*, July 24, 1855.
15. *A. M'Elroy's Philadelphia Directory for 1857*, p. 540. Mrs. Poizat appears in directories and census returns as Louisa C., Cecilia L., Cecilia, and L.C.
16. Death certificate for John Robert Poizet [*sic*], no. 17066, City Archives, Philadelphia; death certificate for Louisa C. Poizat, no. 16579; death certificate for Charles A. Poizat. The son of Charles A. and Annie E. Poizat was still alive in 1900 and working as an upholsterer in Philadelphia (*Gopsill's Philadelphia Business Directory for 1900* (Philadelphia: James Gopsill's Sons, 1900), p. 1827).
17. Death Register of Holy Trinity Church, 1810–1828 and 1849–1871, p. 1, PAHRC.
18. Louise Cecilia Poizat offered the Scaliger Papers to the American Philosophical Society through Dr. Daniel G. Brinton prior to 6 April 1883; they were accepted on 18 May 1883; the trunk of documents was reported on 21 March 1884 as having been received from Brinton (*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 20 (1882–1883): p. 647; 21 (1883–1884): pp. 210, 448). It was opened in 1900 (Hall, “Scaliger Family Papers,” p. 123). Hall incorrectly believed that (Louise) Cecilia Poizat was the daughter of the Poizats (Hall, “Scaliger Family Papers,” p. 122).

ROBERTSON

William Robertson (2 April 1819 – 17 February 1890) was born in Blount County, Tennessee, and appointed from that state to the United States Military Academy, which he attended from 1 July 1835 to 1 July 1840, when he graduated and was promoted in the Army to brevet second lieutenant, Second Dragoons. He served at the Cavalry School for Practice in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1840 – July 1841. He became a second lieutenant, Second Dragoons, on 1 February 1841. He served in the Florida War against the Seminole Indians from July 1841 – October 1842, and in garrison at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, from October 1842 – July 1843, when he resigned from the Army (10 July 1843).¹ “Since which time,” he wrote to Cullum, “I have been living at this place [New Iberia, LA] and engaged mostly in agricultural pursuits.”² On 16 May 1844, he married Eliza Ann Marsh (Petit Anse Island, LA 20 September 1825 – New Iberia, LA 9 October 1878).³

In London, England, on 15 July 1844, Robertson was issued a passport by the American Embassy with New York indicated as his place of residence, “Diploma West Point” as the voucher for his identity, and Russia as his destination.⁴ Anna Whistler’s diary entry for Tuesday, 20 August 1844, indicates that Robertson visited them once, on the Peterhof Road, early in the morning “last week,” i.e., between Monday, 12 August and Friday, 16 August, and had breakfast with them. He left Russia on Saturday, 5/17 August, for England and the United States. However, on 31 August 1844, at the American Embassy in London, he was issued Passport 1269 for travel to Egypt through Prussia and Austria.⁵ I have not been able to ascertain why Robertson was in Europe and Russia. From Eliza Robertson’s diary/scrapbook (1849–1856), however, it appears that her husband “travelled often, leaving [her] at home with the servants and children.”⁶ In fact, he took a trip two months after his marriage. He may have been a special agent working for the U.S. government.

After their marriage in 1844, the Robertsons lived for two years in Bolivar, Tennessee, and then moved permanently to New Iberia.⁷ They had four children, born between 1845 and 1864, the last of whom died in 1943.⁸

For more than forty years, Robertson ran the Robertson Insurance Agency.⁹ He was mayor of New Iberia in 1860¹⁰ and a prominent citizen.¹¹ Little information can be found in Eliza Robertson's diary about her husband's business interests, but "entries in 1855 indicate that William Robertson was a member of the 'know-nothings,' and attended meetings of this secret society."¹²

NOTES

1. Cullum, *Biographical Register*, vol. 1, p. 52; William Robertson to Capt. G.W. Cullum, 30 Aug. 1860, New Iberia, LA, and William Robertson to Gen. G.W. Cullum, 16 Dec. 1878, Cullum File of William Robertson, Special Collections, USMA Library; *Register of Graduates and Former Cadets of the United States Military Academy*, Cullum Memorial ed. (West Point, NY: USMA, 1980).
2. William Robertson to Gen. G.W. Cullum, 30 Aug. 1860, New Iberia, LA, Cullum File of William Robertson, Special Collections, USMA Library.
3. Eliza Anne Marsh Robertson Papers, Southern Historical Collection, #1181-z, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC (hereafter, Robertson Papers), Inventory, p. 2; see also Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *New Iberia: Essays on the Town and Its People* (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of South-Western Louisiana, 1979), p. 27. For information about Eliza Robertson's family and Petit Anse Island, see Conrad, p. 44. For the ambience of the area in which the Robertsons lived and their life, see the diary in the Robertson Papers; James H. Dorman, "Aspects of Acadiana Plantation Life in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: A Microcosmic View," *Louisiana History* 16, no. 4 (1975): pp. 361–370; Charles Dudley Warner, "The Acadian Land," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 74 (February 1887): pp. 334–354; and an edited version of Warner's essay by James H. Dorman in the *Attakapas Gazette* 7 (December 1972): pp. 157–169.
4. NAUS: Passports, RG84, C18.2.
5. NAUS: Passports, RG84, C18.2, passport no. 1269.
6. Inventory, Description, p. 4, Robertson Papers.
7. William Robertson to Gen. G.W. Cullum, 16 Dec. 1878, New Iberia, LA, Cullum File of William Robertson, Special Collections, USMA Library.

8. Inventory, pp. 1, 2, Robertson Papers.
9. Conrad, *New Iberia*, p. 27; Dorman, “Acadiana Plantation Life,” p. 365.
10. Conrad, *New Iberia*, p. 27.
11. Conrad, pp. 110, 124, 143.
12. Inventory, Description, p. 4, Robertson Papers.

ROGERS¹

Dr. James Rogers (1819 – 11 July 1890), physician to the British Legation in St. Petersburg, was also the Whistler family's physician. Born in Scotland, he received his MD from Glasgow University in 1833 and went to Russia, where he was licensed by the Imperial Medical Chirurgical Academy of St. Petersburg in 1834. He engaged in private practice, but at some point became attached to the Obukhov Hospital in that city.² When the position of physician to the British Legation was relinquished by Sir George William Lefevre (1798–1846) in 1842, Rogers succeeded him.³ We know, mainly from Anna Whistler's St. Petersburg diaries, that he attended the grave illness of John Stevenson Maxwell (1844) and the death (October 1846) of the Whistlers' last child, John Bouttatz Whistler. He was also the physician for Charlotte Leon, whom he supplied with free medications and attended at her final illness (1847). He attended Major Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21) in his final illness and was present on the night of 7 April 1849, when Major Whistler died. He also attended baby George Whistler Eastwick in his final illness (1849) and was considered by the child's parents to be "very attentive and appears to study his case more than Dr. C [Collier, their own physician at Alexandrofsky] did."⁴ He lived at 247 Galernaia Street in the building belonging to Potocki, in the First Admiralty District, Fourth Ward (see "Maps").⁵

It is not clear exactly when he returned to England permanently, but he settled in Port View, Saltash, Cornwall,⁶ where his brother, Dr. William Rogers (1817 – 7 April 1904), Surgeon RN (retired as of early 1863), was living with his wife and children.⁷ It appears that James Rogers registered for practice there in 1873 and retired in 1877.⁸ He was the author of *On the Present State of Therapeutics, with Some Suggestions for Placing It upon a More Scientific Basis* (London and Edinburgh: John Churchill & Sons, 1870).⁹

He settled in the Port View Estate.¹⁰ The home of "Dr. James Rogers, unmarried, retired Surgeon or Physician, not practicing," is listed in the 1881 Census for Saltash as "No Name Villa," "probably a nickname bestowed by the local people because the house was the only one on the estate without a name."¹¹ His brother, William, living at 2

Lynwood Villa, with his wife, Emily, had, according to the 1871 Census, three daughters and one son: Florence (14), William J. (12), Emily Chalmers (10), and Dora (9). By the 1881 Census, Dora (19) unmarried, was living with her Uncle James. By 1890, she had gone back to her father's home and Emily C. Rogers, her sister, was living with Uncle James.¹² Florence Rogers (Edinburgh 1857 – Exeter, Devon 11 October 1922) had married at Stoke Damerel in July 1886 Cecil Clement Longridge (Tynemouth 6 September 1852 – Naples, Italy 23 November 1939), bachelor, of St. Bede's College, Manchester.¹³

In his will, drawn up on 7 March 1890, with a codicil dated 9 April 1890,¹⁴ James Rogers showed both his philanthropy and his affection for his brother, nephew, and nieces. He left money to the Royal National Life Boat Institution for the purchase of a lifeboat, named, for his nephew, the “Willie Rogers,”¹⁵ and to the East End Juvenile Mission (Dr. Barnardo's Homes). He left an annual lifetime trust of £450 for his brother. The most interesting bequest, however, was that to his nieces, to whom he left an extensive collection of works of art. Of some thirty-five oil paintings, engravings, oleographs, and a watercolor, three are of chief interest in the context of Anna Whistler's diaries: a sea piece (untitled in the will) by the Russian marine painter, Ivan Konstantinovich Aivazovskii (1817–1901; see Image 178) and an oil portrait and a watercolor portrait of James Rogers.¹⁶ The other artists and works represented in the bequest were: *Upper Kaeruthen, Landscape near Berne, Scene near Gosau in Austria*, and *The Innthal Tyrol* by Pál Böhm (1839–1905); *Bavarian Mountain* by either Jakob Gauer mann (1773–1843) or Friedrich Gauer mann (1807–1862); *Chiemsee Bavaria* by George Mader (1824–1881); *Berchtesgaden* by Julius Lange (1817–1878); *Winter Scene* and *Deer in Winter* by Joseph Wolfram (b. 1860); *The Inspruck in Tyrol* and (after Rosa Bonheur) *Cattle and Morning in the Highlands* by Muller; *Winter Scene in Russia* by Linder; *Mount Dachstein* by Hermanstadter; *A Winter Night* by Wager;¹⁷ two paintings by Antonio Canaletto (1697–1768); two scenes in Holland by François Antoine Léon Fleury (1804–1858); works with no artist's name supplied: the engravings *Scottish Raid*, *Siege of Sebastopol*, *Relief of Lucknow*, and *Covenanters*, and the painting *The Lord's Supper*; four oleographs; and family portraits.¹⁸ The gross value of his personal estate amounted to some £24,000.¹⁹

James Rogers died on 11 July 1890. Funeral services were held at St. Stephen's Church, Saltash, on 14 July, and he was buried in St. Stephen's Churchyard. His grave monument is a grey granite pillar, rectangular in cross-section, with the top "weathered" four ways and a plinth at the bottom. The inscription reads: "In memory of James Rogers, M.D., formerly physician to the British Legation and Abouchoff Hospital at St. Petersburg, died at Saltash, 11 July 1890, aged eighty years."²⁰

Dr. William Rogers died on 7 April 1904, aged eighty-seven, and was buried with his brother.²¹ His widow, Emily, died on 24 October 1913, aged seventy-seven, and was buried with her daughter Emily, also in St. Stephen's Churchyard.²²

In the will of William Rogers, drawn up on 13 September 1899, we learn that Dora (Boathyde, Northam, Devon 1862 – Hurst Farm, Milford, Surrey 7 January 1916) had married Tudor Phillips Moreton (Labuan, Borneo 5 January 1865 – The Windmill, Sellindge, Ashford, Kent 10 April 1944), clerk in Holy Orders.²³ The marriage took place on 2 June 1891.²⁴ It seems likely that William J. Rogers, his son, who is not mentioned in the 1881 Census for Saltash, nor in either will, and for whom the lifeboat was named, predeceased his father and uncle.

NOTES

1. I owe the deepest gratitude to Margaret P. McGrew (Roderick E. McGrew with the collaboration of Margaret P. McGrew, *Encyclopedia of Medical History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1984) and Colin Squires (of the Saltash Heritage), without whose help much of Dr. James Rogers's biography could not have been written. Margaret McGrew, working with only his last name, established a firm identity for him from "The Provincial Medical Directory and General Medical Register," in *The [Annual] Medical Directory and General Medical Register for 1874* (London: J. and A. Churchill, 1874), p. 584 (hereafter, *Medical Directory*). Colin Squires then provided national census returns, description of and inscriptions on Dr. James Rogers's monument, copies of wills, etc., accompanied by letters of perspicacious commentary.
2. *Medical Directory*, p. 584. The Obukhov Hospital, the oldest and largest in St. Petersburg, is located on the left bank of the Fontanka, near the Obukhov Bridge, from which it received its name. Catherine the Great entrusted the layout of the hospital to

the Imperial Doctor Johann Heinrich Kelchen (1722–1800), who modeled it after the Vienna Hospital. Giacomo Quarenghi was its architect. The hospital was officially opened on 14 October 1784 (OS) (Antonov and Kobak, *Sviatyni Sankt-Peterburga*, vol. 2, pp. 221–222; T.A. Schrader, “Der Beitrag Deutscher Ärzte zur Entwicklung der Krankenhäuser in St. Petersburg in 19. Jahrhundert” [“The Contribution of German Doctors to the Development of Hospitals in St. Petersburg in the 19th Century”], in *Medizin und Pharmazie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* [*Medicine and Pharmacology in the 18th and 19th Centuries*], ed. Ingrid Käster and Regine Pfrepper (Aachen, Germany: Shaker, 2000), pp. 129, 135).

3. Entry dated Dec. 17 in John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. P., Dec. 15, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 26; *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Lefevre, Sir George William.”
4. L.A. Eastwick to A.M. Eastwick [sealed but not addressed or postmarked], Alexandroffsky March 14/26 1849 Monday, *Eastwick Letters*.
5. *Sanktpetersburgskie vedomosti* (1848), issue number not recorded by me.
6. *Medical Directory*, p. 584.
7. Information for the household of William Rogers, 1871 Census for Saltash; Colin Squires, Saltash, Cornwall, to E. Harden, 27 August 1991.
8. *Medical Directory*, p. 584.
9. Margaret and Roderick McGrew, London, to E. Harden, 1 February 1989.
10. Colin Squires to E. Harden, Saltash, Cornwall, 17 March 1989; information for the households of James Rogers and William Rogers, 1881 Census for Saltash.
11. Colin Squires, Saltash, Cornwall, to E. Harden, 17 March 1989.
12. Colin Squires, Saltash, Cornwall, to E. Harden, 12 November 1991; will of James Rogers, dated 7 March 1890 with codicil of 9 April 1890 (PRO).
13. IGI for Plymouth; Register of Marriage Banns published in the Parish Church of S.S. Nicholas and Faith, Saltash, 1881–1907, p. 13, Ref. DDP.203/1/15, Cornwall Record Office, Truro.

14. Colin Squires, Saltash, Cornwall, to E. Harden, 8 September 1991; will of James Rogers dated 7 March 1890 with codicil dated 9 April 1890.
15. Colin Squires, Saltash, Cornwall, to E. Harden, 12 November 1991, with references to Cyril Noall and Grahame Farr, *Wreck and Rescue Round the Cornish Coast*, vol. 1, *The Story of the North Coast Lifeboats* (Truro, UK: D. Bradford Barton, 1964), and Grahame Farr, *Wreck and Rescue on the Coast of Devon: The Story of the South Devon Lifeboats* (Truro, UK: D. Bradford Barton, 1968); *The Royal Cornwall Gazette*, December 1, 1892, p. 7.
16. By this time, as indicated in the will of James Rogers, Florence (Rogers) Longridge and Cecil Clement Longridge were residing in Conway, North Wales. Dora Rogers and Emily Chalmers Rogers were unmarried.

The sea piece by Aivazovskii and the watercolor portrait of James Rogers were bequeathed to Emily Chalmers Rogers, then residing with him. Emily Chalmers Rogers died intestate in 1893 (6 November, aged thirty-three) and her father administered her estate. The oil portrait of James Rogers was bequeathed to Florence (Rogers) Longridge. The Aivazovskii piece would be of interest, as Anna Whistler saw an exhibit of several of his works in 1847 at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts; the watercolor portrait if it were by Thomas Wright (1792–1849; see Image 208), who executed the 1845 watercolor of Anna Whistler; and the oil portrait simply because we would then have James Rogers’s likeness.
17. The artist “after whom” Muller, who has not been identified, executed a painting was Rosa Bonheur (born Marie Rosalie Bonheur, 1822–1899). It has not been possible to identify Linder, Hermanstadter, or Wager.
18. Will of Dr. James Rogers, dated 7 March 1890, with a codicil dated 9 April 1890. He was a meticulous man. Which pictures were bequeathed to each niece is explained in the will, along with a statement about which rooms of his house the pictures were to be found in.

My brief article requesting information, entitled by the editor “Whistler, His Mother and the Doctor,” was kindly published in *The West Briton and Royal Cornwall Gazette* on 15 August 1991, but received no responses. An attempt to publish a notice about the Longridge family and the oil portrait of Dr. James Rogers in the Welsh edition of *The Liverpool Daily Post and Echo* in 1993 was acknowledged as received with no follow-up.

19. *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1890.
20. Colin Squires, Saltash, Cornwall, to E. Harden, 17 March 1989, with description of grave monument of James Rogers and William Rogers; *Western Daily Mercury* (Plymouth), July 12, 1890; Burials Register, St. Stephens by Saltash, 1857–1893, p. 274, Ref. DDP.214/1/35, Cornwall Record Office, Truro.
21. Colin Squires, Saltash, Cornwall, to E. Harden, 17 March 1989, with inscriptions on the grave monument of James and William Rogers; *Western Morning News* (Plymouth), April 8, 1904.
22. Colin Squires, Saltash, Cornwall, to E. Harden, 17 March 1989.
23. *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1944.
24. Marriage Register of the Church of S.S. Nicholas and Faith, Saltash, 1881–1913, p. 35, Ref. DDP.203/1/6, Cornwall Record Office, Truro; *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, June 4, 1891.

ROPES, GELLIBRAND, PRINCE, HALL

William Ropes (19 November 1784 – 10 March 1869),¹ founder of William Ropes and Company, was married on 15 August 1811 to Martha Reed (12 August 1787 – 27 April 1830). Their surviving children, five of whom appear in Anna Whistler's St. Petersburg diaries, were Mary Tyler (13 October 1812 – 16 April 1894; see Images 266– 267), William Hooper (10 March 1814 – 16 November 1891), Joseph Samuel (6 February 1818 – 14 March 1903), Sarah Louisa (19 July 1819 – 5 October 1910), Elizabeth Hannah (14 May 1825 – 25 November 1921; see Image 267), and Martha Reed (13 June 1826 – 21 August 1888).² The first letter William Ropes opened on arriving in St. Petersburg on 16 June 1830 for the purpose of entering into business with Russia informed him of his wife's death.³ He remained in Russia, while his children were placed in the homes of family and friends.⁴ On a trip back to Boston, he remarried, taking as his second wife, on 1 April 1832, Mary Anne Codman (12 July 1802 – 1 September 1873).⁵ On 20 April 1832, they sailed from New York for St. Petersburg, taking with them William Ropes's four oldest children: Mary Tyler, William Hooper, Joseph Samuel, and Sarah Louisa.⁶ In August 1837, William Ropes departed St. Petersburg permanently with his wife and his daughters, Sarah Louisa and Martha Reed, leaving his House in the hands of William Hooper Ropes and a friend, Archibald Mirrielees (7 September 1797 – 11 February 1877; see Image 268).⁷ It is William Ropes's older children from his first marriage, primarily Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand and William Hooper Ropes, and the wife and children of William Hooper Ropes, whom the Whistlers were close to in St. Petersburg. They were well acquainted while there with Joseph Samuel, Elizabeth Hannah, and Martha Reed Ropes. All of these Ropes family members appear in the diaries, but no mention is made there of Sarah Louisa.

* * *

Early in his stay in St. Petersburg, William Ropes spoke of William Clarke Gellibrand (31 March 1791 – 20 April 1884; see Image 265), "Egerton Hubbard's partner."⁸ Mr. Gellibrand, son of Reverend William (28 May 1763 – 27 September 1840) and Sophia (Hinde) Gellibrand (12

January 1759 – 20 November 1793),⁹ was “a native of Hampshire, England.” He “had a good education at a high school” and “learned the elements of Latin and Greek, with which languages he later became familiar.” “At a proper age he went to reside as a clerk to Mr. Morgan, one of the principal Merchants in Archangel.” In 1813, he went to St. Petersburg to work for the House of Morgan there, acting as manager under Mr. Morgan and handling the business for him. In 1822, he started a business in partnership with a Mr. Holliday. Mr. Holliday handled the business in St. Petersburg, while Mr. Gellibrand handled the Moscow end. In 1828, however, Mr. Gellibrand was led to suspect that there were irregularities in the St. Petersburg end of the business and eventually discovered that his partner had been defrauding their firm. Mr. Gellibrand’s name was cleared in the matter by Mr. Holliday. Of the offers of employment now made to him, Mr. Gellibrand accepted that of Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Morgan’s brother-in-law, to join their House. He spoke French, German, and Russian. He was “the most active of [their] little church.”¹⁰ On 27 December 1825, Mr. Gellibrand married in England Elizabeth Parkinson (20 June 1794 – 5 February 1833) and brought her out to Russia. On William Ropes’s return to St. Petersburg with his second wife and four of his children in 1832, his family too became part of this circle that belonged to the dissenting chapel, gave room and board to ministers traveling to and through St. Petersburg, distributed tracts, participated in the work of the Dorcas Society and was collecting money to build its own building, the eventual British and American Congregational Church (see Image 125).¹¹ On 24 January / 5 February 1833, Mrs. Gellibrand died. On 27 January / 8 February, she was buried from the Sarepta Chapel,¹² the meeting house of the German Moravian Brethren, which the dissenters used until they had their own church.¹³ In February of 1834, William Clarke Gellibrand and Mary Tyler Ropes became engaged, despite the fact that he was almost twice her age. They were married on 1/13 May 1834¹⁴ in the English Church (see Images 110–111), Rev. Edward Law (see Image 253) officiating.¹⁵ The Gellibrands wanted Elizabeth Hannah Ropes to come out to St. Petersburg from Boston to live with them as their own child.¹⁶ She arrived in October 1834, along with her sister, Martha Reed Ropes, who came to live with their father and step-mother.¹⁷ It was for the purpose

of being “useful to Elizabeth” that Ellen Harriet Hall (23 April 1822 – 11 December 1903),¹⁸ the niece of Mr. Gellibrand’s first wife, was invited from Leeds to St. Petersburg in 1837.¹⁹ With no family and few friends in England and after having lived more than thirty-five years in Russia, Mr. Gellibrand contemplated with regret in 1849 having to leave a country where he felt at home, but the climate of Russia did not agree with his wife.²⁰ They did not, however, leave Russia until at least 1854,²¹ when they went to England, where they were joined by Sarah Louisa Ropes. Mr. Gellibrand “rented Brammerton Hall in Norfolk from his old friend, Captain Haggard ... the father of Rider Haggard, the novelist.”²² They spent only a year at Brammerton Hall, because the climate of Norfolk was also too severe, and then moved to Albyns in Stapleford Abbots, Essex.²³ It is here that Mr. Gellibrand died.²⁴ Judging from the number of members of the clergy present at his funeral, he had been very generous to various churches.²⁵

He left a personal estate of almost £72,000. Mrs. Gellibrand was his sole executrix and heir.²⁶ She gave up Albyns, bought the Manor House in Chigwell, Essex, and lived there, with Sarah Louisa Ropes, until her death on 16 April 1894.²⁷ The gross value of her personal estate was almost £59,000, and her will was twenty-eight pages long.²⁸ She spread her money about, giving most of it to relatives, some to employees, some to friends, including former ministers of the dissenting church in St. Petersburg, Rev. John Croumbie Brown and Rev. Thomas Scales Ellerby, and some to the British and Foreign Bible Society and to its Benevolent Fund.

Anna Whistler (see Images 1–5) maintained close ties with the Gellibrands, particularly after she settled in England. She made an annual visit to them at Albyns, sometimes meeting other St. Petersburg friends there, and at Easter, Thanksgiving, and Christmas received a large hamper of food from them.²⁹ Mrs. Gellibrand, in turn, visited Anna Whistler in London.³⁰

* * *

Very little is known about Elizabeth Hannah’s life. She is listed in the Gellibrand household in the 1871 Census but not in the censuses for 1861, 1881, or 1891. She is listed in the 1881 Census as a boarder in

Eastbourne, Sussex, in the house of Heber D. Ellis, a physician; her condition is registered as “lunatic.”³¹ Financial provision was made in Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand’s will for her care. The last surviving child of William and Martha (Reed) Ropes, she died on 25 November 1921 at The Priory, a hospital or nursing home in London.³²

* * *

Somewhat more is known of Sarah Louisa Ropes. She was born in Dorchester, Massachusetts,³³ and came to St. Petersburg with the family in 1832. In February 1836, she was being attended by “Dr. Arendt, an eminent German physician ... once a week” in consultation with the family physician,³⁴ and in August of the same year was in England because of lung trouble.³⁵ She left Russia with her father and step-family and became “quite an English girl”³⁶ but felt “that her home [was] with her brothers and sisters” and in September 1838 was back in Russia with the Gellibrands.³⁷ She most likely divided her time between them and her father and step-family. When the Gellibrands moved to England, she joined them and is listed in their household in the 1861, 1871, 1881 censuses and with the widowed Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand in the 1891 Census. She too received a large inheritance from Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand. Sarah Louisa Ropes died on 5 October 1910 in London, leaving effects of about £5,000.³⁸ She made charitable bequests and left a small sum to her sister, Elizabeth Hannah, but the bulk of her estate went to her nieces and nephews, the children of William Hooper Ropes and of Martha Reed (Ropes) Trask.

* * *

Martha Reed Ropes was not yet six years old when her father, step-mother, brothers, and sisters left for St. Petersburg in 1832. She came to Russia when Elizabeth Hannah did and seems to have left with her father and step-family in 1837.³⁹ Anna Whistler’s diaries record Martha’s visit to William Hooper Ropes, Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand, and Elizabeth Hannah Ropes in 1844, when she was eighteen. Between 1 March 1840 and 19 October 1845, Martha Reed appeared to be living alternately in East Brighton, Massachusetts, and near Islington, London. In that same

timespan, she compiled four volumes of abstracts of sermons and one of poetry.⁴⁰ On 9 October 1849, she married Charles Hooper Trask (4 September 1824 – 11 December 1905).⁴¹ Trask attended Amherst College in 1841–1843 and graduated from Yale in 1846. He later became a New York partner of William Ropes and Company.⁴² They had seven children: Mary Gellibrand (4 April 1851 – 10 December 1937), Anna Hooper (10 March 1853 – 10 August 1937), Elizabeth Ropes (25 March 1857 – 15 October 1896), Ellen Louisa (29 January 1858 – 26 September 1859), Charles Hooper (13 May 1860 – 16 May 1891), William Ropes (9 January 1862 – 1933), and Henry Ropes (12 February 1864 – 5 August 1926).⁴³

* * *

Joseph Samuel Ropes “studied in Boston in the school of Gideon F. Mayer, the founder of the Chauncey Place School, and attended a private school in Medford, Massachusetts.”⁴⁴ He was the scholar of the family.⁴⁵ He undertook the study of Russian, along with the rest of his family, when they arrived in St. Petersburg in 1832.⁴⁶ His mastery of the language enabled him to attend the Third St. Petersburg Gymnasium.⁴⁷ After graduating from this institution, he petitioned the rector of St. Petersburg University, Ivan Petrovich Shul’gin (see Image 316), for permission to enter the First Division of the Faculty of Philosophy as a paying student, and presented the required proof of residence, baptismal certificate, and high school diploma.⁴⁸ He began attending St. Petersburg University in August 1837 and at the end of his first year had “passed No. 1 in his class.”⁴⁹ He completed his studies on 11 June 1841 (OS) and received a certificate dated 25 October 1841 (OS).⁵⁰ While still a student at the university, he had taken on “a large share of Tract business.”⁵¹ He filled the office of secretary of the Tract Committee,⁵² superintended the publication of all translated tracts,⁵³ and himself translated tracts into Russian.⁵⁴ It is possible that in undertaking the course of study he chose at university, Joseph Samuel intended to prepare himself for the ministry and “become a missionary in Siberia.”⁵⁵ In 1840, however, he wrote that he had felt for a long time that he was “not fit for a missionary” and that he could do far more good by translating tracts.⁵⁶ After graduation from university, he joined William Ropes and Company, to the eventual

distress of Archibald Mirrielees, who, together with William Hooper Ropes, ran the firm, and who did not find Joseph Samuel sufficiently modest or respectful.⁵⁷ Archibald Mirrielees left the firm; Joseph Samuel remained, and in 1846 was made “general partner for four years,” receiving in “lieu of profits ... 2000 silver roubles of the currency of the Empire of Russia.”⁵⁸ Joseph Samuel also translated and wrote secular pieces. He made a translation of an article on the 1837 fire in the Winter Palace.⁵⁹ Commencing 13 October 1842 and continuing through 27 April 1843, he wrote a series of eleven letter-essays entitled “Men and Things in Russia” and published them under the pseudonym “H.L.S.” in the United States.⁶⁰ In 1847, Joseph Samuel returned to Boston permanently⁶¹ and worked for William Ropes and Company there. On 16 November 1848, he married Anna Rumsey Perit (5 December 1819 – 22 December 1879), daughter of John W. and Margaretta (Dunlap) Perit. They had no children.⁶² He received an honorary MA from Yale College in 1853⁶³ and served several times on examining and visiting committees at Harvard University, for example, the Special Committee for Examination in the Greek Language.⁶⁴ He wrote financial articles and delivered an address on “The Value of Libraries.” “He was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1875 and 1876, and of the Senate, 1878 and 1879; ... a member, from 1870, of the board of managers of the Boston Seaman’s Friend Society, of which his father was first president; president of the Massachusetts Colonization Society for years; a member of the board of trustees of Phillips Academy and Andover Theological Seminary.”⁶⁵ In 1894, he moved to Norwich, Connecticut, to live with his wife’s nieces, the Misses Huntington.⁶⁶ Totally blind, his “days and hours [were] brightened by the pleasure of listening to a company of intelligent women who ... alternately enabled him to ‘read by deputy’.”⁶⁷ He died on 14 March 1903.⁶⁸ His funeral took place on 19 March in the Immanuel Congregational Church in Roxbury, Massachusetts.⁶⁹

* * *

William Hooper Ropes, eldest son of William Ropes, was attending Mount Pleasant Institution in Amherst, Massachusetts, in 1829.⁷⁰ On 1 January 1830, when William Ropes set out on the *Courier* for Havana and

St. Petersburg, he took William Hooper with him. Once in Russia, William Ropes decided to send his son home again on the return voyage of the *Courier*, intending him to start as a clerk in some relative's office.⁷¹ But, on taking a second wife in Boston in 1832 and setting off for St. Petersburg again, William Ropes took his four eldest children with him. In March 1833, a printed circular formally announced the "establishment in St. Petersburg [of] the firm of William Ropes and Company."⁷² William Ropes became a merchant of the first guild, but as "his being written up as Foreign Guest [did] not give him the privilege of trading in the interior," it was decided that William Hooper should become a Finnish subject and a merchant of the second guild.⁷³ As William Ropes began making plans for his eventual return to the United States, with an interval in London in order to be closer to Russia in case the firm should encounter difficulties, he engaged William Hooper as a partner.⁷⁴ In 1837, he hired Archibald Mirrieles, a close friend of his and of William Clarke Gellibrand, "to take charge of the internal department ... but not to be a partner,"⁷⁵ while William Hooper, who now spoke fluent Russian and was "a capital hand to bargain with the Russians, with whom he [was] a great favorite,"⁷⁶ was to handle "the outdoor business," which was "his forte."⁷⁷ William Hooper and Archibald Mirrieles got on very well, but in 1841 the very self-assured Joseph Samuel Ropes joined the firm and Archibald Mirrieles, unable to cope with him, left it in 1842.⁷⁸ William Hooper now managed William Ropes and Company with the help of his brother-in-law, William Clarke Gellibrand.⁷⁹

The arrival in St. Petersburg of Ellen Harriet Hall in 1837 to live with the Gellibrands was a turning point in William Hooper's personal life. He became very interested in this companion of his younger sister,⁸⁰ and they became engaged in the summer of 1838, when she was sixteen.⁸¹ Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand found her future sister-in-law "amiable, affectionate ... pious, [and] an excellent musician, with a beautiful voice and fine execution."⁸² On 23 April 1840, her eighteenth birthday, William Hooper Ropes and Ellen Harriet Hall were married in the dissenting chapel in Leeds,⁸³ where her parents lived. They returned to St. Petersburg, where they lived for some fifteen years more. Seven of their nine children were born there: Ellen Gellibrand (15 March 1841 –

Concord, MA 1924), Mary Emily (10 August 1842 – September Qrt. 1932), Louisa Harriet (18 November 1843 – 1 June 1903), William Hall (20 August 1845 – 27 April 1905; buried Providence, RI), Ailie Elizabeth (28 May 1848 – 16 July 1931), Charles Joseph Hardy (7 December 1851 – Bangor, ME 5 January 1915), and Ernest Edward (12 February 1854 – 1914).⁸⁴ In the autumn of 1844, after almost a year of being acquainted, William Hooper Ropes's family and the Whistlers rented apartments opposite one another on the third floor of Ritter's house, No. 237 on the English Embankment (see Images 101–104).⁸⁵ They remained neighbors until the death of Major Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21) in April 1849. In 1850, William Hooper took up duties as U.S. consul for St. Petersburg, a post he held until spring 1854.⁸⁶ Sometime after the late spring of 1854, the William Hooper Ropes family moved to England. Sometime between 1855 and 1858, they moved into Lewisham House (their half was called Brockley House) in Lewisham. Their last two children were born in Lewisham: Anna Josephine (c. 1858 – 4 February 1931) and Arthur Reed (23 December 1859 – 11 September 1933).⁸⁷ Arthur Reed Ropes, a Cambridge University don from 1884 to 1890, achieved fame as Adrian Ross, described in the year of his death as a writer of "lyrics for some of the most famous musical comedies of the last 40 years."⁸⁸ He married Ethel Wood, youngest daughter of Charles John Wood; her grandparents had been friends of the Whistlers in St. Petersburg (see Wood in this appendix). The *Post Office Directory* for 1861 lists "William Hooper Ropes, Lewisham House, Lewisham S.E. and 3 Crown Court, Old Broad St. E.C." The latter address was probably that of the London office of William Ropes and Company. By 1864, the family had gone from the Lewisham address.⁸⁹ They were said to be living in 1868 in Upper Clapton.⁹⁰ The 1871 Census confirms that they were living in the Upper Clapton area of Hackney with five of their children present, at West Spring Field House.⁹¹ On 6 May 1876, Ailie Elizabeth Ropes married at Avranches, Normandy, Rev. Charles Edward Baines Reed (c. 1846 – Pontresina, Switzerland 29 July 1884), secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society.⁹² In July 1876, Ellen Harriet (Hall) and William Hooper Ropes were reported to have "brok[en] up housekeeping at Clapton last winter & [to be] trying the climate of France" for the health of the invalided Mrs. Ropes.⁹³ In 1888,

William Hooper's address, again probably his office, was 5 Jeffreys Square, St. Mary Axe in London.⁹⁴ On 15 July 1890, in Christiana, Copenhagen, Denmark, Ellen Gellibrand Ropes married Charles Hooper Trask (1824–1905).⁹⁵ William Hooper Ropes died suddenly on 16 November 1891, in Tenby, Pembroke, southwest Wales, at the home, it would seem, of his daughter, Louisa Harriet (Ropes) Cattley,⁹⁶ who had married on 18 March 1869 in Upper Clapton, London, Edward Abbs Cattley. Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes died at the Tenby address on 11 December 1903.⁹⁷ It has not been possible to locate the will of William Hooper Ropes. Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes left effects of about £13,000.⁹⁸

* * *

Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes was the daughter of John Drinkrow Hall (Hull, Yorkshire 1 February 1796 – Falsgrave, Scarborough, Lincolnshire 30 July 1865) and Harriet (Parkinson) Hall (Brigg, Lincolnshire 10 February 1796 – Falsgrave, Scarborough, Yorkshire 18 October 1870) of Leeds.⁹⁹ They were married on 26 June 1821.¹⁰⁰ Harriet (Parkinson) Hall's sister, Elizabeth, was the first wife of William Clarke Gellibrand. John D. Hall worked for the Aire and Calder Navigation Company in Leeds; the family resided at Dock Street.¹⁰¹ He is listed in the 1841 Census as "clerk," and in the 1851 Census as "agent," to the Aire and Calder Navigation Company.¹⁰² On his retirement, he and his wife moved to Falsgrave, Scarborough, where he is listed in the 1861 Census as "living from independent interest money."¹⁰³ They both died in Falsgrave.¹⁰⁴ John D. Hall's occupation appears on his wife's death certificate as "cashier."¹⁰⁵ Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand, who visited the Halls in 1841, said of the family: "Mrs. Hall, a very kind and pleasing woman, who calls me sister, and whom I dearly love. Her husband is a most kind and intelligent man, and the girls are amiable and agreeable."¹⁰⁶

The Halls had two other daughters besides Ellen, whose lives were also to be bound up with St. Petersburg. Their youngest daughter, Emily Hall (c. 1827 – 31 March / 12 April 1846), listed in the 1841 Census as fourteen years old, died in St. Petersburg while visiting the William Hooper Ropes family, and was buried there. Several pages of Anna

Whistler's diaries are devoted to her death. Their other daughter, Marian Amelia Hall (25 December 1823 – 2/14 April 1886)¹⁰⁷ married in Leeds on 6 June 1850¹⁰⁸ George Henry Prince, first cousin of William Hooper Ropes.

* * *

George Henry Prince (16 October 1821 – 25 April 1900)¹⁰⁹ was the son of William Ropes's sister, Ruth Hardy (Ropes) Prince (24 June 1791 – 28 July 1837), and of Henry Prince (4 September 1789 – 5 March 1854) of Salem, Massachusetts. He was one of five surviving children, the other four being Benjamin Ropes (14 November 1822 – December 1902; see Image 270), James Cheever (8 January 1825 – 10 March 1853), Sarah (16 December 1826 – 4 January 1901), Samuel Ropes (25 April 1833 – 6 September 1899).¹¹⁰ Shortly after the death of his mother, when he was almost sixteen, it was proposed by William Ropes that he come out to Russia and join the company, probably as a "shipping clerk with specific internal duties."¹¹¹ It was stressed that he had to be "a good boy," "determined to qualify himself fully for business by learning the languages" "as without them one might almost as well be dumb – as regards active business," and that he must "be wholly under the control and subject to the heads of the House."¹¹² He arrived in St. Petersburg in early September of 1838¹¹³ and proved to be a good risk. By October, he was "getting on pretty well in German" and would that winter "have a capital opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Russian."¹¹⁴ "His *American* feelings [were] strong, and [did] not seem likely to evaporate very soon."¹¹⁵ Although the others in the family seemed to be "getting less American," "George was the only staunch one among [them], unchanging and unchanged."¹¹⁶ When Archibald Mirrieles left the firm and his duties shifted to William Hooper, George Henry took over William Hooper's duties in the interior. By November 1847, George Prince and Mr. Fairbanks, the London agent for Harrison, Winans and Eastwick, had announced that they were "going into the Ice business – exporting it to London."¹¹⁷ After Major Whistler's death, when Anna Whistler, James (see Images 24–29), and Willie (see Images 27, 30) were living in Pomfret, Connecticut, George Henry, on a visit to Boston,

made a special trip to spend Christmas of 1849 and New Year's Eve of 1850 with her.¹¹⁸

On 6 June 1850, George Henry Prince married in Leeds Marian Amelia Hall, sister of Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes. Their five known surviving children were Emily Hall (Russia 22 January 1851 – Bridgwater, Somerset 19 September 1933), Annie Ropes (St. Petersburg 1854 – Bridgwater, Somerset 15 August 1942), Sarah Marion (Scarborough, Yorkshire 10 November 1855 – Bridgwater, Somerset 13 September 1946), Ruth Harriet (b. St. Petersburg 20 Nov. 1856), John Henry (St. Petersburg 8 December 1862 – 21 May 1921).¹¹⁹ They were possibly also the parents of George Osgood (St. Petersburg 1858 – Kiev 1894 or 1895). On 14 September 1876 (OS), Annie Ropes Prince married in St. Petersburg Sydney Charles Scott (c. 1850 – 18 September 1936), bachelor, solicitor, of London.¹²⁰ On 12 July 1879 (OS), Sarah Marian Prince (called Minnie) married in St. Petersburg Thomas Foster Barham (c. 1851 – Bridgwater, Somerset 5 October 1927), bachelor, solicitor, of London.¹²¹ George Henry Prince died on 25 April 1900 in Wyberg (Vyborg in Russian), Finland, in the house of his son-in-law, Edward Engestrom,¹²² husband of Ruth Harriet (Prince) Engestrom. Both he and Marian (Hall) Prince were buried in the Smolensk Cemetery.¹²³ George Henry Prince kept a journal while living in St. Petersburg. Several fragments about the Whistlers were published by a descendant in 1974, but unfortunately the present location of the journal is unknown to me.¹²⁴

Mention is made as well in Anna Whistler's diaries of George Henry Prince's brother, Benjamin Ropes Prince (see Image 270), second mate on the *Zephyr* (Capt. Leach),¹²⁵ who arrived in St. Petersburg in May 1846 with George Henry Prince. He seems to have gone to work for Harrison, Winans and Eastwick.¹²⁶ On 1 December 1850, he married in St. Petersburg Mary Alexandrine Van der Vliet (1830 – 3 May 1854), called "Sashy." Both were recorded as residing in St. Petersburg.¹²⁷ They left Russia at an unknown date and settled in Hamilton, Massachusetts, where Mary Alexandrine (Van der Vliet) Prince died on 3 May 1854. In January 1856, Benjamin Ropes Prince was living and farming with his brother, Samuel.¹²⁸

* * *

Among other cousins from the United States who visited William Hooper Ropes and are recorded in Anna Whistler's diaries is Franklin Henry Hooper (bap. 7 July 1822 – Boston 10 October 1847),¹²⁹ who traveled to St. Petersburg in the summer of 1844. He had traveled to St. Petersburg on at least one previous occasion.¹³⁰ He was the orphaned son of William (bap. 1 December 1795 – 9 March 1828) and Rebecca (Hooper) Hooper (d. 27 November 1830). William Hooper, a sea captain, died at sea. All three children of this union (their parents were married on 17 November 1818) died young.¹³¹

NOTES

1. For obituaries of William Ropes, see newspaper clippings in a book donated by Mrs. John J. Trask to the PEM (PEM: Ms E R 785.3 18692).
2. List of marriages and issue, HUBL: Ropes Papers; Mary T. Gellibrand to Mrs. Hardy Ropes, St. P., July 7/19, [18]34; Mary T. and William Gellibrand, St. P., July 4/16 and July 19, 1834; *Essex Times*, April 30, 1884, and April 18, 1894. Death Index, vol. 393, p. 289, Massachusetts Archives at Columbia Point, Boston. See also a certified copy of an Entry of Death for William H. Ropes, Registration District of Pembroke, Sub-District of Tenby, County of Pembroke, GRO.
3. William Ropes to his parents, St. P., 29 June 1830, HUBL: Ropes Papers.
4. Wm. Ropes to Hardy Ropes, St. P. 19 July 1830, HUBL: Ropes Papers.
5. There were children from the second marriage, but they do not figure in Anna Whistler's diaries.
6. William and Mary Anne (Codman) Ropes to his parents, St. P. 2 May 1834, HUBL: Ropes Papers; list of marriages and issue.
7. He is incorrectly identified as Alexander Mirrieles in Harriet Ropes Cabot, "The Early Years of William Ropes and Company in St. Petersburg," *The American Neptune* 23, no. 2 (1963): p. 138.
8. Wm. Ropes to Hardy Ropes, St. P. 12 April 1831, and Cronstadt 22 June 1831, HUBL: Ropes Papers.

9. Gellibrand family tree. I wish to thank Jane D’Arcy of Curtin, ACT, Australia, a descendent of William Clarke Gellibrand’s brother, Joseph Tice Gellibrand, for providing a photocopy of her family tree; a copy is also available in the Gellibrand Family Papers, LRA/MS 1110, LRA (hereafter, LRA: Gellibrand Papers). See also Joanna Livingston, “Merchants 1815–1884,” in *Gellibrands* (self-pub., Belvedere, 2005), p. 53, which deals primarily with William Clarke Gellibrand and Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand, in LRA:Gellibrand Papers.
10. All the foregoing information is taken from the letter of Wm. Ropes to Hardy Ropes, St. P. Feb. 10/22, 1834, HUBL: Ropes Papers.
11. Information about the British and American Congregational Church (often called simply the British and American Chapel) is difficult to find and contradictory. Two excellent contemporary sources on the houses of worship of St. Petersburg substantially dissipate this confusion, when compared to one another.

Antonov and Kobak, in *Sviatyni Sankt-Peterburga*, explain that a congregation was formed on 6 December 1833 including the Congregationalists, which seven years later separated from the Anglicans. The congregation bought a building, to which, in 1839–1840, the architect Karl-Wilhelm Winkler (1813–1861) added from the courtyard side a double-lighted hall holding 250 persons, although there were far fewer Congregationalists in St. Petersburg at that time. In 1890, for the fiftieth anniversary of the Chapel, the front building was expanded into a two-story structure according to the plans of civil engineer F.V. [*sic*: F.N.] Sobolevskii (1831–1892) and redecorated (Antonov and Kobak, *Sviatyni Sankt-Peterburga*, pp. 269, 383, 388).

Shul’ts’s explanation is as follows. The building of the Methodist British–American Church and the prayer hall of Christ the Savior of the Hutterites and the prayer hall of the Sarepta Brotherhood was built on New-Isaac Street in 1820 [*sic*: 1840] according to the plan of the civil engineer F.N. Sobolevskii (1831–1892). When it was being built, the foundation and walls of the house previously standing on that spot in the 1780s and 1790s and the entire adjacent plot, all belonging to Count A.A. Bezborodko, were included (Shul’ts, *Khramy Sankt-Peterburga*, p. 261).

A valuable source about the Church are the letters from St. Petersburg of the Ropes family members to their relatives in Massachusetts in the 1830s cited in these Notes. They show that the congregation was in existence in 1832, when William Ropes

arrived in Russia for the second time; that they were collecting money to build their own church; and that in the meantime they met in the meeting house of the German Moravian Brethren (Mary T. Ropes to Uncle Hardy Ropes, St. P. 19 June 1832, St. P. June 30/July 12, 1833, and St. P. 3 July N.S., and St. P. Cronstadt June 1/14 [*sic*], 1833, HUBL: Ropes Papers; Wm. Ropes to Hardy Ropes, St. P. 4 Dec. N.S. 1832).

When Anna Whistler came to Russia, the British and American Congregational Church was well-established in its building on New-Isaac Street, and she sometimes attended services there.

12. Transcripts of Non-Conformist Registers, RG 4/405 St. Petersburg, PRO.
13. Romanes, *Calls of Norfolk and Suffolk*, p. 82.
14. Louisa Ropes to her grandparents, St. P. 21 Feb. 1834, HUBL: Ropes Papers; typed extracts; Wm. Ropes to his parents, St. P. 10/22 Feb. 1834.
15. Wm. Ropes to his parents, St. P. 2 May N.S. 1834, HUBL: Ropes Papers. Wm. C. Gellibrand and Mary Tyler Ropes were members of the dissenting church, but “from 1754 to 1837, marriages had to be performed by a beneficed Anglican clergyman in order to be legal, except in the case of Quakers and Jews. . . . Other nonconformists, in order to insure the legitimacy of their children, married in the Anglican church, and the event was recorded in the parish register; nonconformist registers between 1754 and 1837 record details of births/baptisms and deaths/burials only” (Amanda Bevan and Andrea Duncan, *Tracing your Ancestors in the Public Record Office*, 4th ed. [London: HMSO, 1990], p. 28).
16. Wm. and Mary Anne (Codman) Ropes to his parents, St. P. 2 May N.S. 1834, HUBL: Ropes Papers. For a description of their apartment, in which the Whistlers were guests, see the letter of Mary T. Gellibrand to Mrs. Hardy Ropes, St. P. July 7/19, [18]34.
17. Wm. Ropes to his parents, St. P. 10/22 Feb. 1834, HUBL: Ropes Papers; Mary T. Gellibrand to her grandparents, Okta, Sept. 1/13, 1838. Cabot, “William Ropes and Company,” p. 137.
18. Registers of the Fish Street Congregational Church, Hull, Central Library, Hull, Yorkshire. See also a certified copy of an Entry of Death for Ellen Harriet Ropes. Registration District: Pembroke, Sub-district: Tenby, in the County of Pembroke, GRO.

19. Mary T. Gellibrand to her grandparents, St. P. May 11/23, 1837, HUBL: Ropes Papers.
20. Wm. C. Gellibrand to Joseph G. Jennings, St. P. 31 Jan. 1849, LRA: Gellibrand Papers. J.G. Jennings of Launceston, Van Dieman's Land, was the eldest son of Wm. C. Gellibrand's Aunt Hannah, who married William Jennings. Mr. Gellibrand had actually been just in St. Petersburg for thirty-five years, although he says "in Russia."
21. A Quaker delegation hoping to avert war between Russia and England came to petition Nicholas I in 1854 and enjoyed the hospitality of the Gellibrands. See Griselda Fox Mason, *Sleigh Ride to Russia* (York, UK: William Sessions, 1985), pp. 43, 46, 47, 50–53, 56–57, 76, 80, 81, 85.
22. From an unpublished history of the Gellibrand family by her grandmother, Lady Elizabeth Gellibrand, a copy of which is in the possession of Jane D'Arcy (hereafter, LRA: Lady Gellibrand).
23. LRA: Lady Gellibrand. For a description of Albyns, see Livingston, *Gellibrands*, pp. 60–61.
24. Obituary in *Essex Times*, April 30, 1884.
25. Obituary in *Essex Times*, April 30, 1884.
26. Will of Wm. Clarke Gellibrand, 28 March 1877; probated, 28 June 1884, PRO.
27. LRA: Lady Gellibrand; obituary in *Essex Times*, April 18, 1894.
28. Will of Mary Tyler Gellibrand, 8 Sept. 1888; codicil, 9 Sept. 1891; second codicil, 24 Jan. 1894; probated, 4 June 1894, PRO.
29. Anna Whistler to Mary Emma Eastwick, Albyns, Essex. Sept. 8th 1874, letters of Anna Mathilda McNeill mother of James McNeill Whistler 1830–1876, LC: P-W, box 34, fols. 65–68; Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble 2 Lindsay Houses Chelsea London Sept. 7–10 1870, GUL: Whistler Collection W539; Anna Whistler to Catherine (McNeill) Palmer, London, 3–4 November 1871, LC: P-W, box 34, fols. 67–68 and 75–76; Anna Whistler to Mr. Gamble, Feldheim, Wimbledon Common Wednesday Nov^r 29th 1871, GUL: Whistler Collection, W541; Anna Whistler to my beloved Friend, 2 Lindsay Houses Chelsea London Tuesday evening Nov. 5th 1872, W546; Anna Whistler to [Mr. Gamble?] 2 Lindsay Houses Chelsea Wednesday Sept. 30th [18]74, W457.
30. Anna Whistler to James and William Whistler, Coblenz, 22 January 1866, GUL: Whistler Collection, W521.

31. Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand paid two visits to Anna Whistler while visiting Elizabeth in Eastbourne in 1876 and brought Elizabeth with her on one of these visits (Anna Whistler to Mary Emma Eastwick Hastings, 19, 26 & 28 July 1876, LC: P-W, box 34, fols. 79–82).
32. Certified copy of an Entry of Death for Elizabeth Hannah Ropes, Registration District of Wordsworth, Sub-district of Putney, County of London, GRO.
33. 1881 Census for Stapleford Abbots, Essex, for the Gellibrand household.
34. Mary T. Gellibrand to Mrs. Hardy Ropes, St. P. Feb. 6/18, 1836, HUBL: Ropes Papers. Dr. Nikolai Fyodorovich Arendt (Kazan' 1785 – St. Petersburg 14 October 1859), who was instrumental in establishing the Children's Hospital in St. Petersburg, was Imperial physician to Emperor Nicholas I from 1828 to 1839 (Karev, *Nemtsy Rossii*, pp. 71–72). The family physician was Dr. James Ronaldson Handyside.
35. Mary T. Gellibrand to her grandparents, St. P. Aug. 12 N.S. [18]36, HUBL: Ropes Papers.
36. Mary T. Gellibrand to her grandparents, Okta, Sept. 1/13, 1838, HUBL: Ropes Papers.
37. Mary T. Gellibrand to her grandparents, Okta, Sept. 1/13, 1838, HUBL: Ropes Papers.
38. *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1910.
39. Mary T. Gellibrand to her grandparents, St. P., May 4/16, 1838, HUBL: Ropes Papers.
40. Martha Reed Ropes, *Religious Meditations* (1840), PEM. The two residences are noted down on the inside cover of vols. 1, 3, 4, and 5. She seems to be paraphrasing sermons she had attended. I have not ascertained whether the ministers referred to were all from Boston churches. It is difficult to say what is original in the volume of poetry. The authors of some poems are, however, clearly indicated.
41. *Amherst College Biographical Record of the Graduates and Non-Graduates: Centennial Edition, 1821–1921* (Amherst, MA: Trustees of Amherst College, 1939). Charles Hooper Trask was the son of Captain Richard Trask (Salem, MA 13 July 1788 – Manchester, MA 5 August 1846), who had been engaged in the Russia trade (see Captain Trask's obituary by Wm. H. Tappan in Rev. D.F. Lawson, *History of the Town of Manchester Essex County, Massachusetts*,

- 1645–1895 (Manchester, MA: published by the Town, [1895]), pp. 1294–1295).
42. Marriage Index, vol. 38, p. 266, Massachusetts Archives at Columbia Point, Boston; Cabot, “William Ropes and Company,” p. 139.
 43. E.S.W., ed., “Materials for a History of the Ropes Family,” *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* 8, no. 1 (1868), p. 55; genealogy of the Trask family supplied by Margaret Coleman of The Russian American Cultural Center at Russia Wharf, Boston, Massachusetts (now closed). According to Coleman’s note in the margin of Cabot’s article in the *American Neptune*, Cabot was wrong in stating that Charles Hooper Trask captained some of the ships of William Ropes and Company. It was his father, Captain Richard Trask, who did (Cabot, “William Ropes and Company,” p. 139).
 44. Andover Theological Seminary, *Necrology, 1902–1903* (Boston: Everett, 1903), p. 71.
 45. John Codman Ropes (St. Petersburg 28 April 1836 – Boston, MA 28 October 1899) was the scholar in William Ropes’s second family (Joseph May, *John Codman Ropes, LL.D. A Memoir, by His Friend and Classmate Joseph May*, reprinted from the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (June 1900): pp. 3–28; Archives Biography Files (HUG 300); Harvard College class reports; *Quinquennial Catalog of Harvard University, 1636–1936* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937); Tolman Index).
 46. Wm. Ropes to Hardy Ropes, St. P. 11 August 1832; Joseph S. Ropes to grandparents, St. P. May 13/25, 1833, HUBL: Ropes Papers.
 47. According to a paper read by Professor Norman E. Saul of the University of Kansas at the 1990 Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) in Washington, DC, Joseph Samuel Ropes was called upon to demonstrate his ability at languages before Nicholas I at the graduation ceremonies of the Third St. Petersburg Gymnasium (“American Merchants in Russia, 1815–1845,” p. 10). I wish to thank Professor Saul for providing me with a copy of his paper. For a discussion of the Third Gymnasium, see V.V. Smirnov, *Peterburgskie shkoly i shkol’nye zdaniia Istoria shkol’nogo stroitel’sтва v Sankt-Peterburge–Petrograde–Leningrade 1703–2003 gg.* [Petersburg Schools and School Buildings: A History of Schoolbuilding in St. Petersburg–

- Petrograd–Leningrad, 1703–2003*] (St. Petersburg: Russko-Baltiiskii informatsionnyi tsentr, BLITS, 2003), 69–70.
48. TsGIA SPb: Fond 14, opis' 3, delo 6231. Delo Pravleniia imp. S.P. Universiteta o vydache Attestatov i Diplomov konchivshim kurs nauk v SP-skom Universitete. Iun' 1841g.-dek. 1841g., l. 229 [File concerning the issuing of Certificates and Diplomas by the administration of the Imperial University of Saint Petersburg to those finishing the course of studies at St. Petersburg University. June 1841 – Dec. 1841, fol. 229]. See also Wm. Ropes Trask to Wm. Ladd Ropes, Boston, 9 May 1903, HUBL: Ropes Papers.
 49. Mary T. Gellibrand to her grandparents, Okta, Sept. 1/13, 1838, HUBL: Ropes Papers. Concerning his junior year, see Joseph S. Ropes to his grandparents, St. P. Sept. 19/Oct. 1, 1840.
 50. For a copy of his certificate, see TsGIA SPb: Fond 14, op. 3, delo 6231, fols. 227v–228 (see Note 48 for document title). In a book about the school containing an alphabetical list of day students and paying boarding students for the period 1823–1872, Joseph Ropes is no. 2244 (N. Anichkov, comp., *Istoricheskaia zapiska piatidesiatiletia tret'ei sanktpeterburgskoi gimnazii* [*A Historical Note for the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Third St. Petersburg Gimnazium*] [St. Petersburg: V. Arngol'd, 1873], p. 185).
 51. Joseph S. Ropes to his aunt, Louisa Green, St. P. Aug. 30/Sept. 11, 1839, HUBL: Ropes Papers.
 52. Joseph S. Ropes to Louisa Green, St. P., Sept. 26/Oct. 8, 1840, HUBL: Ropes Papers.
 53. Joseph S. Ropes to Louisa Green, St. P., Sept. 26/Oct. 8, 1840, HUBL: Ropes Papers.
 54. Joseph S. Ropes to Louisa Green, St. P. Aug. 30/Sept. 11, 1839, HUBL: Ropes Papers. In this letter, he reported having translated into Russian Joseph Sutcliffe's *Memoir of Emily Rowland* (1836). He was thinking of translating at his leisure suitable portions of *Practical Thoughts*. By 1839, their Tract Committee had published seventy-six tracts. In the 1840 letter to Louisa Green, he reported having “94 tracts in regular series.”
 55. TsGIA SPb: Fond 14, op. 3, d. 6231 (see Note 48 for document title), fols. 227v, 228. He took the following subjects: Metaphysics; Moral Philosophy; Russian History; Political Economy; Statistics; Rights of Nations and Diplomacy; Russian Civil Law; Russian Criminal Law; Greek; Latin; German; English, in which he received the grade of Excellent (5); Anthropology

- and Logic; Russian Literature; and General History and Slavic Antiquities, in which he received the grade of good (4). He received the grade of Excellent (5) in deportment as well (TsGIA SPb: Fond. 14, op. 3, d. 6231 (see Note 48 for document title), fols. 1, 1v, 2, 227v, 228); Andover, *Necrology*, p. 71; *NEHGR*, supplement (April 1904): p. lxxxviii.
56. Joseph S. Ropes to Louisa Green, St. P., Sept. 26/Oct. 8, 1840, HUBL: Ropes Papers.
 57. Archibald Mirrieles to William Ropes, St. P., 12/24 June 1842, MHS: Ropes Papers. Harriet Ropes Cabot (d. 12 January 2002) graciously permitted me to consult family letters at her home, when they were still in her possession. She later deposited them with the Massachusetts Historical Society.
 58. Letters 1845 [*sic*]: Agreement ... 6 August 1846, typed extracts, HUBL: Ropes Papers; Cabot, "William Ropes and Company," p. 139.
 59. "Destruction of the Palace," HUBL: Ropes Papers. Joseph Samuel had also written a very good description of St. Petersburg and Butter Week soon after his arrival in that city (Joseph S. Ropes to his grandparents, St. P., May 13/25, 1833, HUBL: Ropes Papers).
 60. H.L.S., "Men and Things in Russia," pts. 1–11, *New-York Evangelist* 1, no. 41 (October 13, 1842): pp. 325–326; 8, no. 43 (October 27, 1842): p. 170; 8, no. 45 (November 10, 1842): p. 178; 8, no. 51 (December 22, 1842): p. 202; 9, no. 1 (January 5, 1843): pp. 2–3; 9, no. 4 (January 26, 1843): p. 14; 9, no. 9 (March 2, 1843): p. 34; 9, 11 (March 16, 1843) p. 42; 9, no. 13 (March 30, 1843): p. 50; 9, no. 15 (April 13, 1843): p. 58; 9, no. 17 (April 27, 1843): p. 66. The titles of the letter-essays are "Peterhoff, Its Gardens and Fountains – The Imperial Family – Magnificent Festival of the Tsarina's Silver Wedding-Day – A Russian Fete" (13 October 1842), "Sketch of the Imperial Family" (27 October 1842), "The Emperor Nicholas" (10 November 1842), "The Russian Nobility" (22 December 1842), "The Russian People" (5 January, 26 January, 2 March 1843), "Russian Character" (16 March 1843), "The Russian Winter" (30 March 1843), and "Bad Roads – The Russian Villages" (27 April 1843). One essay (13 April 1843) was untitled. He asked a cousin in the United States not to disclose his identity (Joseph S. Ropes to William Ladd Ropes, St. P., Sept. 17/29, 1842, MHS: Ropes Papers). Cabot also

provided me with photocopies of a typewritten version of these eleven letter-essays.

61. RG84: Records of Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, Diplomatic Posts, USSR, vol. 003, Despatches Sent, Cambrelling, Ingersoll, 1840–1848, Ralph I. Ingersoll to Nesselrode, St. Petersburg, 15/27 September 1847, fol. 34, NAUS.
62. W.C.G., “Joseph S. Ropes,” *Norwich Evening Record*, March 14, 1903.
63. *Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates of Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut, 1701–1924* (New Haven, CT: The University, 1924), p. 587.
64. In 1867 and 1868, he served on the Special Committee for Examination in the Greek Language, in 1874 and 1878 on the Committee to Visit the Academic Departments, in 1875 and 1876 on the Committee to Visit the College.
65. Andover, *Necrology*, p. 72; *NEHGR*, supplement (April 1904), p. lxxxix.
66. Andover, *Necrology*, pp. 71–72; *NEHGR*, supplement (April 1904), pp. lxxxviii–ix. See the tribute to him in the PEM by the Boston Seaman’s Friend Society. The tribute appeared in the *Boston Transcript*, but the clipping is not dated.
67. *NEHGR*, supplement (April 1904), p. lxxxviii.
68. *The Herald*, March 17, 1903, p. 12; *Boston Sunday Globe*, March 15, 1903, p. 9.
69. In addition to the abovementioned obituaries, see the obituary by W.H.R. in response to the death notice in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, Monday, March 16, 1903, p. 16. It has not been possible to ascertain in which issue the obituary by W.H.R. appeared. W.H.R. may be William Hall Ropes (1845–1905), son of William Hooper and Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes.
70. William H. Ropes to his grandparents, Amherst, 8 August 1829, MHS: Ropes Papers.
71. Cabot, “William Ropes and Company,” p. 133; William Ropes to Hardy Ropes, St. P., 19 July 1830, MHS: Ropes Papers. In the foregoing letter, he stressed William Hooper’s need to study hard, and his difficulty with spelling and other subjects.
72. Cabot, “William Ropes and Company,” p. 136.

73. Wm. H. Ropes to Hardy Ropes, St. P. Sept. 23/Oct. 5, 1833, HUBL: Ropes Papers.
74. Cabot, “William Ropes and Company,” p. 137.
75. Wm. Ropes to Hardy Ropes, St. P. July 9/21, 1837, HUBL: Ropes Papers; Wm. Ropes to his parents, St. P. March 27/April 8, 1837, MHS: Ropes Papers; Archibald Mirrieles to Wm. Ropes, St. P. 12/24 June 1842; Cabot, “William Ropes and Company,” p. 138.
76. Wm. Ropes to Hardy Ropes, London, 27 July 1836, HUBL: Ropes Papers.
77. Wm. Ropes to his parents, St. P. March 27/April 8, 1837, MHS: Ropes Papers; Cabot, “William Ropes and Company,” p. 137.
78. Cabot, “William Ropes and Company,” p. 139; Wm. C. Gellibrand to Wm. Ropes, St. P. 21 Aug./2 Sept. 1842, HUBL: Ropes Papers; Archibald Mirrieles to Wm. Ropes, St. P., 12/24 June 1842, MHS: Ropes Papers.
79. Cabot, “William Ropes and Company,” p. 139.
80. Mary T. Gellibrand to Hardy Ropes, Okhta, near Petersburg, June 6/18, 1838, HUBL: Ropes Papers. For further family assessments of Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes, see also Mary T. Gellibrand to grandparents, St. P., Sept. 1/13, 1838, HUBL: Ropes Papers; Joseph Samuel Ropes to his grandparents, St. P., September 19/October 1, 1840; and in typed extracts: June 24/July 6, 1840.
81. William Ropes to Hardy Ropes, London, 30 July 1838, HUBL: Ropes Papers.
82. Mary T. Gellibrand to Hardy Ropes, Okhta, near Petersburg, June 6/18, 1838, HUBL: Ropes Papers.
83. Wm. H. Ropes to Hardy Ropes, New York, 9 March 1840, HUBL: Ropes Papers; William Ropes to Hardy Ropes, London, 30 April 1840.
84. E.S.W., “Materials for a History of the Ropes Family,” p. 61; IGI.
85. Mary T. Gellibrand to Wm. Ladd Ropes, Peterhoff road Sept. 7/19 [1844], MHS: Ropes Papers.
86. William H. Ropes to The Honorable Mr. L. Marcy, Secretary of State, St. P, RG59: M81, Despatches from US Consuls in St. Petersburg, 1803–1906, roll 5, vols. 7–9, 31 December 1847 – 30 December 1857, NAUS. See the letter of 4/16 December 1850, in which he states that he has “entered upon the duties of [his] office as Consul of the United States for this place,” and his letter of 4/16 May 1854 concerning the termination of his duties

as consul. Both of the letters were to Mr. Marcy. William H. Ropes was succeeded by William Lewis Winans of Harrison and Winans.

87. List of marriages and issue, HUBL: Ropes Papers. See also 1861 Census for Lewisham; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1931 and 1933.
88. “Obituary. Mr. Adrian Ross,” *The Times* (London), September 12, 1933; see also *The Times* (London), September 13, 14, 15, 1933; *The Literary Who’s Who for the Year 1920* (London: George Routledge and Sons; New York: E.P. Dutton, 1920), p. 233.
89. All of the foregoing information about residences is from John Coulter, Local History Centre of the Libraries Division of Lewisham Leisure, to E. Harden, 31 August 1991.
90. E.S.W., “Materials for a History of the Ropes Family,” p. 55.
91. 1871 Census for Civil Parish of Hackney, Municipal Ward of Stanford Hill, City of Hackney, Ecclesiastical Parish of St. Matthew, RG 10/312, fol. 6, p. 7.
92. *The Times* (London), no. 28624, c. May 10, 1876; *The Times* (London), August 1, 1884; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1884.
93. Anna Whistler to Mary Emma Eastwick, Hastings, Wednesday, July 19, 1876, Letters of Anna Mathilda McNeill, mother of James McNeill Whistler, 1830–1876, LC: P–W, box 34, fols. 81–84.
94. Will of Mary Tyler Gellibrand, 8 Sept. 1888; codicil, 9 Sept. 1891; second codicil, 24 Jan. 1894; probated, 4 June 1894, PRO.
95. The widowed Charles Hooper Trask was the husband of Ellen Gellibrand Ropes’s aunt, Martha Reed (Ropes) Trask. She had died in 1888. See her biography earlier in this essay.
96. *The Times* (London), no. 33485, November 1891. As Louisa Harriet (Ropes) Cattley was in attendance, he may have died at her home (certified copy of an Entry of Death for William Hooper Ropes, GRO). See also *Pall Mall Gazette*, March 19, 1869.
97. Certified copy of an Entry of Death for Ellen Harriet Ropes, GRO.
98. Will of Ellen Harriet Ropes, PRO.
99. Mary T. Gellibrand to her grandparents, Leeds, 9 March 1841, HUBL: Ropes Papers; list of marriages and issue; IGI for Yorkshire; “Deaths” and obituary, *Scarborough Gazette*, August 3, 1865; certified copy of an Entry of Death for Harriet Hall,

Registration District: Scarborough, Sub-District: Scarborough, County of York, GRO.

100. The Register of Marriages in the Parish of St. Hybald, Scawby in the County of Lincoln for the Years 1813–1837, p. 14, no. 42, microfilm no. 1609, SoG.
101. Leeds directories for 1839 and 1853.
102. Census entries for 1841 and 1851. See also Charles Hadfield, *The Canals of Yorkshire and North East England*, 2 vols. (Newton Abbot, UK: David and Charles, 1973), vol. 2, p. 362.
103. 1861 Census entry for 5 Victoria Place, Falsgrave, Scarborough.
104. 1861 Census entry for 5 Victoria Place, Falsgrave, Scarborough; “Births, Marriage and Deaths” as well as obituary, *Scarborough Gazette*, August 13, 1865; certified copy of an Entry of Death for Harriet Hall, GRO.
105. Certified copy of an Entry of Death for Harriet Hall, GRO.
106. Mary T. Gellibrand to her grandparents, Leeds, March 9, 1841, HUBL: Ropes Papers.
107. List of marriages and issue, HUBL: Ropes Papers; Registers of the Fish Street Congregational Church, Hull, Central Library, Hull, Yorkshire; Returns of Births and Baptisms Deaths and Marriages from Brit. & Amer. Congl. Church St. Petersburg, with an Index 1840–1895, RG 33/144, PRO.
108. Certified copy of an Entry of Marriage for George Henry Prince and Marian Amelia Hall, GRO. They were married in the Belgrave Chapel, Leeds, “according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Independent Denomination.” The groom was twenty-eight years old; the bride was twenty-six.
109. List of marriages and issue, HUBL: Ropes Papers; typed extracts: envelope containing a description of the death of George Henry Prince.
110. I wish to thank Mr. S. Hardy Prince of Beverly, Massachusetts, for this information.
111. Wm. Ropes to Hardy Ropes, London, 24 Feb. 1838, HUBL: Ropes Papers.
112. Wm. Ropes to Hardy Ropes, London, 3 April 1838, HUBL: Ropes Papers; Wm. H. Ropes to Hardy Ropes, St. P. July 4/16, 1838. George Henry Prince did not like Mr. Mirrielees any more than Joseph Samuel Ropes did.

113. Mary T. Gellibrand to her grandparents, Okta, Sept. 1/13, 1838, HUBL: Ropes Papers. George Henry Prince is described at length in this letter.
114. Wm. Ropes to Hardy Ropes, London 14 Oct. 1837, HUBL: Ropes Papers; London 3 April 1838; London 7 Sept. 1838; Mary T. Gellibrand to her grandparents, Okta Sept. 1/13, 1838; Wm. H. Ropes to Hardy Ropes, St. P. Sept. 22/Oct. 4, 1838; St. P. Oct. 19/31, 1838; Joseph S. Ropes to his grandparents, St. P. Aug. 29/Sept. 10, 1839; Wm. Ropes to Hardy Ropes, London 14 Nov. 1839.
115. Joseph S. Ropes to his grandparents, St. P. Aug. 29/Sept. 10, 1839, HUBL: Ropes Papers.
116. Joseph S. Ropes to his aunt, St. P. June 24/July 6, 1841, MHS: Ropes Papers.
117. BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 2, fol. 50. See also the reference to this joint undertaking in the diary of Henry K. Fettyplace, who visited St. Petersburg briefly in July 1848, and met his “old friend and schoolmate, George Prince,” while calling on Major Whistler (entry of Monday, 24th July [1848], PEM: Fettyplace Journal). Fettyplace mistakenly called Mr. Fairbanks an Englishman.
118. Hardy Ropes to his son, Wm. Ladd Ropes, Boston 22 Dec. 1849, HUBL: Ropes Papers; diaries of Hardy Ropes: No. 32, Year 1849; no. 33, Year 1850.
119. I wish to thank Mr. S. Hardy Prince of Beverly, Massachusetts, for this information. See also *The Times* (London), September 20, 1933; August 18, 1942; September 14, 1946; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1933 and 1942.
120. Attestation of Marriages in the British & American Congregational Church St. Petersburg Russia from June 22 1844 to 11th November 1886 numbered 1/84, no. 68, RG 33/145, NAUK; 1901 Census for London.
121. RG 33/145, NAUK, no. 73; 1901 Census for London.
122. Envelope containing a description of the death of G.H. Prince, typed extracts, HUBL: Ropes Papers.
123. [Transcript of the] Register of Births and Baptisms [1895–1903], Deaths and Burials [1896–1903], and Marriages [1896–1903], from the British and American Church, at St. Petersburg, RG 33/149, PRO.

124. Raymond and Prince, “Whistler,” pp. 3–14.
125. Captain Thomas Leach (6 September 1807 – 5 December 1886) was born and died in Manchester, MA (Manchester Vital Records 1850, p. 76).
126. Anna Whistler to James Whistler St Petersburg Feb. 19th Monday eve [1849], GUL: Whistler Collection, W383, with additional entries on 20, 22, and 24 February.
127. [Transcript of the] Attestation of marriages in the British & American Congregational Church, St. Petersburg, Russia from June 22 1844 to 11 November 1886 numbered 1–84, no. 16, RG 33/145, PRO.
128. The information about Benjamin and Mary Alexandrine (Van der Vliet) Prince is taken from a letter written by Benjamin Prince in Hamilton, MA, on 13 January 1856 to his sister, Sarah. In it, he speaks of living better now, as his brother, Samuel, has just married. He speaks also of Mrs. Revillon, who was at that time in the United States. It becomes clear in this letter that he has customers to whom he supplies milk. Notes written on the letter clarify that “Sashy” Prince is dead. I am grateful to Mr. S. Hardy Prince of Beverley, MA, for supplying a copy of this annotated letter.
129. See his application of March 26, 1844, for a passport (NAUS: Passports, M1371, roll 2, p. 16, passport no. 1902). See also, Pope and Hooper, *Hooper Genealogy*, p. 149.
130. William H. Ropes to Hardy Ropes, St. Petersburg, September 22/October 4, 1838, HUBL: Ropes Papers; Joseph S. Ropes to Hardy Ropes, St. P., August 30/ Sept. 11, 1839.
131. Pope and Hooper, *Hooper Genealogy*, pp. 125, 148–149.

SANDLAND

Betsy Hewitt Dorlin (bap. 3 July 1792¹ – Liverpool 9 January 1859) married John Sandland (c. 1785 – Savannah, GA 27 April 1820) in Liverpool, St. Nicholas, on 29 August 1816. While still in England, they had a son, John Dorlin Sandland (c. 1817 – Ashton le Willows 19 June 1880). The Sandlands and young John traveled to America, where a second child, Eliza Sandland (Brooklyn, New York c. 1820 – Manchester 2 November 1885)² was born. In 1819, they became acquainted in Brooklyn Heights (see Image 42) with Dr. Daniel McNeill, Anna Whistler's father (see Image 23). They visited the McNeills at "their country residence at Jamaica, Long Island," where the teen-aged Anna McNeill (see Images 1–5) took the "toddling child" for walks in "the green fields."³ John Sandland was a commission merchant. Announcements in various issues of the local Savannah, Georgia, newspaper from 1818 until his death show his arrivals there as well as the arrival of cargo for him (whiskey, flour, and sundries). They also indicate that he sold bills of exchange and post notes.⁴ During one such trip to Savannah, John Sandland died of spasms in Washington Hall on 27 or 28 April 1820, at the age of thirty-five.⁵ His family returned to Liverpool.⁶ When Lt. George Washington Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21) was sent to England in 1828 by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad along with Ross Winans (see Image 228) and William Gibbs McNeill (see Image 31), they took young John Dorlin Sandland, then a schoolboy, to breakfast at the Waterloo Hotel in Liverpool.⁷ In the fall of 1829, when Anna McNeill reached Liverpool for an extended visit with the Winstanleys in Preston, she went to stay at the home of Mrs. Sandland until Alicia McNeill (see Image 39) could come to Liverpool to get her.⁸ In 1843, now married and a mother, she visited the Sandlands again, on her way to Russia, and continued to do so each time she came from Russia to England, except in 1848. During her 1843 visit, John Dorlin Sandland was absent. On Sunday, 2 August 1840, he had left England, not intending "to return for years" (an affair of the heart seems to have been the cause) and spent "more than four years" in the Brazils.⁹ It eventually became necessary for him to take a sea voyage for his health,

so he set out from where he had been living in the Brazils for Para, arriving there in early March 1842.¹⁰ In 1845, he published a volume entitled *The Wanderer and Other Poems*, which he had written during that four-year sojourn in South America.¹¹ The preface to the volume was written in Blakeney, Gloucestershire, in August 1845.¹² In the notes, John Dorlin Sandland explained that he had “a Prose Work, now in hand, upon the Brazils and the Brazilians,” in which he intended to write on the subject of slavery, having lived in a “slave-owning community.”¹³ He seemed to have problems finding employment.¹⁴ In 1847, Anna Whistler was in Preston again and visited the Sandlands in Liverpool. She was met at Edge Hill Station (which is on the main railroad line out of Liverpool; see Image 61) by Eliza and John Dorlin Sandland. She went with them to their home at 10 Cambridge Street and saw their mother, Betsy Hewitt (Dorlin) Sandland, who was in mourning for her nephew and niece, John Dorlin Grayson (bap. Liverpool, St. Peter, 31 March 1807 – Roby 1 September 1847) and his sister, Elizabeth (Bessie) Grayson (bap. Liverpool, St. Peter, 26 April 1821 – Roby 8 September 1847), who had died at Roby within a week of one another, of unrelated illnesses.¹⁵ They were the children of Charles Grayson and Betsy H.D. Sandland’s sister, Hannah (Dorlin) Grayson. In 1849, after the death of Major Whistler, Anna Whistler and Willie (see Images 27, 30) stopped in England on their way home to the United States and visited the Sandlands again. Betsy H.D. Sandland died on 9 January 1859. The witnesses to her last will and testament were Eliza (see Image 40) and John Winstanley. In June 1874, John Dorlin Sandland wrote a letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette* in response to an article reviewing an exhibit of James Whistler’s paintings and drawings that had appeared in its June 13 issue.¹⁶ In his response, he spoke of how he had come to know the McNeill family, of Major Whistler, and of James Whistler (see Images 24–29) as an artist whose genius had now been recognized by the public.¹⁷ As a source for his own personal biography, the article makes clear only that he still made Liverpool his home. He said in it, too, that he had received from James Whistler photographs of paintings by James, executed when, after his Paris years of study, he had taken a trip around the world “with a party of friends in a yacht.”¹⁸ John Dorlin Sandland worked as a bookkeeper. He never married. He died intestate in Ashton

le Willows, Lancashire, on 19 June 1880. Eliza Sandland married Thomas Boyd the Younger (c. 1821 – Stockport Etchells, Cheshire 28 April 1874), iron merchant, on 21 June 1849 in Liverpool, St. Bride's.¹⁹ They had five surviving children: Thomas Albert (Windsor, Liverpool 9 November 1853 – Antigua, West Indies 1 December 1879), John Sandland (bap. Windsor, Liverpool 10 June 1855 – Salford District, June Qtr. 1873), James Charles (bap. Windsor, Liverpool 31 May 1857 – Salford District, June Qtr. 1890), Eliza Mary (bap. Windsor, Liverpool 9 October 1859 – Ryde, IOW, 10 September 1936), and George Herbert (bap. Salford 1 March 1863 – Broadstairs, Kent 26 March 1932).²⁰ Anna Whistler referred in her correspondence to the poverty in which the Boyds were living in the 1870s.²¹

NOTES

1. IGI for Lancashire.
2. The 1881 Census for Broughton, Municipal Borough of Salford, Ecclesiastical Parish of St. John, gives Eliza (Sandland) Boyd's birthplace as Brooklyn New York US (RG 11/3956, fol. 34, p. 18, PRO). Her place and date of death are given in her will (York Probate Sub-Registry).
3. J.D.S., "James A. Whistler, the Artist," *Pall Mall Gazette*, June 1874. It has not been possible to locate the June issue in which this article was said to have appeared.
4. *Columbian Museum and Savannah Daily Gazette*, March 10, 1818; April 6, 1818; January 7, 1819; January 28, 1819; April 8, 1819; February 21, 1820; February 24, 1820; March 23, 1820; and March 24, 1820. The Entry of Marriage for Thomas Boyd and Eliza Sandland, John Sandland's daughter, shows that her (deceased) father's occupation was "merchant" (certified copy of an Entry of Marriage for Thomas Boyd and Eliza Sandland, June 21, 1849, St. Bride's Church in the Parish of Liverpool, GRO).
5. J.D.S., "Whistler, the Artist"; R.J. Taylor Jr., ed., *Register of Deaths in Savannah, Georgia*, vol. 4, *September 1818–1832* (Savannah, GA: Georgia Historical Society Genealogical Committee, 1989), p. 50. J.D.S. says his father died on 27 April 1820; the Register says his death occurred on 28 April 1820. Presumably he was buried in Savannah. "The primary cemetery in Savannah from the mid 18th century until 1853 was the Colonial Cemetery, and unless Mr. Sandland was buried in a private cemetery that is almost certainly

- where he was interred ... there is no complete list of burials for Colonial Cemetery” (Jan Flores, archivist, Georgia Historical Society Library to E. Harden, n.d.).
6. In Edward Baines, *History, Directory, and Gazetteer of the County Palatine of Lancaster*, vol. 1 (Liverpool: Wm. Wales, 1824), Elizabeth Sandland, gentlewoman, is listed at 22 Clarence St., Mount Pleasant, Liverpool (p. 321).
 7. J.D.S., “Whistler, the Artist.” The Waterloo Hotel was a “first class establishment in Ranelagh Street” (James Stonehouse, *The Liverpool Guide: Its Highways, Byeways, and Thoroughfares, by Land and Water* [Liverpool: William Lea, 1879], p. 37).
 8. Anna McNeill to Catherine Jane McNeill, Liverpool, Nov. 22, 1829, GUL: Whistler Collection, W344; Anna McNeill to Margaret Hill, Manchester, Jan. 14, 1830, LC: P-W, box 34, fols. 3–4; McDiarmid, *Whistler’s Mother*, pp. 17, 18, 19–21.
 9. Sandland, *Wanderer*, pp. 193, 205.
 10. Sandland, p. 201.
 11. Sandland, p. 5. He had originally sent the manuscript to a “friend in England” without the intention of publishing it but had been persuaded to do so (pp. 202–203). Some of the other poems in the volume were written in boyhood. A reference to John Dorlin Sandland and his book can be found in Kirk, *Supplement to Allibone’s Critical Dictionary*.
 12. Sandland, *Wanderer*, p. 6. However, the 1851 Census for Blakeney has been searched without success for his name, and he is not listed in the index to the 1851 Census for Gloucestershire.
 13. Sandland, *Wanderer*, p. 199.
 14. Eliza Winstanley to Kate Palmer, Preston, 2 Jan^{ry} 1849 (GUL: Whistler Collection, W1080) implies that his sister was unable to marry partly because he had no work. Eliza Winstanley strongly doubted that he would find any.
 15. Certified copy of an Entry of Death, Registration District: Prescott, Sub-District: Huyton in the County of Lancashire for John Dorlin Grayson, GRO; certified copy of an Entry of Death, Registration District: Prescott, Sub-District: Huyton in the County of Lancashire for Elizabeth Grayson, GRO. John D. Grayson, a shipbuilder, aged forty, died of disease of the heart; his sister, who died of disease of the pylorus, is described as “daughter of Charles Grayson, deceased ship builder,” aged twenty-seven.

16. J.D.S., “Whistler, the Artist.”
17. He also incorrectly stated that Eliza Winstanley was the wife of William Winstanley.
18. J.D.S., “Whistler, the Artist”; Nigel Thorp, “Studies in Black and White: Whistler’s Photographs in Glasgow University Library,” in *James McNeill Whistler: A Reexamination*, ed. Ruth E. Fine (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1984), pp. 91–92.
19. Certified copy of an Entry of Marriage for Thomas Boyd and Eliza Sandland, June 21, 1849, St. Bride’s Church in the Parish of Liverpool, GRO; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1874.
20. Will of Eliza Boyd, York Probate Sub-Registry; Baptismal Register of the District of Windsor, Liverpool, GRO; *Liverpool Mercury*, November 18, 1853; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1880, 1932, and 1936; Index of Deaths, GRO; Baptismal Register of Christ Church, Salford.
21. Anna Whistler to Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer, 2 Lindsey Houses Chelsea London, entry of Friday 4 November in letter of 29 October 1870, LC: P-W, box 34, fols. 71–76; Anna Whistler to Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer, 2 Lindsey Houses Chelsea London, entry of Monday 3rd [June] in letter of May 21st [1872], PUL 65, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library; Toutziari, “Anna Matilda Whistler’s Correspondence,” vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 791n1.

SHAW AND WARDROP

While the guest of Eliza (see Image 40) and John Winstanley in 1829–1830, young Anna McNeill was introduced by their friend, Frances (Morton) Stevenson, to Georgina (Wardrop) Shaw (bap. Edinburgh 22 July 1792 – Clapham, Surrey 7 March 1875; see Image 486),¹ the widowed daughter of William (b. Edinburgh 17 March 1769; bap. South Leith, Edinburgh 31 March 1769; d. Edinburgh 24 November 1802) and Catherine (Fraser) Wardrop (1768 – Clapham 4 March 1850; see Image 488).² Georgina (Wardrop) Shaw's father had been secretary to the Bank of Scotland between 1791 and 1802,³ and it is likely that he thus became acquainted with Frances (Morton) Stevenson's husband, Walter (see Stevenson and Smith in this Appendix). The Wardrop family in general were private bankers. On 23 August 1814, Georgina Wardrop married John Shaw (1792 – buried 16 October 1823; see Image 487),⁴ a gentleman of the parish of Great Marlow, Buckinghamshire. They lived in Great Marlow and became the parents of five children, all of whom survived into adulthood: John Shaw (bap. 14 August 1815), William Wardrop Shaw (bap. 13 July 1820 – 9 September 1895), Catherine Maccallum Shaw (bap. 13 July 1820 – Clapham Park 18 March 1888), Georgina Shaw (bap. 25 October 1821 – Clapham Park 10 May 1902), and Alexander Wardrop Shaw (bap. 19 June 1823 – 1 August 1858).⁵ Four months after the christening of his fifth child, John Shaw, surgeon and apothecary, thirty-one years of age, died. His will, drawn up on 8 August 1823, indicates only that he bequeathed all his "Estates and Effects" to his wife.⁶ The entry for him in the registers of death duties contains a space where his death should have been entered but was not, and the "Sworn Under" figure in the entry is £1,500.⁷

A widow with five children, the eldest eight years old, Georgina Shaw set about opening a school to support her family. Her brother, Alexander Wardrop (b. Falkirk 5 December 1794; bap. Edinburgh, St. Cuthberts 14 November 1795; d. Calcutta 6 June 1832), helped her to get pupils from among the children of his colleagues.⁸ Although directory information about her career as a schoolmistress is sporadic and confusing, *Pigot's London Directory 1832-3-4*⁹ lists a preparatory

boarding and day school for boys under her name at Cadogan Terrace, Sloane Street. *Pigot's London Directory 1839* lists under “Academies – Gent.’s” an “E. Shaw at 2 Francis Street, Nemington butts” and under “Academies – Ladies” a “Mrs. & Miss Shaw at 17 Gloucester Place, Kentish Town.” *Pigot's Directory of Kent 1839* lists a “Mr G.H. Shaw on High Street.” This latter school is also listed in the 1841 Census, with eleven males pupils between the ages of nine and fifteen recorded.¹⁰ The *Post Office London Directories* list a Miss Catherine Shaw as having a seminary at 43 Bedford Place, Kensington, from 1846 to 1848. The 1851 Census for Georgina Shaw’s household in Loats Road, Clapham, shows that it was a school for girls, of which she was “school mistress,” while her two unmarried daughters were teachers. Twenty pupils were recorded.¹¹ Her mother, Catherine (Fraser) Wardrop, who lived with her, died at her home.¹² She left five-eighths of her property to her daughter.¹³ The 1871 Census indicates that Georgina Shaw was a “surgeon’s widow,” still living together with her unmarried daughters; there is no reference to a school.¹⁴

Her son, William Wardrop Shaw, was an East India merchant and spent some time in Singapore. There he married Emily Caroline Crane (bap. 20 July 1832 – Holbrook, Ipswich 10 November 1919), spinster, aged twenty, daughter of Thomas Owen, on 8 October 1852.¹⁵ They are listed in the 1861 through 1891 censuses: in 1861 in the Parish of Mother of St. Margaret, Lee, Kent, at which time five children are recorded (Charles, Henry, Emily, Alice, and William); and in 1871, 1881, and 1891 at Blackheath Park, Civil Parish of Charlton, Ecclesiastical Parish of St. Luke’s, and at Blackheath Park, “The Hall,” Civil Parish of Charlton, Ecclesiastical Parish of St. Michael.¹⁶ In 1871, four children were recorded, in 1891 two. William Wardrop Shaw’s personal estate at his death amounted to about £182,000.

As William Wardrop Shaw was not married until 1852, he is not the widowed son referred to in Anna Whistler’s diaries as returning home with his two motherless babes. Nor can it be John Shaw, whose second wife, Elizabeth (1815–1868), whom he married in 1841, was still alive. It was Alexander Wardrop Shaw who was the widower coming home to his mother with his two orphaned babies.¹⁷ It has not been possible to find further information about him.

Catherine Maccallum Shaw and her sister, Georgina Shaw, are listed in the 1881 Census as having an adopted child, six years old, born at Islington, Middlesex, named Alice Chapman.¹⁸ This is curious, because of the child's possible connection with Dr. Edward Chapman (see Chapman in this Appendix), whose address in the Medical Register in 1872 was given as the Islington Workhouse, where presumably he was the medical officer. At her death, Catherine Maccallum Shaw's personal estate was about £1,100; that of her sister, Georgina Shaw, was about £4,000. In her trips to England in the years 1843 to 1848, Anna Whistler (see Images 1–5) recorded seeing Georgina Shaw only in 1848.

NOTES

1. OPRS; certified copy of an Entry of Death for Georgina Shaw, Registration District of Wordsworth, Sub-district of Clapham in the County of Surrey, GRO.
2. Hersey family tree, ancestry.co.uk; *Carlisle Journal*, November 27, 1802; certified copy of an Entry of Death for Catharine Wardrop, Registration District of Wordsworth and Clapham, Sub-district of Clapham in the County of Surrey, GRO; *Edinburgh Weekly Journal*, November 24, 1802.
3. I wish to thank Alan Cameron, archivist, Bank of Scotland, Edinburgh, and Hania Smerecka, archivist, Group Archive and Museum, Lloyds Banking Group, for supplying information about William Wardrop's career at that bank and about his family (details from Salary Sheets, 1/275/1).
4. Register of Marriages for Jan. 1813 – Dec. 1818, Parish of St. Luke, Chelsea, Middlesex, marriage entry no. 231, p. 77, GLRO; Vicar General Marriage Allegations and Bonds 1814, Lambeth Palace Library; entry from Bishop's Transcripts for Great Marlow 1823, D/A/T/129, Buckinghamshire Record Office, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire; *Gentleman's Magazine* 93 (1823): pt. 2, p. 571.
5. Index to the registers of the parish church of Great Marlow, Buckinghamshire; wills of Catherine Maccallum Shaw, Georgina Shaw, and William Wardrop Shaw.
6. Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Prob 11/1677, 1823 Nov. 6, PRO; *Morning Post* (London), October 15, 1858.

7. According to a leaflet on how to interpret death duty registers, the “Sworn Under” figure in the entry is the approximate value of the total estate.
8. India Index, SoG; OPRS. Alexander Wardrop became an assistant surgeon in the Indian Medical Service on 16 October 1816, and a surgeon on 3 July 1828. He served in the third Maratha or Pindari War (1817–1818), and at the Siege of Bharatpur (1825–1826). He married on 6 September 1824 Jassie, daughter of the late R. Burn, Esq., Edinburgh (*Gentleman’s Magazine* 94 [1824]: pt. 2, p. 272). He died on 6 July 1832 and was buried on 7 July 1832 in the South Park Street Burial Ground, Calcutta, Bengal. His memorial inscription read “Sacred to the Memory of Alexander Wardrop Esq. Surgeon Honourable Company Service, died 6th July 1832, aged 37 years” (Certificate of Age (an Oath) 1 April 1817, London, L/MIL/9/369, fol. 147, India Office Library, London; Burial Register for Bengal, Calcutta, N/1/34, fol. 231; *Bengal Obituary*, p. 136; D.G. Crawford, comp., *Roll of the Indian Medical Service, 1615–1930* [London: W. Thacker, 1930]).
9. *Pigot’s London Directory 1832–3–4*.
10. 1841 Census for Clapham.
11. 1851 Census return for Clapham, HO 107/1576, fol. 347/8, p. 1–2.
12. *Gentleman’s Magazine* 33 (1850): p. 448.
13. Wills found in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Prob. 11/2111, p. 27, PRO.
14. 1871 Census for Clapham, St. James, RG 10/698, fol. 134, p. 44, PRO.
15. Marriages solemnized at St. Andrews Church Singapore in the Archdeaconary and Diocese of Calcutta, vol. 82, 1852, India Office Library, London.
16. 1861 Census, RG 9/414, fol. 140, p. 11; 1871 Census, RG 10/775, fol. 28, p. 29; 1881 Census, RG 11/741, fol. 49, p. 28; 1891 Census, RG 12/528, fol. 43, p. 11–12.
17. Hersey family tree, ancestry.co.uk; *Morning Post* (London), October 15, 1858.
18. 1881 Census for Clapham, Ecclesiastical Parish of St. James, RG 11/636, fol. 48, p. 8.

ELIJAH SMITH

Elijah Smith¹ (b. Manchester 11 March 1800; bap. St. James Church, Manchester 6 April 1800; d. Penrith, New South Wales 8 October 1870) was the second son of Reverend Thomas Smith (1778 – 24 July 1834) of Gordon House Academy, Kentish Town, Middlesex. He attended Charterhouse (London) but ran away after two months and was thereafter educated privately by his father. He attended in 1817–1818 three Cambridge colleges in quick succession (St. John's, Trinity, Sidney Sussex). He married on 30 October 1821 in St. Anne's, Soho, Martha Lucas (b. 19 August 1799; bap. St. Anne's Soho 22 August 1799; d. Balham 16 November 1885).

He was ordained deacon on 11 March 1827 (London, for the Colonies), described as “literate,” and ordained a priest on 10 June 1828. In 1827, he was appointed chaplain in the colony of New South Wales and stationed in Windsor, at St. Matthew's Church, where he remained until 1829. In 1829, he returned to England to the curacy of Beckenham, Kent, where he remained until 1832.

He was appointed chaplain to the Russia Company's factory at Archangel from 1 July 1833, succeeding Rev. J. W. Ellaby, and remained for six years. In addition to his chaplaincy, he taught English at the Russian Gymnasium and the German School in Archangel, but there was some dispute about the relationship of the British Community at Archangel with the Russia Company and thus about whether the former had any claims on the chaplain's services. On 14 July 1837, he requested permission to visit England because of the “extreme old age of his father-in-law.” In a letter from him dated 8/20 December 1838, presented at the Russia Company's meeting of 15 January 1839, he resigned his appointment at Archangel, partly on account of his wife's ill health. He wished to leave Archangel in July 1839, but actually left in mid-June 1839.

He returned to England and was appointed chaplain to the King's College Hospital in 1840. He was appointed librarian of Archbishop Tenison's Grammar School at St. Martin-in-the-Fields and headmaster, following the death of his predecessor there in December 1841. No record of his actual appointment is extant, but he was in the post by

March 1842. He was also appointed librarian of Tenison's endowed library in the same building.

On Friday, 27 August 1847, Martha (Lucas) Smith was on board the *Crickel*, a Thames steamboat that was shattered when its boiler exploded, an accident from which she "miraculously escaped unhurt."

Through the efforts of Lord Bloomfield, British ambassador at St. Petersburg (see Image 291), Imperial permission was granted to establish an English school in that city under his patronage, exclusively for the young children, both male and female, of English citizens there. A house belonging to Pets on the Fifth Line on Vasilievskii Island was rented for this purpose. Elijah Smith was appointed the first director of the British School in St. Petersburg (also called the St. Petersburg School), which was under the direction of the Russia Company. He resigned from Archbishop Tenison's Grammar School and left London for Russia on 22 October 1847. At his departure for Russia, there were problems at the Tenison School about missing books and papers, including the Trustees' minute book.

On 27 November 1847 (OS), the inspector of Private Schools and Pensions, Iosif Somov, wrote to Privy Councilor Mikhail Nikolaevich Musin-Pushkin, head of the St. Petersburg Educational District, that the British School had opened on 6/18 November 1847. It was intended only for young children, both male and female, of English parents, and was under the governance of the director, Rev. Elijah Smith, and the supervision of Rev. Dr. Edward Law (see Image 253). The subjects being taught were religion (*zakon bozhi*); reading, writing, and grammar of the English, German, and Russian languages; arithmetic; geography; history; penmanship; with private lessons in Latin, French, music, and needlework. The teachers were Rev. E. Smith, Mr. Breitfuss, Mrs. Smith, and Mrs. Knirsh. At the time the report was written, the children in the school, all of whom were boarders, numbered forty-six, of which fifteen were girls. The annual fee was 131 silver rubles. If two or more children came from the same family, their fee was reduced. A list of the children's names and their fathers' occupations was attached. Four were orphans. Five were the children of Rev. Elijah and Martha (Lucas) Smith, listed as Dora, Henry, Charles, Adam, and Edward. The parents of the remaining

children were mechanics, artisans, engineers, a footman, a courier, and a merchant.

In April 1848, Rev. Dr. Edward Law and James Cattley (see Image 255), secretary of the British School, informed Musin-Pushkin that Rev. Smith, in a letter dated 6 February 1848 (OS), after only some three months as director of the school, had asked the Committee of the British School to release him and his wife from their duties. Their request had been granted with the stipulation that they continue their duties until 26 June 1848 (OS). Their request had actually masked a dismissal for incompetence. The Committee, in the meantime, had invited from England a male and female teacher competent in their profession and with excellent certification. The number of pupils had grown to 80. On 27 September 1848 (OS), Rev. Dr. Law informed Musin-Pushkin that the replacements were a teacher named Mr. Watkins and his wife. The school had moved to the corner of Torgovaia Street and the English Prospekt, where it was located in the house of Essen. According to a report by Inspector Somov on 9 October 1848 (OS), Essen's house was located in the Narva District.

In the meantime, the Smiths had returned to England. Elijah Smith set out again for Russia in late summer of 1849. Rev. Dr. Law, who was in England that summer and had recruited a Miss Handcock for the British School, made very clear to the Rev. David Laing, honorary secretary of the Governesses' Benevolent Institution in London, the circumstances of the Smiths' dismissal in a letter dated 27 August 1849: "I was glad to find that Miss Handcock has started per Camilla, & trust that she may have a prosperous voyage. It was not without reason that you cautioned her against her Rev^d Compagnon de Voyage, the first appointed Master of our School at St P, but whom, as well as his wife (par nobile) our Committee was obliged to dismiss at the end of 3 months! They caused us serious inconvenience & expence. Mr. M to whose care I confided Miss H. will probably have given her some insight into his character."

These unflattering comments notwithstanding, in 1850 Smith stood in for Rev. Camidge, the chaplain at Cronstadt, who had been ill and had returned to England. He performed his duties "zealously and

conscientiously,” and the Cronstadt residents expressed their wish in May 1850 that he be appointed if there should be a vacancy.

In 1851, he came out to New South Wales again and for two years officiated at St. Leonard’s, North Shore, during the absence of the Rev. W.B. Clarke. Martha (Lucas) Smith came out to New South Wales with six children, on the *Euphrates* (Capt. Munro), from Plymouth, arriving on 25 May 1852.

Elijah Smith became rector of St. Stephen the Martyr, Penrith, conjoined with St. Mary’s, South Creek, in 1853, remaining in that office until September 1868.

On 5 July 1854, an advertisement appeared in the Sydney newspaper, *Empire*, announcing that “The Wife of a Clergyman of the Church of England, assisted by her Husband and Eldest Daughter, educates Five Young Ladies, together with her own Family. There are at present Vacancies for Two. Young Ladies under Twelve Years of Age, per annum, 60 Guineas. Further particulars may be obtained on application to the Reverend ELIJAH SMITH, Parsonage, Penrith.”

In March 1857, his parishioners presented him with a gold watch “as a mark of [their] affection.”

In 1854, when Smith visited England, the then vicar of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Rev. Henry MacKenzie, attempted in vain to contact him, and a reference in the Trustees’ minutes for 1861 to “a particular party” involved in the disappearance of various books may also refer to Smith. The person concerned is also spoken of as having “by a long course of subsequent misconduct rendered himself utterly irresponsible.”

Elijah Smith died on 8 October 1870 in Penrith and was buried in Balmain Cemetery. His funeral was “attended by many of the clergy and by his late churchwardens.” He is described in his obituary “as having been a diligent student” since he was young, “being well acquainted with the Hebrew, Greek, Chaldaic, and Syric languages [and] familiar with many of the languages of Northern Europe,” and as having “translated some works from the Swedish, for which he gained great commendation and reward.” An obelisk to him is to be found in the grounds of St. Stephen the Martyr.

Martha (Lucas) Smith returned to England after her husband’s death. She is to be found in the 1881 Census for Balham in South

London. She died in Balham on 16 November 1885, aged eighty-six. Her estate amounted to about £614.

* * *

Martha (Lucas) and Elijah Smith had thirteen children. Five did not survive. Their eight surviving children were Cornelius (twin) (b. London 28 January 1830; bap. St. James Clerkenwell 15 April 1830; d. Fiji 9 April 1876); Stephen (twin) (b. London 28 February 1830; bap. St. James Clerkenwell 15 April 1830; d. Fiji 9 July 1877); Ellen Dora Basil (b. 31 October 1833; bap. Archangel 15 February 1833; d. Hove 30 October 1928); Henry (b. Archangel 9 April 1836; bap. Archangel 29 April 1836; d. Hong Kong 25 June 1882); Charles Basil (b. Archangel 8 April 1837; bap. Archangel 17 May 1837; d. Sydney 11 April 1913); Ada[h] Cornelia Ann (b. Archangel 27 December 1838; bap. Archangel 8 January 1839; d. Balham 27 February 1889); Edward Lucas (b. London 16 August 1841; bap. St. Martin-in-the-Fields 13 September 1841; d. Moree, NSW 3 April 1911); Matilda (b. St. Martins, Middlesex 25 April 1844; bap. St. Martin-in-the-Fields 22 May 1844; d. Fiji 9 October 1866).

The twin sons, Stephen and Cornelius, the eldest surviving children, became blacksmiths and engineers. They went to Fiji with the first steam engine taken there. They had a blacksmith shop in Levuka. Stephen is said to have married a Fijian in Levuka. He died diving off a cliff into the ocean. Cornelius was reported as unmarried.

Ellen Dora, the Smiths' eldest surviving daughter, married in 1835 William Gaskell of Hong Kong.

Charles Basil Smith, Esq., married on 26 January 1859 at Penrith, New South Wales, Jane Duncan, eldest daughter of the late David Malcolm, Esq., of Edinburgh, N.B. His father officiated at the ceremony. Charles Basil was at that time employed by H.M. Customs.

Matilda Smith, their sixth and youngest surviving daughter, became a missionary in Fiji. She died at Ovalau, Fiji Islands, on 9 October 1866 of acute dysentery, at the residence of her brothers, Stephen and Cornelius.

There is very little information about Adah Cornelia Ann Smith. The Adam Smith mentioned in Russian documents as being among the five children of Elijah Smith enrolled at the St. Petersburg School for the

Children of English Persons may actually be Adah. Her married name was Masefield. Her husband predeceased her. She left an estate of about £250.

No information has been discovered about Edward Smith.

NOTES

1. I am particularly indebted to Peter A. Hoare, former university librarian at the University of Nottingham, for sharing his notes on Elijah Smith with me. He consulted the Russia Company's Court Minutes extensively.

This biography of Elijah Smith and his family is a composite from the following sources: Peter A. Hoare to Harvey Pitcher, Nottingham, 3 November 1980; Peter A. Hoare, Nottingham, to E. Harden, 14 March 1988; Harvey Pitcher, *When Miss Emmie Was in Russia* (London: John Murray, 1977), pp. 9, 11–12; *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, vol. 5, p. 548; Amburger Datenbank, ID 921751; TsGIA SPb: Fond 139, op. 1, d. 5109. Ob otkrytii v SPburge shkoly dlia detei Anglichan, 11 Noiabria 1847g. – 19 dek. 1851 g. [About the opening of a school in St. Petersburg for the children of English persons, 11 November 1847 – 19 Dec. 1851], fols. 1r and v, 2r and v, 3r and v, 4r and v, 6r, 7r, 9r, 10r; “Explosion of a Thames Steam-boat,” *Daily News* (London), August 28, 1847; Rev. Dr. Edward Law to Rev. David Laing, [London], 27 August 1849, Archive of the Governesses' Benevolent Institution, London; *Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer*, May 29, 1852, p. 3; *Empire* (Sydney), July 5, 1854, p. 8; “Family Notices,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, February 11, 1859, p. 6; *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 28, 1866, p. 1; *Sydney Mail*, October 15, 1870; *Sydney Morning Herald*, December 2, 1870, p. 7; “Family Notices,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, August 24, 1882, p. 1; England, Middlesex, Westminster, Parish Registers, 1538–1912, GS film no. 0918598, digital folder 005109297, image no. 00018; “Sydney News,” *Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser* (NSW), August 30, 1851, p. 4; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1885; *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, December 7, 1827.

STEVENSON AND SMITH

Walter Stevenson (bap. Edinburgh 8 September 1788 – London 10 May 1860),¹ was the son of George and Elizabeth (Sharp) Stevenson. He joined the Bank of Scotland in Edinburgh in 1803 and by 1807 was third teller at the Head Office with an annual salary of £120. On 29 May 1807, Walter Stevenson married in Edinburgh² Frances Morton (bap. Edinburgh 27 April 1783 – London 16 October 1845).³ Frances (Morton) Stevenson was the daughter of Walter and Rebecca (Finlay) Morton.⁴ The Stevensons had at least five children, all born in Scotland: Rebecca (bap. Edinburgh, St. Cuthberts 16 March 1810), Walter Morton (bap. Edinburgh St. Cuthberts 17 December 1812), George (b. c. 1816), Eliza Isabella Wellwood (Edinburgh c. 1821⁵ – London 11 February 1889),⁶ and Francis (c. 1828 – 1 February 1902).⁷ The Stevensons were evidently friends of the recently widowed (1820) Eliza Isabella (McNeill) Wellwood (the future Mrs. John Winstanley; see Image 40), as their daughter, Eliza Isabella Wellwood Stevenson, was her namesake.

Walter Stevenson continued to work his way up at the Bank of Scotland and on 20 August 1837 was appointed chief teller at an annual salary of £350.⁸ On 22 January 1840, his career there ended. A Minute of the Board of Directors of the Bank of Scotland for that date announces: “Declaration of Walter Stevenson teller in the Bank’s Head Office being read, in which he admits the deficiency in the cash under his charge to a large amount. The Directors dismiss Mr. Stevenson from his situation as teller.”⁹ Probably thirty-seven years of service and extenuating circumstances saved him from being charged with fraud. The 1841 Census shows the Stevenson family already living in London, at 3 Ferdinand Terrace, St. Pancras, except for Rebecca and Walter Morton, who may have chosen to remain in Scotland.¹⁰ Walter Stevenson was described as a person of “Independent Means,” George as a surgeon, and Francis as an apprentice.¹¹ On 24 September 1844, Eliza Isabella Wellwood Stevenson married at St. Pancras Church¹² Thomas Macdougall Smith (Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1 November 1816 – London 24 January 1886).¹³ Both resided in St. Pancras Parish, and they were married by license.¹⁴ The witnesses were Francis Stevenson, the bride’s brother, and Catherine Shaw, daughter of Georgina and John

Shaw¹⁵ (see Shaw and Wardrop in this Appendix and Images 486–487). The Smiths had no children. At the time of the marriage of his daughter, Walter Stevenson was described in the Marriage Register as “gent.”¹⁶ In the *Post Office Directories* for 1844 and 1845, he was listed as “Surgeon.” Frances (Morton) Stevenson, described in her death certificate as the “Wife of Walter Stevenson Gentleman,” died on 16 October 1845.¹⁷ Francis Stevenson, unmarried, an engineer, was recorded as being in his father’s home at 6 Albert Street in the 1851 Census.¹⁸ Walter Stevenson and his daughter, Eliza, were each left £100 by John Winstanley in his will of 1859. Walter Stevenson died on 10 May 1860. His occupation was described in his death certificate as “formerly a Bank Cashier.”¹⁹

Thomas Macdougall Smith, called “Tom Smith” by his close friends, was a distinguished civil engineer.²⁰ In 1835, he had joined the office of Walker and Burges, then considered the “great nursery of civil engineers in England.”²¹ Here he became a first-class draftsman and surveyor, noted for the painstaking detail of his work.²² On leaving the firm, he received an appointment to the engineering staff of the London and Birmingham Railway, becoming in 1844 resident engineer of the Leamington branch line.²³ He later went into mining work.²⁴ He was elected a graduate of the Institution of Civil Engineering on 24 March 1840 and on 17 February 1846 made a member.²⁵ It is not clear *when* Smith and Major Whistler met, but it was Smith, at Major Whistler’s request, who approached William Boxall to paint the portrait of James Whistler in 1848 (see Images 209, 28).²⁶ A copy of his *Memoir of Pont-y-tu-Prydd over the River Tâfe in the County of Glamorgan* (1838) was part of the library of James Whistler.²⁷ In 1851, Thomas and Eliza (Stevenson) Smith were living at 1 Chapel (or Duke) Place, Westminster.²⁸ London directories and censuses list him as living at the same address from 1851 to 1886.²⁹ Thomas M. Smith died on 21 January 1886. His personal estate amounted to some £2000.³⁰ His will was proved on 4 March 1886 by his goddaughter, Alice Jeannette Taylor, of 1 Chapel Place, one of the executrixes.³¹ He was described in his obituary as having a “purity of character and gentleness of manner” that “endeared him to all with whom he was long in contact.”³²

Eliza (Stevenson) Smith was listed as living at 1 Chapel Place for the further years of 1887 to 1889 and died there on 11 February 1889.³³ Her

personal estate amounted to about £102.³⁴ Administration of her personal estate was granted on 22 August 1889 at the Principal Registry to Francis Stevenson of 104 Regents Park Road in the County of Middlesex, Gentleman, the Brother and only next of kin.³⁵

The Smith home was one of the places where Anna Whistler and Deborah (Whistler) Haden would meet after James Whistler and Francis Seymour Haden quarreled.

NOTES

1. OPRS; certified copy of an Entry of Death for Walter Stevenson, Registration District: St. Pancras, Sub-district: Camden Town, County of Middlesex, GRO. His age at death is given as eighty years.
2. IGI for Midlothian, Scotland.
3. OPRS; certified copy of an Entry of Death for Frances Stevenson, Registration District: St. Pancras, Sub-district: Kentish Town, County of Middlesex, GRO. Her age at death is given as sixty years.
4. OPRS.
5. 1851 Census, HO/107/1480, fol. 156. Edinburgh is specified as the birthplace of Eliza Isabella Wellwood Stevenson. The gravestone for her and her husband contains no inscription for her, so that her date of birth cannot be ascertained from it (F.T. Weyell, Brompton Cemetery, London, to E. Harden, 15 September 1993).
6. *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1889.
7. Index of Deaths, St. Catherine's House, GRO. His age at death is given as seventy-four years.
8. In 1835–1836, Walter Stevenson was living at a fashionable address in Edinburgh's Georgian New Town: 41 Great King Street. It is specified that he is employed by the Bank of Scotland (*Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory*).
9. Minute Book 15, fol. 152, Bank of Scotland, Edinburgh.
10. 1841 Census, HO/107/683, bk. 3, fol. 17.
11. 1841 Census.
12. Marriage Register of St. Pancras Church, film X30/38, GLRO.

13. "Obituary of Thomas Macdougall Smith," *Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers* 84 (1886): pp. 446, 449. Although his year of birth is incorrectly given, it is possible to establish from other evidence in the obituary that it was 1816.
14. Marriage Register of St. Pancras Church, film X30/38, GLRO.
15. Marriage Register of St. Pancras Church, film X30/38, GLRO.
16. Marriage Register of St. Pancras Church, film X30/38, GLRO.
17. OPRJ; certified copy of an Entry of Death for Frances Stevenson, Registration District: St. Pancras, Sub-district: Kentish Town, County of Middlesex, GRO. Her age at death is given as sixty years.
18. 1851 Census, HO/107/1480, fol. 156.
19. OPRJ; certified copy of an Entry of Death for Walter Stevenson, Registration District: St. Pancras, Sub-district: Camden Town, County of Middlesex, GRO. His age at death is given as eighty years.
20. "Obituary of Thomas Macdougall Smith," p. 446. All biographical information cited about his career as an engineer is taken from this obituary.
21. "Obituary of Thomas Macdougall Smith," p. 446.
22. "Obituary of Thomas Macdougall Smith," pp. 446–447.
23. "Obituary of Thomas Macdougall Smith," p. 447.
24. "Obituary of Thomas Macdougall Smith," pp. 447–448.
25. "Obituary of Thomas Macdougall Smith," p. 448.
26. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, [St.P.], Dec. 12 [1848], GUL: Whistler Collection, W372. In a letter of 1852, she identified T. Smith to James as "he introduced you to Boxall" (Anna Whistler to George, William and James, [London] 18-19 Nov. 1852, GUL: Whistler Collection, W417).
27. *Memoir of Pont-y-tu-Prydd over the River Tâfe in the County of Glamorgan*, by T.M. Smith, M. Inst. C.E.-F.G.S. 1838, GUL: Whistler Collection, W122. This paper was presented in 1838, but published in 1846 for private circulation by permission of the Council of the Institution of Civil Engineers.
28. 1851 Census, HO/107/1480, fol. 156.

29. *Post Office London Directories*, PRO and GLRO; 1861 Census, RG 9/52, fol. 89, p. 47; 1871 Census, RG 10/126, fol. 54, p. 25; 1881 Census, RG 11/117, fol. 42, p. 6.
30. *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1886.
31. *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1886.
32. “Obituary of Thomas Macdougall Smith,” p. 447.
33. *Post Office London Directories*, PRO and GLRO; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1889.
34. *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1889.
35. *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1889.

STOECKL, HOWARD, SWIFT, IRONSIDE

Baron Eduard Andreevich de Stoeckl (Constantinople 1804 – Paris 26 January 1892; see Image 286) was in the Russian diplomatic corps and serving in Washington when the Whistlers were living in Russia.¹ According to his service record, he was a foreigner of the Roman Catholic faith.² His father, Andreas, was an Austrian diplomat in Constantinople.³ His mother, Marie-Anne Pisani, was the daughter of Nicolas Pisani (1743–1819), first dragoman for Russia in Constantinople.⁴ He graduated from the Richelieu Lyceum in Odessa in 1821 with the right to the civil service rank of county secretary (12th grade).⁵ He was appointed junior secretary to the Russian Mission in Washington on 13 April (OS) 1839, with promotion to collegiate assessor (8th grade) with seniority.⁶ On 18 December (OS) 1844, he was appointed senior secretary.⁷ At the death of the envoy to the Russian Mission in the United States, Baron Alexander Andreevich Bodisco (see Image 283), in 1854, de Stoeckl acted as chargé d'affaires in Washington from 12/24 March 1854 through 1/13 January 1857.⁸ On that day, he was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the United States of America.⁹ In 1864, he was promoted to privy councilor (3rd grade).¹⁰ In his capacity as envoy, he negotiated the sale of Alaska to the United States in 1867.¹¹ On 20 April (OS) 1869, at his request, he was retired.¹² He had also held diplomatic posts in Moldavia and Wallachia, Constantinople, and the Sandwich Islands before and between his American appointments.¹³

After de Stoeckl's retirement, he and his wife lived in Paris.¹⁴ He died there on 26 January 1892 and was buried in the family vault in St. Germain Cemetery in Paris.¹⁵ Eliza (Howard) de Stoeckl died in Paris in 1913.¹⁶ It has not been possible to ascertain whether she is also buried in the de Stoeckl family vault.¹⁷

As a member of the Russian Mission in Washington, DC, in 1842, de Stoeckl would have met Major Whistler during the negotiations to hire the latter as consulting engineer for the building of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway.¹⁸

In Washington, de Stoeckl was acquainted as well with Major Whistler's brother-in-law, Captain William Henry Swift (Taunton, MA 6 November 1800 – New York City 7 April 1879), brother of Major Whistler's first wife.¹⁹ Captain Swift married in Springfield, Massachusetts, on 18 April 1844, as his second wife, Hannah Worthington Howard (12 August 1821 – New York City 6 January 1884), daughter of a Springfield, Massachusetts, banker, John Howard (17 April 1791 – 23 October 1849), and Mary Stoddard (Dwight) Howard (26 January 1792 – 20 July 1836).²⁰ At the home of the Swifts in Washington, where Mrs. Swift's three sisters were often guests, de Stoeckl could have made the acquaintance of Eliza Wetmore Howard (3 May 1826 – 1913), his future wife.²¹ They were married in Springfield, Massachusetts, on 2 January 1856.²²

The de Stoeckls' only child, Alexander, was born in Washington in 1862.²³ He was later educated in Paris by Jesuits at the College in rue des Postes.²⁴ He, too, eventually entered the Russian foreign service²⁵ and “[a]bout 1880 ... was appointed *Gentilhomme de la Chambre*,” to Alexander II.²⁶ In 1887, Alexander de Stoeckl, then attached to the Russian embassy in London, met Agnes Barron (Paris 21 January 1874 – 30 January 1968), daughter of William Joseph (1829–1903) and Frances (Lonergan) Barron (b. 1842).²⁷ Her father had inherited from his grandfather, Eustace Barron, “large estates and many business interests” in Mexico City.²⁸ Agnes had two sisters: Fanita (c. 1862–1895), who married in 1885 Count Charles de Fitzjames (c. 1840–1896); and Constance (1863–1948), who married Thomas Baring (1839–1923) of Baring Brothers.²⁹ Agnes Barron and Alexander de Stoeckl were married on 30 June 1892 at St. Mary's in Cadogan Place, London.³⁰

In the summer of 1897, Alexander accepted the position of equerry to Grand Duke Mikhail Mikhailovich (Peterhof 4 October [OS] 1861 – London 26 April 1929), second son of Grand Duke Mikhail Nikolaevich and grandson of Nicholas I (see Images 420–423). He served as equerry until 1908.³¹ In this same year, he was named by Nicholas II (Tsarskoe Selo 6 May [OS] 1868 – Ekaterinburg 17 July [OS] 1918) chamberlain to Grand Duchess Maria Georgievna (20 February 1876 – Athens 24 December 1940), daughter of King George I of Greece and wife of Grand Duke Georgii Mikhailovich (Belye Kliuchi, Tiflis Province 11

August 1863 – Petrograd 29 January 1919).³² Her husband was also the son of Grand Duke Mikhail Nikolaevich.³³

Alexander de Stoeckl died in London on 23 July 1926 at the age of sixty-four.³⁴ His funeral was held at the Church of Notre-Dame de France in Leicester Place.³⁵ The body was then taken to Paris and placed in the family vault at St. Germain Cemetery.³⁶ In 1950, Agnes (Barron) de Stoeckl published her memoirs of their life, *Not All Vanity*.³⁷ In writing the book, she consulted the journals of Eliza (Howard) de Stoeckl, the present whereabouts of which are unknown to me.³⁸ Agnes (Barron) de Stoeckl is purported to have said “that she often saw Whistler the artist while at her mother-in-law’s house” and, not knowing the Swift connection, “somehow felt that there was a relationship between the Whistlers and the Howards.”³⁹ In addition to *Not All Vanity*, Agnes (Barron) de Stoeckl published five more books between 1952 and 1966, one a further memoir, the other four biographies of French royalty and aristocrats.⁴⁰ She died at Iver, Buckinghamshire, on 30 January 1968.⁴¹

Agnes and Alexander de Stoeckl had one child, Zoia (1893–1974).⁴² At eighteen, she was named a maid of honor to the empress of Russia.⁴³ Zoia de Stoeckl married on 2 July 1919, at St. James Church in Spanish Place, London, Captain Alfonse Poklewski-Koziell (1891–1962).⁴⁴ Their son Roman was born on 22 December 1920.⁴⁵ He died a year and three months later.⁴⁶ Another son, Alexander, was born in 1924 (d. 1966); a third, Vincent, on 30 June 1929 (d. 1 September 2017).⁴⁷ For most of the 1930s, the Poklewski-Koziells lived in Katowice, Poland, where Zoia’s husband “had been appointed director of a large mining company.”⁴⁸ Zoia Poklewski-Koziell and their sons returned to London in August 1939 and Alfonse Poklewski-Koziell in October 1939.⁴⁹ Alfonse Poklewski-Koziell died on 9 November 1962 in Iver, Buckinghamshire.⁵⁰ Zoia (de Stoeckl) Poklewski-Koziell died there on 7 July 1974.⁵¹

Of the remaining Swift sisters, Frances Ames Howard (20 April 1825 – 1915) did not marry and seems to have lived with or near the de Stoeckls. She died in Paris.⁵²

Margaret Howard (12 May 1823 – 22 April 1893) married on 4 or 5 May 1854 in New York, Charles William Swift (July 1828 – 18 January

1906), son of her brother-in-law, Captain William Henry Swift.⁵³ A business address is listed for Charles W. Swift in New York from 1860–1861 through 1864–1865.⁵⁴ Charles W. Swift predeceased his wife; Margaret (Howard) Swift died in London.⁵⁵ They had two daughters, both born in the United States: Mary (b. c. 1860) and Louisa Josephine (b. c. 1864).⁵⁶ Mary Swift married Alfred St. Johnston (b. 1858), an English journalist, and lived in London.⁵⁷ It was at her home that her mother died. Alfred St. Johnston died on 19 February 1891.⁵⁸ Mary (Swift) St. Johnston died on 11 December 1942.⁵⁹ Louisa J. Swift died on 1 July 1944 in Surrey.⁶⁰

* * *

Captain William Henry Swift also had a daughter, Mary E. (1825–1911) by his first wife, Mary (Stewart) Swift (24 November 1801 – 18 November 1837), daughter of James and Elizabeth Stewart, whom he married in New London, Connecticut, on 2 February 1825. James Stewart was appointed British consul at New London, Connecticut, at the beginning of 1811. After the death of her mother,⁶¹ Mary E. Swift was essentially brought up in the home of George and Mary Bliss in Springfield, Massachusetts.⁶² She is mentioned in Anna Whistler's diaries as the bride of George Ironside (1817–1897), son of a British merchant, whom she married on 24 March 1846.⁶³

* * *

George Bromley Ironside was the son of Charles (d. 28 Nov. 1864) and Mary Ironside. He was one of five children, the others being Charlotte Augusta, Caroline Letitia (d. Italy 27 June 1879), Charles Calvert (c. 1816—2 September 1869), and Edmund William (c. 1819 – 30 October 1876).⁶⁴ He is listed in New York city directories from 1840 well into the 1870s as part of the firm of Siffken and Ironside, merchants.⁶⁵ He is listed in London directories for 1861 and 1862 as a commission merchant.⁶⁶ He was still or again living in London in 1865.⁶⁷ In 1879, his residence was New London, Connecticut.⁶⁸ Mary (Swift) and George Ironside are buried in Cedar Grove Cemetery in New London, Connecticut, along with her mother.⁶⁹

* * *

Anna Whistler, who made no judgmental comments about Mr. Stoeckl in her diaries in 1844, reacted with “melancholy” when she heard in December 1855 of the forthcoming marriage of Eliza Howard and the Count de Stoeckl. She considered the “elegant ... pleasing [and] intellectual” Eliza’s consent “unaccountable.” But Eliza was also “always worldly” – a stigma in Anna Whistler’s eyes. It was this worldliness, she felt, that caused Eliza to be “dazzled by the prospect of shining in Court circles as a young Countess” and to allow herself “to be doomed to such a companion for life!”⁷⁰

NOTES

1. AVPRI: Fond DIS i KhD, op. 464, d. 3127 Stekl’; Marie de Testa and Antoine Gautier, “Le diplomate russe Eduard de Stoeckl (ca 1804–1892) et la cession de l’Alaska aux États-Unis” [“The Russian Diplomat Eduard de Stoeckl (c. 1804–1892) and the Ceding of Alaska to the United States”], in *Drogomans et diplomates européens auprès de la Porte ottomane* [*Dragomans and European Diplomats in the Service of the Ottoman Empire*] (Istanbul: ISIS, 2003), pp. 463–469; H.J. Stoeckel, “Springfield Yankee Baroness Popular with Czar, and Also Esteemed by Pres. Lincoln,” *Springfield Republican*, February 11, 1951, p. 17A; *Springfield Daily Union*, January 28, 1892. Herbert J. Stoeckel (1896–1967), newspaperman, author, and historian, would seem to be related to Baron Edouard de Stoeckl, but I have not been able to determine how. His articles in the *Springfield Republican* make clear that he personally interviewed Baroness Agnes (Barron) de Stoeckl in preparing them. His obituary may be found in the *Hartford Times*, August 1, 1967.
2. AVPRI: Fond DIS i KhD, op. 464, d. 3127 Stekl’.
3. Stoeckel, “Springfield Yankee Baroness Popular with Czar”; Testa and Gautier, “Eduard de Stoeckl,” p. 463.
4. Baroness de Stoeckl, *Not All Vanity*, ed. George Kinnaird (London: John Murray, [1951]), p. 30; Testa and Gautier, “Eduard de Stoeckl,” p. 463.
5. AVPRI: Fond DIS i KhD, op. 464, d. 3127 Stekl’ (see Note 1 above for document title).
6. AVPRI: Fond DIS i KhD, op. 464, d. 3127 Stekl’.

7. AVPRI: Fond DIS i KhD, op. 464, d. 3127 Stekl'.
8. AVPRI: Fond DIS i KhD, op. 464, d. 3127 Stekl'.
9. AVPRI: Fond DIS i KhD, op. 464, d. 3127 Stekl'.
10. AVPRI: Fond DIS i KhD, op. 464, d. 3127 Stekl'.
11. H.J. Stoeckel, "Springfield Yankee Baroness Lives Again in Memoirs as Related by Daughter-in-Law," *Springfield Republican*, January 28, 1951, p. 8L; Stoeckel, *Not All Vanity*, p. 39.
12. AVPRI: Fond DIS i KhD, op. 464, d. 3127, Stekl' (see Note 1 above for document title); Stoeckel, *Not All Vanity*, p. 40.
13. AVPRI: Fond DIS i KhD, op. 464, d. 3127, Stekl'.
14. Stoeckel, *Not All Vanity*, p. 40.
15. Stoeckel, "Springfield Yankee Baroness Popular with Czar."
16. Stoeckel, "Springfield Yankee Baroness Popular with Czar"; Testa and Gautier, "Eduard de Stoeckel," pp. 488–469.
17. In October 2003, I wrote to Vincent Poklewski-Koziell, a son of Zoia and Alphonse Poklewski-Koziell. The questions I raised concerned whether Eliza (Howard) de Stoeckl's journals have been preserved, where she is buried, and complete birth and death dates (month, day, year) for the family members discussed in this biography. Mr. Poklewski-Koziell responded that his grandmother's papers were in his possession and that he would be happy to look among them for her journals (V. Poklewski-Koziell, London, to E. Harden, 28 January 2004); however, he did not contact me again. He died in 2017.
18. Harden, "Whistler," p. 150.
19. Stoeckel, *Not All Vanity*, p. 30; *The Evening Post* (New York), April 7 and April 8, 1879.
20. *Springfield Republican*, April 20, 1844, p. 3; Stoeckel, "Springfield Yankee Baroness Lives Again"; Joel Andrew Delano, comp., *The Genealogy History and Alliances of the American House of Delano 1621 to 1899* (New York: s.n., 1899), p. 492; *The Evening Post*, January 7, 1884; Wm. H. Swift to General J.G. Swift, Washington, 23 April 1844, NYPL: Swift Papers.
21. *Not All Vanity*, p. 30. From about 1864, William Henry and Hannah (Worthington) Swift lived in New York at 11 West 16th Street, where they both died (New York City directories; *The Evening Post*, April 7 and 8, 1879, and January 7, 1884).
22. *Springfield Republican*, January 5, 1856.

23. IGI.
24. Stoeckl, *Not All Vanity*, p. 38.
25. Stoeckl, *Not All Vanity*, p. 40.
26. Baroness de Stoeckl, *My Dear Marquis* (London: John Murray, 1952), p. 49.
27. Stoeckl, *Not All Vanity*, pp. 9, 12, 40; *The Times* (London), January 1874; *The Times* (London), January 31, 1968; Harry Barron, *Genealogy of the Family of Barron Alias Fitzgerald, Barons of Burnchurch in the Co. of Kilkenny* (printed by the author, [1993?]), p. 2; Stoeckl, *My Dear Marquis*, pp. 42–43; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1969.
28. Stoeckl, *Not All Vanity*, p. 12.
29. Stoeckl, pp. 21, 27, 45, 50, 52.
30. Stoeckl, p. 41; Stoeckl, *My Dear Marquis*, p. 86.
31. Stoeckl, *Not All Vanity*, pp. 53, 59; Kuz'min, *Rossiiskaia imperatorskaia familiia*, p. 226.
32. Stoeckl, *Not All Vanity*, pp. 74, 140–142; Kuz'min, *Rossiiskaia imperatorskaia familiia*, pp. 133, 205, 250.
33. Stoeckl, *Not All Vanity*, p. 79; Kuz'min, *Rossiiskaia imperatorskaia familiia*, p. 133.
34. Stoeckl, *Not All Vanity*, p. 186; *The Times* (London), July 26, 1926, p. 15; *Gloucestershire Echo*, July 24, 1926.
35. *The Times* (London), July 26, 1926, p. 15; *The Times* (London), July 28, 1926, p. 15.
36. *The Times* (London), July 28, 1926, p. 15.
37. Stoeckel, “Springfield Yankee Baroness Lives Again”; H.J. Stoeckel, *Springfield Republican*, January 31, 1951; H.J. Stoeckel, “Old Europe Brought Back in New Book of Memories,” *Springfield Republican*, February 22, 1953.
38. Stoeckl, *Not All Vanity*, p. 28.
39. Stoeckel, “Springfield Yankee Baroness Lives Again.”
40. *The Times* (London), January 31, 1968.
41. *The Times* (London), January 31, 1968, and February 5, 1968.
42. Stoeckl, *Not All Vanity*, p. 46.
43. Stoeckl, p. 121.
44. Stoeckl, pp. 176–177, 180; *The Times* (London), July 3, 1919.

45. Stoeckl, *Not All Vanity*, p. 185.
46. Stoeckl, *p.* 185.
47. Stoeckl, *pp.* 185, 193; *The Scotsman* (Edinburgh), October 3, 2017; *The Times* (London), September 14, 2017.
48. Stoeckl, *My Dear Marquis*, p. 211.
49. Stoeckl, *Not All Vanity*, *pp.* 225, 237.
50. *The Times* (London), November 15, 1962; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1963, for Alfonse Poklewski-Koziell.
51. *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1977, for Zoia Poklewski-Koziell.
52. Thomas D. Howard, Sophia W. Howard, and Sally B. Hayward, *Charles Howard Family Domestic History*, ed. Elizabeth A. Andrews (Cambridge, MA: s.n., 1956), p. 252 and genealogical table (hereafter, *Howard Family Domestic History*); M. Humberston, Springfield, MA, to E. Harden, 22 January 2002.
53. Undated clipping [after 22 April 1893] from *Springfield Republican* about death of Margaret (Howard) Swift; M. Humberston, Springfield, MA, to E. Harden, 22 January 2002; *New York Evening Post*, September 28, 1854; *New York Herald*, September 28, 1854; *The Times* (London), April 1893; Mariam Touba, N-YHS, to E. Harden, New York, 1 March 2002. The New York City Municipal Archives were unable to find a marriage certificate for Margaret Howard and Charles Swift in their records.
54. Mariam Touba, N-YHS, to E. Harden, 1 March 2002.
55. Undated clipping from *Springfield Republican* from an issue after 22 April 1893, announcing the death of Margaret (Howard) Swift. It mentions that her husband “has been dead for many years.”
56. *Howard Family Domestic History*, genealogical table; London directories for 1892; 1891 Census for London (Kensington); *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1945, for Louisa J. Swift.
57. 1891 Census for London (Kensington); *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1891, for Alfred St. Johnston; *Birmingham Daily Post*, February 20, 1891.
58. *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1891, for Alfred St. Johnston; *Birmingham Daily Post*, February 20, 1891.
59. *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1942, for Mary (Swift) St. Johnston.
60. *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1945, for Louisa J. Swift.

61. Wm. H. Swift to General J.G. Swift, New London, 27 January 1835, NYPL: Swift Papers; George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, New York 27 June 1837; George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, Springfield, 4 September 1837; *Connecticut Gazette*, February 2, 1825; *Barbour Vital Records for New London*, vol. 3, p. 237, and vol. 4, p. 21; “Mary Stewart Swift,” Memorial ID 129828842, findagrave.com; Hale Collection of Connecticut Cemetery Inscriptions, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, CT.
62. Barnes, *Egotistigraphy*, pp. 51–52.
63. *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, DC), March 26, 1846, p. 3, col. 5; entry of May 9 [1846], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II; IGI for Surrey, England; Swift, William Henry (1800–1879), W.H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, Washington, 24 October 1845 and 26 March 1846, USMAL: W.H. Swift Papers.
64. James Sanderson, comp., *An Ironside Family History: A One-Name Study* (1990), SoG; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1865, 1869, 1876, and 1879; 1871 Census for St. Briavels, Gloucestershire.
65. “2 Broadway Siffken & Ironside, merchants: F.E. Siffken and G.B. Ironside,” Street Directory for 1851, p. 66, N-YHS; New York City street directories from 1839–1840 through 1879–1880.
66. M. Welch, London, to E. Harden, 11 March 2002.
67. *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1865, for his father, Charles Ironside, Esq.
68. *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1879, for his sister, Caroline Letitia Ironside.
69. “Mary Stewart Swift,” Memorial ID 129828842, findagrave.com.
70. Anna Whistler to Deborah Haden, Scarsdale 10 December 1855, GUL: Whistler Collection, W465. She was contrasting their marriage to the marriage she had just witnessed of “a youthful couple,” and one of the things that troubled her in the Howard–de Stoeckl marriage was the age difference. As other materials indicate, Eliza became a baroness, not a countess.

STROGANOV, VASIL'CHIKOV, KUSHELEV

Count Aleksandr Sergeevich Stroganov (7 December 1818 – 26 July 1864; see Image 299) was one of the four sons of Senator General-of-Cavalry Adjutant-General Count Sergei Grigorievich Stroganov (1794–1882) and Countess Natalia Pavlovna (Stroganova) Stroganova (8 March 1796 – 7 October 1872 OS). He is said to have been educated first in Dresden at the Kreuzschule.¹ He graduated from Moscow University in 1839 as a graduate student in jurisprudence. He was deeply interested in numismatics and collected medieval and modern European coins, on which he spent millions and of which he had a magnificent collection of more than 60,000 at his death.

Nicholas I (see Images 420–423), seeing Aleksandr Sergeevich on 8 March 1845 at the funeral of Countess Sofia Vladimirovna (Golitsyna) Stroganova (see Image 300), grandmother of the latter, appointed him an aide-de-camp. At the time of this appointment, he was an ensign in the Preobrazhenskii Guards Regiment and adjutant to the commander of the Field Army. Sometime after 5 September 1846, he married Countess Tat'iana Dmitrievna Vasil'chikova (19 March 1823 – 16 October 1880 OS; see Image 301), the younger sister of Ekaterina Dmitrievna (Vasil'chikova) Kusheleva (6/18 December 1811 – 1874; see Image 303), wife of Count Grigorii Grigorievich Kushelev (1802 – 17/29 February 1855; see Image 302), to whose estate the Gellibrands took Anna Whistler and Willie in September 1846 to experience a fête given by Count Kushelev for his peasants.² The two sisters were the daughters of General-of-Cavalry Dmitri Vasilievich Vasil'chikov (1788 – 5 December 1859; see Image 304) and Countess Adelaida Petrovna (Apraksina) Vasil'chikova (1751 – 8 March 1851).³ Of their four daughters, Ekaterina Dmitrievna was the third daughter and Tat'iana Dmitrievna the youngest daughter. The surviving children of Aleksandr Sergeevich and Tat'iana Dmitrievna were Maria (1850–1914), Sergei (1852–1923), Elena (1855–1876), and Olga (1857–1944).

Aleksandr Sergeevich took part in the campaigns of 1849 (Hungary) and 1854 (the Crimea). He next commanded the First Rifle Guards Battalion. On 9 June 1857, he retired because of ill health, at the rank of colonel and “with uniform,” i.e., the right to continue wearing his

uniform. On recovering, he was invited to return to service and was appointed both a colonel and an aide-de-camp to Emperor Alexander II, but continuing poor health prevented him from engaging in military service. In January 1864, he was promoted to actual state councilor (4th grade) and made master of the hunt to the emperor. He traveled to Wiesbaden for the cure and after successfully completing it journeyed back to Russia. On 25 July 1864, he returned home from the hunt to his estate in the village of Volyshovo in Pskov Province in seeming good health, but died suddenly during the night of 26 July, at the age of forty-five. He was a founder and member of the Imperial Archaeological Society, which was started in 1846, and from 1856 an acting member of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities.⁴

* * *

Sofia Vladimirovna (Golitsyna) Stroganova⁵ (11 November 1775 – 3 March 1845 OS; see Image 300) was the maternal grandmother of young Aleksandr Sergeevich Stroganov. She was the daughter of Prince Vladimir Borisovich Golitsyn (1731–1798) and Princess Natalia Petrovna Golitsyna (born Countess Chernysheva) (1741–1837). Like her siblings, she received her education primarily abroad as they accompanied their mother on the latter's trips around Europe. This peripatetic life and education affected their fluency in Russian, a not uncommon phenomenon among the upper circles of Russian society. Sofia Vladimirovna, upon her return home, set about correcting this flaw, which included making herself translate into Russian Dante's *Inferno*.

Memoirists record that in her youth she amazed all who knew her not only by her striking physical beauty but by her unusual qualities of mind and heart and her moral rectitude. In the last years of her life, now a bowed little old woman, she retained her forceful character, mental clarity, religious beliefs, and true understanding of what the welfare of one's native land means. She was considered the ideal of the true Russian woman. These qualities inspired the poet Gavrila Derzhavin (1743–1816) to dedicate to her a poem containing the lines: "Oh Sofia, how pleasant you are in your innocent beauty, like limpid water sparkling in the roseate dawn."

In 1793, she married Count Pavel Aleksandrovich Stroganov (1774–1817). After the birth of their only son, Aleksandr Pavlovich (1794–1814), the couple settled in St. Petersburg, where through her husband's friendship with Grand Duke Aleksandr Pavlovich (the future Alexander I; see Image 418), they moved in Court circles. She became very close to Grand Duke Aleksandr Pavlovich's wife, Grand Duchess Elizaveta Alekseevna (later Empress Maria Fyodorovna; see Images 415–416).

In the 1810s, tragedy struck her family. Her husband took their nineteen-year-old son into the active army as an ensign. On 23 February 1814, at the Battle of Craonne, the young man was decapitated by a bomb. In 1817, her husband died of tuberculosis. As lifetime heir to the Stroganov estate, she spent the rest of her life either at Marino, an estate in Novgorod Province, or at the Stroganov Palace in St. Petersburg, where she entertained St. Petersburg, Court, literary, and artistic society.

After the death of her husband, for some twenty-seven years she almost exclusively devoted herself to bringing order to the rundown state of the family's properties, especially those in the Perm area. She strove particularly to better the lives of her serfs. Soon after her husband's death, she conveyed to the serf, Volegov, whom she had put in charge of her lands, that he should first and foremost concern himself with the welfare of her serfs and only secondarily with the question of income from the estates. Persons participating in the administration of her estates were local inhabitants, former serfs, and their descendants. Those who needed specialized knowledge were educated first in schools set up by her in St. Petersburg, Moscow, and the village of Marino in Novgorod Province. They were even sent at her expense to institutions of higher learning in Western Europe. Many of them, even if they did not acquire an education beyond the schools set up by her, later left valuable academic works in the fields of local archaeology, history, ethnography, agriculture, and forestry. The abovementioned Volegov, for example, became a famous historian of the Stroganov family.

In addition to their son, Sofia Vladimirovna and Pavel Aleksandrovich had four daughters: Natalia (7 March 1796 – 7 October 1872), Aglaida (31 December 1799 – 12 February 1882), Adelaida (16 November 1802 – 11 June 1863), and Olga (1 June 1808 – 13 April 1837). Natalia, who married Count Sergei Grigorievich Stroganov

(1794–1882), of another branch of the family, became the mother of Count Aleksandr Sergeevich Stroganov (1818–1864; see Image 299), whom Anna Whistler and her children met on the ship to St. Petersburg.

Upon the death of Sofia Vladimirovna, the *St. Petersburg News* carried the following announcement: “She will never be forgotten! She loved everything that was elegant, was a patron of literature and the fine arts, and was truly the mother of the poor. Sister and wife of two illustrious men of Russia, she upheld with dignity their lofty name and the glory that went with it.” Her funeral service was held in the Kazan Cathedral (see Image 126). She was buried in the Lazarus Church of the Alexander Nevsky Monastery. All of her estates, together with the title of Count, passed at her death to Sergei Grigorievich Stroganov, the husband of her eldest daughter, Natalia Pavlovna.

* * * * *

Prince Illarion Vasilievich Vasil'chikov⁶ (21 February 1776 – 21 February 1847; see Image 310) was the son of Brigadier Vasilii Alekseevich Vasil'chikov and Ekaterina Illarionovna (Ovtsyna) Vasil'chikova (d. 1832). Registered in early childhood in the Izmailov regiment, he began his service as a non-commissioned officer in the Horse Guard in 1792 and on 1 January 1793 received the rank of cornet. His rise began in the reign of Paul I, who in 1799 appointed him a “gentleman of the bedchamber” (*kamenger*). His service at the Court and in the Guard brought him close to the heir to the throne, Grand Duke Aleksandr Pavlovich. When the latter became Alexander I (see Image 418), Vasil'chikov was made a major general and adjutant-general. Appointed in 1803 commander-in-chief of the Akhtyr Hussar Regiment, he participated with Alexander I in the campaign of 1807. The campaigns of 1812–1814 gave him the opportunity to demonstrate even further his military capability. For his participation at the battle of Borodino, where he was wounded, he was promoted to lieutenant general. At Kaiserswald, where he was wounded a second time, he beat the French, while at Katzbach, commanding the entire cavalry of the Silesian Army, he was again victorious. After Leipzig, he pursued the enemy to the Rhine. For his actions at Lapotière he was awarded the Order of St. George (2nd class). Upon the conclusion of the Paris Peace, he was sent to Moscow

to deliver the news. In France, he formed the Life Guard Horse Grenadier Regiment and was appointed its commander-in-chief. In 1814, he was assigned the Guards Light Cavalry Division and in 1817 the Guard Corps. His position as corps commander-in-chief was difficult, because he had to battle both the machinations of the enemy and the over-anxiety and mistrust of Alexander I. The well-known Semenov Revolt (1820) (see events leading up to the Decembrist Rebellion) took place while he was in the army, for which he was subjected to much criticism. In 1821, he asked to be released from his duties and was appointed a member of the State Senate. He played a prominent role in the suppression of the Decembrist Rebellion, convincing Nicholas I of the necessity of taking decisive measures. When his proposal that the rebels must be met by gunfire was greeted by Nicholas with the reply that "Vasil'chikov was proposing he begin his reign by spilling the blood of his loyal citizens," Vasil'chikov replied: "Yes, to save your Empire." On Coronation Day, Vasil'chikov received the Order of St. Andrew the First-Called. In 1831, he was appointed to command the troops in St. Petersburg and its environs, and on 6 December of that year he received the title of count. In 1833, he was appointed inspector general of Cavalry and commander-in-chief of the Akhtyr Hussar Regiment. In 1838, he took on the role of president of the State Council and the Committee of Ministers. On 1 January 1839, he was awarded the title of prince. He died on 21 February 1847 after severe suffering. His funeral was held in the Preobrazhenskii Cathedral, and he was buried at his estate in Novgorod Province.

His first wife was Vera Petrovna (Protasova) Vasil'chikova (1780 – 2 October 1814), whom he married in 1801. His second wife was Tat'iana Vasilievna (Pashkova) (1793–1875). He was the uncle of Tat'iana Dmitrievna Vasil'chikova (see Image 301), fiancée of Count Aleksandr Sergeevich Stroganov, Anna Whistler's "young Count Strauganauf," and of Ekaterina Dmitrievna (Vasil'chikova) Kusheleva (see Image 303).

The comments of Vasil'chikov's contemporaries show him to have been the most attractive of all those who served Nicholas I. He was considered reasonable, truth-loving, unselfish, independent in his thinking, and a true knight of honor, and felt to have deservedly earned

the trust of Alexander I and Nicholas I. He was one of the few who did not kowtow to the all-powerful Aleksei Andreevich Arakcheev (1769–1834; see Image 244), famous for the establishment of military colonies of Draconian discipline. When Nicholas I, while still Grand Duke, insulted the Guards officer, Norov, on parade, Vasil'chikov convinced him to apologize. Nicholas I, recalling his youthful hot temper, thanked Vasil'chikov for having insisted on the apology. Modest Korf (1800–1876) said Vasil'chikov was the only person who at all times and in all matters had free access to and free speech with the emperor. He was a person whom Nicholas I not only loved but esteemed as he did no one else. He was the one in whom his Monarch never suspected hidden motive, whom he trusted completely and unreservedly as a straightforward and loyal advisor, almost a mentor, and someone he considered and called a friend. On Vasil'chikov's death, Nicholas I said: "Monarchs should thank heaven for such people."

Anna Whistler and Willie witnessed the funeral procession on Tuesday, 25 February / 9 March 1847.

* * *

Dmitrii Vasilievich Vasil'chikov (1778–1859; see Image 304)⁷ was also the son of Brigadier Vasilii Alekseevich Vasil'chikov and Ekaterina Illarionovna (Ovtsyna) Vasil'chikova. He was the younger brother of Illarion Vasilievich Vasil'chikov (1776–1847). At the age of seven, he was registered as a sergeant in the Preobrazhenskii Regiment. He entered active duty in 1794 in the Horse Guard and in 1796 was promoted to cornet. Like his brother, he moved ahead in his career during the reign of Paul I. In 1799, he was made an actual gentleman of the bedchamber (*kamenger*). At a time when most of his contemporaries remembered the final years of the reign of Paul I (see Image 417) with horror, Dmitrii Vasilievich retained the most pleasant memories of it as an unprecedented time of fun. In old age, he used to tell the story of a daring action on his part that could have brought the monarch's anger down upon him. Paul I had forbidden dancing the waltz. A lady whom Dmitrii Vasilievich was interested in told him at a ball that she wanted to waltz. He, in the name of Paul I, ordered the orchestra to play a waltz and

danced with her. Paul I found that the couple danced the waltz beautifully, and from then on the ban was lifted.

In 1800, he was appointed a counselor to the State Expedition for Inspecting Accounts. In 1801 (now the reign of Alexander I), he was made captain in the Horse Guards Regiment, in 1802 promoted to colonel, and in 1804 again appointed actual gentleman of the bedchamber (*kamerger*). In 1808, he was transferred to the Akhtyr Hussar Regiment and participated in the campaign in Galicia in 1808 and in the Fatherland War in 1809, for which he received the Order of St. Vladimir (3rd class), and the Order of St. George (4th class), and the rank of major-general. In 1812 and in subsequent years, he displayed outstanding bravery, for which he received further orders: the Order of St. Anne (1st class) (Katzbach), the Order of St. George (3rd class) (Leipzig), the Order of St. Vladimir (2nd class) (Lapotiére), and a gold weapon. In 1814, he was put in command of a brigade in the Second Hussar Division, with which he entered Paris. In 1816, he was put in command of the First Uhlan Division. Retired in 1822 because of illness, he again entered service in 1830, but this time attached to the Imperial Court as vice-president of the Imperial Commisary Office, and held the title of head of the Imperial Household Economy and Imperial Court Staff. In 1832, he was appointed master of the hunt in charge of organizing the Imperial Hunt. He was also put in charge of the household economy and staff of the court of Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich (see Image 439). As of 1838, he was in charge of the Imperial Hunt and as of 1846 became a member of the State Council. He devoted a part of his time to social philanthropic institutions, first as member and from 1853 as president of the Council of Institutions of Social Welfare and trustee of several hospitals. He not only achieved the highest ranks, but also was the recipient of the highest orders of Russia, including the Order of St. Andrew the First-Called with diamonds. He died in 1859 and was buried at his estate in Novgorod Province.

Dmitrii Vasilievich was handsome and in character mild, merry, and lively. Because of his kindness, he was much loved by his subordinates. Ardent and brave, he was one of the outstanding cavalrists of his time. For the intrepid attack of his brigade against the French flank, Field Marshall Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher (1742–1819) kissed him with

gusto on the battlefield in the presence of all the troops. A negative assessment of him does exist: the Decembrist, I.D. Iakushkin (1793–1857), called him a bad person.

From his marriage to Adelaida Petrovna Apraksina, he had four daughters: Elizaveta (1805–1890); Sofia (1809–1887); Ekaterina (6/18 December 1811 – 1874), the wife of Count Grigorii Grigorievich Kushelev (see his biography in this essay); and Tat'iana (1823–1880), the fiancée of Count Alexandr Sergeevich Stroganov (1818–1864), the young man Anna Whistler and her family met on board their ship bound for St. Petersburg (see his biography in this essay).

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Count Grigorii Grigorievich Kushelev⁸ (9/12 March 1802 – 17/29 February 1855; see Image 302) was the younger of the two sons of Count Grigorii Grigorievich Kushelev (1754–1833) and Countess Liubov' Ilinichna (Bezborodko) Kusheleva (1783–1809). He began his service in 1819 in the Guards Horse Artillery. In 1827, he participated in the Russo–Persian War of 1826–1828 and was present at the taking of Echmiadzin. In 1828, he participated in the Russo–Turkish War of 1828–1829 and was promoted to captain for excellence at the Battle for Shumla. Sent from the environs of Silistria to St. Petersburg with dispatches, he was made aide-de-camp to Nicholas I. In 1831, he was promoted to colonel. As of 1838, he was vice-director of the Artillery Department of the Ministry of War. In 1839, he was promoted to major-general and appointed to the emperor's suite. As of 1840, he became director of the Artillery Department of the Ministry of War. Starting in 1846, he was a member of the War Council.

He was married to Ekaterina Dmitrievna Vasil'chikova (6/18 December 1811 – 1874; see Image 303), third daughter of General-of-Calvary Dmitrii Vasilievich Vasil'chikov (1788–1859) and Countess Adelaida Petrovna (Apraksina) Vasil'chikova (1785–1851). The Kushelevs were childless, but had an adopted daughter, Maria Grigorievna Bogdanova (c. 1840 – Florence, Italy 23 July 1901), called “Mania” for short, who, when Anna Whistler attended their fête for their peasants in September 1846, was about five years and seven months old.

At the fête, Anna Whistler learned brief details of the history of the fortunate child.

The official history of the child is as follows. According to a certificate issued on 17 January 1845 by the St. Petersburg Temporary Board of Decorum, Major General Count Grigorii Grigorievich Kushelev expressed the wish to take it upon himself to bring up a baby of the female sex that had been abandoned to his care on 6 January 1841 by a person or persons unknown and christened Maria, having as his intention that when this foundling should reach maturity she could on the basis of articles 932 and 1082 of Vol. 9 concerning estates, be registered according to his choice for some kind of life in the taxpaying class. In his last will and testament, dated 6 April (OS) 1853, Count Kushelev, stating that he was childless, asked his nephews, who were his heirs, to honor his wish that Maria receive forty thousand silver rubles, which were to be given to his wife for safekeeping. His heirs agreed to carry out his wishes. In the event that his wife should die at the same time as he, he willed to Maria, “our ward, and my godchild,” property that he was otherwise leaving to his wife: two houses with all effects and the farm Ligovo. Ligovo could be sold and the money deposited in the bank for safekeeping until Maria’s marriage. She was also to receive all the capital and monies that were in the form of securities, except for a portion that was to go to the Kushelev’s steward, Zakhar Zakharovich Maklotlin. On 14 November 1856 (OS), the Ministry of Justice sent a proposal to the governing Senate to the effect that Emperor Aleksandr Nikolaevich had granted the petition of Count Kushelev’s widow that her ward, Maria Grigorievna Bogdanova, be permitted to take the name of Kushelev, with the right to possess those inhabited estates which might be willed to her by the Countess Kusheleva. Maria Bogdanova was permitted to take the name Kushelev with full noble privileges but without noble title. This royal permission granted her was not, however, to serve as a precedent.

Maria Grigorievna Kusheleva was not beautiful, but was considered to possess great charm and was famous for her sharp tongue. She married first on 1/13 August 1858 in St. Petersburg Prince Boris Nikolaevich Golitsyn (1833–1888). She divorced him in 1870 and married the Italian, Marquis Incontri, and lived in Florence, where she

died. From her first marriage she had a son, Boris Borisovich Golitsyn (1862–1916), who became a famous physicist and mathematician and a specialist in seismology.⁹

Kushelev was one of numerous aristocrats who engaged in experimental agriculture. His estate, Ligovo, was located on the Peterhof Road at the thirteenth verst, at the turnoff for Krasnoe Selo. He had acquired it in 1840 and enlarged it in 1844 through his purchase of the bordering dachas of the English merchant N.A. Blando and of Privy Councilor M.P. Pozin. In 1845, the estate amounted to 2700 desiatinas of land (1 d. = 2.7 acres), consisting of farmland, meadows, woods, marshes, buildings, gardens, conservatories, and a lake. The main focus in planting on his model farm was oats, hay, and potatoes. The dairy was new and in 1845 had not yet been completed. Surplus milk was sold in the city. The buildings were constructed of bricks made at Ligovo's own factory, which was famous in the surrounding countryside. The roofs covering the majority of the farm buildings were made of a paper that was cheaper and lighter than iron and very strong. The raising of horses was considered to be at such a level of perfection that horse connoisseurs came there to observe the procedures used. A Scotsman, Richard Watson McLothlin (c. 1794 – 14/26 May 1861), was the expert in charge of horsebreeding, as well as overseer of the entire estate. The Ligovo peasants numbered more than three hundred. Everyone connected with the estate was very well treated, as the wills of both Grigorii Grigorievich and his wife show.

The Kushelevs also had a mansion on the corner of Palace Square (or Quay) in St. Petersburg. Two governesses, Fanny Swan and Mrs. Willis, widow, were residing there in 1845. In 1846, Andrei Ivanovich Shtakensneider (1802–1865), who was considered at the time one of the best architects and was the personal favorite of Nicholas I, designed and built for the Kushelevs a mansion in the early Florentine Renaissance style on the Fontanka Embankment. The artist Luigi Premazzi (1814–1891) executed exquisite watercolors of this building and its interiors in the second half of the 1840s (see Image 151).

NOTES

1. The archives of the Dresden Kreuzschule do not show that young Aleksandr Sergeevich Stroganov was a student there (Tilo Bönicke, Stadtarchiv, Landeshauptstadt Dresden, to E. Harden, 9 August 1994).
2. Olenina, *Dnevnik*, p. 199n170. Some of the details of the life of the childless Kushelevs and their adopted daughter have already been explained in Notes 505–511, accompanying the entry for Saturday Sept. 12th [1846], NYPL: AWPd, Part II.
3. RGIA: Fond 1162, op. 6, d. 72. O sluzhbe D.V. Vasil'chikova [About the Service Record of D.V. Vasil'chikov].
4. This biography of Aleksandr Sergeevich Stroganov (all dates OS) is a composite from the following sources: Nicolas Ikonnikov, *La Noblesse de Russie*, vol. P2: *Sicherbinine – Sviatopolk-Mirsky* (Paris: printed by the author, 1961), p. 437; V.V. Kvadri and D.A. Shenk, *Stoletie Voennogo Ministerstva 1802–1902. Imperatorskaia glavnaia kvartira. Istoriia gosudarevoi svity* [The One Hundredth Anniversary of the War Ministry 1802–1902. Imperial Headquarters. A History of the Emperor's Suite], vol. 2, pt. 3, of *Tsarstvovanie imperatora Nikolaia I* [The Reign of Emperor Nicholas I] (St. Petersburg, 1908), pp. 561, 580, “Appendix 81,” pp. 310, 342; Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*, vol. 19, pp. 474, 488; N.M. Kol'manov, “Dom i familiia grafov Stroganovykh” [“The House and Family of the Counts Stroganov”], *Russkaia starina* 54 (April 1887): pp. 82–84; B. Kene, “Nekrolog” [“Obituary”], *Zapiski Odesskogo Obshchestva istorii i drevnostei* [Notes of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities] 6 (1867): pp. 487–490; Bon B. de Koehne, “Nécrologie” [“Obituary”], *Revue Belge de Numismatique et de Sigillographie* [Belgian Review of Numismatics and Sigillography] 3, 4th series (1865): pp. 271–275; A.N. Onuchin, comp., *Rod Stroganovykh: Prakticheskoe posobie dlia istorikov, kraevedov i genealogov* [The Stroganov Family: Practical Handbook for Historians, Local Historians and Genealogists] (Perm', Russia: Permskaia oblastnaia organizatsiia ob-va Znanie, 1990), pp. 20, 21–22, 23, 24, 25–26; S.O. Kuznetsov, “‘Ia poterial veru v zemnoe shchastie.' Zhizn' grafa S.A. Stroganova v Rossii (1852–1907)” [“I Have Lost Faith in Earthly Happiness: The Life of Count S.A. Stroganov in Russia (1852–1907)”], in *Kraevedcheskie chteniia Porkhov-Kholomki Materialy nauchnoi konferentsii 21–22 sentiabria 2001 g.* [Local History Readings: Porkhov-Kholomki Materials from an Academic Conference held 21–23 September 2001], ed. L.T. Vasil'eva (Pskov, Russia: Pskovskii oblastnoi Institut povysheniia kvalifikatsii rabotnikov obrazovaniia, 2001), pp. 46–72; S.O. Kuznetsov, *Dvortsy*

Stroganovykh [*Palaces of the Stroganovs*] (St. Petersburg: Almaz, 1998), pp. 127–128; P.N. Petrov, *Istoriia rodov russkogo dvorianstva* [*A Genealogical History of the Russian Aristocracy*], 2 bks. (St. Petersburg: Knigoizdatel'stvo German Goppe, 1886; reprint, Moscow: Sovremennik, 1991), bk. 2, vol. 2, pp. 151–154). Those interested in a description of his coin collection should read the obituaries by Koehne. Those interested in the lives of his children should read Kuznetsov's essay. For a description of his mother, see the article by Kol'manov.

5. This biography of Sofia Vladimirovna Stroganova (all dates OS) is a composite from the following sources: *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 53, Thursday, March 8 [March 20 NS], 1845, p. 233; O. Bazankur, "Zabytye khudozhnitsy" ["Forgotten Women Artists"], *Stolitsa i usad'ba* [*The Capital and the Country Estate*] 70 (15 November 1916): pp. 15–17; Prince Paul Dolgorouky, *A Handbook of the Principal Families in Russia*, translated from the French by F.Z. (London: James Ridgway, 1858), p. 121; Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*, vol. 19, pp. 477–480; N.I. Grech, *Zapiski o moei zhizni* [*Notes about My Life*] (St. Petersburg: A.S. Suvorin, 1866; reprint, Moscow: Kniga, 1990), pp. 123, 128, 196, 204, 220, 290, 308, 323–335, 350; E.I. Egorova, "500 let roda Stroganovykh, metsenatov iskusstv" ["500 Years of the Family Stroganov, Philanthropists of the Fine Arts"], in *Stroganovy i Permskii kraj: Materialy nauchnoi konferentsii, 4-6 fevralia 1992 g.* [*The Stroganovs and the Perm' Area: Materials from an Academic Conference, February 4–6, 1992*] (Perm: P.F. Kamenskii, 1992), pp. 33–34; Lotman, Makarenko, and Pavlova, *Litsa Pushkinskoi epokhi v risunkakh i akvareliakh*, pp. 299–300. For portraits of Sofia Vladimirovna Stroganova see Rovinskii, *Podrobnyi slovar' russkikh gravyorov*, vol. 1, pp. 54, 255, 964, 976 and vol. 2, pp. 40, 176, 634, 640.
6. This biography of Prince Illarion Vasilievich Vasil'chikov (all dates OS) is a composite from the following sources: *Russkie portrety XVIII i XIX stoletii* [*Russian Portraits of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*], 5 vols. (St. Petersburg: Izdanie velikogo kniazia Nikolaia Mikhailovicha, 1905–1909), vol. 3, pp. 701–703; Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*; Olenina, *Dnevnik*, p. 179n58; *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 44, Tuesday, February 25 [March 9 NS], 1847, p. 203; Karabanov, "Stats-damy i freiliny," p. 458; Bloomfield, *Reminiscences*, vol. 1, pp. 236–237. Lady Bloomfield described his corpse and funeral ceremony. Dates given by her are New Style.

7. This biography of Dmitrii Vasilievich Vasil'chikov (all dates OS) is drawn from *Russkii portrety*, vol. 3, pp. 703–705.
8. This biography of Grigorii Grigorievich Kushelev (all dates OS) is a composite from the following sources: V. Fedorchenko, *Dvorianskii rody, proslavivshie otechestvo. Èntsiklopediia dvorianskikh rodov* [Noble Families That Brought Glory to the Fatherland: An Encyclopedia of Noble Families], Chronicles, Portraits, Biographies (Krasnoiarsk: BONUS; Moscow: OLMA, 2004), pp. 227–229; “Vzgliad na myzu Ligovo,” pp. 58–67; Gorbatenko, *Petergofskaiia doroga*, pp. 151–152, 156–170; RGIA: Fond 1162, op. 6, d. 72. O sluzhbe D.V. Vasil'chikova [Service Record of D.V. Vasil'chikov]; RGIA: Fond 1343, op. 23, d. 11265. O vnesenii gerba grafa Kusheleva [Concerning the entering of the coat-of-arms of Count Kuselev], fols. 39r and v; RGIA: Fond 971, op. 1, d. 155. Dokumenty po razdelu imenii posle smerti gr. Gr. Gr. Kusheleva mezhd u ego plemiannikami gr. Kushelevymi–Bezborodko i ego zhenoi gr. Ek. Dm. Kushelevoi: ... 1816–26 fev. 1856. Kopii i podlinniki [Documents concerning the division of Count Gr. Gr. Kushelev's estates, after his death, among his nephews, the counts Kushelev-Bezborodko, and his wife, Countess Ek. Dm. Kusheleva: ... 1816–26 Feb. 1856 (OS). Copies and originals], fols. 8r and v, 10 r and v, 11r, 18r, 50r; *BRBC STP 1845*, fols. 55, 63; Petrovskaia, *Kontsertnaia zhizn' Peterburga*, p. 49; Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*, vol. 9, pp. 700–701.
9. This biography of Maria Grigorievna (first surname: Bogdanova) Kusheleva (all dates OS) is a composite from the following sources: Ivanov, *Doma i liudi*, pp. 423–424, 425–426; RGIA: Fond 1343, op. 23, d. 11265. O vnesenii gerba grafa Kusheleva, fols. 38r, 39r and v; Fond 971, op. 1, d. 155. Dokumenty po razdelu, fols. 8r and v, 10 r and v, 11r and v, 18r, 50r; *BRBC STP 1845*, fols. 55, 63; *PREC STP*, no 6921; Petrovskaia, *Kontsertnaia zhizn' Peterburga*, p. 49; entry for Saturday September 12th [1846], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II, and accompanying Notes 505–511. A detailed account of the lifestyle and character of Ekaterina Dmitrievna (Vasil'chikova) Kusheleva and her husband, Grigorii Grigorievich Kushelev, and the fate of their house on the Fontanka can be found in the abovementioned *Doma i liudi* as well (pp. 420–425).

THAYER AND PARKER

Sylvanus Thayer (Braintree, MA 9 June 1785 – Braintree, MA 7 September 1872; see Image 318) “received a classical education at Dartmouth College, N.H.,” graduating in 1807;¹ was a “Cadet of the Military Academy, Mar. 20, 1807, to Feb. 23, 1808, when he was graduated and promoted in the Army to Second Lieut., Corps of Engineers, Feb. 23, 1808”;² “served on various engineer and ordnance duties, 1808–12; was engaged in the War of 1812–15 against Great Britain, receiving for his ‘distinguished and meritorious services’ the brevet of Major, Feb. 20, 1815 ... and July 28, 1817, at the age of thirty-two, assumed the responsible trust of Superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy, which he found in a deplorably chaotic condition.”³ His “military experience in the field, his foreign travel and associations, his familiarity with the polite usages of society, his dignified bearing and refined mode of life, and, above all, his scientific acquirements, enlarged professional reading, and familiarity with the French and dead languages, gave him immense vantage ground for success.”⁴ In his sixteen years as superintendent, “he built up the Military Academy from an elementary school to a model seminary of science and soldiership.”⁵ On 3 March 1823, Thayer was made a brevet lieutenant-colonel “for distinguished and meritorious services” during his superintendency and “in 1826 ... recommended by General [Winfield] Scott [see Image 52] to be brevetted a Colonel” for this achievement.⁶ But “when, in 1829, General Andrew Jackson ... became President of the United States,” he and Thayer clashed, which eventually resulted in Thayer’s request “to be placed upon other duty”; he was relieved of his superintendency on 1 July 1833.⁷ He “was made a member of the Board of Engineers, and was also charged with the planning and building of the fortifications and other public works in and about Boston Harbor.”⁸ He served as “Superintending Engineer of the construction of Fts. Warren and Independence, Boston Harbor ... 1833–43, continuing the direction of those works while on professional duty in Europe, till 1846.”⁹

Charles Collins Parker (1823–1848; see Image 319) was the son of General Daniel (1782–1846) and Ann (Collins) Parker. The elder Parker was born in Shirley, Massachusetts, and graduated from Dartmouth

College in 1801. He studied law, was admitted to the bar, and practiced in Charlestown, Massachusetts. In 1810, he became chief clerk in the War Department and served in this position until 1814, when he was commissioned adjutant and inspector general with the rank of brigadier general. He was paymaster general in 1821–1822 and in 1822 was superseded and dropped from the army. He returned to his law practice from 1822 to 1841, when he again became chief clerk of the War Department, a position he held until his death.¹⁰

Charles Collins Parker was born on 3 August 1823 in Washington, DC. He received his BA from Yale University in 1842. Recommended by General Winfield Scott, he entered the United States Military Academy on 1 July 1842, but resigned on 8 September 1842 and entered the University of Pennsylvania Medical Department in October 1842.¹¹ In 1843, he was presented with the opportunity to travel through Europe as companion to Colonel Sylvanus Thayer.

Colonel Thayer had had a terrible illness at Norfolk and had “been ever since a miserable, ailing body with legs bandaged from feet to knees.” He was in his thirty-seventh year of service, during which he had “not asked or recd a furlough or leave of absence for a single day.” He now wanted two years off.¹² He intended to “keep in constant motion during the mild weather and purpose[d] visiting the most interesting places in the British Isles, Germany, France, Italy and probably Spain” and wintering in Naples unless he decided “to make a short trip to Egypt.”¹³ He was delighted to have Charles Parker as his traveling companion and expressed his willingness to confer with him about the itinerary, sensing it might “be too wide a range to suit [the young man’s] views.”¹⁴

As the months passed, the departure was postponed several times. In response to Charles’s impatience at Thayer’s insistence that he could only depart when his professional duties and personal affairs were in order, Thayer urged that Charles apply himself to the study of German and French to be “better qualified ... to profit by his travels.”¹⁵ Finally, around 10 December 1843, Thayer and Charles Parker met in New York. Thayer was “charmed with his personal appearance and deportment and anticipate[d] much satisfaction and happiness in his companionship.”¹⁶ In answer to an anxious letter from Daniel Parker, who feared that

Thayer felt “too much the responsibility of having Charles with [him] on his travels,” Thayer wrote a touching response: “Far, far from it on my honor. Without the prospect of having him with me I doubt whether I could have mustered courage enough to go to Europe at all. I could not endure the thought of being in foreign countries at my age and present state of health without a friend near me. Altho’ my personal acquaintance with him is but slight I think that I know him well and feel sure that he is all I could wish. I am truly gratified that you think it will be best for him to accompany me every where. Permit me to add that I have a due sense of all that you have done for me. My heart is full to overflowing.”¹⁷ They sailed on the Packet Ship *Liverpool* on 22 December 1843.¹⁸

Thayer was accorded special treatment. United States consuls in Europe were informed that Colonel Thayer would be traveling “for a year or two in Europe for the benefit of his health” and would wish “to see whatever may be most interesting without encountering any great fatigue.” He would “be accompanied in all his travels by Charles Collins Parker.”¹⁹ Commanders of U.S. Navy vessels in the Mediterranean were informed that if they could offer accommodation to the two “from one port to another, without deviating from ... course,” this would be desirable.²⁰

Although Thayer “was going to Europe primarily for his health,” his intention was “also to visit points of greatest interest to the military.”²¹ He was supplied by the Ordnance Office with a list of “objects requiring [his] attention,”²² but it was suggested that “he might have a ‘Carte Blanche’ in relation to all Military information.”²³ Thayer and Parker arrived in Paris on 25 January 1844. On 15 March, Thayer announced that he would set out in the middle of March “for St. Petersburg passing through Belgium, Holland & thence to Hamburgh, Copenhagen, Stockholm,” and that his “health continue[d] to be about the same as it ha[d] been during the last year.”²⁴ Anna Whistler’s diary entries for 17, 19, and 22 July 1844 show that the two were then in St. Petersburg.

A note of 7/19 July 1844 from Col. Charles S. Todd (see Image 278), envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Russia, to Sir James Wylie (see Image 298), Baronet, Inspector General of Hospitals, St. Petersburg, indicated that “they may wish to

visit the interesting Military Hospitals.”²⁵ On 12/24 July, Todd expressed the hope that they might “find time to visit [him] again” and suggested they see the “public Lawns, the Ancient Armoury & the Observatory at Pulkova.”²⁶

Parker wished to leave Thayer in Italy in November 1844 and to go on his own to Paris to hear medical lectures, rejoining Thayer in March 1845. Although advised by his father and others that he should “keep with the Col. wherever he goes and see all he can under his direction and when he can no longer have that advantage he can return and study anatomy etc. and then go again to Paris by himself,” Parker continued to press the issue, so that in the end his father left the matter to him under Thayer’s advice.²⁷ They traveled through parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland.²⁸ Thayer wrote a friend that Parker “accompanied me everywhere except to Greece & Egypt & a part of Italy.”²⁹

Thayer, improved in health, arrived back in New York on 2 June 1846.³⁰ No mention is made of whether Parker accompanied him back. Thayer had expressed to the U.S. Legation when last in Berlin “a wish to procure certain information from the Russian government, upon the subject of its military administration.”³¹ Consul Theodore S. Fay applied to the Russian War Department through the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and a number of manuscripts on the subject were received and forwarded to Thayer in Boston through the American War Department.³² Thayer returned to his work in Massachusetts constructing forts and coast defenses. He was made a colonel in the Corps of Engineers on 3 March 1863 and brevet brigadier general in the U.S. Army on 31 May 1863 “for long and faithful service.”³³ He was on sick leave from 1858 to 1863 and “retired from active service, July 1, 1863, under the law of June 17, 1862, having been borne on the Army Register more than 45 years.”³⁴ He returned to a secluded life in Braintree, Massachusetts, where he died at the age of eighty-seven.³⁵

No mention is made of whether Charles Collins Parker accompanied Thayer back to the United States in 1846. He received the MD degree from the University of Pennsylvania on 3 April 1846 and practiced in Philadelphia. The subject of his thesis was diseases of the heart. He married on 30 September 1847 Anna Coleman, daughter of James Coleman, ironmaster at Elizabeth Furnace near Lancaster,

Pennsylvania. He died in Philadelphia at the age of twenty-five on 28 December 1848 and is buried in the Churchyard of the Redeemer in Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. Their daughter, Charlotte Collins Parker (Mrs. James Rawle after marriage), was born after his death.³⁶

NOTES

1. Cullum, *Biographical Register*, vol. 1, p. 83.
2. Cullum, vol. 1, p. 81.
3. Cullum, vol. 1, p. 83.
4. Cullum, vol. 1, p. 83.
5. Cullum, vol. 1, p. 84.
6. Cullum, vol. 1, p. 86.
7. Cullum, vol. 1, p. 86.
8. Cullum, vol. 1, p. 86.
9. Cullum, vol. 1, p. 82.
10. Index, USMAL: Thayer Papers.
11. This biography of Charles C. Parker is a composite from the following sources: CV of Charles C. Parker, prepared by his son-in-law, Wm. Rawle, University of Pennsylvania Archives; Yale Records of the Class of 1842 for 45 years, Yale University Alumni Archives, New Haven, CT; USMA Alumni Archives; Joel T. Loeb, HSP, to E. Harden, 7 June 1989; Thomas A Horrocks, Library of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, Historical Collection, to E. Harden, 5 September 1989.
12. Sylvanus Thayer to General Daniel Parker, Fort Warren, 22 Oct. 1843, Daniel Parker Papers, HSP.
13. Sylvanus Thayer to Daniel Parker, Boston, 29 April 1843, Daniel Parker Papers, HSP.
14. Sylvanus Thayer to Daniel Parker, Boston, 29 April 1843.
15. Sylvanus Thayer to Daniel Parker, Fort Warren, 29 July 1843, 2 Sept. 1843, 8 Oct. 1843, Daniel Parker Papers, HSP.
16. Sylvanus Thayer to Daniel Parker, American Hotel, NY, 11 Dec. 1843, Daniel Parker Papers, HSP. The application for a passport submitted for Charles Collins Parker by his father states that he was 5'10" tall, had blue eyes, light brown hair, a light complexion, round face, high forehead, short nose and chin, and small mouth (NAUS: Passports, M1371, roll 2, p. 10).

17. Sylvanus Thayer to Daniel Parker, New York, Wednesday evening (10 oclock) 20 Dec. [18]43, Daniel Parker Papers, HSP.
18. *New York Herald*, December 22, 1843.
19. Letter from Hugh S. Legaré, Secretary ad interim, Department of State, Washington, 9 June 1843, vol. 6, USMAL: Thayer Papers
20. A. John Smith, Acting Secretary of the Navy, Navy Dept., 13 June 1843, vol. 6, USMAL: Thayer Papers.
21. Hülsemann to Prince Metternich-Winnebourg, New York, 14 July 1843 vol. 6, USMAL: Thayer Papers.
22. Lt. Col. George Talcott to Hon. J.M. Porter, Sec’y of War, 1 Nov. 1843, vol. 6, Ordnance Office, USMAL: Thayer Papers.
23. Lt. Col. George Talcott to Hon. J.M. Porter, Sec’y of War, 1 Nov. 1843, vol. 6, Ordnance Office, USMAL: Thayer Papers.
24. S. Thayer to Col. J.G. Totten, Chief Engineer, 15 March 1844, vol. 7, Paris, USMAL: Thayer Papers.
25. Col. C.S. Todd to Sir James Wylie, Baronet, Inspector Genl. of Hospitals, 7/19 July 1844, vol. 7, Tsarskoe Selo, USMAL: Thayer Papers.
26. C.S. Todd [to S. Thayer], 12/24 July 1844, vol. 7, Tsarskoe Selo, USMAL: Thayer Papers.
27. Daniel Parker to [S. Thayer], 1 Sept. 1844, vol. 7, Washington, USMAL: Thayer Papers.
28. S. Thayer to J.G. Totten, 27 July 1845, London, USMAL: Thayer Papers.
29. S. Thayer to Dr. George C. Shattuck, London, October 7, 1845, Shattuck Family Papers (1720–1972), MHS.
30. S. Thayer to Col. Ichabod R. Chadbourne, 28 June 1846, vol. 8, New York, USMAL: Thayer Papers.
31. Theodore S. Fay to S. Thayer, Berlin, 26 March 1846, vol. 8, USMAL: Thayer Papers.
32. Theodore S. Fay to S. Thayer, Berlin, 26 March 1846.
33. Cullum, *Biographical Register*, vol. 1, p. 82.
34. Cullum, vol. 1, p. 82.
35. Cullum, vol. 1, p. 87.
36. See Note 11 in this biography regarding the sources for the biography of Charles Collins Parker.

*WHISTLER, SWIFT, KINGSLEY, MCNEILL,
CAMMANN, RODEWALD, FLAGG, BOARDMAN,
GIBBS, CHEW, PALMER, EASTERBROOK,
LORILLARD, DUNSCOMBE, VALLANCE, BOHLEN,
HALBACH, FAIRFAX*

George Washington Whistler (19 May 1800 – 7 April 1849; see Images 7–8, 21) was born at Fort Wayne, Northwest Territory (now Indiana). He was one of the fifteen children and youngest son of Major John Whistler (Ulster County, Ireland 1758 – Bellefontaine, MO 2 September 1829), commandant of Fort Wayne, and Anne (Bishop) Whistler (Ireland 1760 – Newport, Campbell, KY 5 April 1814).¹ His fourteen siblings were Edward (Pennsylvania c. 1780 – Ohio 1834), William (Hagerstown, MD c. 1782 – Newport, Campbell County, KY 4 December 1863), Sarah (Hagerstown, MD 26 September 1786 – Detroit, MI 4 October 1874), John (Hagerstown, MD c. 1787 – Detroit, MI, home of James and Sarah (Whistler) Abbott 1 December 1813); Samuel and an unnamed twin (Hagerstown, MD b. and d. c. 1788), Catherine (Hagerstown, MD 1788 – Detroit, MI 14 October 1874), Rebecca (c. 1790–1826), Eliza (c. 1791 – Fort Howard, Michigan Territory [now Green Bay, WI] – 4 June 1823), Ann (Fort Washington [near Cincinnati], OH 1 September 1794 – Litchfield, CT 29 March 1829), James A. (c. 1796 – Baton Rouge, LA 11 October 1843), Harriet (Fort Wayne, Northwest Territory [now Indiana] 1798 – Chicago, IL 14 January 1873), Charles (c. 1799 – Louisville, KY 15 January 1831), and Caroline Frances Abbott (Detroit, MI 25 December 1802 – Sandwich [now Windsor], ON, Canada 31 December 1842).² Only two are mentioned in the diaries: his eldest brother, William (see Image 34), and his brother James.

George Washington Whistler was appointed to the United States Military Academy at West Point in July 1814 and graduated in July 1819 with the rank of second lieutenant in the Artillery Corps. He served as a topographer in 1819 and again in 1820–1821. In 1821–1822, he was assistant professor of drawing at West Point. From 1822 to 1828, he was attached to the commission tracing the international boundary between Lake Superior and Lake of the Woods. In August 1829, he was promoted

to first lieutenant. In 1830, together with his future brother-in-law William Gibbs McNeill (see Image 31), he surveyed the route and supervised the initial construction of the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad. In 1831–1832, they supervised construction of the Paterson and Hudson River Railroad in New Jersey. In 1832–1833, they surveyed the route and began the construction of the Stonington Railroad from Providence, Rhode Island, to Stonington, Connecticut. From 1834 to 1837, Whistler was superintendent of the machine shops of the Proprietors of Locks and Canals of Lowell, Massachusetts, where he was chiefly involved in designing, building, and selecting locomotives for the Boston and Lowell Railroad, which was completed in May 1835. In 1837, in addition to his completing the construction of the Stonington Railroad, he and McNeill surveyed the Nashua–Concord (New Hampshire) portion of the Concord Railroad. Whistler's involvement, from sometime in the 1830s to 1842, in the building of the Western Railroad (Boston–Worcester–Springfield–Greenbush, NY) lay chiefly in planning and supervising the construction of the section over the Berkshire Hills. He worked on this project with his two brothers-in-law, Captain William Henry Swift and Major William Gibbs McNeill. By early 1840, because of Swift's resignation and the expiration of McNeill's contract, only Whistler was left to supervise the completion of the Western Railroad, which formally opened on 4 January 1842.

On 11 May 1842, Whistler signed a contract with the Russian government to be the consulting engineer for the building of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway. The St. Petersburg diaries (1843–1848) of his wife, Anna (McNeill) Whistler (1804–1881; see Images 1–5), relate in great detail both his professional and personal life in Russia. Gradually, Whistler's health became undermined by the worsening of his heart condition, exacerbated by cholera, and in April 1849 he died with his work unfinished.³

Whistler married twice. His first wife, with whom he eloped in 1821, was Mary Roberdeau Swift (8 August 1804 – 9 December 1827; see Image 10). They had three children: George William (1822–1869; see Images 12–13), Joseph Swift (1824–1840), and Deborah Delano (1825–1908; see Images 17–19, 21). The biographies of George William and Deborah Delano in the 1840s are taken up in extensive detail in “The

Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s” and, for George William, in the Winans biography as well, and will not be discussed in this essay. Anna Whistler did remark, however, that January first of each year, the day Joseph Swift Whistler died in 1840, had become for her “a consecrated day.”

Whistler married secondly in 1831 Anna Matilda McNeill (27 September 1804 – 1 January 1881). They had five sons: James Abbott (1834–1903; see Images 24–29), William McNeill (1836–1900; see Images 27, 30), Kirk Boott (1838–1842), Charles Donald (1841–1843), and John Bouttatz (1845–1846). The biographies of James Abbott and William McNeill in the 1840s are taken up in extensive detail in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s” and will not be discussed in this essay. The biographies of their three siblings, who died young, will also not be discussed in this essay, as Anna Whistler recorded the deaths of Charles Donald and John Bouttatz in detail in the diaries, referred to all three of them on the anniversaries of their deaths, and delighted in remarking on their baby ways even after their deaths.

* * *

William Whistler (Hagerstown, MD c. 1782 – Newport, Kentucky 4 December 1863; see Image 34)⁴ was an officer in the U.S. Army. He was commissioned a second lieutenant in the First Infantry in 1801. He participated as a first lieutenant in the Battle of Maguaga, Michigan, 9 August 1812, where the Americans gained a complete victory. On 16 August 1812, he was taken prisoner, and on the last day of 1812 he became a captain. He was stationed at Green Bay, Wisconsin, from 1817 to 1819, and in 1820 was temporarily in command. He was brevetted major 31 December 1822, for ten years’ faithful service in one grade. He was again at Green Bay in 1826, where he remained for two years as commandant. He was then sent to Fort Niagara. In 1832, he was sent to regarrison Fort Dearborn. In July 1834, at Mackinac, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel and assigned to the Seventh Infantry. From August 1835 to 10 September 1835, he was commandant of Fort Gibson, again from 20 April to 5 May 1836, and again from 29 January to 6 February 1839. On 7 March 1839, the Seventh Infantry, which had been stationed at Fort Gibson for almost twenty years, received orders to proceed to

Fort Smith, from where they traveled by keel boats to Little Rock and from there to Tampa Bay, Florida, to take part in the wretched campaign to drive out the few remaining Seminoles. Lt. Colonel Whistler was on several occasions a member of a court martial of mutinous soldiers. He became a full colonel in July 1845 and was put in command of the Fourth Infantry. He participated in the Mexican War. In 1846, at Metamoros, Mexico, he was found guilty of charges of disobedience of orders, drunkenness on duty and conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline. He was sentenced to be cashiered. President James K. Polk (see Image 50) disapproved the sentence and, on 6 October 1846, ordered him on duty. From the close of the War with Mexico to his retirement in 1861, he was stationed at Detroit, Michigan, and Madison Barracks, New York. He married on 30 May 1802 in Detroit, Michigan, Mary Julia Fearson (1787–1878). They were they were the parents of six surviving children: John Harrison (1807–1873), Caroline Frances (Whistler) Bloodgood (1810–1893), Mary Ann (Whistler) Paul (1815–1871), Gwinthlean Harriet (Whistler) Kinzie (1818–1894), Joseph Nelson Garland (1822–1899; see Image 35), and Louise Ann (Whistler) Helm (1828–1883).

* * *

The daughter of William Whistler and Mary Julia (Fearson) Whistler, Caroline Frances (Fort Wayne, IN 12 March 1810 – Milwaukee, WI 26 November 1893), her husband, and two of her children are mentioned in the diaries.⁵ She married in about 1826 Lt. William Bloodgood (Albany, NY 1801 – Nashotah, WI 1 August 1874), USMA Class of 1824. He had served in Sackett's Harbor, New York; on frontier duty at Fort Howard, Wisconsin; in Bangor, Maine; and at Fort Niagara, New York; with two years' tour of duty on recruiting service. He had resigned on 31 December 1836, at the rank of first lieutenant, Second Infantry. In civilian life, he became a farmer and practiced his profession at Pine Grove, New York, near Albany, from 1837 to 1854, and then at Nashotah, Wisconsin, from 1859 until his death. It is at Pine Grove that Anna Whistler left Charles Donald, her fourth child, for at least a week, when she traveled to Geneva, New York, for the wedding of Louisa Josephine Swift on 22 June 1843.

Caroline (Whistler) Bloodgood, called “Cousin Carri” in the diaries, appears there in Anna Whistler’s reminiscences of those days in Pine Grove and of hurrying back to Stonington, where James was seriously ill. Cousin Carri later apparently suffered an accident of some kind that required the use of crutches, and gladdening news of her recovery and that of “her restored husband and snug home” suggest a series of family misfortunes. All of this information was conveyed to Deborah Whistler by her first cousin, Eliza Van Vechten, in two separate letters.

The two Bloodgood children also mentioned are George (Maine 1830 – Jackson, MI January 1909), who in 1843 was about thirteen years old, and Wilkins (1841–1862), who was about two years old. George later became an Episcopalian minister. Wilkins served during the Civil War in the First Michigan Infantry, enlisting on 1 May 1861 at Detroit. He died (at the rank of captain) on 23 September 1862 at Cliffbourne Hospital in Washington, DC, from wounds received in action at Bull Run, Virginia, on 30 August 1862.

* * *

The son of William Whistler and Mary Julia (Fearson) Whistler, Joseph Nelson Garland Whistler (Fort Howard, Michigan Territory [now Green Bay, WI] 19 October 1822 – Fort Wadsworth, Staten Island, NY 20 April 1899; see Image 35)⁶ was a member of the Class of 1846 of the United States Military Academy at West Point. On graduation, he was promoted in the Army to brevet second lieutenant in the Eighth Infantry. On retirement in 1886, he held the rank of colonel in the Fifteenth Infantry (promoted 1883). He served from 1846 to 1848 in the War with Mexico, being engaged in the Siege of Vera Cruz in March 1847, the Battle of Cerro Gordo in April 1847, the Battle of Contreras in August 1847, the Battle of Churubusco in August 1847, the Battle of Chapultepec in September 1847, and the Assault and Capture of the City of Mexico, 13–17 September 1847. He served also from 1861 to 1866 in the Civil War. He was transferred to the First Infantry in September 1866. For the remainder of his career, he served in Dakota, Kentucky, Kansas, Montana, and Minnesota. He retired from active service in October 1886. He is buried in Vale Cemetery in Schenectady, New York.

He married on 16 August 1846 in Albany, New York, Eliza Cobham Hall (New York State 16 April 1819 – Waukesha, WI 14 August 1887), daughter of Margaret Eliza (Bloodgood) and Major N.N. Hall, formerly assistant inspector general U.S. Eighth Army and one of the heroes of Fort Erie. She was also the granddaughter of Francis Bloodgood of Albany, New York, whose mother, Caroline (Whistler) Bloodgood, was Major George Washington Whistler's niece. They had four surviving children. She is buried in Vale Cemetery in Schenectady, New York.

They are both mentioned in the diaries in 1846, he in a letter from George William Whistler, announcing that J.N.G Whistler had to participate in the War with Mexico. Anna Whistler remarks that his wife, whom he had just married, would at this point begin to understand the trials of being a soldier's wife.

* * *

Little is known of James (c. 1796 – Baton Rouge, LA 11 October 1843). The notice of his death reads: "We notice the death, at Baton Rouge, on Wednesday last, of James A. Whistler Esq., brother of Colonel Whistler, in command at that station." Colonel Whistler is James's brother, William. James was said to have "no family," and he was not in the military forces. His death was announced to Major Whistler by Anna Whistler, who recorded in her diaries on 12 March 1844 that she had learned of it from a letter Deborah Delano Whistler had received from her first cousin, Eliza (Hamilton) Van Vechten.⁷

* * *

Sarah Whistler (Hagerstown, MD 26 September 1786 – Detroit, MI 4 October 1874) was the oldest daughter and third child of Major John Whistler and Anne (Bishop) Whistler. She married James Abbott (1775–1858) of Detroit on 1 November 1804 at Fort Dearborn, Rev. John Kinzie officiating. Theirs is said to have been Chicago's first wedding. "James Abbott, the first president of the Michigan Insurance Company, was a very prominent and successful merchant and fur trader ... physically, a strong man, inclining to corpulency in his later years. As a businessman, ... very methodical, precise and economical ... As a

banker ... conscientious, firm and vigilant ... Though at times a little abrupt in manner, he possessed a social and kindly disposition.”⁸ He was called Judge Abbott because he was a Justice of the Peace.⁹ They do not appear in the diaries but are mentioned here because George Washington and Anna (McNeill) Whistler named their first child, James Abbott, for Sarah (Whistler) Abbott’s husband.

* * *

Major George Washington Whistler’s sister, Catherine Ann (Whistler) Hamilton (1788 – 14 October 1874)¹⁰ is not mentioned in the diaries. The second daughter of Major John and Ann (Bishop) Whistler, she married in Chicago on 14 May 1806 Major Thomas Hamilton (New York City 1781 – St. Louis, MO 30 July 1833) of the U.S. Army. Their daughter, Eliza M. (Hamilton) Van Vechten (Fort Snelling [now St. Paul, MN] 9 July 1824 – Albany, NY 30 December 1898), and some of Eliza’s children are mentioned.

Eliza M. Hamilton married at Springfield, Massachusetts, on 22 September 1842 Abraham Van Vechten (Albany, NY 12 December 1819 – West Point, NY 7 May 1894), an attorney. Their first child, whose name we do not know, died. Eliza was again pregnant when Anna Whistler recorded that she had written to Deborah Delano Whistler, her first cousin. A second child, Hamilton Van Vechten, was born 3 October 1844 (d. 19 May 1894). Eliza (sometimes called Eliza Van Vee) is also the correspondent who announced to Deborah Delano Whistler the death of Major Whistler’s brother James (c. 1796 – Baton Rouge, LA 11 October 1843).

* * * * *

Mary Roberdeau (Swift) Whistler (see Image 10) was the daughter of Deborah (Delano) (Nantucket Island, MA September 1762 – New York City 3 June 1824) and Dr. Foster Swift (Boston 20 January 1760 – New London, CT 18 August 1835) (married 18 February 1783).

The Swifts had six children. Jonathan (b. 1785) died young, as did Deborah Ann (1790 – December 1805). The three who survived into adulthood, besides Mary Roberdeau, were Joseph Gardner (31

December 1783 – 23 July 1865; see Image 11), Sarah Delano (24 February 1788 – 11 May 1839), and William Henry (6 November 1800 – 7 April 1879).

* * *

Sarah Delano (Swift) Adams, who had married Eli Adams (14 March 1770 – 18 July 1822) and was widowed, had helped with the care of her sister Mary's children, who, at their mother's death, were about five years and five months, about three years and four months, and about two years and two months of age. They had remained in New London and seem to have lived in the home of their grandfather, the widowed Dr. Foster Swift, until George Washington Whistler married Anna McNeill in 1831. It is from the correspondence of members of the Swift family that we learn the little we know about George William, Joseph Swift, and Deborah Delano as children: "Deborah is a wonderful scholar for her age – reads well in any book, and is now commencing a little system of geography and arithmetic. she was at one time rather petulant – but now much changed – George does not love his Book. Joe is a good scholar."¹¹

Sarah had died by the time of the St. Petersburg diaries, but her daughter, Sarah Adams (29 December 1821 – 1876), appears in them as a correspondent of Anna Whistler's, who recorded writing to Sarah Adams in April 1844. Sarah Adams's second letter especially assuaged the neglect Anna Whistler was feeling from her other family correspondents.

* * *

Joseph Gardner Swift (Nantucket Island, MA 31 December 1783 – Geneva, NY 21 July 1865; see Image 11)¹² was one of two cadets and graduates of the Class of 1802, the first class at the United States Military Academy at West Point. He graduated with the rank of second lieutenant and served at the Military Academy (1802–1804); as superintending engineer of the construction of Fort Johnston, NC (1804–1807); again at the Military Academy (1807); as superintending engineer in the erection of Governor's Island Batteries, Boston Harbor, Massachusetts,

and in general supervision of the defenses of the Northeastern Coast (1808–1809); and as superintending engineer of the fortifications of the Carolina and Georgia harbors (1809–1812 and 1812–1813). Between 11 June 1805 and 19 February 1814, he was promoted from first lieutenant, Corps of Engineers, to brevet brigadier-general for meritorious services. In 1812, he was chief engineer and aide-de-camp to Major-General Pinckney. In the War of 1812 with Great Britain, he served chiefly in the Dept. of New York, Staten Island, St. Lawrence River, city of New York (including Brooklyn and Harlem Heights; see Image 42). After the War of 1812, he was superintending engineer of the construction of the fortifications of New York Harbor (1815–1817); member of the Board for rebuilding the Capitol at Washington (1817); (ex-officio) superintendent of the Military Academy (July 1812 – July 1817) and its inspector (April – November 1818); and member of the Board of Engineers for the Atlantic Coast of the United States (April – November 1818). He resigned from the U.S. Army on 12 November 1818. In civilian life, the posts he held included: surveyor of U.S. revenue for the port of New York (1818–1826); cotton planter, Haywood County, Tennessee (1828); chief engineer of the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad (1828–1829); chief engineer of the New Orleans and Lake Pontchartrain Railroad (1830–1831); chief engineer of the New York and Harlem Railroad (1832–1833); and civil engineer in the service of the United States, superintending harbor improvements on the Lakes (1829–1845). He aided in suppressing Canada border disturbances in 1839, and in 1841 was appointed by the president to be a member of a mission to the British Provinces, with reference to a treaty with Great Britain. He was offered the post of U.S. commissioner of patents but declined. He was a member of several scientific and historical societies and received the degree of LLD from Kenyon College in Gambier, Ohio, in 1843.

Joseph Gardner Swift appears in the diaries as a correspondent with Major Whistler and as guardian connected with the welfare of his nephew, George William Whistler. Anna Whistler records that they received a letter from “the General” announcing that George William Whistler had left New York an hour earlier on the sea trip he was taking for his health in late 1843.

Joseph Gardner Swift married on 6 June 1805 in North Carolina Louisa Margaret Walker (Wilmington, NC 14 October 1788 – Geneva, NY 15 November 1855).¹³ Two of their children are mentioned in the diaries: Louisa Josephine (called Josée) (30 April 1821 – 16 January 1859) and McRee (New York City 15 April 1819 – New Brunswick, NJ 5 April 1896).

* * *

Louisa Josephine married on 22 June 1843 Peter Richards Jr. (New London, CT 28 October 1811 – Geneva, NY 30 August 1893). After the death of Louisa Josephine, he married her first cousin, Sarah Adams (29 December 1821 – 1876). He is buried in Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn. Anna Whistler records in her diaries that she attended the wedding of Louisa Josephine on 22 June 1843 in Geneva, New York, about two months prior to leaving for St. Petersburg.

* * *

McRee Swift became a civil engineer. He spent almost a year at Hobart College and in 1836 was appointed a junior assistant on the surveys of the Long Island Railroad, under General William Gibbs McNeill, Anna Whistler's brother. Later in 1836, he went to Fort Caswell, North Carolina, and continued his professional studies under the direction of his brother, Alexander J. Swift (1810–1847) of the United States Army Corps of Engineers. He spent the next six years engaged in railway engineering in New England: the Boston and Albany (Western) Railroad; the Pittsfield and North Adams Railroad; and the extension of the New Haven and Hartford Railroad to Springfield, Massachusetts. In 1843, he was appointed superintending engineer of the Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad in North Carolina. From 1846 to 1850, he was superintending engineer of various branches of the New York and Erie Railroad and the Rochester and Genesee Valley Railroad. In 1851, he went to Europe with his father for a year of travel. On his return, he worked until 1856 as chief engineer of the Rochester and Genesee Valley and the Avon, Genesee, and Mount Morris Railroads. In 1856, he became engineer and superintendent of a manufacturing and

construction company and eventually its president. In 1874, he was elected a member of the Commission on Streets and Sewers of New Brunswick, New Jersey, resigning after eight years as president. He was at the time of his death a senior warden of Christ Church. He was buried in Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn. He was considered one of the wealthiest men of New Brunswick, New Jersey. He was the twenty-third member of the American Society of Civil Engineers, active from 1852 to 1888. He bequeathed to the Society the sum of one thousand dollars in memory of his father, the income of which was to be used for the purchase of rare books and maps for its library and models for its museum.

McRee Swift married on 15 September 1842 Abby Hortense Chew (1821 – New Brunswick, NJ 10 April 1898). Anna Whistler's parents had been close friends of Thomas John Chew and Abby Hortense (Hallam) Chew, the parents of Abby Hortense (Chew) Swift. Thomas John Chew (New Haven, CT 28 January 1777 – Brooklyn 21 July 1846) served in the U.S. Navy from 1790 to 1832. In 1809, he returned from furlough back to the Navy and was appointed purser on the *John Adams*. On 25 April 1812, he was commissioned purser on the USS *Chesapeake*. In May 1812, he became purser on the *Constitution*. On 1 June 1813, he supported in his arms the dying captain of the *Chesapeake*, James Lawrence, whose immortal last words, "Don't give up the ship," became the motto of the U.S. Navy. He was captured on board that ship by HMS *Shannon* on that day and released on 17 June 1813, going back to Boston. After the war, he served as purser on the *Washington*, sailing to the Mediterranean in May 1815 and returning in July 1818. He served at the Brooklyn Navy Yard until he resigned from the Navy in March 1832. In civilian life, he served for a time as president of the Protection Fire Insurance Company, assumedly in New York, and as treasurer of St. Ann's Church in Brooklyn from April 1833 to March 1837. He married in September 1813 Abby Hortense Hallam (New London, CT 13 September 1791 – New Brunswick, NJ 21 March 1874). They were both buried in Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn. While the Whistlers were in Russia, Anna Whistler recorded that on 17 July 1844 they received news of the Chews through a letter Abby Hortense (Chew) Swift wrote them. The letter was delivered by a young man brought out to their dacha by Colonel Charles

Stewart Todd (see Image 278). The young man was Charles Collins Parker (see Image 319), a medical student traveling through Europe with Colonel Sylvanus Thayer (see Image 318), who had been superintendent of West Point when George Washington Whistler was a cadet there.

* * *

Captain William Henry Swift¹⁴ (Taunton, MA 6 November 1800 – New York City 7 April 1879), was a classmate of Major George Washington Whistler in the Class of 1819 at the United States Military Academy. Between 1 July 1819 and 7 July 1838, he rose from the rank of second lieutenant, Corps of Artillery, to captain, Corps of Topographical Engineers. In 1821–1832, he served on Topographical Duty. From 1833 to 1843, he was an assistant in the Geodetic Survey of the Atlantic Coast of the United States. From 1833 to 1835, he was assistant on the survey of the Norwich (CT) and Worcester (MA) Railroad. In 1836, he was assistant on the survey of the entrance to the Connecticut River, and, in 1837, of Saybrook Harbor. In 1838–1839, he was in charge of improvement of rivers and harbors on Long Island Sound and from 1839 to 1844 on the New England Coast. In 1844 to 1849, the years when Major Whistler was in Russia, Captain William Henry Swift was principal assistant to Colonel Abert, chief of the Topographical Bureau in Washington, DC. In those same years, he worked on piers, lighthouses, and seawalls.

He resigned his commission in the U.S. Army on 31 July 1849. Before his resignation and in civilian life he was associated with the building of railroads. He was resident superintending engineer of the Western Railroad, from Worcester, Massachusetts, to Albany, New York, from 1836 to 1840. He was president of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois and Michigan Canal from 1845 to 1871, of the Hannibal and St. Joseph's Railroad, Missouri, from 1856 to 1877, of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Railroad from 1849 to 1851, and of the Western Railroad from Worcester, Massachusetts, to Albany, New York, from 1851 to 1854. In 1853, Harvard University conferred on him an honorary MA.

He is not referred to at all in Anna Whistler's diaries, although in the 1840s he was, like his brother, Joseph Gardner Swift, guardian to George William Whistler, their nephew; handled Major Whistler's

financial affairs; was involved during the negotiations to persuade Major Whistler to accept the position as consulting engineer for the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway; received a diamond ring from the Russian government for his efforts; and married for the second time.¹⁵ His correspondence with Joseph Gardner Swift makes it clear that he was corresponding with Major Whistler.

His daughter, Mary (1826–1884) – by his first wife, Mary (Stewart) Swift (24 November 1801 – 18 November 1837) (married New London, CT 26 January 1825), daughter of the British consul, James Stewart, at New London, Connecticut – is mentioned in the diaries. Anna Whistler refers to this niece's marriage to George Bromley Ironside (bap. 1828) on 26 March 1846, followed by a European honeymoon. During their honeymoon trip, Mary expected to see Deborah Delano Whistler, her first cousin, who was spending a year with the Winstanleys in Preston, Lancashire.

The Ironsides traveled “[part] of the way through great Britain” with the Bliss family of Springfield, Massachusetts, who had been the Whistlers' neighbors and were making an eighteen-month tour of Europe. After the death of her mother in 1837, Mary (Swift) Ironside “had been substantially brought up” in the home of George Bliss (16 November 1793 – 19 April 1873) and Mary Shepherd (Dwight) Bliss (24 February 1801 – 12 April 1870).

There seemed to be some reservations on Captain Swift's part about his daughter's hasty marriage, perhaps because of the couple's personalities. He wrote his brother, Gen. J.G. Swift: “[Mary] was a very jolly person. Her husband was a good deal of a stick.”

Captain William Henry Swift also had a son, Charles William (1828–1906), who is not mentioned in the diaries, but whose biography appears in Stoeckl, Howard, Swift, Ironside in this Appendix.

* * * * *

Anna (McNeill) Whistler was the daughter of Dr. Daniel (North Carolina c. 1756 – Oak Forest, Bladen County, North Carolina 7 December 1828; see Image 23) and Martha (Kingsley) McNeill (see Image 22), his second wife. Her father is said to also have been known as Charles Donald McNeill “native of Bladen County, North Carolina

[and] identified with Wilmington, North Carolina.” During the Revolution, his sympathies were with the British. In 1782, he appears in “the Army List as Supernumerary Surgeon’s Mate.” In the *North Carolina State Reports*, it is recorded that when the British arrived he “joined them and behaved himself ... in unsupportable insolence.” He was consequently “tried and found guilty of [an unstated] charge, fined ... and ... required to depart the State within sixty days.” He refused to do this “until ultimately it was decided that the action of the judges was illegal.” It is not known whether these events were the cause of his decision to go north, where he continued practicing in Brooklyn as a doctor. He became a member (no. 746) of the St. Andrew’s Society in 1807. He moved permanently to New York with his family in 1815. He died in North Carolina while on a visit there.¹⁶

He is mentioned only once in the diaries: in June 1845. Anna Whistler, extolling the virtues of her half-sister, Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, says “How often this warm hearted sister brings my dear departed father before my minds eye!”

* * *

Anna (McNeill) Whistler’s mother, Martha (Kingsley) McNeill (New Jersey 10 August 1775 – 7 April 1852; see Image 22),¹⁷ second wife of Dr. Daniel McNeill, was the daughter of Zephaniah Kingsley Sr. (Leake, Lancashire 11 April 1734 – Wilmington, NC c. 1792), a “third-generation Quaker,” and Isabella (Johnston) Kingsley (Fireside, Scotland c. 1737 – New York 14 December 1814) (buried in the Quakers’ Houston Street Cemetery in New York City). They were married by license at Bow Church, London, on 29 September 1763. The family moved to Charlestown, South Carolina, in December 1770. In 1791, they moved to Wilmington, North Carolina.

Martha (Kingsley) McNeill figures prominently in the diaries, chiefly in connection with her winter visits (1843–1847) to her son, Charles Johnston McNeill, in East Florida (see Images 58–60), from where she wrote to Anna (McNeill) Whistler.

* * *

In addition to Anna (McNeill) Whistler, Dr. Daniel and Martha (Kingsley) McNeill had five other surviving children: Mary Charlotte (d. 27 October 1821), Isabella Kingsley (c. 1798 – c. 1850), William Gibbs (3 October 1801 – 16 February 1853; see Image 31), Charles Johnston (6 March 1802 – 2 March 1869), and Catherine Jane (c. 1812 – 20 May 1877).

William Gibbs McNeill, Charles Johnston McNeill, and Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer are referred to in the diaries as correspondents or mentioned in the letters of other family members. Mary Charlotte (McNeill) Easterbrook and Isabella Kingsley (McNeill) Fairfax do not appear in the diaries, but Isabella Kingsley (McNeill) Fairfax's son, Donald McNeill Fairfax (10 March 1821 – 10 January 1894), does.

* * *

Isabella Kingsley McNeill (c. 1798 – c. 1850)¹⁸ was married on 1 June 1816 at St. Ann's Church in Brooklyn to George William Fairfax (Shannon Hill, Jefferson County, VA 5 November 1797 – June 1853) in a double-wedding ceremony with her sister, Mary Charlotte McNeill. George William Fairfax was the son of Ferdinando Fairfax (bap. 1 June 1769 – 24 September 1820) (whose godfather was George Washington) and Elizabeth Blair Cary. The Fairfaxes had four surviving children: Martha (b. Shannon Hill, Jefferson County, VA c. 1820), called "Matty," who married Isaiah Davenport; Donald McNeill (Mount Eagle, Fairfax County, VA 10 March 1821 – Hagerstown MD 10 January 1894); Isabella Kingsley (born Shannon Hill, Jefferson County, VA c. 1822); and Edwina Cary.

Of this family, only Donald McNeill Fairfax (see Image 38) is mentioned in the diaries. He entered the Navy as midshipman from North Carolina 12 August 1837. He cruised around the world on the flagship *Columbia* in 1838–1840. He was attached to the *Fairfield* and the *Brandwine* in the Mediterranean in 1841–1842. In 1844, when Anna Whistler mentions him, he was a "passed" midshipman (1843). He had escaped death when the *Missouri* was destroyed by fire in Gibraltar Harbor on 26 August 1843, while Anna Whistler was on her way to St. Petersburg. The accident on the man-of-war SS *Princeton* on 28 February 1844 is referred to by Anna Whistler, who presumed correctly

that this nephew, for whom she had great affection, was a member of the crew. He took part in the capture of Lower California during the Mexican War. He was commandant of midshipmen at Annapolis in 1864–1865. He was promoted to Commodore in 1873. He was for five years after that commandant of the naval station at New London, Connecticut. He was promoted in 1880 to rear-admiral and retired, at his own request, in September 1881. His first wife was Virginia Cary Ragland (d. 1878), whom he married on 5 June 1854. Anna Whistler lived with them for a time, and she and Virginia (Ragland) Fairfax came to detest one another. His second wife was a widow, Josephine (Foote) Reese (28 June 1837 – 25 May 1918), daughter of Rear-Admiral Andrew Hull Foote (1806–1863), whom he married in 1879.

* * *

Mary Charlotte McNeill (drowned at sea 27 October 1821), married on 1 June 1816 at St. Ann's Church, Brooklyn, Lt. Joseph Easterbrook (Bristol bap. 6 November 1794 – drowned at sea 27 October 1821) of the British Navy.¹⁹ It was a double-wedding ceremony with her sister, Isabella Kingsley McNeill (c. 1798 – c. 1850).

Lt. Joseph Easterbrook was the eldest of the four children of Joseph Easterbrook (30 June 1767 – 10 January 1810), a tobacconist, and Mary (Nott) Easterbrook (b. c. 1765). His parents were married on 18 July 1788 in Tiverton. His siblings were Mary (21 December 1790 – Wadebridge, Cornwall 17 December 1862), who did not marry; Elizabeth (bap. 6 November 1794 – Bristol 18 August 1832), who married Joseph Smith, undertaker, on 9 January 1813 in Bristol and had seven children; and William (12 July 1795 – Tiverton 8 February 1876), ironmonger, who did not marry.

Lt. Joseph Easterbrook's parents had an unusual marital situation for that time: they were divorced in 1797 with Joseph obtaining custody of the children. In his will, dated 9 July 1796, Joseph Easterbrook Sr. described his wife as "late Mary Nott, Spinster and who has lately eloped from me with another man." As a consequence of the affair that Mary (Nott) Easterbrook engaged in in 1795, a divorce case was brought before the Episcopal Consistory Court of Bristol in 1797. The deponents

unequivocally supported Joseph Easterbrook Sr., who was eventually granted a divorce with custody of his children.

Lt. Joseph Easterbrook and Mary Charlotte (McNeill) Easterbrook had two children. They were under five years of age when they died. It has not been possible to ascertain their names, birth places, or dates of birth.

While sailing on the ship *Sea Fox* (Capt. Wyer), from New York on Saturday, 27 October 1821, bound for Port-au-Prince, all four family members met their death by drowning when the ship “was capsized that same night, about 63 miles north-east of Sandy-hook” “by a sudden squall [and] the dead lights not being in, the water rushed with great violence into the cabin windows, which filled it instantly.” Mary (McNeill) Easterbrook’s father, Dr. Daniel McNeill, wrote to the Easterbrook family in Bristol, informing them of the tragedy.

Although the Easterbrooks do not figure in the diaries, their biography is included in this essay because very little was heretofore known of them.

* * * * *

William Gibbs McNeill (Wilmington, NC 3 October 1801 – Brooklyn 16 February 1853; see Image 31)²⁰ was intended for the clergy and had actually begun his education for that profession, when he indicated his interest in a military career. Through the influence of his friend, General Joseph Gardner Swift (see Image 11), he was appointed to the United States Military Academy at West Point, which he entered in July 1814. Here, he met George Washington Whistler and William H. Swift, who became his lifelong friends. He graduated on 28 July 1817, on the day Major Sylvanus Thayer (see Image 318) became superintendent of the Military Academy. Between his graduation in 1817 and his resignation from the United States Army in 1837, he advanced from the rank of third lieutenant, Corps of Artillery, to brevet major, Staff-Topographical Engineers in 1834.

In 1824–1826, he served on the survey of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal; in 1827 on the survey of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad (B&O), and in 1827–1830 as a member of the Board of Civil Engineers for the construction of the Road. In November 1828, he was sent, along with

George Washington Whistler, Ross Winans (see Image 228), and Jonathan Knight (chief engineer of the B&O, 1829–1842), by the B&O Company, to study the railroad system in Great Britain. In about 1839, he served on the survey of the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad, of which he was the chief engineer from 1830 to 1836; in 1831, on the survey of the Paterson and Hudson River Railroad, New Jersey, of which he was the chief engineer from 1831 to 1834; in 1832–1833, on the survey of the Boston and Providence Railroad, of which he was chief engineer in 1832–1835; in 1836–1837, as chief engineer of the Western Railroad in Massachusetts; and was involved in the examination of the coasts of North and South Carolina in 1837.

As a civil engineer, he was chief engineer of the Western Railroad in Massachusetts from Worcester to Albany from 1836 to 1840; chief engineer of the State of Georgia in 1837; chief engineer of the Charleston, South Carolina, Louisville, Kentucky, and Cincinnati, Ohio, projected railroad from 1837 to 1840; president of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company in 1842–1843; and consulting engineer of various railroads and other public works in the United States and Cuba in 1850–1853.

In 1842, when the “Dorr Rebellion” in Rhode Island broke out, he was commissioned major-general in the State Militia and made leader of the “law and order party.” This appointment had lasting effects for his subsequent career. The rebellion was bloodless and over in three days. In 1844, he was appointed chief engineer of the Dry Docks at the Brooklyn Naval Yard by President Tyler, but removed from office in 1845 by President Polk (see Image 50) because of the hostility of Dorr adherents to him. When the Mexican War broke out in 1846, the continuing Dorr influence successfully impeded McNeill’s attempt to be appointed a brigadier-general in the U.S. Army. It was his militia rank that caused him to be referred to as “General McNeill.”

In 1851, he visited Europe and in London in May 1852 was elected the first American member of the Institution of Civil Engineers. In February 1853, he died in Brooklyn.

William Gibbs McNeill, like his sister Anna (McNeill) Whistler, had the McNeill temper. He was an alcoholic and an extremely difficult person, as the biography of his nephew George William Whistler in “The

Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s” shows. It is recorded in the diaries that he wrote Major Whistler a letter in early 1844 that pleased Anna Whistler, because it revealed the cheerful, confiding, and affectionate side of him.

He married on 7 June 1821 in Newark, New Jersey, Maria Matilda Cammann (bap. New York 1799 – 29 December 1850).²¹ She was the daughter of Charles Louis Cammann (Loxdedt, Kingdom of Hanover 25 September 1759 – 5 December 1805), who emigrated “to America in 1787” and “became a leading merchant in New York.” Her mother was Maria Margareta (Oswald) Cammann (New York 13 January 1774 – Brooklyn 15 April 1862), daughter of Philip Jacob Oswald and Catherine (Hahn, later changed to Hone) Oswald. They were married in 1791 and lived in Greenwich Village. At the death of her husband, Maria Margareta (Oswald) Cammann was left with seven children. In 1813, the family moved to Newark, New Jersey. In 1826, they came back to live in New York.

Of Maria Matilda Cammann’s six siblings, the families of two are mentioned in the diaries: her brothers, George P. Cammann and Henry J. Cammann. George P. Cammann²² (Greenwich Village 1 September 1804 – Fordham, NY 14 February 1863; see Image 41) entered Columbia College in 1821 at the age of seventeen and graduated in 1825. He then proceeded to train as a physician in Newark and New York. In 1828, he went to Paris for further study, returning to New York in 1830. In 1833, he married Anna Catherine Lorillard (23 October 1809 – 22 December 1896), daughter of Jacob Lorillard (22 May 1774 – 20 September 1838) and Margareta (Kunze) Lorillard (16 August 1791 – 23 November 1846; see Image 53). It is the death of Margareta (Kunze) Lorillard that is communicated to Anna Whistler in St. Petersburg by her sister-in-law, Maria Matilda (Cammann) McNeill, and is recorded in her diary for 1846. Maria’s source for this information was probably her brother, George, and/or her sister-in-law, Anna Catherine (Lorillard) Cammann.

The biography of Maria (Cammann) McNeill’s brother, Henry J. Cammann, is taken up in the section on Dunscombe and Vallance in this essay.

Anna Whistler was very close to Maria (Cammann) McNeill and corresponded with her regularly while in St. Petersburg. This sister-in-

law, who suffered poor health, supplied Anna Whistler with information about her own family and about the Palmers in Stonington, where the William Gibbs McNeill family frequently visited.

* * *

William Gibbs McNeill and Maria Matilda (Cammann) McNeill had five children who survived beyond the 1840s: Mary Isabella (19 August 1823 – 24 October 1867; see Image 32), Catherine Julia (26 December 1825 – 20 October 1897; see Image 33), Eliza Winstanley (1830–1855), William Wyatt (October 1833 – 4 June 1853), and Patrick Tracy Jackson (3 October 1835 – 22 April 1898). All of them are mentioned in the diaries. Also mentioned there are Louisa (1832 – Ash Wednesday 1840) and Henry Cammann (1 March 1828 – 7 August 1840), who died as children, she of an illness and he by drowning. As the anniversary of each of their deaths approached or occurred, Anna Whistler focused her thoughts on them. Such remembrance of them, for example, is recorded in the diaries in the entry for Thursday [Sept.] 26th, 1844, on the eve of the first anniversary of two-year-old Charles Donald's death, when Anna Whistler and her half-sister, Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, discussed all the departed children.

* * *

Mary Isabella McNeill (19 August 1823 – 24 October 1867; see Image 32)²³ was being courted in the late 1840s by Johann Friedrich Rodewald (Bremen 21 July 1808 – Rettershof 4 October 1886), called Frederick outside his parents' family. They married on 2 April 1850 and had seven children.

Frederick was the oldest of seven sons of Johann Friedrich Arnold Rodewald, and inherited his father's business acumen. After leaving Bremen, he spent a brief time in London and then established himself in New Orleans, where he became very wealthy in a short time. In New Orleans, he was also consul for Bremen. He later established himself in London, mainly in banking. He was totally autocratic in nature and even into old age brooked no opposition to his word and opinion. He was small in stature and thickset; his facial features were sharp, and his eyes

piercing. On the whole, while he had much personal grace, he presented a harsh figure. His wife predeceased him. He often spent the summer months in his last years in Taunus, at Rettershof, an estate he had given to his daughter, Alice (Rodewald) von Diskau. He died there and was buried in Norwood near London.

Mary Isabella is mentioned in the diaries as being present during the interment of two-year-old Charles Donald Whistler in Stonington; as resembling Miss Maude, whose portrait hung in the Winstanley home; and as a correspondent of Anna Whistler in 1844.

* * *

Catherine Julia McNeill (Newark, NJ 26 December 1825 – Staten Island, NY 20 October 1897; see Image 33)²⁴ was being courted in the late 1840s by Adolf Rodewald (Bremen 24 November 1818 – Staten Island, New York 27 March 1869). They married on 6 December 1849 in New York and had four sons and four daughters. Known by various forms of the name Julia, she was a faithful correspondent of her first cousin, Deborah Delano Whistler, whose receipt of letters from her was often recorded by Anna Whistler in the diaries. Anna Whistler was frequently also permitted to read Julia's letters. The two girls were called "twins" because both were born in the same year: 1825. A businessman, Adolf Rodewald established himself in New York with the help of his oldest brother, Frederick. In comparison to his brothers, he was prone to speculation to the extent that when he died his brothers thought they would have to support his wife and children. But a few months later his investments paid off, leaving his family with a considerable fortune. He was musical and extremely well read, especially in history and chemistry.

* * *

Little is known also of Eliza Winstanley McNeill (1830 – Brooklyn 22 May 1855).²⁵ She was thirteen years old when Anna Whistler went to St. Petersburg and eighteen when the diaries were brought to a close. She married on 24 September 1851 in Grace Church, Brooklyn, Rev. Edward Octavius Flagg (Georgetown, SC 13 December 1824 – New Haven, CT 23 August 1911), who was then rector of Trinity Church, Norwich,

Connecticut. Her husband was a poet and lecturer as well as a clergyman. They had a son named William McNeill Flagg (1852–1856), who died a year after his mother. Anna Whistler mentions in her diaries receiving a letter from Eliza Winstanley McNeill in May 1846, when the latter was sixteen, describing the McNeills' new home in Irving Place, New York City, and asking Anna Whistler to come to New York for the summer to meet her Aunt Eliza Cammann from Newfoundland. Anna Whistler recorded that she, in turn, wrote a note to Eliza, including it in a letter to Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer.

* * *

William Wyatt McNeill²⁶ (October 1833 – 4 June 1853) was named for the Rev. William Edward Wyatt (1789–1864) of Baltimore, Maryland. He was ten years old when Anna Whistler commenced her diary in November 1843. By the time of her abrupt abandoning of it in September 1848, he was almost fourteen years old. His appearances in the diaries are limited to information about his health. Thus, in the entry of Saturday [May] 3rd [1845], Anna Whistler records that exactly a week before (April 27) she received a letter from Martha (Kingsley) McNeill saying that Willie Wyatt had been extremely ill and was now convalescent. She also records that James and Willie Whistler missed him greatly. With the marriage on 2 April 1850 of his sister, Mary Isabella, to Frederick Rodewald (Bremen 21 July 1808 – Rettershof 4 October 1886), William Wyatt received employment in his brother-in-law's firm in New Orleans. He died in that city on 4 June 1853 as a result of being struck by the shaft of a streetcar.

* * *

Patrick Tracy Jackson McNeill (3 October 1835 – 22 April 1898)²⁷ was named for Patrick Tracy Jackson (14 August 1780 – 12 September 1847), a Boston merchant, who dealt in goods from the East and West Indies. He was about eight years old when Anna Whistler and her children went to St. Petersburg in 1843 and almost thirteen when the diaries came to a halt. He was called "Jacks" and "Jacky," and is mentioned in the diaries as a playmate whom James and Willie missed

greatly. In 1855, he was working for the Winanses in Baltimore. By 1867, he was working in Glasgow, Missouri. He married Sara Lewis, with whom he had six children. By 1878, they were living in San Francisco.

* * *

Charles Johnston McNeill (Wilmington, NC 6 March 1802 – Florida 2 March 1869) was named for his maternal grandmother's brother, Charles Johnston (1732–1804), a South Carolina merchant who had paid to set up his brother-in-law, Zephaniah Kingsley Sr., as a merchant in Charleston. Charles Johnston McNeill lived at Reddys Point in East Florida, where he was employed by Zephaniah Kingsley, his mother's brother.²⁸ He was a hunchback, having been dropped by a servant when he was a baby.²⁹ In late 1838, when Zephaniah Kingsley began, from "his old residence at Fort George Island" (see Images 58–60), "to organize a large-scale emigration of free persons of color to Haiti," he hired this nephew to be "overseer at Fort George."³⁰ In his will, filed on 20 July 1843, Zephaniah Kingsley left Charles Johnston McNeill "62½ acres at Beauclerc Bluff in Duval County, 300 acres 'at the head of six mile creek (Saw Mill Creek)' in St. Johns County, a 'negro woman Betsey[,] Peggy the daughter of Nancy and all their children and issue', and a horse and saddle."³¹

After the death of Zephaniah Kingsley (1843), Martha (Kingsley) McNeill, as predicted by her brother a relative would do, challenged his will and its designated heirs (October 1844). The grounds she gave for her challenge was that Zephaniah's wife, Anna Kingsley, was "a negress," and his children with her and other black women, not his wives, were "mulattoes and each a slave of Zephaniah Kingsley" and "legally classified as 'coloured' and were therefore barred from inheriting property."³²

In her court petition, Anna Kingsley insisted that Charles Johnston McNeill, who was now overseer at his first cousin, George Kingsley's, San Jose plantation, be dismissed. He was replaced, but it is not known whether he was dismissed or resigned.³³ On 2 March 1846, the court "upheld the validity of Kingsley's 1843 will."³⁴ Martha McNeill's further "appeals to Florida's higher courts ... also failed."³⁵

Charles Johnston McNeill was living at Reddys Point, which was “a small farm [350 acres] in Arlington that [he had] purchased from the Kingsley estate for \$200.”³⁶ It had been Zephaniah “Kingsley’s well-known policy” not to separate slave families, and Charles Johnston McNeill violated that policy with regard to Reddys Point, but in 1848 reunited the family he had separated. He was said to have “had trouble with the Negroes after Mr. Kingsley’s death,”³⁷ but, like other relatives of Zephaniah Kingsley, honored the latter’s “commitments to self-purchase of freedom, liberal emancipation policies, and the sanctity of slave families.”³⁸ It is interesting that, like his brother, William Gibbs McNeill, and sister, Anna (McNeill) Whistler, Charles had the very excitable McNeill temperament, which sometimes flared up in relationships with his slaves. By 1860, Charles Johnston McNeill’s slaves no longer numbered sixteen, as they had in the 1840s. He “owned one slave, a sixty-year-old woman.”³⁹ It is pointed out by Zephaniah Kingsley’s biographer that his “heirs and legatees who lived in Duval County in the 1850s” were together responsible for the creation of a free colored community in their rural enclave east of the St. Johns River; were, like him, “proslavery and believed in the need for financial security to protect against the uncertainty of life in turbulent times”; given “a decade of intense race hysteria and discrimination toward free persons of color, and with their eyes fixed on the possibility of a war between the free and slave states,” they “traded human property for money.”⁴⁰ However, he had financial problems, and in April 1850 Anna Whistler tried to negotiate a loan for him from Joseph Harrison Jr., but Andrew McCalla Eastwick, whom she asked to act as go-between, himself made the loan.⁴¹

Charles Johnston McNeill married a mulatto woman named Elizabeth Coffee (St. Augustine, FL c. 1828 – Jacksonville FL 23 August 1898).⁴² They had nine children: Donald C. (Florida c. 1845–1876); Josiah S. (b. Florida c. 1847); Charles W. (Jacksonville, FL 27 October 1847 – Port Washington, Nassau County, New York 16 June 1933; buried Green-Wood Cemetery, Brooklyn, Kings County [Brooklyn] NY), who married Fanny Stevenson; Albert/Alvan Clifton (Jacksonville, FL 1853 – Jacksonville, FL 1933), who married Anne Louise Christopher (1853 – Jacksonville, FL 1918); Ellen M. (b. Florida c. 1855),

called “Tante”; William Palmer (Florida 15 April 1857 – Bronx, NY 27 September 1947), who married Nealie McNeal; Anna Alicia (Florida c. 1859 – Pinellas, FL 1950), who married on 19 June 1876 Alvan van Buskirk (1847–1916); Pearl Eliza (Florida 28 January 1860 – c. 1878); and James Bolton (1864 – Boston, MA 1 November 1899).⁴³ He came north for visits, sometimes with his sons, but his wife did not accompany him. Long after his death, Donald Palmer Stanton, the son of his niece, Anna Whistler (Palmer) Stanton, informed Kate McDiarmid, the biographer of Anna (McNeill) Whistler, that Uncle Charlie’s sons were very dark, and that Anna Whistler (Palmer) Stanton “suspected ‘dark’ blood.”⁴⁴

It is not until March and May 1858 that we learn details of Charles Johnston McNeill’s life, when Anna Whistler spent a month at his home. As early as 1829 and up until her death in 1852, Martha (Kingsley) McNeill spent winters (some extending into summer) in Florida with Charles Johnston McNeill. In the autumn of 1846, when she was considering going to live with the Whistlers until they left Russia permanently, her son traveled north and successfully persuaded her instead to accompany him when he returned to Florida. She admirably tutored Eliza (Coffee) McNeill in social behaviour and engaged in the religious and moral training of this daughter-in-law and of the grandchildren.

Six years after their mother’s death, Anna Whistler visited her brother for the first time and was impressed by what their mother had achieved in her years of spending winters with him and his family: “I really must commend the mother of his promising sons for training them so gently & firmly to do right. I have been chaplain as regularly as teacher & trust she will never omit family worship. My mothers lessons are impressed upon Uncle Charlies wife she was a poor girl and motherless, my mother taught her & now she acquits herself really as a lady.” While this visit “awakened individual interest in his family,” and she concentrated on tutoring his three eldest sons, she did not plan to come again, although he asked her “to repeat her visit every winter.” She took no leisure hours for herself while with him, and was rewarded after her departure by letters from him that were “the outpouring of grateful affection for what my interest in the improvement of his boys

accomplished.”⁴⁵ She did not, however, wish to live in the South for reasons she did not give.⁴⁶

She described her brother's log house as “neatly kept tho so – barely furnished” with “Oleanders 20 feet high” surrounding the house's enclosure, Cape Jasmines, ripening orange trees, berries, and peaches. The house had a piazza from which she preferred “inhaling the sea breezes ... looking down upon the St. Johns two miles wide” rather than sailing. They occasionally had “oysters and fine fresh fish,” but as it was planting season, he and “the small band of field hands [were] in requisition.” When he reappeared after work in the fields, “he always appear[ed] the gentleman.”⁴⁷

He was one of the beneficiaries of his half-sister, Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill's, will in 1863, receiving £200.⁴⁸

In 1867, he, his wife, and six children were able to move out of the “negro house [they] had been obliged to live in when the one they were in was burned!” and to resettle “in their own at Readys Point ... from which they had been banished.”⁴⁹

Anna Whistler pointed out that “he is so true hearted; his only boast being that his father was an honest man! And so my brothers popularity does not ensnare him, his taste for literature leads him to keeping up with the times & their changes, agriculture is his pursuit and he informs himself of the improvements.”⁵⁰

Charles Johnston McNeill is mentioned only once in the diaries, when he is recorded as having traveled to New York and Stonington with his Florida cousins in the summer of 1844. Otherwise, he is referred to only obliquely through Martha (Kingsley) McNeill's letters to Anna Whistler, and even then it is his plantation, or, rather, the blooming of the flowers there, that is the subject of Anna Whistler's comments. She tended generally not to divulge whatever their mother might have revealed of his situation. On 29 May 1844, she received a letter from Martha (Kingsley) McNeill and said of its contents only that her mother's voice was always a true comfort to her.

He died suddenly on 2 March 1869 at his home. Writing to James H. Gamble and his wife, Harriet, on 6 May 1869, Anna Whistler continued to praise him: “A fortnight since came to me from Florida tidings of my brothers sudden death, for which however I am thankful

in feeling *assured* he was prepared. his was a life of cheerful resignation to our heavenly Fathers will, diligent in his labors for the maintenance of his wife & many children, he was fervent in spirit. I may truly say he walked with God & *is not* for God has taken him!"⁵¹ Two of his sons, Donald and Charles, attended a service in Stonington, Connecticut, for their father. An interesting account of the service was made to Anna Whistler by her sister, Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer,⁵² but, unfortunately, that letter is not extant.

* * *

Anna (McNeill) Whistler's youngest sister, Catherine Jane ("Kate") McNeill (1812 – Stonington, CT 20 May 1877), married on 23 March 1840 at St. Mark's Church in New York City, as his second wife, George Edwin Palmer, MD⁵³ (Stonington, CT 15 April 1803 – Stonington, CT 8 May 1868; see Image 36). Dr. Palmer already had three surviving children from his first marriage to Emma Ann (Woodbridge) Palmer (Stonington, CT 28 February 1802 – Stonington, CT 16 February 1839): Amos (Stonington, CT 18 February 1827 – Providence, RI 4 June 1861), William Rhodes (Stonington, CT 9 September 1828 – Manhattan, NY 8 April 1893), and Emma Woodbridge (Stonington, CT 24 November 1835 – Stonington, CT 28 July 1912). There seems to have also been a second daughter, Julia Palmer, born in 1839, the year of her mother's death. Of these children, only Emma Woodbridge Palmer is mentioned in the diaries. She wrote Anna Whistler a letter in May or June 1844. Amos Palmer became a physician. Their mother was buried in Evergreen Cemetery, Stonington, Connecticut. Dr. George Edwin Palmer's funeral in 1868 was observed with full Masonic rites and attended by five hundred people.

George Edwin Palmer, MD, had four children with Catherine Ann ("Kate") (McNeill) Palmer: Julia McNeill (Stonington, CT 25 March 1841 – New York City 22 February 1902), George Edwin Jr. (Stonington, CT 8 May 1843 – Cincinnati, OH 24 May 1909), Donald McNeill (Stonington, CT 7 November 1845 – San Jose, CA 9 May 1928), and Anna Whistler (Stonington, CT 7 April 1848 – Stonington, CT 28 May 1928).

Anna Whistler was very close to her sister. They corresponded on a regular basis while the Whistlers were in Russia and Anna Whistler wrote frequently in her diaries of the receipt of letters from Catherine Jane with news of the birth of the latter's children, of life in Stonington, and the burial of two-year-old Charles Donald Whistler. Anna Whistler also recorded that her brother-in-law, Dr. George Edwin Palmer, who sometimes added a PS to his wife's letters, supplied her with medications for the journey to St. Petersburg and spoke of him with great affection.

The Palmer Home, called "The Old Corner House" (see Image 37), was located at 24 Main Street in Stonington.

* * *

Julia McNeill Palmer (Stonington, CT 25 March 1841 – New York 22 February 1902) was the first child and first daughter of Catherine Jane (McNeill) and Dr. George Edwin Palmer.⁵⁴ She married on 27 December 1870, in Calvary Church, Stonington, Connecticut, the Rev. William Slosson Boardman (New York City 17 June 1838 – Sienna, Italy 27 January 1923). They traveled extensively in Europe for the ten years before her death and always made their home at the Park Avenue Hotel in New York City (between 32nd and 33rd Streets) because it was thought to be fireproof. On Saturday, 22 February 1902, a fire broke out in the hotel. Julia McNeill (Palmer) Boardman perished in the fire, dying a horrible death. She could not at first be found in any hospital, but eventually some remains from the hotel were identified by a niece, who recognized a piece of jewelry she was wearing. Her funeral was held in New York, and her remains buried in Stonington, Connecticut. Her husband was badly burned but recovered. He remarried the following year.

She was about two and a half years old when Anna Whistler and her family went to St. Petersburg in 1843 and about seven and a half when the diaries came to a halt. In March 1844, Anna Whistler recorded buying a Russian "nurse" doll for her, made by a Russian lady in reduced circumstances.

* * *

George Edwin Palmer Jr. (Stonington, CT 8 May 1843 – Cincinnati, OH 24 May 1909)⁵⁵ was about three months old when Anna Whistler and her children departed for St. Petersburg in September 1843 and about five years old when the diaries ended. The diaries show that his mother gratified Anna Whistler when she wrote her in the winter of 1845 that everyone who saw her little Georgie was reminded of the deceased two-year-old Charles Donald Whistler. The thrilling details of an illness suffered by him are recorded in the diaries related to Anna Whistler in a letter from her sister-in-law Maria (Cammann) McNeill, who frequently visited Stonington with her family. George Edwin Palmer Jr. married Susan Euphemia Sears.

* * *

Donald McNeill Palmer (Stonington, CT 7 November 1845 – San Jose, CA 9 May 1928)⁵⁶ was born in November 1845. He is not mentioned in the diaries. Although the diary for 1845 includes November, Anna Whistler expressed in December 1845 or the early months of 1846 her irritation at being unable to record events except sporadically. He married Ann Elizabeth Feazel of Glasgow, Maine (b. c. 1847). They had a daughter, Lillian McNeill Palmer (6 July 1871 – Los Gatos, CA 1961), who became an artist in the Arts and Crafts Movement (1890–1920).

* * *

Anna Whistler Palmer (Stonington, CT 7 April 1848 – Stonington, CT 28 May 1928)⁵⁷ was five months old when the diaries came to a halt in September 1848. She came to dislike her Aunt Anna Whistler because of recollections of confiscated toy episodes when she was a young child and of Anna Whistler's humiliation of her as a teenager. She married on 17 November 1875 Dr. George Dallas Stanton, MD, of Stonington, Connecticut, and had one child, Donald Palmer Stanton (7 October 1876 – 27 November 1932), who remained a bachelor. Her dislike of her aunt was disclosed when her son communicated it in 1928 and 1930 to Kate McDiarmid, who was collecting information for her biography of Anna Whistler. Her birth is mentioned in the diaries in 1848. The 1848 diary

is not resumed until April 25, two weeks after her birth, and on 22 May Anna Whistler records the receipt of an affectionate letter written by her sister, Kate, just before the latter's confinement, with a PS from her husband, Dr. George Edwin Palmer, for whom Anna Whistler had great affection.

* * * * *

Also among Anna Whistler's Florida relatives⁵⁸ mentioned in the diaries are the children of her mother's sister, Isabella (Kingsley) Gibbs (13 January 1774 – 21 January 1838), who were visiting in New York and Stonington, Connecticut, in the autumn of 1844 along with her brother, Charles Johnston McNeill. They are Kingsley Beatty Gibbs (25 July 1810 – 16 October 1859) and Sophia Hermes (Gibbs) Couper (7 November 1812 – 20 March 1903). The second wife of Kingsley Beatty Gibbs, Laura (Williams) Gibbs (1820–1892; married 14 January 1841), was also present.

Kingsley Beatty Gibbs, like his first cousin, Charles Johnston McNeill, worked for their uncle, Zephaniah Kingsley (1765–1843), in East Florida. At the latter's death, he and Charles Johnston McNeill both received bequests. "Kingsley Beatty Gibbs received the schooner *North Carolina* and 1,000 acres of land at Twelve Mile Swamp in St. John's County."

Sophia Hermes (Gibbs) Couper, who had married John Couper (St. Simons Island, Glynn County, GA 12 April 1799 – West Bay [near Mobile], AL 24 January 1837) in Chatham, Georgia, on 21 November 1832, was a widow. On 5 February 1846, Sophia Hermes (Gibbs) Couper of Wilmington, North Carolina, married at Fort George Island, Florida, as her second husband, General Duncan Lamont Clinch (Edgecombe County, NC 6 April 1787 – Macon, Bibb County, GA 27 November 1849).

* * * * *

South Carolina cousins⁵⁹ are also mentioned briefly in the diaries. Anna Whistler refers to Miss Anna Johnstone, and Miss Johnstone's niece, Mrs. Corbett, as well as Mrs. Corbett's daughter, Lizzie. Anna

Johnstone (1787–1870), first cousin of Martha (Kingsley) McNeill, was the daughter of Charles Johnston and Mary (Mackenzie) Johnston, brother and sister-in-law of Isabella (Johnston) Kingsley. Anna Johnstone lived at South Bay, Charleston, South Carolina, where Anna Whistler visited her in 1858, after a twenty-nine-year hiatus. Of Anna Johnstone's six siblings, Marion, who married Peter Porcher Jr., was the mother of Margaret (Porcher) Corbett (b. 1804). The latter, "widowed at age twenty-five," was the mother of one child, Elizabeth, who married Polydore P. Duclos, a broker, and lived in New York. In the 1860s, their address was 106 East 41st Street. When Anna Whistler came to the United States from England for a visit in the summer of 1867, she frequently saw these relatives in New York, even living with Anna Johnstone in the home of the vacationing Elizabeth (Corbett) Duclos and providing care for her.

In the diaries, Anna Whistler says that the manner of her guest, Miss Krehmer, reminds her of her Charleston cousins.

* * * * *

Also appearing in the diaries are members of the Dunscombe and Vallance⁶⁰ families, whose tie to Anna Whistler is through Maria (Cammann) McNeill, her sister-in-law. They were the children of John Dunscombe (Bermuda 1777 – Liverpool 28 November 1848) and Elizabeth (McGill or Magill) Dunscombe (Middletown, CT 18 July 1779 – 28 February 1830): Eliza Dunscombe (Bermuda 1801 – Brooklyn 11 July 1861), Margaret Magill Dunscombe (St. John's, NL c. 1807 – buried West Derby, Liverpool, Lancashire 18 July 1851), and George Hoyles Dunscombe (St. John's, NL 30 August 1817 – Florida 21 March 1871). Their father was a merchant in Bermuda and came to Newfoundland in 1808 as an agent for a group of Bermuda businessmen. He eventually became a very prominent citizen there. St. John's, Newfoundland, is named for his Bermuda home, St. John's Hill. His business was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1846 (June).

* * *

Eliza M. Dunscombe married at Albany, New York, on 23 September 1831 Henry J. Cammann (d. 1833), a lawyer and the brother of Maria (Cammann) McNeill. He died about eighteen months later, and Eliza (Dunscombe) Cammann spent most of the rest of her widowed life in England.

On 1 May 1846, Anna Whistler recorded in the diaries that she had received a letter from her niece, Eliza McNeill, saying that Aunt Eliza was coming from Newfoundland that summer to New York. Eliza McNeill wished Anna Whistler to come from Russia to the United States to meet her.

* * *

Margaret Magill Dunscombe married on 24 July 1830 at St. John's, Newfoundland, William Vallance (Newton Abbot, Devon c. 1797 – Liverpool 23 April 1863). The Vallance family were merchants and ship owners of London, Liverpool, and (in Devon) Dartmouth, Torquay, and Teignmouth. The William Vallance family lived at 1 or 2 West Derby Street, Liverpool. William Vallance is listed in Liverpool directories at 2 West Derby Street as merchant and agent to the Medical, Legal, and General Life Assurance Company.

The Vallances had at least ten children: Mary Eliza (St. John's, NL 16 May 1831 – d. possibly in New Zealand), probably the eldest daughter "Minnie" referred to by Anna Whistler in her diaries; John Dunscombe (b. Shaldon, Devon c. 1833; bap. 3 September 1833); William (b. c. 1835); George Dunscombe (b. Newton Abbot, Devon July 1838); Margaret Ellen (b. c. 1840; bap. St. Mary, Edge Hill, Lancashire 24 August 1840; probably died, as there is a second Margaret later); Christopher Bridge (b. Liverpool, 23 July 1841; bap. St. Mary, Edge Hill, Lancashire 25 January 1842); Margaret Jane (b. Liverpool c. 1842; bap. St. Bartholomew's, Liverpool, Lancashire 18 December 1842); Frederick Julian (b. Liverpool c. 1844; bap. St. Bartholomew's, Liverpool, Lancashire 23 September 1844); Miriam Lois (b. Liverpool 16 April 1848; bap. St. Jude's, West Derby, Lancashire 12 November 1848 – Greenland, New Zealand 24 June 1933); Rhoda Ellen (b. Liverpool c. 1850).

In 1847, when Anna Whistler, James, and Willie were in England, six or seven of the Vallance children could have been with their parents. Rhoda Ellen was not yet born. Possibly William had died, as also may have Margaret Ellen, since there was now a Margaret Jane.

Mary Eliza (“Minnie”) Dunscombe became a nurse and married James O’Shea on 25 February 1868 in Wellington, New Zealand. Of the younger children referred to in the diaries whom Anna Whistler could have seen in Liverpool, John joined the British Army either in the East Indies or in India, and Miriam Lois married on 18 April 1876 in Wellington, New Zealand, Charles Joseph Barker, who worked variously as banker, collector, and government insurance agent in Carterton and Christchurch, New Zealand.

* * *

Eliza (Dunscombe) Cammann and Margaret McGill (Dunscombe) Vallance’s brother, George Hoyles, was a banker in Coburg, Ontario, Canada. He eventually moved to New York, while his partner, Eugenius Harvey of Bermuda, took over their company, Dunscombe and Harvey, in St. John’s, Newfoundland. He married when he was over fifty and died in 1871 in Florida. He was buried in Hibernia Cemetery in Orange Park, Clay County, Florida. His wife’s name is not known. After his death, his wife returned to Canada. They had two surviving children: George Hoyles Dunscombe Jr. (c. 1867 – after 1906) and Catherine (Dunscombe) Colt, born after her father’s death. As his sister, Eliza, was Maria (Cammann) McNeill’s sister-in-law, he would have been able to bring Anna Whistler news, directly or indirectly, of her brother, William Gibbs McNeill’s, family, when he came to Liverpool in the summer of 1847.

A nephew, Cyprian Bridge, remembers his aunts Eliza and Margaret as strikingly beautiful women and his uncle George as the handsomest man he ever saw and an extraordinary fisherman.

* * * * *

Anna Whistler also mentions in her diaries a “Henriet Halback,”⁶¹ whose tie to Anna Whistler is also through Maria (Cammann) McNeill,

and who wrote her a letter from Frankfort am Main that was received in St. Petersburg on 22 April 1848. An old friend of Anna Whistler's, Henriette Wilhelmine (Bohlen) Halbach (Philadelphia 15 September 1803 – Baden-Baden 14 March 1870) was the daughter of Bohl Bohlen (Schiffdorf [near Bremerhaven] 26 September 1754 – Philadelphia 11 September 1836) and Johanna Magdalena Oswald (New York 1 August 1770 – Amsterdam 13 February 1805). Her father was a gin merchant and the Dutch consul in Philadelphia.

Henriette Wilhelmine Bohlen married on 18 March 1826 in Philadelphia George Halbach (Müngsten bei Remscheid 4 October 1798 – Baden-Baden 27 August 1855). They had five children: Oswald (Philadelphia 27 February 1827 – Philadelphia 29 April 1930); Alwine Henriette (Philadelphia 6 March 1829 – Madrid 16 April 1890); Emilie Georgiana (Philadelphia 20 March 1831 – Philadelphia 17 August 1834); Juliet Amanda Victoria (Philadelphia 27 April 1835 – Baden-Baden 11 February 1919); and George (Philadelphia 10 November 1836 – Dusseldorf 14 August 1905). Henriette Wilhelmine (Bohlen) Halbach's mother, Johanna Magdalena Oswald, was the daughter of Philip Jakob Oswald and Catherine (Hahn) Oswald, and the sister of Maria Margareta Oswald, who married Charles Louis Cammann. Henriette Wilhelmine (Bohlen) Halbach was aunt, therefore, to Maria Matilda Cammann, who married Anna Whistler's brother, William Gibbs McNeill. This probably explains why Anna Whistler knew Henriette Halbach and her daughter, Alwine. George Halbach submitted a passport application in 1840, supported by the Bavarian consul at Philadelphia in a letter dated 19 May 1840, to visit Europe with his wife and three of their children. They may have remained there permanently. Anna Whistler quoted in her diaries Henriette Wilhelmine (Bohlen) Halbach's comments on the revolutions of 1848.

NOTES

1. For the biography of Major John Whistler see *John Whistler, Burton Historical Collection Leaflet*, vol. 5, no. 1, September 1926, Detroit Public Library, Detroit, MI; "Maj John Whistler," Memorial ID 65938795, findagrave.com.

2. Cheryl Whistler Garrison, "Descendants of Major John Whistler," ancestry.com; CHS: *Whistler*, pp. 3, 4, 5.
3. Cullum, *Biographical Register*, vol. 1; Harden, "Whistler," pp. 146–160; Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 32–38, 52–54; 52n84–54n113; *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 9, pp. 48–49; George L. Vose, *A Sketch of the Life and Works of George Washington Whistler, Civil Engineer* (Boston: Lee and Shepard; New York: Charles L. Dillingham, 1887).
4. This biography of William Whistler is a composite from the following sources: Heitman, *Historical Register*, vol. 1, p. 1026; "Col William Whistler," Memorial ID 65937938, findagrave.com; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Colonel William Whistler," *The Chronicles of Oklaboma* 18, no. 4 (1940): p. 314–327; "William Whistler (1780 [sic: 1782]–1863," *Whistler Genealogy*, Wikitree, last modified June 14, 2018, accessed September 28, 2020, <https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Whistler-169>
5. This biography of the Bloodgood family is a composite from the following sources: Cullum, *Biographical Register*, vol. 1, p. 333; *Twelfth Annual Reunion of the Association of the Graduates of the United States Military Academy, June 9, 1881* (East Saginaw, MI: E.W. Lyon, 1881); Deborah B. Martin, "The Story of an Old Letter," *Green Bay Historical Bulletin* 3, no. 1 (1927): pp. 1–8; Arthur H. Frazier, "William, Brother of George Washington Whistler," paper dated April 1969, in the collection of the SHS, p. 7; CHS: *Whistler*; *Wyandotte Herald*, January 8, 1909; *Record of Service of Michigan Volunteers in the Civil War, 1861–1865*, published by authority of the Senate and House of Representatives of the Michigan Legislature under the direction of Brig. Gen. Geo. H. Brown, Adjutant General (Kalamazoo, MI: Ihling Bros. and Everard, n.d.), p. 16; Barber and Howe, *Historical Collections*, p. 532; Alexander J. Swift to his father, West Point July 1st 1843, USMAL: A.J. Swift Papers, CU 587; entry for January 1844 and entry for March 12 [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
6. This biography of Joseph Nelson Garland Whistler and his wife is a composite from the following sources: Cullum, *Biographical Register*, vol. 2, pp. 296–298, and supplement, vol. 4, 1890–1900; "Col Joseph Nelson Garland Whistler," Memorial ID 32345937, findagrave.com; *Army and Navy Journal and Gazette of the Regular and Volunteer Forces* 25 (27 August 1887): p. 80; U.S., *Newspaper Extractions from the Northeast, 1704–1930*, IGI.
7. This biography of James Whistler is a composite from the following sources: entry for March 12 [1844], NYPL: AWPDP,

- Part I; CHS: *Whistler*, p. 3; Cheryl Whistler Garrison, "Descendants of Major John Whistler," ancestry.com; *Times-Picayune* (New Orleans), October 17, 1843.
8. T.H. Hinchman, *Banks and Banking in Michigan* (New York: Arno, 1980), p. 108; *Defiance Express*, March 26, 1906.
 9. *Detroit Free Press*, March 14, 1858 and October 6, 1874. A portrait of each of the Abbott spouses by Conrad Highwood can be found in the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library.
 10. This biography of the Hamilton and Van Vechten families is a composite from the following sources: Van Vechten, *Genealogical Records of the Van Vechten's*, p. 44; Van Vechten and Shattuck, *Van Vechten Genealogy*, p. 116; entry for January 1844 and entry for March 12 [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I; CHS: *Whistler*; Albany Rural Cemetery (Gravestone and Cemetery Burial Cards), ancestry.co.uk; *War of 1812 Widows and Pension Files*; *Michigan Death Records* for 1874.
 11. Sarah Delano (Swift) Adams to her brother, General Joseph G. Swift, New London, 12 April 1830, Letters to Alexander J. Swift, son of Joseph G. Swift, USMAL: A.J. Swift Papers; Foster Swift to his daughter-in-law, Louisa (Walker) Swift, wife of General Joseph G. Swift, New London, 16 January 1831.
 12. This biography of Joseph Gardner Swift is a composite from the following sources: Cullum, *Biographical Register*, vol. 1, p. 51–56; Ellery, *Memoirs of Gen. J.G. Swift*.
 13. This biography of the families of Joseph Gardner Swift and Thomas John Chew is a composite from the following sources: Ellery, *Memoirs of Gen. J.G. Swift*, pp. 42, 247; *Daily Times* (New Brunswick, NJ), April 6, 1896; Rev. Canon Lawrence D. Fish, archivist/historian, Diocese of New Jersey, Trenton, NJ, to E. Harden, no month or day, 2005; Christ Church Records (New Brunswick, NJ), Rutgers University Special Collections; David Kuzma, Archibald S. Alexander Library, Special Collections and University Archives, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, to E. Harden, 28 February 2006; Thomas J. Chew Family Papers, William L. Clements Library, Manuscripts Division, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI; Lawrence Buckley Thomas, *Pedigrees of Thomas, Chew, and Lawrence: A West River Register and Genealogical Notes* (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1883), p. 33; *Geneva Courier*, July 4, 1843, p. 3, col. 2; and the entry for S^t Petersburg. November 28th 1843, NYPL: AWPDP, Part I, and accompanying

- Note 16; “McRee Swift, F. Am. Soc. C. E.,” *Proceedings of the American Society of Civil Engineers* 22 (January–December 1896): pp. 565–566; “Peter Richards,” Memorial ID 58229529, findagrave.com; “Thomas John Chew,” Memorial ID 123167648; “Abby Hortense Chew,” Memorial ID 90486595; “Louisa Margaret Walker Swift,” Memorial ID 30460168.
14. This biography of Captain William Henry Swift and of his family is a composite from the following sources: Cullum, *Biographical Register*, vol. 1, pp. 236–237; *Daily National Intelligencer*, March 26, 1846, p. 3, col. 5; USMAL: W.H. Swift Papers; *Autobiography of George Bliss* [the son], vol. 1, fol. 24, N-YHS: Bliss Papers; *Genealogy of the Bliss Family in America*, vol. 1, pp. 404–405, NYPL: Swift Papers; Wm. H. Swift to General J. G. Swift, New London, 27 January 1835; George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, New York 27 June 1837; George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, Springfield, 4 September 1837; RGIA: Fond 446, 1844, op. 13, d. 4. Vsepoddaneishie doklady GUPSiPZ 9/21 Maia 1844 g., 510 [Most Devoted Reports of the Main Administration of Transport and Public Buildings 9/21 May 1844, no. 510]. This item is a letter from Nesterov to Kleinmikhel’ proposing that Captain William Henry Swift be awarded a diamond ring for his services. Approved by Nicholas I at Tsarskoe Selo on 9/21 May 1844.
A silhouette was made by Auguste Edouart of Captain William Henry Swift at Saratoga Springs, New York, on 14 July 1842, of which it has not been possible to locate an image (Jackson, *Ancestors in Silhouette*, p. 225).
 15. For an explanation of Captain William H. Swift’s connections through his second marriage, see Stoeckl, Howard, Swift, Ironside in this Appendix.
 16. This biography of Dr. Daniel McNeill, MD, is a composite from the following sources: MacBean, *Saint Andrew’s Society*, vol. 2, pp. 1–2, and North Carolina State Records, 1786, Department of Cultural Resources, Raleigh, NC. His biography is difficult and unsatisfactory to reconstruct. For example, although he and his family left North Carolina permanently for New York in 1815, he was already living in New York in 1807, when he became a member of the Saint Andrew’s Society and is listed in New York directories. It is hard to account for the years in between.
 17. This brief biography of Martha (Kingsley) McNeill and the Kingsley family is a composite from the following sources: Schafer, *Zephaniah Kingsley*, pp. 2, 9, 18, 246n29, 259n3, 259–260n7, 300; “‘Whistler’s Mother’ Exhibit Creates Historical

Interest, Family Settled in S.C.,” “The World of Women,” *Aiken Standard and Review* (Aiken, SC), April 26, 1963; “Zephaniah Kingsley Sr.,” Wikipedia, December 7, 2018, accessed September 28, 2020, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zephaniah_Kingsley_Sr.; the essay on Anna (McNeill) Whistler as she was in the 1840s in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s”; Watt, *Gibbs Family*; Marriage license for Zephaniah Kingsley [sic] and Isabella Johnston, 28 September 1763, Lambeth Palace Library, London, UK.

Family legend has it that Isabella Johnston was the daughter of “Sir William Johnstone (1663–1720), ... Marquis of Annandale, Earl of Hartfell and Chief of his clan,” and Lady Katherine (Melville) Johnstone, “descendant of Henry Dundas, the first Marquis of Melville and the Lord Advocate of Scotland.” Isabella Johnston is listed as twenty-four years old, spinster, and Zephaniah Kingsley [sic] as twenty-seven years old, a “linnen draper.” I accept Schafer’s proposal that Isabella Johnston “was more likely the daughter of Robert Johnston and Catherine Melville, born in 1737 at Fireside, Scotland, immediately north of Annan in the Dumfries and Galloway region of southwest Scotland” and that “her mother was the daughter or niece of John Melville, a steward or factor at one of the estates owned by the Duke and Duchess of Buccleugh” (Schafer, *Zephaniah Kingsley*, pp. 259–260).

18. This biography of the Fairfax family, and of Donald McNeill Fairfax in particular, is a composite from the following sources: *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. “Fairfax, Donald McNeill”; ZB file for Donald McNeill Fairfax, information sheet dated 22 March 1917, Naval Historical Center, Washington, DC; Beach, *United States Navy*, pp. 196–222; *The National Intelligencer* (Washington, DC), February 29, 1844; *New York Herald*, March 1, 1844; Major G.W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, April 4, 1844, NYPL: Swift Papers; F.L. Brockett, comp., *The Lodge of Washington: A History of the Alexandria Washington Lodge, No. 22. A.F. and A.M. of Alexandria, Va., 1783–1876* (Alexandria, VA: George D. French, 1876), pp. 118, 119; Abraham W. Foote, *Foote Family: Comprising the Genealogy and History of Nathaniel Foote of Wethersfield, Conn. And His Descendants*, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Gateway, 1984), vol. 1, pp. 322–323; 1850 US Census for Fairfax County; *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 4, pp. 459–460; George N. McKenzie, ed., *Colonial Families of the United States of America*, 7 vols. (Baltimore, MD: Baltimore Genealogical Publishing, 1966), vol. 2, p. 279; Kenton Kilmer and Donald

- Sweig, *The Fairfax Family in Fairfax County: A Brief History*, ed. Nan Netherton (Fairfax, VA: Fairfax County Office of Comprehensive Planning–Fairfax County Historical Commission, 1975), p. 110; Edward D. Neill, “Descendants of Hon. William Fairfax of Belvoir, Virginia, United States of America” (genealogical table), in *The Fairfaxes of England and America in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Albany, NY: Joel Munsell, 1868), following p. 208; “RADM Donald MacNeil Fairfax,” Memorial ID 82374838.
19. This biography of the family of Joseph and Mary Charlotte (McNeill) Easterbrook is a composite from the following sources: *Index of Marriages and Deaths in New York Weekly Museum, 1788–1817*; *The Commissioned Sea Officers of the Royal Navy 1660–1815* ([Greenwich, UK: Royal Naval College – National Maritime Museum, 1954]); Baptismal registers of Temple Church, Bristol; *Gentleman's Magazine* (1810); *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1810; Will of Joseph Easterbrook dated 9 July 1796, Prerogative Court of Canterbury Wills 1810; Baptismal registers of the Church of St. Phillip and St. Jacob, Bristol; Sarah Richards, *Eighteenth-Century Ceramics Products for a Civilised Society* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 146–147, 173n61; *Trenman's Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser*, December 20, 1821; *The Glasgow Herald*, December 10, 1821; *New-York Evening Post*, November 2, 5, 8, 9, 10, 14, 1821; *Bristol Mercury*, August 25, 1832 and December 27, 1862; James Brimble, descendant of Joseph Easterbrook Sr. (1767–1810).
 20. This biography of William Gibbs McNeill is a composite from the following sources: *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 9, pp. 47–48; Cullum, *Biographical Register*, vol. 1, pp. 161–166; *New York Evening Post*, Friday, June 8, 1821; and the essay on George William Whistler in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s.”
 21. This biographical information about Charles Louis Cammann is a composite from the following sources: James R. Leaming, *Memoir of George P. Cammann, M.D., Read Before the New York Academy of Medicine, October 21st, 1863* (Boston: E.P. Dutton, 1864), pp. 3, 4, 5; Mrs. S. Dillon Ripley, Washington, DC, to E. Harden, 11 May 1994; Franklin–Rogers family tree, ancestry.com; *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 62 (1931): p. 153; *Brooklyn City Directory*, 1861, p. 59.
 22. This biography of Dr. George P. Cammann and his family is a composite from the following sources: Leaming, *Memoir of G.P.*

- Cammann*, pp. 8, 9, 18, 33, 34; *Saint Nicholas Society of the City of New York*, Organized February 28, 1835, Incorporated April 17, 1841 (New York: The Society, 1923), p. 27; “Anna Catharine Lorillard Cammann,” Memorial ID 7489364, findagrave.com.
23. This biography of Mary Isabella McNeill is a composite from the following sources: Wolfgang Rohdewald, “The Genealogy of the Rodewald/Rohdewald Families,” <http://www.mysunrise.ch/users/WRohdewald/indexe.html> (2001), pp. 79–80, 108, 210 (Rohdewald’s document is based on information in Eduard Rohdewald, *Der Rodewalde Geschlecht familiengeschichtliche Blätter* [Rodewald Family Genealogical Notes], trans. Jutta Kitching [Leipzig, Germany: G. Reichardt, 1929]); Gertrude A. Barber, comp., *Marriages Taken from the New York Evening Post*, vol. 13, *From September 21, 1849 to July 7, 1852*, ts (1936), p. 21.
 24. This biography of Catherine Julia McNeill is a composite from the following sources: Rohdewald, “Genealogy,” pp. 79–80, 108, 210; Barber, *Marriages Taken from the New York Evening Post*, p. 9.
 25. This biography of Eliza Winstanley McNeill is a composite from the following sources: Norman Gershom Flagg and Lucius C.S. Flagg, *Family Records of the Descendants of Gershom Flagg (Born 1730) of Lancaster, Massachusetts, with Other Genealogical Records of the Flagg Family Descended from Thomas Flegg of Watertown, Mass. And Including the Flegg Lineage in England* (Quincy, IL: printed by the authors, 1907), p. 127, item 1019; “Rev Edward Octavius Flagg,” Memorial ID 132650183, findagrave.com; *New-York Evening Post*, September 26, 1851; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, May 23, 1855.
 26. This biography of William Wyatt McNeill is a composite from the following sources: *New-York Evening Post*, April 3, 1850; *Daily Delta* (New Orleans, LA), Saturday, June 4, 1853, p. 2; Rohdewald, “Genealogy,” pp. 79–80; Anna Whistler to Meg Hill, Pomfret Wed. P.M. Oct. 8, 1851, LC: P-W, box 34; Donald P. Stanton to Kate McDiarmid, Stonington, 25 November 1928, GUL: Whistler Collection, S191.
 27. This biography of Patrick Tracy Jackson McNeill is a composite from the following sources: T.B. Lawson, “Lowell and Newburyport,” *Contributions of the Old Residents’ Historical Association* 16 (read May 2, 1876): pp. 216, 223, 224; Donald P. Stanton to Kate McDiarmid, Stonington, 25 November 1928, GUL: Whistler Collection, S191; *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. “Jackson, Patrick Tracy.”

28. Schafer, *Zephaniah Kingsley*, pp. 7, 259nn1, 2; *New York Herald*, June 11, 1853.
29. Donald P. Stanton to Kate McDiarmid 20 February [1929], GUL: Whistler Collection, S193.
30. Schafer, *Zephaniah Kingsley*, pp. 218–219.
31. Schafer, pp. 226.
32. Schafer, pp. 231.
33. Schafer, pp. 232.
34. Schafer, pp. 233.
35. Schafer, pp. 242.
36. Schafer, pp. 234.
37. Schafer, pp. 236.
38. Schafer, pp. 242.
39. Schafer, pp. 244.
40. All quotations in this sentence are from Schafer, p. 245.
41. Entry for March 27: March 25, AMW 1850 Diary; entry for April 22: April 20; entry for May 4: May 2; entry for May 11: May 9; entry for May 16: May 14; entry for May 22: May 20; entry for June 8: June 6.
42. Obituary for Mrs. E. McNeill, *Florida Times-Union and Citizen* (Jacksonville, FL), August 25, 1898, p. 5, col. 5.
43. 1850 Census for Jacksonville District, Duval County, FL; 1860 Census for Duval County, FL; 1870 Census for Mandarin, Duval County, FL; “Charles W [sic] MacNeill,” Memorial ID 121155309, findagrave.com.
44. Donald P. Stanton to Kate McDiarmid 29 January [1930], GUL: Whistler Collection, S195.
45. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, 23 March 1858 [St. John’s River, East Florida], GUL: Whistler Collection, W490.
46. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, South Bay [Charleston] Friday afternoon May 7th 1858, GUL: Whistler Collection, W491.
47. All quotations in this paragraph are from Anna Whistler to James Whistler, 23 March 1858 [St. John’s River, East Florida], GUL: Whistler Collection, W490.
48. See the biography of Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill in Winstanley ... Cragg in this Appendix.

49. Anna Whistler to dear M London Saturday 19th [June 1869], LC: P-W, box 34, A.
50. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, 23 March 1858 [St. John's River, East Florida], GUL: Whistler Collection, W490.
51. *New York Herald*, April 12, 1869; Anna Whistler to Harriet and James Gamble, 2 Lindsey Row Chelsea London Thursday May 6th [18]69, GUL: Whistler Collection, W536.
52. Anna Whistler to Harriet and James Gamble, 2 Lindsay Row Chelsea London May 6th [18]69, GUL: Whistler Collection, W536; SHS Archives. As the Stonington Cemetery records contain no information about a burial service for Charles Johnston McNeill, perhaps a memorial service was held.
53. This biography of Dr. George Edwin Palmer, MD, is a composite from the following sources: *Narragansett Weekly*, May 14, 1868; *The Mystic Pioneer*, May 23, 1868; SHS Archives; Anna P. Stanton to Kate McDiarmid, 9 April [1928], GUL: Whistler Collection, S178; Donald P. Stanton to Kate McDiarmid, Stonington, 25 November 1928, S191; Donald P. Stanton to Kate McDiarmid, Stonington, 26 May 1930, S202; Donald P. Stanton to Kate McDiarmid, Stonington, 19 October [1930], S208.
54. This biography of Julia (McNeill) Palmer is a composite from the following sources: *New-York Tribune*, February 22, 1902, February 23, 1902, and February 24, 1902; *Stonington Mirror*, February 25 and February 28, 1902; *New York Times*, August 17, 1903; Donald P. Stanton to Kate McDiarmid, 25 November 1928, GUL: Whistler Collection, S191; SHS Archives; "Report of the Death of an American Citizen," American consular service report, ancestry.com; "Passport Application in 1869 for William S. Boardman," ancestry.com.
55. This biography of George Edwin Palmer Jr. is a composite from the following sources: Donald P. Stanton to Kate McDiarmid, Stonington, 25 November 1928, GUL: Whistler Collection, S191; SHS Archives.
56. This biography of Donald McNeill Palmer is a composite from the following sources: Donald P. Stanton to Kate McDiarmid, Stonington, 25 November 1928, GUL: Whistler Collection, S191; SHS Archives.
57. This biography of Anna Whistler Palmer is a composite form the following sources: Donald P. Stanton to Kate McDiarmid, Stonington, 25 November 1928, GUL: Whistler Collection, S191;

- Donald P. Stanton to Kate McDiarmid, 28 April [1930], S200; Donald P. Stanton to Kate McDiarmid, [26 May 1930], S201; “The early years and boyhood of James McNeill Whistler,” by Miss Emma W. Palmer, GUL: Whistler Collection, P44; SHS Archives.
58. These biographies of Anna Whistler’s Florida relatives are a composite from the following sources: T. Reed Ferguson, *The John Couper Family at Cannon’s Point* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1995); “Marriage and Death Notices,” *Raleigh Register and North Carolina State Gazette, 1846–1867*; “Kingsley Beatty ‘King’ Gibbs,” Memorial ID 53969684, findagrave.com; “Sophie Hermes Gibbs Clinch,” Memorial ID 122242296; “Laura Malcolm Williams Gibbs,” Memorial ID 110317450; “John Couper Jr,” Memorial ID 69092908; “Duncan Lamont Clinch,” Memorial ID 7440995; Fretwell, “Kingsley Beatty Gibbs”; Watt, *Gibbs Family; Zephaniah Kingsley*, p. 226.
 59. These biographies of Anna Whistler’s Charleston cousins are a composite from the following sources: Schafer, *Zephaniah Kingsley*, pp. 7, 259–260n2; Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, Charleston, S.C. 23 January [1858], GUL: Whistler Collection, W488; Anna Whistler to James Whistler South Bay Friday afternoon May 7th 1858, W491; Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, entry for 189 Henry Street Brooklyn Tuesday 27th [August] in letter begun at Homeland [Staten Island] on Saturday Augt 3rd 1867, W526; Anna Whistler to my dear friends [Jane and Samuel Wann, New York] 6 August [1867], W527; Anna Whistler to Jane Wann 189 Henry Street Brooklyn Friday Augt 23rd [1867], W528; Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble entry for 189 Henry Street Brooklyn Oct. 29th [1867] in letter from Homeland, W. Baltimore Sept. 16th 1867, W530; Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, 2 Lindsey Houses Chelsea London entry of Sat. 10th [September 1870] in letter of 7 September 1870, W539; Anna Whistler to Margaret Getfield Hill, 2 Lindsey Row, Old Chelsea London October 22nd 1865, LC: P-W, box 34; Anna Whistler to Maggie [New York August 1867]; Toutziari, “Anna Matilda Whistler’s Correspondence,” vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 700nn1, 10, 11, p. 705nn6, 7, p. 706nn5, 6, p. 709n18, p. 713n16.
 60. These biographies of the Dunscombe, Vallance, and Cammann families are a composite from the following sources: 1841, 1851, and 1861 censuses for West Derby, Liverpool, Lancashire, England; 1861 Census for Edgbaston, Birmingham, England; Marriage Records of Anglican Church of St. John the Baptist, St.

- John's, NL; Gertrude Crosbie, ed., *Births, Deaths, Marriages in Newfoundland Newspapers, 1810–1890*, *Births, Deaths, Marriages in Newfoundland Newspapers, 1825–1850*, and *Births, Deaths, Marriages in Newfoundland Newspapers, 1860–1865*, Maritime History Archives, Memorial University of Newfoundland; descendent Edward Dunscombe of Endicott, New York; Robert H. Cuff, *Dictionary of Newfoundland and Labrador Biography* (St. John's, NL: printed by the author, 1990); *New York Times*, July 13, 1861, p. 5; Burials in the Parish of West Derby, Church of St. Mary Edge Hill, 1851; Burials in the Parish of West Derby, Church of St. Mary Edge Hill, 1863; Paul O'Neill, *A Seaport Legacy: The Story of St. John's Newfoundland* (Don Mills, ON: Musson, 1976), p. 778; *The Times* (London), July 1, 1846, taken from the *Morning Courier Extra* (St. John's NL), June 12, [1846]; "George Hoyles Dunscombe," Memorial ID 79245233, findagrave.com; Ed Dunscombe, comp., *Dunscombe and Allied Families: Forty Years of Flustering* (webpage), accessed September 28, 2020, <http://dunscombe.info>.
61. This biography of the Halbach family is a composite from the following sources: IGI individual records for Philadelphia, PA; Passenger List of Dutch Ship "Alexander," which arrived at Philadelphia from Amsterdam 28 June 1824, Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Philadelphia 1800–1882, microfilm no. 34, series 423, NAUS; M1372: Record Group 59, Passport Applications 1795–1905, NAUS; 1830 Federal Census, Locust Ward, Philadelphia, PA; William P. Filby, *Philadelphia Naturalization Records: An Index to Records of Aliens' Declarations of Intention and/or Oaths of Allegiance, 1789–1880* (Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 1982).

*WINANS*¹

Ross Winans (Sussex County, NJ 14 October 1796 – Baltimore, MD 11 April 1877; see Image 228), the future Baltimore locomotive builder, married on 22 January 1820 in New Jersey Julia DeKay (10 August 1800 – 21 May 1850).² They had five surviving sons and one daughter: Thomas DeKay (1820–1878; see Image 229), William Lewis (5 April 1823 – 22 June 1897; see Image 232), Julia DeKay (1825–1875; see Image 16), Ross Jr. (August 1831 – Paterson, NJ 25 June 1863), DeWitt Clinton (1838 – 27 November 1892), and Walter Scott (1840–1928).³

Ross Winans had come to Baltimore in 1827, when the work of building the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad (B&O), the first railroad in the United States, began. He had become interested in this mode of transportation and had “devised a model ‘rail wagon’, having the ‘friction wheel’ with outside bearings,” that became “for at least a century the distinctive pattern for railroad wheels.”⁴ In 1828, the B&O sent George Washington Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21), Ross Winans, William Gibbs McNeill (see Image 31), and Jonathan Knight to England, where they remained from November of that year to May 1829 “to study the railroad system.” When Ross Winans returned home, he became an engineer (1829–1830) for the B&O.⁵ “In 1835 he and his partner, George Gillingham, took over the company shops at Mount Clare.”⁶ “About 1840 Winans began a career as an independent locomotive builder, setting up his own shops adjacent to the Mt. Clare Station.”

When the Russian government expressed its wish to have the rolling stock for the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway built in Russia by a company that would be willing to relocate, Major Whistler proposed Ross Winans. When the model locomotive that Winans built to compete with an “English firm also building a locomotive for Russia” was “shipped ... in the spring of 1843, Ross Winans did not wish to leave his factory in Baltimore but sent instead his son Thomas, also a gifted mechanic, to put it into operation.”⁷

Thomas DeKay Winans (Vernon, Sussex County, NJ 6 December 1820 – Newport, RI 10 June 1878; see Image 229) is the only member of the Winans family who appears in Anna Whistler’s St. Petersburg diaries. He was ten years old when his family moved to Baltimore. He

received “a common-school education” and was then “apprenticed ... to a machinist, under whom he displayed such skill that before he attained his majority he was entrusted with the headship of a department in his father’s establishment.”⁸ He became acquainted with Major Whistler when, “scarcely eighteen years old, he [was] charged with the delivery of some engines for the Boston and Albany Railroad.” It is, therefore, not surprising that his father also entrusted him with the delivery and setting up of the model locomotive in Russia, and that Major Whistler had no objection.

On route to Russia, Thomas DeKay Winans met Joseph Harrison Jr. (see Image 226), of the firm of Eastwick and Harrison, who had been invited by the Russian government “to come to Russia to bid for the locomotive contract.”⁹ Harrison invited Winans “to participate with him in the negotiations.”¹⁰ They were awarded the contract, for some three million dollars, which they “signed on December 27, 1843/January 8, 1844.”¹¹ The contract was for six years.¹² The partnership was now called Harrison, Winans and Eastwick.

Thomas DeKay Winans was a bachelor, who, like the Harrison and Eastwick families, lived in the “village on the grounds” of the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works (see Images 223–225), as did “the government workers with their families.”¹³ Anna Whistler (see Images 1–5) records in her diaries that he could not leave the Works during the day and came only at night to consult with Major Whistler. Unlike the Harrisons and Eastwicks, he is never mentioned as attending any of the festivities at the Whistler home, nor does Anna Whistler ever record that he was present when they visited the Harrisons and Eastwicks. She mentions seeing him on only one occasion, when they took Aunt Alicia (see Image 39) to visit the Harrisons and showed her the foundry where the locomotives were being built. As a bachelor, he seems to have moved in completely different circles and thus to have met Celeste Louise Revillon (c. 1828 – Baltimore, MD 19 March 1861; see Images 230–231), then eighteen years old, who, until 1847, had been away “at school in Paris for the last four years.”¹⁴ She was the daughter of George Revillon (1802 – 24 March 1859) and Marguerite Louise (Bonjour) Revillon.¹⁵ “Her father [was] at the head of a large type foundry” in St. Petersburg and had resided there from about 1837.¹⁶ She

did “not speak English and Mr. Wynans knowledge of French [was] limited, but they both [had] some knowledge of the Russian language.”¹⁷ They were married on 11/23 August 1847 “in [both] the British and American Chapel [see Image 125] and the Catholic Church.”¹⁸ Probably because Anna Whistler was in England with James and Willie at the time of the Revillon–Winans wedding, she does not record this event. The Winanses’ first child, George, was born on 30 March 1849 at Alexandrofsky.¹⁹ Their second son, Ross Revillon (1850–1912), was also born in Russia.²⁰

It is said that Ross Winans’s second son, William Lewis (Vernon, Sussex County, NJ 3 April 1823 – London 22 June 1897; see Image 232),²¹ went to Russia at the same time as Thomas DeKay, but he himself stated that he “resided 16 years in the state of Maryland, from whence [he] removed in the year 1845, to St. Petersburg in Russia.”²² “In Russia he seems to have played a very minor role in the activities of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick, not being a formal member of the firm.”²³ “Although the firm ... remained legally in existence until October, 1850,” Eastwick left Russia in May 1849, after a quarrel with Harrison and Thomas Winans.²⁴ It was then that William Lewis Winans came to play a major role in the firm. On 21 October (OS) 1849, they “formed a formal partnership with [him]” called Winans, Harrison and Winans, and on 25 August (OS) 1850 signed a six-year contract with the Russian government “for the remount (repair and maintenance) of the moving machinery of the St. Petersburg and Moscow Railway.”²⁵

The articles of their agreement put William Lewis Winans completely in control. He was to manage “all matters connected with the carrying out of the contract, having sole power to make decisions” and had “to remain in Russia for the full term of the contract,” while his brother and Harrison “could leave Russia if they wished,” never to return.²⁶ Nor was he obliged to act upon advice from either of them, unless that partner returned to live in Russia.²⁷

Thomas DeKay Winans left Russia for the United States in September 1850. Eastwick, who had returned to Russia in 1850, left permanently for the United States in October of that year, after being bought out. Harrison returned to the United States in December 1852, after spending “1851–52, in England and travelling on the Continent.”

William Lewis Winans remained in Russia, “manag[ing] the Alexandrovsk Factory until 1862.”²⁸ All became very rich.²⁹

Thomas DeKay Winans returned to Baltimore. He built two lavish houses, one in Baltimore, called “Alexandroffsky,” after the place in Russia where he had lived; the other, a country house outside Baltimore, called “Crimea.”³⁰ He also built a villa at Newport, which he called “Bleak House.”³¹ Two more children were born: William (2 March 1852 – 9 December 1871) and Celeste Marguerite (1855 – February 1925). George died in August 1851.³² When their mother died in 1861, the three remaining children were eleven, nine, and six years old, but there is no indication that Thomas DeKay Winans married again. William predeceased him.

Thomas DeKay Winans devoted much of the rest of his life to inventions: “the cigar-shaped hull which he and his father devised in 1859, designed for high-speed steamers in trans-Atlantic service”; “a device which made the organ as easy of touch as the piano”; “a mode of increasing the strength and volume of sound on the piano”; “an improvement in ventilation which he applied at ‘Alexandroffsky’”; “glass feeding vessels for fish, adopted by the Maryland Fish Commission”; “an ingenious use of the undulation of the waves to pump the water of a spring to the reservoir at the top of his villa at Newport, R.I.”³³ He also “had a natural skill in clay-modelling.”

He is said to have come out of retirement twice: once to “serve as a director” of the B&O when it was completed, and once to establish “a soup station opposite his home” in 1861, when the Civil War broke out.

William Lewis Winans married on 30 November / 12 December 1851 at the British and American Congregational Church in St. Petersburg, Rev. T.S. Ellerby (see Image 256) officiating, Maria Ann Delarue (1825 – Hove, Sussex 18 December 1904).³⁴ They had two sons: Walter (Alexandroffsky, Russia 5 April 1852 – Parsloes Park, Barking, Essex 12 August 1920) and Louis William (Russia 1857 – Hove, Sussex 31 October 1927).³⁵ Apart from running the Alexandroffsky Head Mechanical Works, he succeeded William Hooper Ropes as American consul in St. Petersburg in 1854; he resigned that post on 15/27 March 1856.³⁶

In 1862, “a consortium of French capitalists won the ‘remount’ contract through a lower bid,”³⁷ and William Lewis Winans settled permanently in England. “In 1865, the Russian government, dissatisfied with [the French],” invited the Winanses “to resubmit their bid.”³⁸ In 1866, Thomas DeKay and William Lewis Winans traveled to Russia once more, this time to sign an eight-year contract. “With them was associated Major George Washington Whistler’s son, George William Whistler, in the firm of Winans, Whistler and Winans.”³⁹ In 1868, the Russian government bought them out, “reimburs[ing] them for their outlay [and] paying them a bonus of several million dollars.”⁴⁰

The 1881 Census for London shows that the home of William Lewis Winans was next to Kensington Palace, and that he had a staff of eighteen servants to care for a household of four.⁴¹ At his death, he left an estate of over £20 million.⁴²

Of the remaining siblings of Thomas DeKay Winans, mention should be made only of his sister, Julia DeKay (New Jersey 24 October 1825 – Newport, RI 26 September 1875; see Image 16), who married on 18 June 1854, as his second wife, George William Whistler (New London, CT 9 July 1822 – Brighton, Sussex 24 December 1869; see Images 12–13), James Whistler’s half-brother.⁴³

* * *

The biography of George William Whistler in the 1850s and 1860s⁴⁴ is thus closely associated with that of the Winans family as well as with the Ducatel family. In the first half of the 1850s, he was superintendent of the Erie, and New York and New Haven railroads and lived in New York.⁴⁵ He frequently visited James (see Images 24–29) at West Point and, like all the other family members, was worried about whether James, because of his continuing demerits, would be allowed to complete the course of study at the USMA. On 18 June 1851, George and Mary (Ducatel) Whistler became the parents of a son, George Worthen Whistler (d. 28 March 1908). Mary became very ill and both she and the baby were sent to Baltimore to be taken care of by her family.⁴⁶ In addition to Mary Ann, Julius Timoleon Ducatel (Baltimore, MD 6 June 1796 – Baltimore, MD 23 April 1849; see Image 14) and Joanne Barry (Baltimore, MD 1800 – Baltimore, MD 16 November 1873) had four

other daughters. Eliza Ducatel (bap. 6 March 1827 – 1852), who had married on 29 February 1851 Alonzo V. Jones, died, like Mary Ann, in 1852.⁴⁷ Louisa Ann Emilie Ducatel (bap. 6 November 1836) married on 14 January 1863 Henry R. McNally.⁴⁸ The third Ducatel daughter, who did not marry, was Josephine (Maryland 1842 – Baltimore, MD 13 April 1867).⁴⁹ Their fourth daughter, who also did not marry, was Rose Polymnia (bap. 14 May 1831 – Baltimore, MD 17 January 1875. According to the 1870 U.S. Federal Census, she continued to live with her mother, Joanna Ducatel. The name Belinda in the 1860 Census is obviously a mistake and should read Polymnia.⁵⁰ Mary died on 25 February 1852, and Eliza died, too, some six weeks later.⁵¹ There were doubts as to whether the baby would survive, but he did.⁵²

George William Whistler, who had earlier been employed by Ross Winans and had resigned in a huff before marrying Mary Ducatel, moved to Baltimore and reestablished contact with the Winans family. On 20 April 1854, he and Julia DeKay Winans were married in Trinity Church, New York (see Image 49).⁵³ They had five surviving children: Julia DeKay (c. 1855 – West Byfleet, Surrey, England 30 November 1930); Thomas Delano (St. Petersburg 19 January 1856 – Nagold, Württemberg, Germany 21 November 1921); Ross Winans (b. St. Petersburg 12/24 July 1858; bap. 30 August / 11 September 1858; d. Nassau, Bahamas 12 February 1927); Neva (b. St. Petersburg 24 March / 5 April 1860; bap. 6/18 July 1860; d. Paris, France 29 April 1907; buried Green Mount Cemetery, Baltimore, MD); and Joseph Swift (Frankfort, Germany 25 August 1865 – Lennox, MA 28 November 1905).⁵⁴

George Worthen Whistler, born in New Haven, Connecticut, on 18 June 1851 and taken to Baltimore with his ailing mother to be cared for by his maternal grandmother, Joanna (Barry) Ducatel, and her other daughters, was not a healthy child. As late as 1854, his possible death alarmed the family.⁵⁵ When he was six, Anna Whistler, who was visiting the Winanses, announced that “two years of blight have crippled and deformed the once so beautiful first borne of George.”⁵⁶ Anna Whistler may have meant that his growth had been stunted, for, when applying for a passport in 1873, at the age of twenty-one, his “stature” was recorded as four feet nine inches.⁵⁷

All family members took an interest in the new baby and remained in contact with him all his life, writing to him and of him, and visiting him when they could.⁵⁸ Anna Whistler had him stay with her in refreshing landscapes such as Stonington, Connecticut, and Scarsdale, New York, to get him away from urban and stifling-hot Baltimore.⁵⁹ The Haden children doted on a daguerreotype of him that Anna Whistler brought them when she visited Debo in England in 1852.⁶⁰ She and Debo's family hoped George William would come to England for Christmas 1852 and bring Georgie with him.⁶¹ In 1858, George Worthen was having his portrait painted by Giuseppe Fagnani (1819–1873), who was also painting one of Mary (Ducatel) Whistler.⁶² The death of George William Whistler in 1869 brought, in Anna Whistler's mind, "a cloud over the orphans future,"⁶³ but George William Whistler had provided for George Worthen in his will equally with the children of his second marriage.⁶⁴ He remained in Baltimore with his grandmother and aunts and on the death of his last aunt, Polymnia, in January 1875, was alone. He married on 23 June 1875, at a relative's house in Washington City, his cousin, Esther Ann Barry (Baltimore 28 July 1849 – Lausanne, Switzerland 25 November 1921) called "Hetty."⁶⁵ Kate Livermore, Anna Whistler's close friend from Lowell, Massachusetts days, wrote her: "I hope you have been well enough to see your Grandson and his bride dear Mrs. Whistler! I am glad to know that George has the comfort of a good little wife now that he has no longer the tender care of his Aunt."⁶⁶

George and Esther had a daughter, Esther Marion (March 1876 – 14 December 1889), who is recorded in the 1880 U.S. Federal Census as four years old. Her father's occupation is recorded as "Not in any business." She died in 1889 at the age of 13.⁶⁷ They also had a son, George Delano Whistler (Baltimore 9 January 1880 – Zürich, Switzerland 26/27 September 1937).

Eventually George Worthen Whistler was committed to Mount Hope Retreat, a mental institution in Baltimore, where he was treated for many years and died on 28 March 1908. The 1900 U.S. Federal Census for the institution declares him to be an "Insane Patient." His date of birth is given as "Not known," his age as "49," and "Yes" is given as the answer to the queries about whether he can read, write, and speak English. His obituary indicates that at the time of his death his wife and

son were living abroad; passport applications and their death certificates show that they had been doing so for a long period for their health.⁶⁸ His middle name, “Worthen,” is incorrectly incised on his grave monument as “Warthen” and his date of death as July 1908.⁶⁹

After 1850, Winans, Harrison and Winans carried out remount (repair and maintenance) work on the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway. In 1865, the Russian government, dissatisfied with the consortium of French capitalists to whom they had given the remount contract in 1862, invited the Winanses to rebid. In 1866, Thomas DeKay and William Lewis signed an eight-year contract. The firm by now was called Winans, Whistler and Winans. George William Whistler had been living in St. Petersburg since at least 1856, as his second child, Thomas Delano, was born there in 1856.⁷⁰ This had not pleased Anna Whistler. Correspondence of the 1860s shows that she wanted him to live in the United States, where she perhaps hoped to live near or with him.⁷¹ But, as his father-in-law, Ross Winans, was planning to move to England, George did not wish to live in the United States.⁷²

On 24 March / 5 April 1867, George William Whistler drew up a will in St. Petersburg, revoking all others.⁷³ In 1868, the Russian government, compensating them handsomely for breaking the contract, bought out Winans, Whistler and Winans. On 24 February / 8 March 1869, in St. Petersburg, George William Whistler added a codicil to his will. In both his will and the codicil, where he changed the size of their shares, he divided his estate among his wife, Julia DeKay; the children of their marriage; and the child of his first marriage, George Worthen.⁷⁴ In 1869, the family moved to Brighton, England. There, on 24 December 1869, George died of heart failure, as his father had. Joseph Harrison Jr. wrote Anna Whistler a letter of condolence, which she sent to Julia DeKay Winans. In Anna Whistler’s response to Harrison, she described George’s last months:

altho dear Julia had the strength given her (not her own she said) to support her thro the unexpected trial of the death of dear George, she realizes more every day the sadness of her bereavement, his health was failing, but he had always needed her good nursing & she hoped her care of him & the quiet release from business secured,

he might be spared to carry thro his parental guidance & accomplish the educating his sons religiously as good Citizens, for tho he was physically so feeble, his mental energy increased thro this noble ambition, that the standard for manly character his Father had left for him so bright an example to attain, he might train his boys for George's career resembled his dear Fathers & opinions were the same, he remarked in the weeks & illness, to an intimate friend from Russia that he had sometimes a mysterious impression as he was so nearly the age of his father at his death, he might not have his mortal term extended beyond his 49th year! but it was not in a serious tone he said this, he was able to leave his bed each day & gladden the family circle by the cheerfulness of his loving tones at the head of his table at dinner, until on the evening of the 22nd of Decr a sudden sensation very oppressive hastened dear Julia's getting her beloved Patient to bed. The next day a Consulting Physician was sent for to London, his opinion was that recurrence of the hemorage must be fatal, but otherwise he might be raised up from that attack & live to suffer many years, but the disease of the liver of so long standing was incurable! We in this home that very day had received dear George's invitation for us to join his family at Christmas dinner, you may judge of the dreadful shock the Telegram brought us early on the 24th telling us George died at midnight the hemorage returned with fatal violence & he suffered only a few hours, his last remark upon realizing the prospect of the end was "Man proposes, but God disposes."⁷⁵

In 1870, Julia DeKay took their five children to Dresden to live until the boys had been educated and hiring a governess, Miss Willis, for the girls.⁷⁶ Some two years later, she gave up the house in Dresden and went to live in Baltimore, because her father, Ross Winans, wanted her and

his grandchildren near him. They arrived in New York on 13 August 1872. Thomas DeKay Winans bought a house in Baltimore for her as a present.⁷⁷

Julia DeKay Winans died in Baltimore on 29 September 1875 of cancer.

NOTES

1. I wish to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Beatriz B. Hardy, then library director at the MdHS, for the superlative research she carried out in the Winans Papers on my behalf and for transcribing letters which could not be photocopied.
2. Friends of Orianda House, accessed 17 December 2020, <https://friendsoforiandahouse.com/>
3. Genealogy of the Winans Family, MdHS: Winans Papers. Thomas DeKay and William Lewis will be discussed at length in this essay. Julia DeKay, their sister, will also be discussed at length, as the second wife of George William Whistler in the 1850s and 1860s. Information on DeWitt Clinton (d. London November 27, 1892) and Walter Scott can be found in the following sources: an obituary of 30 November 1892 (the Baltimore newspaper from which the clipping is taken is not identified); *Baltimore News Post*, June 7, 1942; *The Times* (London), December 1, 1892; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1893; John E. Semmes, *John H.B. Latrobe and His Times, 1803–1891* (Baltimore, MD: Norman Remington, [1917]), pp. 390–391. Ross Winans Jr. was in St. Petersburg in November 1858 when his wife, Margaret (Wentz) Winans, died there: 19 November / 1 December 1858 (Wm. L. Winans to Thomas Winans, St. P., Nov. 17/29, 1858, and Nov. 27/Dec. 9, 1858, MdHS: Winans Papers, MS 916, box 22). He died in Paterson, NJ, on 21 June 1863 (*The Sun* [Baltimore, MD], Friday, June 26, 1863).
4. This and the following quotation are from *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. “Winans, Ross.”
5. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. “Winans, Ross.”
6. This and the following quotation are from Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 121n42.
7. Haywood, p. 98. In 1860, Ross “Winans retired from locomotive building.” “During the Civil War his sympathies were with the Confederacy,” and “he was twice arrested [... and] released.” With his sons, he developed the “cigar-steamer.” He also

“published numerous pamphlets on problems of local hygiene and water supply” for the city of Baltimore and “wrote ... on religious subjects.” His philanthropy consisted of building modest-rental houses for working people (“Winans Row”), but this project ultimately failed. He married in 1854, as his second wife, Elizabeth K. West (1807 – March 1889) of Baltimore (all quotations are from the *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. “Winans, Ross”).

8. This and the following quotation are from *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. “Winans, Ross.”
9. Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 97.
10. Haywood, p. 98.
11. Haywood, p. 104.
12. Haywood, p. 364.
13. Haywood, p. 106.
14. BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fol. 96; *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), Wednesday, March 20, 1861. Her birth date is given in the Winans genealogy as 1823, but as Colin Ingersoll says she was eighteen years old in 1847, and her obituary in 1861 says she was in her thirty-third year, she must have been born in 1828 or 1829. On a travel manifest of 5 December 1850, she is listed as 22, further suggesting her birth year as 1828 (IGI).
15. Calendar of Letterbook of William L. Winans to Thomas Winans: 5 April 1859, St. P. W.L. W. has “received letter from Betsy Revillion [*sic*] telling of Mr. Revillion’s death (March 24, 1859),” MdHS: Winans Papers, MS 916, box 22, item 59. Betsy (van der Vliet) Revillon was George Revillon’s second wife (MdHS: Winans Papers, box 4, fol. 107, Revillon Genealogy).
16. BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fol. 96; G. Iu. Sternin, *U istokov novoi knizhnoi grafiki* [*At the Sources of New Book Graphics*], in the appendix to the facsimile of the first edition of A.P. Bashutskii, *Nashi, spisannye s natyry russkimi* [*Our People, Drawn from Life by Russians*], 1841 (Moscow: Kniga, 1986), p. 61n1.
17. BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fol. 96. Extant letters from Celeste Winans to Thomas Winans reflect her imperfect English and poor spelling as well as a certain playfulness (Celeste Winans to You ugly fellow, Wednesday morning [Nov. 1851], and My dear Tommy, Thursday morning, 9 oclock [no date], MdHS: Winans Papers, MS 916, box 26, fol. 32).

18. *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), Tuesday, October 26, 1847; Amburger Datenbank, IDs 93547, 88854; BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 2, fols. 5, 6; invitation to Revillon–Winans wedding, Ralph McAllister Ingersoll Collection, box 35, BUHG. Ross Winans had hoped that Thomas DeKay, who had expressed his general interest in marriage in 1846 (there are no extant letters from Thomas in this file), would wait until he permanently returned to the United States before seeking a wife (Ross Winans, Sr. to Thomas Winans, Balt, July 12 1846, MdHS: Winans Papers, MS 916, box 2, fol. 23; Beatriz Hardy, director of MdHS, Baltimore, MD, to E. Harden, 15 November 2004).
19. “First child born at 11 o’clock at night [written in: at Alexandroffsky, near St. Petersburg],” entry of March 30, 1849, Calendar of Thomas Winans’s Journal, 1845–1854, MdHS: Winans Papers, MS 916. This information is taken from a typewritten calendar, in which significant events from the journal are summarized very briefly. The MdHS does not have the actual journal, nor do they know whether it is in another institution nor indeed survives at all (Beatriz Hardy, MdHS, Baltimore, MD, to E. Harden, 22 June 2005).
20. Ross Revillon Winans married, as his second wife, his first cousin, Neva Whistler (1860–1907), daughter of George William and Julia DeKay (Winans) Whistler, Genealogy of the Winans Family, MdHS: Winans Papers.
21. Friends of Orianda House, accessed 17 December 2020, <https://friendsoforiandahouse.com/>
22. William L. Winans [to the Honourable Mr. L. Marcy, Secretary of State], Consulate of the United States, St. Petersburg, June 29/July 11, 1854, M81 Despatches from US Consuls in St. P., 1803–1906, roll 5, vols. 7–9, Dec. 31, 1847 – Dec. 30, 1857, NAUS. He was issued a passport (no. 267) in the United States on 16 May 1845 and a second one (no. 1685) in Great Britain by the American Embassy on 17 June 1845, destination Hamburg and St. Petersburg (NAUS: Passports, M1371, roll 2, p. 7, passport no. 267; and RG84, C18.2, passport no. 1685; Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 418n89). In addition, Capt. William Henry Swift, in a letter to his brother in May 1843, had announced that not four but “three good men” – Fairbanks, Harrison, and “a son of Winan’s” – had left for Russia (Capt. W.H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, Washington, 13 May 1843, NYPL: Swift Papers).

23. Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 418n89.
24. Haywood, pp. 404, 405. See Eastwick in this Appendix for details of the quarrel.
25. Haywood, pp. 371, 405, 407.
26. Haywood, pp. 405–406.
27. Haywood, p. 406.
28. Haywood, pp. 371, 406, 411–412.
29. Haywood, pp. 408–410 gives an explanation of how the remount contract made them so wealthy.
30. The contents of “Alexandroffsky” were sold by his granddaughters, Elsie C. Hutton (1884? – November 1966) and Lucette M. (Hutton) Prichard (1882 – 3 August 1957), the children of his daughter, Celeste (Winans) Hutton (1855 – February 1925), who had married Gaun Hutton (1848 – September 1916). “Hutton had operated the Alta foundry and sawmill in San Francisco during the height of the gold rush ... went to Russia, ... worked for [William Lewis Winans], succeeded him as acting vice-consul in 1856, and later established a large hardware business in Moscow, which he ran for many years” (Norman E. Saul, *Distant Friends: The United States and Russia, 1763–1867* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1991), pp. 226, 244, 260, 261, 262, 264, 265, 267). The auction took place in the mansion, starting on 5 November 1925, and continued for five days. The auctioneers were the E.T. Newell Company of Howard Street, Baltimore. A catalogue was issued, and viewing began on November 3. The property, which the city had found too expensive to buy, was bought by a syndicate. Everything on it was razed in the spring of 1926 and replaced by commercial buildings. “Crimea” became “part of the city parks system” and “still stands in Leakin Park.” All of the foregoing information is taken from an article by Margaret McCampbell and Lance Gifford, “Grand Estate on Baltimore’s West Side: Alexandroffsky,” *Maryland* (Winter 1979): pp. 26–31. “Crimea” even had a “servants burying ground,” now vanished, where “the mostly Irish servants of the family” were interred (Jane Bromley Wilson, *The Very Quiet Baltimoreans: A Guide to the Historic Cemeteries and Burial Sites of Baltimore* [Shippensburg, PA: White Mane, 1991], p. 102). It has not been possible to locate a copy of the abovementioned auction catalogue.
31. For information about the Newport villa, see Bertram Lippincott III, “The Hutton Family of ‘Shamrock Cliff,’” in *Newport History*:

- Bulletin of the Newport History Society* 64, pt. 4, no. 221 (1991): pp. 165–166.
32. Genealogy of the Winans Family, MdHS: Winans Papers; List of Family Members Interred in the Winans Vault in Green-Mount Cemetery in Baltimore (courtesy of staff member, Mary Murray). The Genealogy gives 1852 as the year of George's death, while the List records that he was buried in August 1851.
 33. This and the following three quotations are from *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Winans, Thomas De Kay."
 34. Transcript of Marriages in the British and American Congregational Church, St. Petersburg, Russia, 22 June 1844 – 1 November 1886, RG 33/145, fol. 23, PRO; *The Times* (London), December 21, 1904; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1905; IGI.
 35. *The Times* (London), August 13, 1920 and November 1, 1927; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1921 and 1927; IGI. Walter Winans became an outstanding sportsman. He was an excellent shot and a talented sculptor, especially of the horse. In 1912, at the Olympic Games in London, he was awarded both the gold medal for hunting-rifle shooting and the gold medal for sports sculpture. For ten years he was world-champion pistol shot. He frequently traveled to Russia to hunt. He was a great lover of horses and had a racing stable containing several horses of the Orlov breed and a stud farm in Austria. "He ... executed a beautiful statue of Joan of Arc, copies of which were ... sold for the benefit of the French Red Cross Fund." He was "the owner of Surrender Park, in Kent." He inherited real estate at Ferry Bar, Maryland, from his father. He did not visit the United States until he was fifty-seven years old (*The Times* (London), August 13, 1920; *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), Friday, June 25, 1897; *Baltimore News*, April 12, 1911; "Walter Winans (1852–1920)," AskART, accessed September 28, 2020, https://www.askart.com/artist/Walter_W_Winans/88881/Walter_W_Winans.aspx; Semmes, *John H.B. Latrobe*, pp. 394–395; "Russkaia troika v Anglii" [A Russian Troika in England], *Stolitsa i Usad'ba* [*The Capitol City and the Country Estate*] 6 (15 March 1914): 18–20; Genealogy of the Winans Family, MdHS: Winans Papers). Photographs of his castle in England and of him in a troika can be seen in the abovementioned Russian article. Walter Winans did not marry.
 36. M81 Despatches from US Consuls in St. P., 1803–1906, roll 5, vols. 7–9, Dec. 31, 1847 – Dec. 30, 1857, NAUS.

37. Saul, *Distant Friends*, p. 357.
38. Saul, p. 357.
39. B. Latrobe Weston, "Whistler, The Winans Brothers and the Russian Contract," *Baltimore Evening Sun*, August 14, 1940.
40. *Biographical Cyclopedia of Representative Men of Maryland and The District of Columbia* (Baltimore, MD: National Biographical Publishing, 1879), p. 365.
41. 1881 Census for 15 Palace Gdns Hos, Knightsbridge, London, Middlesex.
42. Semmes, *John H.B. Latrobe*, p. 394.
43. *New York Evening Post* (June 1, 1854); IGI.
44. Some of the information in this biography of George William Whistler is compiled from the following sources: *Appleton's Cyclopaedia*, s.v. "Ducatel, Julius Timoleon" and "Whistler, George William"; Thomas William Herringshaw, *Herringshaw's National Library of American Biography*, 5 vols. (Chicago, IL: American Publishers' Association, 1914), vol. 5, p. 661; Genealogy of the Winans Family, MdHS: Winans Papers; Mary Murray, Green-Mount Cemetery, Baltimore, MD, to E. Harden, October 2004; and Foreman, "Colonel William Whistler," p. 325; see also the biography of George William Whistler in "The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s" and Whistler ... Fairfax in this Appendix.
45. Anna Whistler to my beloved Jemie Stonington Wednesday Aug 27th [18]51, GUL: Whistler Collection, W395.
46. The Ducatel family members taking care of her and the baby were his grandmother, Joanna (Barry) Ducatel, and his aunts Polymnia, Louisa, and Josephine. Their married sister Eliza (Ducatel) Jones was ill.
47. Alonzo V. Jones's will, written in 1857, shows that his wife Eliza was deceased, and Anna Whistler confirms that Eliza died some six weeks after Mary Ann Ducatel (Anna Whistler to my dear James Stonington Thursday April 22nd, GUL: Whistler Collection, W408; IGI; Ducatel Family Bible Marriages; Basilica of the Assumption [Baltimore, MD] Baptismal Records; 1850 U.S. Federal Census. Alonzo V. Jones and Eliza Ducatel were married in Baltimore on 29 February 1851 (*New York Evening Post*, Tuesday, February 18, 1851). It is impossible to determine further information about her husband given the number of Alonzo Joneses living in New York at the time, but it is most likely that

- he was Alonzo Vermilyon Jones (New York, NY 26 October 1822 – Sing Sing, NY 23 August 1864), son of John S. and Sarah V. Jones (IGI).
48. IGI; Ducatel Family Bible Marriages; 1850 and 1860 U.S. federal censuses; Basilica of the Assumption [Baltimore, MD] Baptismal Records.
 49. 1850 and 1860 U.S. federal censuses; Basilica of the Assumption [Baltimore, MD] Baptismal Records; *The Sun* (Baltimore), Monday, April 15, 1867), p. 2.
 50. Basilica of the Assumption [Baltimore, MD] Baptismal Records; 1850, 1860, and 1870 U.S. federal censuses. In the 1860 Census Joanna Ducatel's occupation is given as "Boarding House" and her personal estate as one thousand dollars. In the 1870 Census, her occupation is given as "Keeping House," and no personal estate is given.
 51. Anna Whistler to My dear friend Pomfret Wednesday p-m Oct 8th [18]51, LC: P-W, box 34, fols. 33–34; Anna Whistler to Well darling Jemie Pomfret Thursday p-m Nov. 13th [18]51, GUL: Whistler Collection, W402; Anna Whistler to My own dear Jemie Pomfret tuesday night Feb. 10th, W406; Anna Whistler to My own dear James Pomfret March 3rd 1852, W407. "My dear friend" is Margaret Getfield Hill, a lifelong friend of Anna Whistler's who lived in Scarsdale, New York.
 52. Anna Whistler to My dear Margaret, Pomfret Sunday night Aug 3rd [1851], Call no. "Carl A. Kroch Library, 1629," Department of Manuscripts and University Archives, Cornell University Library; Anna Whistler to my own precious Jemie Pomfret Aug 6th 1851 Wednesday morning, W394; Anna Whistler to My beloved Jemie Stonington Wednesday Aug 27th [18]51, W395; Anna Whistler to dearest Jemie Pomfret Dec 17th 1851 Wednesday, W404. "My dear Margaret" is Margaret Getfield Hill, a lifelong friend of Anna Whistler's who lived in Scarsdale, New York.
 53. *New York Evening Post*, Thursday, June 1, 1854. Once married to Julia DeKay, George still had to resolve the dilemma of where to be confirmed. "Willie ... reported their resolve to take a pew *in some church*." George was constrained by the idea that it would disturb his first wife, Mary (Ducatel) Whistler, a Catholic, if he should be confirmed in the Episcopalian Church (Anna Whistler

to You know my own dear Jemie 176 Preston Street Bolton Terrace Nov 26th [1854], GUL: Whistler Collection, W441).

54. Anna Whistler to my own dear Debo Scarsdale Dec. 10th 1855, GUL: Whistler Collection, W465; *The Tennessean* (Nashville, TN), Thursday, June 12, 1879, p. 2; M1490: Passport Applications, 1906 – March 31, 1925, roll 749, application no. 75883 for Thomas Delano Whistler, NAUS; Emergency Passport Applications (Passports Issued Abroad), 1877–1907, vol. 81 (England), passport no. 661 for Joseph Swift Whistler, NAUS; IGI; Genealogy of the Winans Family, MdHS: Winans Papers; see also the biography of George William Whistler in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s” and Whistler ... Fairfax in this Appendix..
55. “...[George’s] summons to Balt to watch the sinking strength of his invalid, the doctor had small hope of the cherub boy lingering much longer! & George thought him rapidly going” (Anna Whistler to My own dear Jemie Scarsdale April 3rd 1854, GUL: Whistler Collection, W432).
56. Anna Whistler to my dear Jemie Alexandroffsky Villa April 27. [18]57, GUL: Whistler Collection, W478.
57. M1372: Passport Applications, 1795–1905, roll 194, application no. 31498 for George Worthen Whistler, NAUS. George Worthen’s stature was actually recorded in the “feet” column as “4.9 feet nine inches.” The “9” was then erased but still visible, and “4 feet” recorded in the “feet” column, while “9 inches” was recorded in the “inches” column.
58. Anna Whistler describes him as follows:

I think your little nephew GWW looks much as you did at his age, for you had the same unfair play, not enough to eat which he has & you know the old rule Jemie “pretty babies grow up plain” so lament not over your thin visage now, you were a pretty baby when you plump’d up & so will your nephew be. He *is* a darling now! I don’t wonder that Mary sheds tears when they roll from his full blue eyes, or that she is delighted when he smiles, his fingers are long & tapered & his nails like pink shells, his hair is brown & inclined to curl like Uncle Jems! (Anna Whistler to My beloved Jemie Stonington Wednesday Aug 27th 51 GUL: Whistler Collection, W395)

In 1852, Anna Whistler expressed her hope that George William was coming to England and would bring George Worthen, as

everyone wanted to see him and were fond of the baby in a recent daguerreotype (location unknown) (Anna Whistler to my dearest Jemie 62 Sloane St Wed. Nov. 24th 1852, GUL: Whistler Collection, W418; Anna Whistler to my own dear precious Willie 62 Sloane St Feb 27th 1853 The Lords day evening, W420). Although George Worthen was being raised by his grandmother and aunts, he spent Christmas in 1852 with his father in Baltimore (Anna Whistler to dear Jemie 62 Sloane St the old years Eve 31 December 1853, 4 and 7 January 1853, GUL: Whistler Collection, W419). Willie Whistler wrote to the teenaged George Worthen (Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble 7 Lindsey Row Old Battersea Bridge Chelsea, London Feb 10th 1864, GUL: Whistler Collection, W516), and Anna Whistler visited him in Baltimore at Perine's house in September 1867 along with Joanna (Barry) Ducatel and her daughters (Anna Whistler to My dear Mr Gamble Homeland [residence of David M. Perine Sr.] W. Baltimore Sept. 16th 1867).

59. Anna Whistler to my dear Jemie Scarsdale Thursday p-m July 29th [1852], GUL: Whistler Collection, W411; Anna Whistler to My own loved Jemie Scarsdale Scarsdale Sunday night Sept. 12th 1852, W414.

In June 1853, the Ducatels brought George Worthen from Baltimore to Scarsdale to visit for a fortnight; Anna Whistler wrote of the visit in September (Anna Whistler to Jemie my son Stonington tues 13 [September 1853], GUL: Whistler Collection, W410)

I wish you could have seen his cherub expression, as clasping his tiny tapered hands he would say as he gazed with delight on the beautiful harbor of Stonington “big waters! How nice!” but whether such a fragile bud is to bloom in our world of blighted promise, seems to me improbable, Little Georgie's mother was early taken to the home of the blessed, yet gladdens the sorrow stricken Grandmamma & fond young Aunts now in their Baltimore home. (Anna Whistler to My dear and esteemed friend [James H. Gamble] Scarsdale Wednesday Sept. 28th [1853], GUL: Whistler Collection, W423)

60. Anna Whistler to George William, William McNeill and James Whistler 62 Sloane St Nov 18th 1852 Thursday night, GUL: Whistler Collection, W417.

61. Anna Whistler to my dearest Jemie 62 Sloane St Wed. Nov. 24th 1852, GUL: Whistler Collection, W418; Anna Whistler to my own dear precious Willie 62 Sloane St Feb 27th 1853 The Lords day evening, W420.
62. Anna Whistler to my beloved Jemie Richfield Springs Augt 1st 1858. Sunday, GUL: Whistler Collection, W493.
63. Anna Whistler to my dear Mr Gamble 2 Lindsey Houses Chelsea London Sept 7th 1870, entry for Sat 10th, GUL: Whistler Collection, W539.
64. *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1870.
65. Anna Whistler to My dear friends [James H. and Harriet Gamble], Talbot House. 43 St Marys Terrace Hastings entry of Saturday 18th in the letter of Sept. 9th 1857 GUL: Whistler Collection, W548.
66. Kate Livermore to my ever beloved friend Northland Terrace Londonderry July 27th 1875 Tuesday, GUL: Whistler Collection, L157.
67. *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), Monday, December 16, 1882, p. 2.
68. M1490: Passport Applications, 1906 – March 31, 1925, roll 321, application no. 33106 for George Delano Whistler, and roll 472, application no. 6191 for Esther Ann Whistler, NAUS; Death Reports of U.S. Citizens Abroad, box 4240: 1910–1929 and box 1529: 1930–1939, NAUS.
69. “George Warthen Whistler,” Find A Grave, accessed 5 February 2022, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/184564854/george-warthen-whistler>
70. A letter from Anna Whistler to her son James implies that George saw James Whistler in Paris in 1856 (Anna Whistler to dear Jemie Stonington Sept 23rd [18]56, GUL: Whistler Collection, W471), and Anna Whistler wrote in 1857: “I hear ... of the arrival of George Whistler wife and child at St. Petersburg” (Anna Whistler to my dear Mr Gamble Scarsdale Tues Jan 13th [18]57, GUL: Whistler Collection, W474).
71. Anna Whistler to My Dearest friend & Sister Margaret 2 Lindsey Row Chelsea London Monday night Dec^r 14th 1868, entry for Saturday Dec 19th, LC: P-W, box 34, fols. 49–50. The addressee is Margaret Getfield Hill, Anna Whistler’s lifelong friend, who lived in Scarsdale, New York.

72. Anna Whistler to Jamie darling Saturday Nov 25th [1865], GUL: Whistler Collection, W520; Anna Whistler to my dearest Debo 34 Schloss Strass Coblenz Wednesday Jan 24th 1866, W522; Anna Whistler to Mr Dear Mr Gamble 189 Henry St Brooklyn [New York 27 August 1867], GUL: Whistler Collection, W529; Anna Whistler to My dear Mr Harrison 2 Lindsey Row, Chelsea, London, S.W. May 14th 1868, LC: P-W, box 34, fols. 47–48.
73. *Massachusetts Probate Records*, 1871, no. 51862, pp. 216–219.
74. *Massachusetts Probate Records*, 1871, no. 51862, p. 220.
75. Anna Whistler to My dear Mr Harrison SW 2 Lindsey Row Chelsea London Feb^{ry} 5th 1870, LC: P-C, box 34, fols. 53–54.
76. Anna Whistler to My dear Mr Gamble 2 Lindsey House Chelsea London Sept 7th 1870, entry for Sat 10th, GUL: Whistler Collection, W539.
77. All information in this paragraph and the next is taken from Anna Whistler to My beloved Friend [James H. Gamble] 2 Lindsey Houses Chelsea London Tuesday evening Nov 5th 1872, GUL: Whistler Collection, W456.

*WINSTANLEY, MCNEILL, WELLWOOD, PICARD,
WARE, HULL, SIMPSON, CLUNIE, WILKIN, BIGGS,
CRAGG*

Eliza Isabella (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley (North America [possibly Bahama Islands]¹) 27 September 1788 – Preston, Lancashire 20 August 1857; see Image 40)² was Anna (McNeill) Whistler's half-sister. Eliza's parents were Dr. Daniel McNeill (North Carolina c. 1756 – "Oak Forest," Bladen County, NC 7 December 1828; see Image 23)³ and Alice (Clunie)⁴ McNeill (Scotland 14 July 1757⁵ – Wilmington, NC 12 November 1791),⁶ who were married on 29 August 1784 at Whitekirk, East Lothian.⁷ After the death of their mother, Eliza and her younger⁸ and only sister, Alicia (see Image 39), lived in Scotland with their maternal grandmother, Isabel (Finlay) Clunie, daughter of Thomas Finlay, minister of Prestonkirk, and widow of Rev. John Clunie (1708 – 19 June 1784).⁹ Eliza married on 25 May 1812 at Midlothian/Edinburgh, Edinburgh Parish, as his second wife, a widower, Colonel Robert Wellwood (7 February 1747 – 7 July 1820),¹⁰ of Garvock and Pitliver, Fife. A second date of 1 June 1812, Dunfermline, Fife, is also given for their marriage.¹¹ They had no children. A portrait (present whereabouts unknown) of the beautiful Eliza (McNeill) Wellwood was painted by Sir Henry Raeburn (1756–1823) (see Image 40).¹² Eliza married secondly, on 1 June 1825 at Edinburgh, St. Cuthberts,¹³ as his second wife, a widower, John Winstanley of Preston, Lancashire (Higher Walton 27 December 1776 – Preston 22 May 1859), solicitor, of the firm of Winstanley and Charnley, solicitors, of Preston. In this marriage there also were no children. It was to Eliza and John Winstanley's home at 65 Fishergate, Preston,¹⁴ that Anna Whistler came in 1829, meeting them for the first time and staying about eighteen months.¹⁵ They introduced her to their friends (the Stevensons, Ormerods, Smiths of Chaddock Hall [see Image 467], Maudes) and relatives (other Winstanleys, the Picards, Wares, Ainsworths), all of whom figure in her diaries. It was to this same home that she came on her way to Russia in 1843, now a married woman, bringing her sons James (see Images 24–29), Willie (see Images 27, 30), and Charles Donald, and her step-daughter, Deborah

Delano (see Images 17–19, 21) (George William, her step-son, is not mentioned as being in Preston), and renewing her acquaintance with the Winstanleys' friends and relatives after a fourteen-year absence. It was just before Anna Whistler's arrival that Eliza recorded in August 1843 a trip of her own to see her aunt in Scotland in June of 1843 to serve as a model for the diary she encouraged Anna Whistler to keep while in Russia (see Appendix D). Another trip by Anna Whistler, James, and Willie to Preston from St. Petersburg took place in the summer of 1847 (see Images 461–477), culminating in the marriage in Preston of Deborah Delano Whistler and Francis Seymour Haden (see Image 20) on 16 October of that year. In 1848, although Anna Whistler could not travel to Preston while in England, the Winstanleys visited her on the Isle of Wight (see Images 489–496). And finally, in June–July 1849, after the death of Major Whistler, Anna Whistler and Willie, joined by James, who was then living in England, visited Preston before returning home to America. Eliza, paralyzed in her last years, died in 1857.¹⁶ Her personal estate at her death amounted to under £450, but as her husband died in 1859 “without taking upon himself Letters of administration of the personal Estate and Effects of the deceased,”¹⁷ they were granted to her sister, Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, of Preston, on the consent of the executors of John Winstanley's estate.¹⁸ It has not been possible to ascertain where she was buried.

* * *

John Winstanley was the sixth son of William Winstanley (10 August 1742 – 11 November 1791), Esq., of Cuerden, afterwards of Woodcock Hall, and Alice (Woodcock) Winstanley, second daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Woodcock, Esq., of Woodcock Hall. He married twice: first on 22 October 1804 at Eccleston by Chorley, Lancashire, Margaret, daughter of Richard Hatton, Esq., of Parbold, Lancashire; and secondly, on 1 June 1825 at Edinburgh, St. Cuthberts, Eliza Isabella (McNeill) Wellwood, widow of Colonel Robert Wellwood of Garvock and Pitliver, Fife.¹⁹ John Winstanley was “first listed practicing on his own as an attorney at 93 Fishergate, Preston, in 1818; and in 1821 as John Winstanley and Peter Catterall, Lune Street; the partnership moved to Fox Street in 1821. He subsequently formed the

practice of Winstanley and Charnley at 2 Fox Street, Preston.”²⁰ In later years, they were listed as “Winstanley and Charnley, Solicitors, and Masters Extraordinary in Chancery ... Agents to the ‘Imperial Fire and Life Assurance,’ London Agents, F. G. Gregory and Co.”²¹ and “Winstanley and Charnley, solicitors, (agents to the Imperial Fire and Life Office) and clerks to Layton-with-Warbrick local board of health, and perpetual commissioners.”²² At his death in 1859 at the age of eighty-two,²³ John Winstanley had outlived all his brothers and his sister. He left an estate of £20,000, which was bequeathed to both Eliza Winstanley’s and his own relatives.²⁴ Alicia McNeill was bequeathed the sum of £2,000. Anna (McNeill) Whistler, Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer, Charles Johnston McNeill, and John Winstanley’s nephew, William Winstanley, each received the sum of £800; an equal sum was put in trust for the children of the late General William Gibbs McNeill. Nor did John Winstanley forget his wife’s cousins – Isabella Wilkin, Priscilla Cragg, Jessie Finlay, Wilhelmina Finlay, Ann Clunie, and Wilhelmina Clunie – although he left them lesser sums. He also left a bequest to “Walter Stevenson the Elder formerly of Edinburgh and now of London,” to his daughter, Eliza Isabella (Stevenson) Smith, and to his own nephews and nieces and their children. In the case of his own relatives, he left a bequest for the maintenance of the children of his late nephew, Robert Winstanley, son of his late brother, Thomas.²⁵ He excluded Robert’s daughter, Alice, because she had been adopted by John Winstanley’s brother, William. He remembered also his nieces Elizabeth (Winstanley) Picard and Margaret (Winstanley) Ware, and the children of his late niece Sarah (Winstanley) Wray. These three women were sisters, the daughters of the late Woodcock Winstanley. He remembered as well his nephew, Rev. John Hull, of Poulton-le-Fylde, son of his late sister, Sarah (Winstanley) Hull. It has not been possible to ascertain John Winstanley’s place of burial. A portrait of John Winstanley was in the family in 1930. Its present whereabouts are unknown to me.

* * *

Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill (Wilmington, NC (before 12) November 1791 – Linlithgow 20 September 1863)²⁶ was Anna Whistler’s other half-sister and the natural sister of Eliza Isabella (McNeill)

(Wellwood) Winstanley. It is not clear where she lived. She frequently stayed with the Winstanleys in Preston, but the 1851 Census for Preston (when the Winstanleys were still alive) shows that she was a visitor in the home of John Richards, an attorney's general clerk, and his wife, Betty,²⁷ while the 1861 Census for Preston (after the Winstanleys were deceased) shows that she was a lodger in the household of Esther Thompson at 8 Stanley Place. She was seventy years old in 1861, unmarried, and an annuitant.²⁸ Her Letters of Administration and will say she is "of Preston." It was she who came to Liverpool in November 1829 to meet for the first time and take to Preston the newly arrived Anna McNeill.²⁹ Unmarried, Alicia was freer to travel both outside Great Britain and for extended periods of time. It would appear that she was in Lowell with the Whistlers in July 1834 when James was born.³⁰ Whether she then went back to England is not clear, but further references to a sojourn in the United States show that she was in America no later than 10 July 1836, in time for the birth of William Whistler.³¹ She included North Carolina in her travels. She set out for a visit to North Carolina via New York on 27 September 1836.³² She may have spent the winter of 1836 or 1837 in the warm climate of Wilmington, North Carolina, accompanying General J.G. Swift's daughter, Louisa Josephine, there and home again because of the latter's delicate health.³³ She had returned to England before 19 June 1838.³⁴ In July 1844, she came to St. Petersburg, was present at the birth of the Whistlers' last child in August 1845, and remained with them until September 1845. In July 1849, while the widowed Anna Whistler was visiting in England on her way home to America, Alicia took James and Willie on a trip to Scotland.³⁵ She frequently traveled to Scotland, and it was there in Linlithgow on 20 September 1863 that she died "after a very short illness – On her way to Church she was suddenly seized with faintness – and shortly afterwards expired – At the time of her decease she was visiting her friend, Mrs. John Rodger, of Linlithgow on her route from Culross (where she had been staying the summer) for Preston. On the Thursday following she was interred in the Linlithgow Church Yard."³⁶ She was buried from the house of Mrs. Rodger, whom she had known in Russia, when the latter was Miss Sophia Morgan of Edinburgh.³⁷ Her likeness, drawn by James Whistler in 1844, shows a plain, stout woman with

eyeglasses (see Image 39).³⁸ The diaries attest to her generosity, as does her will. Her effects were under £2000. The chief portion of her estate went to her American relatives: half-sisters, half-brother, and their children. To Anna Whistler she bequeathed £250, her pearl brooch set with hair, her wardrobe “for her own use,” and “for her life the Portrait of our justly valued Sister the late Eliza Isabella Winstanley.”³⁹ She also entrusted to Anna Whistler all her remaining jewelry for distribution at her discretion among the junior members of the family. To Catherine Jane Palmer she bequeathed £250, a gold watch, gold spectacles, and a hair bracelet. At Anna Whistler’s death, the portrait of Eliza Winstanley was to go to Catherine Jane Palmer “to be kept in the family.”⁴⁰ Outright gifts of money were bequeathed to her half-brother, Charles Johnston McNeill (£200); the surviving children of her late half-brother, General William Gibbs McNeill: Mary Isabella Rodewald (£150) (see Image 32), Catherine Julia Rodewald (£150) (see Image 33), and Patrick Tracy Jackson McNeill (£200); her nephews, James and William Whistler (£100 each); and her niece, Deborah Whistler Haden (£100). She left the residue of all her “other estate and effects after payment of ... debts and testamentary expenses” to Frederick Rodewald, whom she mistakenly identified as the husband of her niece, Catherine Julia (McNeill) Rodewald, in trust for her nephew, Lt. Donald McNeill Fairfax, of the U.S. Navy (see Image 38). (The husband of Catherine Julia was *Adolph* Rodewald.) Reference is made to “Aunt Alicia” even in James Whistler’s late correspondence.⁴¹

* * *

Other relatives of John Winstanley are also mentioned in the diaries: his sister Sarah; her husband, Dr. John Hull, MD; their son, Rev. John Hull (see Image 73); and some of the children of John Winstanley’s brothers, William, Thomas, and Woodcock.

John Winstanley’s sister Sarah Winstanley (bap. 24 June 1765 – Poulton 9 March 1842),⁴² married in 1792 Dr. John Hull, MD (Poulton, Lancashire 30 September 1761 – London 17 March 1843; buried Poulton, Lancashire 22 March 1843), whose medical practice was carried on chiefly in Manchester after 1796. He was also a botanist of note.⁴³ Their son, Rev. Canon John Hull (1803 – Eaglescliffe, County Durham

8 March 1887), graduated from “Brasenose College, Oxford, B.A. 21 October 1823, M.A. 23 February 1826. After being ordained he held curacies in Croston and Lancaster.”⁴⁴ He was vicar of St. Chad’s Church in Poulton-le-Fylde from 1835 to 1864, honorary canon of Manchester and rural dean and examining chaplain to the First Bishop of Manchester.⁴⁵ “In 1863 he resigned the vicarage of Poulton on his appointment to the rectory of Eaglesfield, Durham.”⁴⁶ He married on 1 July 1833 at Rousham, Suffolk, Lucy Brooke (1812 or 1813 – Southport, Lancashire 6 September 1899), daughter of R. Bevan, Esq.⁴⁷ When Anna Whistler, James, and Willie were at Blackpool, South Shore, in the summer of 1847, they dined at the rectory of St. Chad’s with Rev. John Hull and his wife, and visited in the churchyard the monument to his father, Dr. John Hull. Anna Whistler had met Sarah (Winstanley) Hull and Dr. John Hull in 1829, on her first visit to the Winstanleys.⁴⁸

John Winstanley’s brother William Winstanley (6 December 1772 – 15 May 1852; see Image 473), MD and JP, lived in the period of the diaries variously at Woolton Hall, Liverpool; Chaigely Manor, Clitheroe; and West Cliff, Preston.⁴⁹ He married on 26 May 1808 Elizabeth (bap. Unitarian Church-NC, Manchester 25 October 1772 – 31 December 1845), eldest daughter and co-heiress of Samuel Hardman, Esq., a Manchester merchant, and his wife, Urith.⁵⁰ Their son, William Winstanley (10 March 1810 – 22 February 1873), JP, of Chaigely Manor, Clitheroe, and of 2 West Cliff, Preston, married on 14 September 1844 Charlotte Lavinia (bap. High Pavement Presbyterian, Nottingham 21 July 1816 – 14 March 1899), elder daughter of Charlotte Octavia and Alfred Lowe, Esq., of Highfield, Nottinghamshire.⁵¹ Dr. William Winstanley lived in the house at West Cliffe, which he had built after his wife’s death, “with his unmarried sister-in-law, Anna Hardman, who adopted Alice, daughter of one of Winstanley’s nephews, Robert, whose mother had died when she was young.”⁵² Some of the family, not referred to by individual name, came from “the Cliffe” to John Winstanley’s home to pay their respects to Francis Seymour and Deborah (Whistler) Haden on the day of their wedding in Preston, 16 October 1847.

Another brother of John Winstanley, Thomas Winstanley (27 May 1774 – 8 June 1822), married on 10 February 1800 Elizabeth (17 May

1774 – 14 August 1816), daughter of Richard Hatton, Esq., of Parbold, Lancashire.⁵³ The death of one of their two surviving sons, Thomas Woodcock Winstanley (9 February 1805 – 19 July 1844), a bachelor, is announced in the diaries.

John Winstanley's brother Woodcock Winstanley (30 August 1768 – 10 October 1823),⁵⁴ of Aysgarth, Yorkshire, married Betty (27 November 1770 – 28 March 1843), daughter and heiress of John Ryder, Esq., of Gammersgill, Yorkshire. Two of their daughters, Elizabeth and Margaret, appear in the diaries.

Elizabeth Winstanley (19 March 1800 – 4 June 1875)⁵⁵ married Richard Stuart Picard, Esq. (bap. 16 January 1807 – 26 November 1887)⁵⁶ of Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmorland, on 16 May 1835, at Bolton Castle cum Redmire.⁵⁷ In the 1841 Census for Kirkby Lonsdale, Richard S. Picard's occupation is given as "Chemist and Druggist."⁵⁸ In 1851, the Picards and their son were visiting John and Eliza Winstanley in Preston; Richard S. Picard is listed in the 1851 Census for Preston as "landed proprietor."⁵⁹ In the 1861 Census for Kirkby Lonsdale, he is also listed as "landed proprietor."⁶⁰ In the 1871 Census, he is listed as "land owner."⁶¹ In the 1881 Census, he is a "widower" and his occupation is "land and dividends."⁶² He was one of the executors of John Winstanley's will.⁶³ The gross value of his own estate was about £3,000. The son of Elizabeth (Winstanley) and Richard Stuart Picard, John Richard Picard (bap. 10 December 1842 – 7 October 1933), is listed in the 1861 Census as a "solicitors articled clerk."⁶⁴ In the 1881 Census, he is listed as "solicitor" and "unmarried."⁶⁵ His effects, when he died, amounted to almost £57,000.⁶⁶

Margaret Winstanley (b. 12 April 1801; bap. 17 April 1801; d. Leyburn, York 16 April 1877) married William Ware Esq. (c. 1793 – before 15 June 1843), a banker, on 7 April 1828, at Bolton Castle cum Redmire.⁶⁷ They had a son, William Ryder (31 March 1830 – buried 1 October 1834), baptized at Wensley, Yorkshire.⁶⁸ Mrs. Ware does not appear in the 1841 Census for the Picards of Kirkby Lonsdale. In the 1851 Census for Beck Head, Kirkby Lonsdale, she was the head of household in the absence of the Picards, listed as "widow" and "landed proprietor," aged forty-nine. In 1861, she is listed as "sister-in-law," "widow," "landed proprietor," aged sixty. In the 1871 Census for Picard

on Main Street, Kirkby Lonsdale, she is listed as “sister-in-law,” “widow,” “landowner,” aged sixty-nine. The three members of the Picard family and the widowed Mrs. Ware appear in the diaries.

Other Picard relatives and some lodgers are referred to as well. The two little cousins of young John Richard Picard, Mary and Meggie, were the daughters of Richard Stuart Picard’s brother, Thomas Picard (bap. 18 April 1808 – 17 September 1846), who married on 1 August 1836 at South Leith Mary McDonald (c. 1812 – 21 August 1850).⁶⁹ The children were Mary Jane Picard (bap. St. Andrew Presbyterian, Liverpool 15 May 1838 – Gateacre, near Liverpool 8 September 1892)⁷⁰ and Margaret Stuart Picard (bap. South Leith 27 April 1841 – 10 May 1883).⁷¹ This family also lived in Kirkby Lonsdale, on New Road. Mary Jane Picard married on 7 January 1863 at Kirkby Lonsdale Eustace Carey (1836 – Liverpool 3 March 1915), an alkali manufacturer.⁷² Margaret Stuart Picard married on 8 January 1879 at Farnworth-in-Widnes James Wray (19 March 1826 – 28 December 1894), major and staff paymaster, Her Majesty’s Army Pay Department (at his death, lieutenant-colonel, retired).⁷³ “According to the Army List of January 1883, [he] ... was appointed staff paymaster for the Nova Scotia district on 1 April 1878. Margaret Wray died in childbirth on 10 May 1883 and was buried in Camp Hill Cemetery, Halifax.”⁷⁴

* * *

Living with the family of Richard and Elizabeth (Winstanley) Picard were two Scotswomen, Jane (or Jean) Simpson (b. Bothkennar, Stirlingshire, 1790; bap. 27 August 1797; d. 4 January 1852) and her sister, Isabella Simpson (bap. Bothkennar, Stirlingshire 14 August 1814 – Stoke Newington 12 August 1889), the daughters of James and Jean (Neilson) Simpson.⁷⁵ The 1841 Census for Kirkby Lonsdale lists Jane Simpson as residing in the household of Richard Picard in Wilsons Yard. She was forty-five years old, “unmarried,” and “of independent means.” In the 1851 Census, she is listed as “lodger,” “unmarried,” and “annuitant,” fifty-five years old, residing at Beck Head, head of household Margaret Ware. Isabella Simpson is also listed in the 1841 Census for Kirkby Lonsdale as residing in the household of Richard Picard in Wilsons yard. She was twenty-four years old and of

independent means. She was listed, like her sister, in the 1851 Census as a “lodger” residing at Beck Head, “unmarried,” and an “annuitant.” Her age was given as thirty-five. In the 1861 Census for Kirkby Lonsdale, Main Street, Isabella Simpson is described as “ward,” “unmarried,” and “annuitant,” forty-five years old. In the 1871 and 1881 censuses for Kirkby Lonsdale, she continued to reside on Main Street, but was living with Jane Picard, sister of Richard Stuart Picard. Her personal estate at her death was £155 and her sole executor was John Richard Picard, son of Eliza (Winstanley) and Richard Stuart Picard.

* * * * *

Relatives of Eliza Winstanley and Alicia McNeill also appear in Anna Whistler’s diaries. Aunt Marion Anne (Clunie) Wilkin(s) (b. 9 August 1771; bap. 20 August 1771),⁷⁶ their mother’s sister, is mentioned. She was the widow of William Wilkin(s) (bap. Bolton on Swale, Yorkshire 4 October 1806), whom she had married on 19 April 1805.⁷⁷ Also mentioned is one of their daughters, Priscilla Eliza (Wilkin[s]) Cragg (b. 1817 or 1818; bap. Leyland, Lancashire 6 February 1824; d. Blackpool 17 September 1861),⁷⁸ who married on 25 August 1844 William Cragg (c. 1812 – 13 July 1898).⁷⁹ After his wife’s death, he remarried.⁸⁰ William Cragg’s occupation is listed as carrier and lodging house keeper in the 1851 Census for Blackpool, landed proprietor in the 1861 Census, Yeoman in the 1871 Census, farmer and lodging house keeper in the 1881 Census, and retired farmer in the 1891 Census.⁸¹ Marion Anne (Clunie) Wilkin is the center of a legal debate in Eliza Winstanley’s 1843 Edinburgh diary (see Appendix D).

Eliza Winstanley and Alicia McNeill’s aunt, their mother’s sister, Charlotte (Clunie) Biggs (Whitekirk, East Lothian 24 July 1762 – Portobello, Edinburgh 26 November 1844),⁸² also appears in Eliza Winstanley’s August 1843 diary. She is the aunt with whom Eliza Winstanley stayed during that trip. Aunt Charlotte’s husband, the late James Biggs, Esq. (d. Memel 24 March 1806), had been a British “wood merchant at Memel, East Prussia.”⁸³

Cousin Anne Clunie (Berwick on Tweed 10 June 1793 – Edinburgh 18 May 1882)⁸⁴ is recorded on several occasions in Anna Whistler’s diaries as a visitor in the home of Eliza and John Winstanley.⁸⁵ She was

the daughter of John (b. 30 September 1755) and Wilhelmina (Rutherford) Clunie (b. Jedburgh 1761).⁸⁶ John Clunie was the brother of Eliza Winstanley and Alicia McNeill's mother.⁸⁷ John and Wilhelmina (Rutherford) Clunie of Berwick on Tweed had five other surviving children besides Anne: Rutherford Ainslie (b. 27 June 1791), James (b. 6 April 1796), George (bap. 17 March 1799), Williamina (bap. 17 Sept. 1800), and David Baird (bap. 9 April 1805).⁸⁸ Rutherford Ainslie Clunie, a corn merchant, married Frances Mein at Berwick on 12 August 1816.⁸⁹ Their son, Thomas Mein Clunie (1827 – 1 April 1898),⁹⁰ Anne Clunie's nephew, is mentioned in the diaries as helping in Liverpool during the wedding preparations for the Whistler–Haden marriage in 1847.⁹¹ He was then twenty years old. Like his father, he became a corn merchant.⁹² He married on 28 October 1854 Charlotte Ann Bowen.⁹³

NOTES

1. The 1851 Census for Preston records that Eliza (McNeill) Winstanley was born in "North America B.S." (the standard census indicator for "British Subject"). Robin Spencer, however, reads "B.S." as "B.I." for "Bahama Islands" ("Whistler's Early Relations with Britain," pp. 215–216). Although "B.S." indicates "British Subject," some remarks on the Bahama Islands are warranted, as they were an important locale in the life of the McNeills. Two of Dr. Daniel McNeill's sisters had married two Loyalist brothers and had settled in the Bahamas. His sister, Eliza, had married (on 24 October 1789) Archibald Taylor (d. Long Island, Bahamas 14 February 1816), a former major in the Royal Militia of North Carolina ([Obituary of Archibald Taylor], *Royal Gazette and Bahama Advertiser*, February 7, 1816); his sister, Margaret, had married (in 1793) Duncan Taylor. When Dr. McNeill was banished from North Carolina for similar sympathies (North Carolina State Records, 1786, Department of Cultural Resources, Raleigh, NC), he may have fled to the Bahamas. It is therefore plausible that the Bahama Islands are the place of birth of his daughter, Eliza, on 27 September 1788. See William McNeill, "The McNeill Family of Bladen County," in *Bladen County Heritage, North Carolina* (Waynesville, NC: Bladen County Heritage Book Committee and County Heritage, 1999), vol. 1, p. 210, entry 595, "McNeil–Taylor."

2. Letters of Administration of Eliza Isabella Winstanley, Lancashire Record Office, Preston, Lancashire (hereafter, LRO).
3. *Brooklyn Star*, January 1, 1829, Brooklyn Historical Society. For the ancestry of Dr. Daniel McNeill, see Douglas F. Kelly with Caroline Switzer Kelly, *Carolina Scots: An Historical and Genealogical Study of Over 100 Years of Emigration* (Dillon, SC: 1739 Publications, 1998), pp. 162–163 and McNeill, “McNeill Family of Bladen County.”
4. The information that Dr. McNeill’s first wife was a Mary McLean is incorrect (McDiarmid, *Whistler’s Mother*, pp. 5–6; Mumford, *Whistler’s Mother*, p. 6). See Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, vol. 1, *Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale*, p. 423.
5. McDiarmid, *Whistler’s Mother*, pp. 5–6; Mumford, *Whistler’s Mother*, p. 6; Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, vol. 1, *Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale*, p. 423.
6. Alicia Clunie McNeill died after “a short, but painful illness.” Her obituary appeared in a newspaper in Charleston, South Carolina. So little is known about Dr. Daniel McNeill’s first wife that I quote her entire obituary here:

DIED.] At Wilmington, North Carolina, on the 12th instant, Mrs. *Alicia Mac Neile*, the amiable consort of Dr. Daniel MacNeile of that place. She supported a short, but painful illness, with all the pious resignation which mark the christian at the approach of the awful, but to them, the most welcome messenger. To enumerate the many virtues of this lady would only renew the poignant grief of the disconsolate husband, whose loss upon this trying occasion is irreparable but, as a tribute to her memory, it is but just to say, if sweetness of disposition, sensibility of heart, and affability in manners, are engaging traits in the female character, she was allowed by those who knew her, to possess these and many other social accomplishments in a degree which renders her early fate regreted by all who had the pleasure of her acquaintance, as well as sincerely lamented by those now nearly concerned under, the ties of conjugal affection.

“Peaceful sleep out, the Sabbath of the tomb,
 “And wake in rapture in a life to come?
 POPE.”

(*City Gazette* (Charleston, SC), November 25, 1791, p. 3)

See also David Dobson, *Directory of Scots in the Carolinas, 1680–1830*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, MD: Baltimore Genealogical Publishing, 1986), vol. 1, pp. 47, 208. Dobson cites the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* as his source. Unfortunately, the wrong date is given in Mabel L. Webber, comp., “Marriage and Death Notices from the City Gazette,” *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 21 (1920): p. 68. According to the Services of Heirs (see Appendix H), on 6 July 1824 in New York (where her father, Dr. Daniel McNeill, was living), Alicia McNeill was registered as heir to her mother, Alicia Clunie or McNeill, daughter of John Clunie in Whitekirk (Service of Heirs, C22/121, pp. 226–227, SRO; see Appendix H). See also David Dobson, *Directory of Scottish Settlers in North America, 1625–1825*, 7 vols. [Baltimore, MD: Baltimore Genealogical Publishing, 1984–1993], vol. 4, p. 98; and David Dobson, *Scottish-American Heirs, 1683–1883* [Baltimore, MD: Baltimore Genealogical Publishing, 1990], p. 84).

7. IGI for East Lothian.
8. Anna Whistler stated that Eliza was their eldest sister (Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, London, 10 February 1864, GUL: Whistler Collection, W516). A comparison of the 1851 Census for two Preston households supports her statement; it shows that while Eliza gave her age as sixty-three, Alicia gave hers as sixty. As Alicia seems, therefore, to have been born the year her mother died (1791), it is possible her mother died of complications resulting from childbirth. For this reason I have given Alicia’s birth date as possibly before 12 November 1791.
9. Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, vol. 1, *Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale*, p. 423.
10. Anderson, *Scottish Nation*, vol. 3, pp. 633–634.
11. IGI.
12. The portrait is said to have been sold in 1917 by the Ehrich Galleries in London to an American collector.

Louis Rinaldo Ehrich (Albany, New York 23 January 1849 – London 23 October 1911), Yale University, Class of 1869, “was a collector and dealer in old paintings.” He was “president of the Ehrich Galleries in New York” and “made an annual tour to Europe in search of masterpieces of all schools. Many of those he gathered were of great value, and he had imported an especially large number of the works of the early Spanish masters” (*Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale University Deceased from June, 1910, to July, 1915* [New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1915], pp. 230–232). His

son, Walter Louis Ehrich (New York 9 July 1878 – New York 2 February 1936), Yale University, Class of 1899, was vice-president of the Ehrich Galleries from 1908 to 1932 and president from 1932 to 1934. In 1934, he became president of the Ehrich-Newhouse Galleries (*Bulletin of Yale University Obituary Record of Graduates Deceased During the Year Ending July 1, 1936*, series 33, no. 3 [15 October 1936]: p. 158). Attempts by me to ascertain the location of the records of the Ehrich Galleries and of the Ehrich-Newhouse Galleries have not been successful, and the identity of the purchaser of the portrait remains unknown.

13. OPRS.
14. Mannex, *Preston*.
15. Anna McNeill to Catherine Jane McNeill, Liverpool, 22 November 1829, GUL: Whistler Collection, W344, records her first meeting with the Winstanleys.
16. "On the 20th inst., Eliza Isabella, wife of John Winstanley, Esq., Fishergate, aged 69" (*Preston Chronicle and Lancashire Advertiser*, August 29, 1857). See also Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, Scarsdale, 13 January 1857, GUL: Whistler Collection, W474; Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, Pomfret, 17 September 1857, W483 (in this letter, Anna Whistler says Eliza Winstanley died on August 19); Deborah (Whistler) Haden to Gen. J.G. Swift, August 26th/[18]57; USMAL: J.G. Swift Papers, folder marked "Miscellaneous."
17. Letters of Administration of Eliza Isabella Winstanley, LRO.
18. Letters of Administration of Eliza Isabella Winstanley, LRO.
19. *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1937), p. 2474.
20. Spencer, "Whistler's Early Relations with Britain," p. 216. See also *Williams' South Lancashire Directory*, 1845.
21. *Oakley's Directory of Preston*, 1853.
22. *Preston and Fylde Directory*, 1857.
23. "On Sunday last, at his residence, Fishergate, John Winstanley Esq., in the 82nd year of his age" (*Preston Chronicle and Lancashire Advertiser*, May 28, 1859).
24. His executors were his nephews, William Winstanley of Chaigley Manor, in the County of Lancaster, Esquire; and Thomas Ainsworth of Cleator in the County of Cumberland, flax spinner; and Richard Stuart Picard, the husband of his niece, Elizabeth (Winstanley) Picard, of Kirkby Lonsdale in the County of

- Westmorland, gentleman (Will of John Winstanley of Preston, LRO).
25. He later changed the terms and sum of this part of the bequest in a codicil dated 11 May 1859, several days before his death. The original will was dated 1 April 1859.
 26. 1851 Census for Preston, Ecclesiastical District: St. John's, 79 Frenchwood Street, HO107/2265, fol. 527/8, p. 19–20. Alicia McNeill's age is given as sixty, her marriage condition as "unmarried," her place of birth as "North Carolina N-A." For her place of residence see also the entry for Saturday December 2: December 1st [*sic*: 29 November], AMW 1850 Diary. For her place and date of death, see Letters of Administration for Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, LRO, and Note 36 in this biography.
 27. 1851 Census for Preston, HO 107/2265, fol. 527/8, p. 19–20.
 28. 1861 Census for Preston, Ecclesiastical District of Christchurch, RG 9/3129, fol. 109, p. 41. Her place of birth is given as "N: Carolina U. States of A." Her landlady was Esther (Proddow) Thompson (b. 7 September 1807 and bap. 1 October 1807 at Crosthwaite, Cumberland).
 29. Anna McNeill recorded how overcome she was at their first meeting (Anna McNeill to Catherine Jane McNeill, Liverpool, 22 November 1829, GUL: Whistler Collection, W344).
 30. James McNeill Whistler to his Father [St. Petersburg 10 or 11 July 1844], roll 4601, LB13, no. 1, AAA: JMcNW.
 31. Young Charlotte Swift, daughter of Gen. Joseph Gardner Swift and Louisa (Walker) Swift, wrote her brother from Newport, Rhode Island: "Miss Alicia McNeill arrived here last evening, with George Whistler, they went away this morning, ... but they will come back in a few days" (Charlotte F. Swift, to Brother, Newport, Thursday, July 11, 1836, USMAL: J.G. Swift Papers, box 12).
 32. Martha McNeil to Sarah, Dedham, 27 September 1836, NYPL: Swift Papers. In September 1836, Charlotte Swift wrote her mother in Brooklyn, Long Island, from a Mrs. Lomax's in Newport, Rhode Island: "Sister mentions in her letter that I thought Grand-ma McNeill [Anna Whistler's mother] was the cause of my not going home but I did not I thought it was Miss Alicia McNeill" (C.F. Swift to her mother, Newport, entry of Sept. 20 in letter of 18 Sept. 1836, USMAL: J.G. Swift Papers, box 12).

33. Anna Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift New York. friday [September] 29th [1837], NYPL: Swift Papers. The dating of this letter is based on the fact that Anna Whistler was enclosing it along with a letter written by her husband to Gen. J.G. Swift the day before and dated New York, Sept. 28, 1837.
34. A correspondent complained to Mrs. General Swift: "Alicia surely might have wrote to us before she returned to England" (Elizabeth Walker to Louisa (Walker) Swift, Cane Patch, 19 June 1838, USMAL: J.G. Swift Papers, box 12).
35. Anna Whistler to Mr. Harrison, 62 Sloane St. June 19th 1849, LC: P-W, box 34; Anna Whistler to Mrs. Harrison, 62 Sloane St. June 20th [1849]; Anna Whistler to Mr. Harrison, Saturday evening. Preston. July 7th 1849; Anna Whistler to Mr. & Mrs. Harrison, Fleetwood. Monday. July 15th 1849.
36. William Charnley to "Madam," Preston 23rd October 1863, GUL: Whistler Collection, C76. William Charnley, Aunt Alicia's executor, was writing to one of her female heirs to announce her death and the particulars of her will. On the outside of his letter is written: "A Copy of 'Aunt Alicia's' Will please return to 'Aunt Kate'." Charnley's letter may therefore have been addressed to Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer. See also GUL: Whistler Collection, F21, McDiarmid, p. 329; McDiarmid, *Whistler's Mother*, p. 145.

The newspaper notice of her death further clarifies that she "left the house of Mr. Rodger with him to attend church in the forenoon, in the Town Hall, where the Free Church congregation were temporarily meeting during repairs on their church. When deceased reached the Cross she was taken ill and had to be assisted into the nearest house, where she gradually became worse, and in less than an hour expired. Dr. Baird, who had been called in, was of opinion that the death was caused by congestion of the lungs, accompanied by disease of the heart" (*The Scotsman* (Edinburgh), September 22, 1863, p. 2; *The Airdrie and Coatbridge Advertiser*, September 26, 1863; *Daily Review* (Edinburgh), September 22, 1863).

The Local Collection librarian of the Linlithgow Library has informed me that they "have been unable to trace [Alicia McNeill's grave], either on the ground in St. Michael's Parish Churchyard, or through West Lothian Council Cemeteries Records" (M.S. Cavanagh, Linlithgow, to E. Harden, 14 February 2005). *Monumental Inscriptions (Pre-1855) in West Lothian*

- ([Edinburgh]: Scottish Genealogical Society, 1961) contains no record of an inscription for her in Linlithgow Churchyard, not even in the entry for Rodger. However, the *Index* does not say whether all the inscriptions in the churchyard were legible nor how many unmarked graves there may be.
37. Alicia McNeill and Sophia Morgan became friends in St. Petersburg in 1844, when Alicia came to visit the Whistlers (Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, London, 10 and 11 February 1864, GUL: Whistler Collection, W516). Sophia Morgan (Greenock 1808 – Merchiston, Edinburgh 13 April 1872), daughter of Francis and Isabella Margery (Carmichael) Morgan of Greenock, married John Rodger (bap. Greenock 4 September 1796 – before 1871 Census) on 30 October 1856, Edinburgh Parish, Edinburgh, Midlothian (IGI for Midlothian; 1871 Census for Linlithgow; entry of death for Sophia Morgan Rodgers on Scotlands People website; OPRS for Renfrewshire; *London Evening Standard*, April 6, 1872). The 1861 Census for Linlithgow gives the further information that they lived in a house called Friar Bank; that John Rodger, a retired banker, was sixty-four years old; and that Sophia was fifty-three.
 38. Pennell and Pennell, *Life of Whistler*, vol. 1, p. 25, where it is incorrectly called “Aunt Kate” [Palmer]. This bust-length portrait is in the collection of the Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum in New York (1953-186-17). James Whistler drew on both sides of the sheet. “... (in the middle of the up-turned sheet about the same level as the stain on the left) there is a very light sketch in graphite of the eye, nose and mouth of a profile figure. It would appear that Whistler started his sketch on the verso side of the sheet and then turned it over and re-drew the finished portrait on what is now the recto side” (Gail Davidson, New York, to E. Harden, 25 October 1999).
 39. The will does not specify whether this is the Raeburn portrait or another.
 40. Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer predeceased her sister.
 41. James McNeill Whistler to Deborah Haden (from a copy), Paris [January 1898], roll 4601, LB13, AAA: JMcNW.
 42. IGI; Fishwick, *History of Poulton-le-Fylde*, p. 55, and J. Scott Ashton, *The History of St. Chad's Church Poulton-le-Fylde* (Fleetwood, 1949), p. 59; *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Inquirer*, March 19, 1842.
 43. Fishwick, *History of Poulton-le-Fylde*, pp. 56–57, 85.

44. Fishwick, p. 86. Ashton, *History of St. Chad's Church*, pp. 38, 40, 57.
45. Ashton, p. 57.
46. Fishwick, *History of Poulton-le-Fylde*, p. 86.
47. *Gentleman's Magazine* 103 (1833), pt. 2, p. 77; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1899.
48. Anna Whistler to Margaret Hill, Manchester, January 14th, 1830, LC: P-W, box 34.
49. Spencer, "Whistler's Early Relations with Britain," p. 217; 1851 Census for Preston, HO 107/2265, fol. 598, p. 14–15; Eliza Winstanley to Kate Palmer, Preston, 2 Jan'y 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W1080; C.W. Winstanley, comp. *Pedigrees from Winstanley: Wills and Administrations with Additional Details from Various Parish Registers and Family Records* (printed by the author, May 1952), vol. 2, p. 239. Eliza Winstanley explained that the house was "on a line with Stanley Terrace, on the other side of Fishergate, fronting the river."
50. Burke's *Landed Gentry* (1937), p. 2474. See also Edward Mansfield Brockbank, *Sketches of the Lives and Work of the Honorary Medical Staff of the Manchester Infirmary From its Foundation in 1752 to 1830, When It Became the Royal Infirmary* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1904), pp. 241–245; *The Palatine Note-book*, 5 vols. (Manchester, UK: J.E. Cornish, 1881–1885), vol. 4, pp. 167–168; Anand Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment and Early Victorian English Society* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), pp. 152–153; Thomas Baker, *Memorials of a Dissenting Chapel, Its Foundations and Worthies* (London: Simkin, Marshall, 1884), p. 94; Hewitson, *History of Preston*, pp. 515–517; Spencer, "Whistler's Early Relations with Britain," pp. 216–217.
51. *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1937), p. 2474; Hewitson, *History of Preston*, p. 517.
52. Spencer, "Whistler's Early Relations with Britain," p. 217. John Winstanley's will says William Winstanley adopted Alice, but Eliza Winstanley makes clear that the child's aunt, Anna Hardman, did (Eliza Winstanley to Kate Palmer, Preston, 2 Jan'y 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W1080).
53. Sir John Bernard Burke, *Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry*, 17th ed. (London: Burke's Peerage, 1952), p. 2765; Winstanley, *Pedigrees from Winstanley*, vol. 2, p. 239. John and Thomas Winstanley were married to two Hatton sisters.

54. Winstanley, *Pedigrees from Winstanley*, vol. 2, p. 239.
55. Bellasis, *Westmorland Church Notes*, p. 104.
56. Bellasis, *Westmorland Church Notes*, p. 104. IGI for Yorkshire gives his baptismal date as 16 January 1807.
57. IGI for Yorkshire.
58. 1841 Census for Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmorland. HO 107/1161, ED 14, fol. 21.
59. 1851 Census for Preston.
60. 1861 Census for Kirkby Lonsdale.
61. 1871 Census for Kirkby Lonsdale, RG 10, 5284, fol. 16, p. 26.
62. 1881 Census for Kirkby Lonsdale, RG 11/5210, fol. 92, p. 1.
63. See Note 24 in this biography.
64. 1861 Census for Kirkby Lonsdale.
65. 1881 Census for Kirkby Lonsdale, RG 11/5210, fol. 92, p. 1.
66. *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1933.
67. IGI for Yorkshire.
68. Hartley Thwaite, ed., *The Parish Register of Wensley*, vol. 2, 1701–1837 (privately printed for the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Parish Register Section, 1967), p. 195; Hartley Thwaite, ed., *York: Parish Registers of Aysgarth, 1709–1840*, “from a transcript made for the society by Hartley Thwaite, typed and indexed by Miss Pole-Stuart, 1943/4” (privately printed for the Yorkshire Archaeological Society), p. 226.
69. OPRS; Bellasis, *Westmorland Church Notes*, p. 104.
70. IGI for Lancashire; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1892.
71. OPRS; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 2 August [1883].
72. *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1915.
73. *The Times* (London), no. 29,461, January 1879; 1881 Census for Scotland, vol. 387, ED 3, p. 3; *The Times* (London), January 1, 1895; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1895.
74. Rosemary Barbour, Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society, Halifax, NS, to E. Harden, 29 September 2004; William Cleary, Camp Hill Cemetery, Halifax, NS, to E. Harden, [October 2004].
75. IGI for Stirlingshire; will of Isabella Simpson, York Probate Sub-Registry; certified copy of an Entry of Death for Jane Simpson, Sub-district: Kirby Lonsdale, counties of Westmorland and

- Lancaster, GRO; Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Pomfret, tuesday night Feb 10th [1852], GUL: Whistler Collection, W406.
76. Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, vol. 1, *Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale*, p. 423; IGI.
 77. IGI; Will of Mrs. Charlotte Clunie or Biggs, dated 26 November 1844.
 78. IGI; 1851 Census for Blackpool, HO 107/2269, fol. 457, p. 4–5.
 79. *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1898.
 80. The 1871 Census for Blackpool, RG 10/4223, fol. 21, p. 36, shows that he was married to Rebecca Cragg.
 81. 1851 Census for Blackpool, HO 107/ 2269, fol. 457, p. 4/5; 1861 Census for Blackpool, RG 9/3148, fol. 77, p. 6; 1871 Census for Blackpool, RG 10/4223, fol. 21, p. 36; 1881 Census for Blackpool, RG 11, 4254, fol. 10, p. 15; 1891 Census for Blackpool, RG 12/3454, fol. 53, p. 32.
 82. IGI; Appendix D.
 83. Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, vol. 1, *Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale*, p. 423; Will of Mrs. Charlotte Clunie or Biggs, dated 26 November 1844.
 84. 1881 Census for Scotland; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1882.
 85. She is also mentioned in a number of Anna Whistler's and family letters (Eliza Winstanley to Kate Palmer, 20 Jan. 1854, GUL: Whistler Collection, W1082; Anna Whistler to [James H. Gamble] Thursday eve 9th [Dec. 1858], W498; Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, London, 7–10 Sept. 1870, W539; Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, Hastings, 9 and 18 Sept. 1875, W548; Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, Hastings, Monday Sept 20th [1875], W551; Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, Hastings, 8 Sept. 1876, W553.
 86. IGI.
 87. Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, vol. 1, *Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale*, p. 423.
 88. IGI.
 89. IGI; *Pigot's Directory of Chester ... Yorkshire* (1822).
 90. 1861, 1871, 1881, and 1901 censuses for Liverpool; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1898.

91. Entry for Preston. September, Saturday 10th, but written in late autumn 1847 after the Whistlers' return to St. Petersburg, NYPL: AWPD, Part II.
92. *Gore's Directory of Liverpool 1859*.
93. Index of Marriages, GRO; *Liverpool Mail*, November 4, 1854.

WOOD

Charles Wood (Manchester, Lancashire 15 July 1804 – Street, Somerset 8 February 1859; see Image 271)¹ was the son of Richard Wood (Manchester, Lancashire 21 December 1778 – Putney, Middlesex 19 March 1856), a cotton mill owner from Lower Beach and Westbrook, Macclesfield.² His mother was Helen (Nicholson) Wood (Didcot, Berkshire 17 April 1780 – Macclesfield 2 March 1833).³ Charles attended Hipperholm School near Halifax.⁴ “He was a good classical scholar and could speak five modern languages.”⁵ On 3 September 1834, he married at Prestbury Lydia Procter (Cranage 26 November 1810 – Clevedon 22 April 1880; see Image 272).⁶ Lydia (Procter) Wood “was the granddaughter of the Rev. James Crabtree, Curate of an absentee Rector at Gawsworth from 1788–1818, so he lived in the Old Rectory, built in 1480, and Lydia’s mother, Alice, grew up there. Lydia’s father, John Procter, came from Lancaster and was the son of a West Indian Planter. He died as the result of a fall from his horse while hunting outside his home, Cranage Grange, Holmes Chapel.”⁷ It was said by a family member that “his widow, Alice, was devoted to her elder children but could not bear Lydia, who was born six months after her Father’s death. Consequently [Lydia] had an unhappy childhood.”⁸ Charles and Lydia (Procter) Wood had six children born in England, in Macclesfield: Helen (19 October 1835 – 27 February 1919), Catherine Elizabeth (20 January 1837 – 30 October 1920), William Nicholson (20 August 1838 – Beckenham 27 July 1919), John Edward (2 February 1840 – Macclesfield 17 April 1840), Frances Harriot (23 June 1841 – Clevedon 20 February 1930), and Margaret Jane (23 November 1842 – May 1914).⁹ John Edward died in infancy. Of the remaining five children, only Helen, Catherine, and William are referred to by name in Anna Whistler’s diaries, but there are several references to the three and the seven Wood children. Frances Harriot Wood says: “The whole family, excepting myself, migrated. I was a very delicate child, and was left in charge of an aunt and my grandfather, who took my father’s house off his hands. I remained with them for four years and then rejoined my family.”¹⁰ She would therefore have gone to St. Petersburg in 1847. Whether both Helen and Margaret Jane went to St. Petersburg with their parents, or

only one of them did, is not clear. Five more children were born in St. Petersburg, of whom three survived into adulthood: Charles John (29 September / 11 October 1844 – 28 June 1905), Lydia (13/25 December 1845 – Clevedon 17 January 1922), Anna Caroline (31 August / 12 September 1847 – St. Petersburg 3 June 1850), Richard Gellibrand (7/19 April 1849 – Horsham, Sussex 31 January 1916), and Mary Gertrude (9/21 July 1850 – St. Petersburg 5/17 December 1852).¹¹ Only the births of Charles John and Lydia are mentioned in the diaries. The Whistlers were in Preston preparing for Deborah's wedding when Anna Caroline was born. The diaries break off in autumn of 1848.

Charles Wood was a Manchester cotton spinner.¹² The failure of Ryle's Bank in Macclesfield in June 1841 caused the Wood family to be ruined as well, because the loan to finance making Wood's Pool, the source of power for the mill, was called in.¹³ A very wealthy friend of the family offered to save the firm if the uncle of Charles Wood considered responsible for the misfortune would retire from the firm, but the uncle refused.¹⁴ The works therefore had to be sold to settle their debts, and Charles Wood was penniless with a wife and three or four children. His wife's marriage settlement was small.¹⁵ In 1842, when England began to permit for the first time the exportation of machinery used in textile manufacturing, Egerton Hubbard and William Clarke Gellibrand, who had successfully obtained improved machinery for General Alexander Wilson, the head of the Imperial Linen Factory near St. Petersburg, decided to import some of this machinery for themselves and enter the textile trade. Hubbard's grandfather in England was reluctant to approve the undertaking; however, Hubbard's uncle John had not long before met Charles Wood on the Continent and become good friends with him. Hubbard's grandfather yielded to their persuasion and consented to have a trial made on the condition that Charles Wood join in and advise the undertaking.¹⁶ The same wealthy friend from Cheshire then offered to lend Charles Wood £2000 so that he could participate in this venture.¹⁷ In 1842, they bought land from the Russian merchant Chursinov and built the Petrovsky Spinning Mill of about 40,000 spindles in the Alexandrovsky suburbs of St. Petersburg on the bank of the Neva River, next to another mill being built by a Mr. Wright.¹⁸ Their enterprise prospered, and in 1851 weaving was added to the business and a shed

for 12,000 looms built. Of the two Englishmen, Thornton and Maxwell, who were working for General Wilson, Maxwell was appointed the first manager of “Hubbard’s Mill.”¹⁹ The correspondence concerning the establishment of the Nevsky [*sic*: Petrovsky] Cotton Spinning Mill on 15 August 1842 near St. Petersburg on the road to Alexandrofsky (the sixth verst along the Schlüsselberg Road), and the roles of Mr. Egerton Hubbard and Mr. David Maxwell, includes a Memorandum of Agreement which says: “The Foundations of the Mill to be laid forthwith and the Machinery to be selected in England during the ensuing winter by Mr. Maxwell in conjunction with and with the approval of Mr. Charles Wood as the representative of Mr. Egerton Hubbard.” Egerton Hubbard is named as a merchant of the First Guild of Vyborg and temporarily of St. Petersburg, Charles Wood as a British subject, and William Gellibrand (see Image 265) as a Vyborg first-class merchant.²⁰

Charles Wood and his family went to St. Petersburg in the autumn of 1843.²¹ They are listed in 1845 as living at 30 Angliiskii Prospekt (English Prospect),²² which was in the Second Ward of the Fourth Admiralty District.²³ Living with them was a governess named Miss McMaster, whose given names were probably Anne Caroline.²⁴

The Woods remained in Russia “for ten years and [Charles Wood] made a tolerable fortune with which he retired.”²⁵ The year of his retirement would have been 1853. After wandering for a year, he bought a property about a mile and a half from Glastonbury, then called Street House and later Abbey Grange. He wanted to be near his only brother, Rev. Richard Nicholson Wood (16 March 1816 – Weston-Super-Mare 21 February 1898), curate-in-charge of Street, Somerset.²⁶ In 1858, Charles Wood was asked by his friend, Mr. Hubbard, to come out of retirement and “help the firm” by superintending the salvage of “some most valuable machinery” from a ship that had sunk in the Baltic Sea. He spent the autumn of 1858 in Russia and successfully accomplished the salvage, but it took its toll. He died suddenly on 8 February 1859.²⁷ Lydia (Procter) Wood survived him by some twenty years; she died on 22 April 1880 at Clevedon.²⁸

Charles John Wood married Henrietta Cattley (St. Petersburg 5 October 1848 – 15 May 1905). Their daughter, Ethel, married Arthur

Reed Ropes, William Hooper Ropes's son (see Ropes, Gellibrand, Hall, Prince in this Appendix).

NOTES

1. Dates from "A Wood Family Tree." I am deeply grateful to Reverend Eric Wood of Bruton, Somerset, great-grandson of Charles Wood, for providing me with "A Wood Family Tree"; p. 4 of his family history *Our Woods* (Eric Wood, *Our Woods*, ts, [printed by the author, n.d.]); the preface of his great-aunt, Frances Hariott Wood's book *Somerset Memories and Traditions* (London: Robert Scott, 1924); photographs of Charles and Lydia Wood; and for his own helpful correspondence.
2. "A Wood Family Tree."
3. "A Wood Family Tree"; The Papers of the Nicholson Family (c 17/2/23) (hereafter, Nicholson Papers) at the Manchester Central Library include letters, chiefly from Charles Wood's father, Richard Wood, to his wife Helen's sister-in-law, Mrs. Hannah (Shaw) Nicholson, of Arrowe Park, Birkenhead (later Lady McDougall); letters from Rev. Eric Wood, Bruton, Somerset, to E. Harden 23 August 1993; 19 September 1993.
4. "A Wood Family Tree"; *Our Woods*.
5. *Somerset Memories and Traditions*, p. 7; *Our Woods*.
6. *Our Woods*. Charles Wood's simple note to Lydia Procter with his proposal of marriage is delightful and touching to read (Westbrook 20th Jan'y 1834 Cha^s Wood to my dear Miss Procter, photocopy supplied by Rev. Eric Wood, Bruton, Somerset, in his letter of 19 September 1993).
7. *Our Woods*.
8. *Our Woods*.
9. *Our Woods*. See also 1841 Census for Borough of Macclesfield, Township of Sutton, HO 107/107, bk. 7, fol. 22.
10. *Somerset Memories and Traditions*, p. 7.
11. Richard Wood to Lady McDougall, Macclesfield, 9 August [18]44, Nicholson Papers; *Our Woods*; and PREC STP, pp. 315, 326, 332 (no. 5581), 353, 385 (no. 5944), and nos. 5761, 6068, 6104, and 6327.
12. *Somerset Memories and Traditions*, pp. 5–6.

13. *Somerset Memories and Traditions*, p. 5. See also L.H. Grindon, *Manchester Banks and Bankers: Historical, Biographical, and Anecdotal* (Manchester, UK: Palmer and Howe; London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1877), pp. 111–117; Rev. Eric Wood, Bruton, Somerset, to E. Harden, 19 September 1993.
14. *Somerset Memories and Traditions*, p. 6.
15. *Somerset Memories and Traditions*, p. 6.
16. W.E. Hubbard, “Mills and Print Works,” in *Some Account of the Hubbard Family*.
17. *Somerset Memories and Traditions*, pp. 6–7.
18. TsGIA SPb: Fond 1413, op. 1, d. 2: Perepiska ob uchrezhdenii aktsionnogo obshchestva pod firmoiu “Kompaniia Petrovskoi bumagopriadil’noi i tkatskoi fabriki” [Correspondence concerning the establishment of a joint-stock company for the firm “The Petrovsky Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mill”], fols. 1r, 3r, 13.
19. Hubbard, “Mills and Print Works.”
20. TsGIA SPb: Fond 1413, op. 1, d. 2, fols. 1r, 3r, 13 (see Note 19 above for document title). Through a possible copying error in this document, “Petrovsky Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mill” is called the “Nevsky Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mill.”
21. Letter of Richard Wood to Mrs. Nicholson, Macclesfield, 18 September [18]43, Nicholson Papers. Other letters in this collection, in which Charles Wood is mentioned during his Russian sojourn, are Richard Wood to Lady McDougall, Macclesfield, 7 December 1848 and 30 October 1850; and Lady McDougall to Richard Wood, Cheltenham, postmark: 6 December 1848.
22. *BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 62.
23. Grech, *Ves’ Peterburg v karmane 1851*, p. 18; Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar’*, vol. 1, p. 53.
24. In *BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 39, she is listed as living at Mr. Charles Wood’s. Only her last name is given. However, the registers for the English Church give as a sponsor for the receiving into the Church of Charles John Wood in 1845 an “Anne Caroline McMaster” (PREC STP for 1845, p. 326). It is probably in honor of her that they called one of their daughters Anna Caroline.

25. *Somerset Memories and Traditions*, p. 7. His effects, when his will was probated on 28 March 1859, amounted to under £16,000 (G29/93 10 0284, York Probate Sub-Registry).
26. *Somerset Memories and Traditions*, p. 7.
27. *Somerset Memories and Traditions*, p. 8.
28. *Our Woods*.